

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Making wifely abuse a diplomatic incident

KATMANDU, Nepal

Everything comes clear here at the top of the world, where all things are bright if not necessarily altogether beautiful in the shadow of Everest.

Especially everything about Bill and Hillary. From this distance they're as transparent as the polluted Himalayan air.

The Hillary-for-Senate banglet (the noise of it never had the bass notes nor the percussion quality to qualify it as a genuine boomlet) is interesting mostly as an exercise in how to get the lap-dogs of the media to bark after passing trivia, and as a perfectly executed diversion from the *scandal du jour*.

What it appears to be, on a long and thoughtful second glance, is actually a diversion from a diversion. What may be going on is a carefully plotted scheme to get Hillary to New York, not as a United States senator but as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

The latest gossip about whether Hillary is about to bounce Bill from the boudoir is a carefully orchestrated element of the diversion: how better to reinforce the idea that the first lady has put up with so much crap from such a cad that she's entitled to everything she can squeeze out of the bum.

The president has an ambassador-designate to the U.N. in place, sort of; but Richard Holbrooke could do the president and himself a favor by taking a powder now. Nobody, and particularly the Democrats, can be enthusiastic about still another scrubbed-up candidate in a high-profile position. Mr. Holbrooke knows better than to expect loyalty from Bill Clinton.

The job at the U.N. is perfect for Hillary. She would still have to face questioning by the Senate, but better to face a few docile Republican senators, who would fall all over themselves to show

the first lady how housebroken they really are. Better than to have to answer to Rudy Giuliani, who has learned the Democratic technique of talking nice while applying a dirty thumb to the eye.

Not only that, stepping down from the boudoir, where all the sins have been committed against her, to the U.S. Senate, where sins are committed against the rest of us, would put her in the line of fire she has always squirmed away from.



Not a senator

"I really don't think that [the Senate] is the best place for her," says Mario Cuomo, the former New York governor who knows a thing or two about talking the big talk and walking the small walk. "She's much better off just being the big person in the country without having to worry about being junior to anybody."

Mr. Giuliani could make her answer the questions she has so far avoided as the battered little wife standing resolutely by her man (in a way that the late Tammy Wynette never would have), resurrecting all the specifics of her role in Whitewater, Filegate, Travelgate, cattle-futures trading, Castle Grande, the Rose Law Firm billing records, her relationship with the late Vince Foster — just the questions we all thought Kenneth Starr would get into, and didn't.

What looks goofy to Americans can look downright sensible to the Third-World constituencies of the United Nations. The beauty part is that Americans don't expect much of the U.N. and thus really don't care very much about what goes on there. We only think about the U.N. when it's time to pay the bills, and only then we are forced to think about it, to resent it anew. Sending Hillary up to the U.N. might be seen by the conservatives as at last giving the U.N. what it really deserves.

Finally, Hillary Clinton could even accomplish something at the United Nations, driven as she is by legitimate concerns for women and children, particularly in that great Islamic crescent stretching from Suez to Sumatra, where women enjoy few genuine rights, little respect as civilized men define respect, and are usually treated worse than the farm animals.

Pakistani women, for example, are some of the most courageous women in the world for their struggle against male barbarism committed in the name of a perverted faith. A BBC documentary, broadcast last week throughout the Asian subcontinent, sets out in horrific detail what happens to women who are uppity enough to demand to be treated as human: An old goat of a husband of a 17-year-old wife is freed by the courts after he punishes her for asking to visit her mother, burning her horribly with acid; a 30-year-old mother of two small children is sentenced to 10 years in prison for running away from an abusive husband; a young couple who elope to escape arranged marriages are forced into hiding to escape a sentence of death.

What an irony if, as a consequence of her public humiliation as the most famously abused wife in America, Hillary could make a difference in the lives of abused women elsewhere.

Rudy zooms past Hillary in new poll

By FREDRIC U. DICKER
State Editor

ALBANY — A new poll yesterday showed Mayor Giuliani with a clear lead — 11½ points — over First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in a possible race for the U.S. Senate.

The Zogby International poll, the first to show Giuliani leading, found the mayor "comfortably" ahead of Mrs. Clinton, 48.4 to 36.9 percent.

Giuliani led Mrs. Clinton among Republican upstate voters, 55.4 percent to 27.7 percent, and suburban voters, 58.8 percent to 28.6 percent, but trailed the First Lady among heavily Democratic city voters, 27.7 percent to 58.8 percent.

The poll, which surveyed 708 likely voters last Wednesday through Friday, also found that 67.9 percent of New Yorkers viewed Giuliani favorably, compared to just 51.6 percent with a favorable view of Mrs. Clinton.

"The honeymoon is clearly over," pollster John Zogby said.

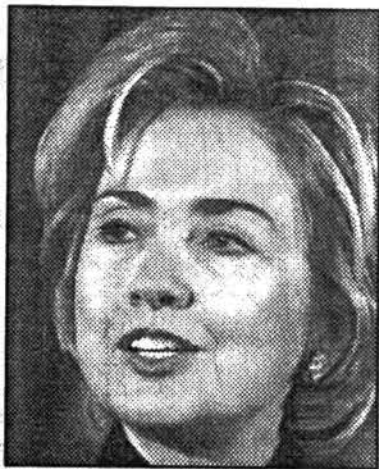
"There was kind of a honeymoon after she announced she was thinking of running, but now it is clear what a major battle she would face if she runs against Giuliani."

Zogby said his poll found that the "No. 1 issue" for Mrs. Clinton is why is she running and what she intends to do for New York state.

"That was cited by 22 percent of respondents and, in second place, 9 percent wanted to know why she still stays with the president," he said.

Zogby said three questions for Giuliani had been cited by an equal number of voters: What will he do about education? What is his "personal character?" And, how does he plan to fairly represent upstate?

Neither Giuliani nor the First Lady have declared an intent to seek the U.S. Senate seat being



HILLARY CLINTON
Now trailing by 11½ points.

vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but Clinton has triggered intense national interest and widespread Democratic excitement with her open consideration of running next year.

Can Rudy Beat the White House?

It sounded like an ordinary presidential radio address. Every Saturday for six years, President Clinton, like Reagan and Bush before him, has taken to the radio to deliver a 10-minute homily to the nation. Since 1995, Clinton has used these opportunities to make news about a host of topics from education to crime to Social Security.

But this past Saturday was special. Clinton's topic of choice happened to be police misconduct.

Funny choice of subjects. Could he be referring to the shooting of Amadou Diallo last month, the unarmed West African who died in a hail of police bullets? The White House piously noted that this was "an obvious" example of what Clinton meant.

Now why would the president, who has no responsibility for any local police force, choose to speak out on such a topic? Is it just a coincidence that his remarks hit home to New Yorkers worried about the police under Rudy Giuliani?

Could the president be trying to sully the image of his wife's putative opponent for the United States Senate?

If you believe Clinton's remarks were coincidental, you don't know Bill and you sure don't know Hillary. They were the beginning of a carefully orchestrated effort to use the White House to dirty the mayor so the First Lady can defeat him for the Senate.

Saying he was "deeply disturbed" about allegations of police brutality, the president's speech comes after his appointees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights announced that they will hold hearings on police brutality against minorities in May. Where? Oh yes. In New York. Another coincidence.

Clinton dressed up his speech with a "plan" to curb police brutality. He allocated \$40 million to improve police training (\$60 per cop nationwide — you can do a whole bunch of training for 60 bucks!). He's spending \$20 million for education in integrity and ethics. Add another \$20 million for college scholarships, \$2 million for recruiting minority cops, and \$5 million for citizen police academies to inform neighborhoods about police procedures.

It all adds up to an \$87-million contribution to Hillary's campaign.



DICK MORRIS

One suspects the president's announcement had three audiences. One was Rudy. Message: If you run against my wife, you'll have to contend with me! Another target was the voters of New York. For them, the message was simple: Rudy stinks.

But the third audience was the most interesting: Hillary herself. The message for her? I can help you a whole lot more if we stay married than if you walk out.

The New York press faithfully covered the president's speech. The Post headline read: "Prez: I'll restore your faith in cops."

Why would the president . . . choose to speak out on [police brutality]? Is it just a coincidence that his remarks hit home to New Yorkers worried about the police under Rudy Giuliani?

Nobody even cracked a smile when Clinton said that the key issue was restoring public trust in the police. Bill Clinton's a great one to restore public trust. One word from him and it's bound to be restored!

The president's posturing ignored some important facts about the NYPD. Complaints to the Civilian Complaint Review Board are down by 11 percent over the past two years, even though the size of the police force has increased. Complaints which relate to the use of physical force have dropped by almost a quarter.

But since Hillary's interest in running for the Senate is up 100 percent, the criticism has started to rain down on the police of New York.

The president's choice of the radio address to initiate the charges against the police is interesting. The advantage of the radio address is that it is not covered by any live reporters on location.

There is no chance that Clinton would be asked any embarrassing questions like "is this statement related to Hillary's candidacy?" The radio address is a free shot on goal and Clinton used it Saturday in just that way.

This announcement is, of course, just the start. Look for a sudden federal interest in the affairs of New York City. One suspects that clean-air lawsuits, actions against city prisons and hospitals, anti-corruption initiatives and a whole slew of other targeted enforcement actions against Gracie Mansion are not far off.

We have never had a president — or his wife — run for Senate while they still control the White House. Especially not against a mayor who depends on Washington for a goodly portion of his annual operating and capital budgets. Federal revenue-sharing dollars underwrite every portion of the city budget — and so justify federal scrutiny of New York's day-care centers, foster-care agencies, welfare administration, homeless shelters, jails, sanitation collection, fire protection, purchasing procedures, contracting processes and everything else.

By using a combination of speeches, conditions attached to federal funding, regulatory action and lawsuits, the federal government can basically

be used to run a negative campaign against the mayor. We have often seen political rivalry between the mayor and the governor — whoever they may be — turned to the city's disadvantage at budget time, but the sight of the full power of Washington being turned on New York City's government will not be pretty to behold.

This new interest of the president's is really quite a role reversal. In the past, Clinton has taken the high road while Hillary ran the negatives. She orchestrated the dumping on administration critics and the attacks on Republican adversaries while Bill remained above the fray. Now, the president is running the negatives while Hillary stays above the battle.

Bill Clinton may not be faithful, but he sure is loyal.

Senate clips

First lady seeks best platform for next career

A number of options available; each has advantages, drawbacks

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is taking to heart the theme song from her husband's 1992 presidential campaign: She's thinking about tomorrow.

While the idea of running for the U.S. Senate from New York has gotten the most public notice, it's hardly her only option. Friends say she is systematically considering other prospects, jobs that could range from heading a foundation to creating a public policy institute associated with her husband's presidential library to serving in the Cabinet of, say, a Gore administration.

One possibility that's not on the table: slipping quietly from the public scene. Those close to her say she's determined to have a voice in policy and politics. That argues against some of the most lucrative options she could pursue, from a partnership at a premier law firm to a full-time job in the corporate world.

Money is a factor in her deliberations, associates say, although not the dominant one. She and President Clinton have little savings, no home of their own and huge legal bills. But a defense fund is raising money to help pay legal fees, and her husband will have his own moneymaking potential after the White House.

More serious, those who have spoken with her say, is her concern that her ability to speak out and bring about change will fade quickly after the White House unless she commands some formal platform.

"My sense is, she is very much driven by the desire and need to do public service," says Harold Ickes, a longtime friend and Democratic activist who is helping her consider the Senate race. "It's almost a moral imperative with her."

Not since Jacqueline Kennedy has a first lady left the White House at such a young age; Hillary Clinton will be 53. Not since Eleanor Roosevelt has a first lady faced such a heady range of possibilities for her life after the White House — and felt so driven to deliver on them.

She is discussing her future with a small circle of advisers, including her chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, Democratic graybeard Michael Berman, Ickes and Washington lawyer Robert Barnett. Barnett was retained last year by both Clintons to represent them when they're ready to consider post-White House offers.

More than a half-dozen friends and associates of Hillary Clinton discussed her thinking and options for this story, most speaking on condition they not be identified by name.

There are obvious downsides to a Senate race, starting with the prospect of a tough campaign that she just might lose. If she won, she'd be barred from earning significant sums by serving on corporate boards or delivering speeches, largely making do with a senator's \$136,673 annual sala-

ry. Friends calculate she would be bypassing the chance to make millions of dollars over the six years of a Senate term.

But associates say careful consideration turns up complications with the other prospects, too. As head of a foundation, she probably would not be free to engage in Democratic politics, for instance. As a Cabinet member, she would be expected to espouse the president's views, not her own.

Some friends suggest that studying the other possibilities has made a Senate bid look better. Clinton would be free to speak her mind, answerable only to the voters. Even as the junior New York senator in the minority party, they say, she would be a powerful voice on national issues.

"You can't look at anything in a void," says her White House spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. "When she's looking at this (Senate race), she has to weigh it against what other possibilities there are."

What are they?

'Social entrepreneur'

Rumors circulated last year that Hillary Clinton might head the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation when the \$4 billion Chicago-based foundation sought a new president. She has some history with foundations and the charitable organizations they fund. She was chairman of the liberal New World Foundation in New York and helped start the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund.

"There isn't any question" that some foundations would be eager to have her on board, says John Walters, president of the Philanthropy Roundtable, an association of foundations and donors. He says the first lady would fit an emerging model for foundation CEOs: "social entrepreneurs" who "try to provide new and more effective solutions."

Foundations that focus on children and families would be especially interested, says Stacy Palmer, editor of the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*. From Hillary Clinton's point of view, the ability to finance promising model projects and promote progressive solutions surely would be appealing.

But nonprofit, tax-exempt foundations are prohibited from engaging in partisan politics and are famously leery of generating controversy, Palmer cautions.

"There are a lot of ways foundations can be influential, but they can't be partisan," she says. "They can't back candidates. They can't go pushing for specific legislation. That might be frustrating for her."

And even a CEO has to answer to the foundation's board of trustees.

Madame Secretary?

After he was elected in 1992, Clinton discussed with aides the possibility of naming his wife attorney gener-



By Beбето Matthews, A

Candidate? Educator? CEO?: Friends say Hillary Rodham Clinton is exploring a wide range of possibilities for staying involved in public policy and politics.

al, until they realized that such an appointment was barred by an anti-nepotism law enacted after President Kennedy named his brother Robert to that post.

But there is a precedent for a first lady joining the administration of the president who succeeds her husband. Eight months after President Franklin Roosevelt's death in 1945, President Truman appointed Eleanor Roosevelt as one of three U.S. delegates to the newly created United Nations. She stayed until President Eisenhower took office seven years later.

Truman had his own motives: Eleanor Roosevelt was more popular than he was with liberal Democrats. For her, the United Nations became a powerful platform for the cause of human rights at home and abroad.

A similar political dynamic could be at work if Vice President Gore wins the White House on his own in 2000. He could boost his support among Democratic women and liberals by appointing Hillary Clinton to a high-profile job. For her part, she might be drawn to the idea of following in Eleanor Roosevelt's footsteps to the United Nations or becoming a sort of roving goodwill ambassador. She has traveled more extensively abroad on her own than any other first lady in history; she leaves Saturday for North Africa.

Heading a Cabinet agency such as the Education Department also

might have appeal.

A spokesman for Gore says it seems premature to discuss Cabinet appointments when he hasn't yet formally declared his candidacy for the Democratic nomination. But he emphasizes the respect the vice president has for the first lady. "Mrs. Clinton has done a tremendous job for this administration over the last six plus years," Gore spokesman Chris Lehane says. "Right now, we're just not in the position where we have the privilege of being able to discuss these types of things."

James Pfiffner, author of *The Strategic Presidency* and a George Mason University political scientist, says "the political dimension" of an appointment could be tricky.

Hillary Clinton could be a lightning rod for critics of the Clinton administration, distracting from and even overshadowing the new president. Pfiffner sees another red flag: "She would be playing a clearly subordinate kind of role," he notes, obliged to articulate and defend the president's policies even when they differed from her own. "She may chafe at that."

Speaking out

Forget *Monica's Story*. Literary agent Judith Regan says *Hillary's Story* would be the most valuable book of the Clinton years, easily

Hillary Rodham Clinton's career opportunities

Head of a foundation

Salary: Up to \$600,000 a year

Perks: Able to disburse someone else's money to pursue innovative policies, perhaps involving her special interest in children

Problems: Partisan activity such as campaigning for candidates generally discouraged



By Suzanne Plunkett, AP

Art class: With Benjamin Harrison and Jennifer Chong in Queens, N.Y., on March 3.



By Mark Humphrey, AP

Cabinet member

Salary: \$151,800 a year

Perks: Opportunity to help shape national policy on subjects such as education and international affairs

Problems: Expected to articulate and defend the president's policies even when they differ from her own

Next boss?: With Vice President Gore at a conference in Nashville in June 1998.

Author/lecturer

Salary: Up to \$5 million for a tell-all book; up to \$50,000 per speech

Perks: Her own boss, free to speak her mind

Problems: Risk of becoming part of the media maelstrom she decries

Write stuff: Promoting her book 'It Takes a Village' in Wellesley, Mass., in January 1996.



By C.J. Gunther, AP

eclipsing former White House adviser George Stephanopoulos' \$2.75 million book deal and perhaps overshadowing even the president's memoirs. "The more she reveals, the more valuable the project would be," Regan says.

But Regan acknowledges that Hillary Clinton seems unlikely to dish, and a less personal, more policy-oriented book would be less commercially successful. Hillary Clinton's 1996 book, *It Takes a Village*, was a best seller. But last year's *Dear Socks*, *Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets* sank without a trace.

Hillary Clinton would be a huge draw on the lecture circuit, commanding as much as \$50,000 per speech. Major speakers' agencies already are jockeying to represent her.

But she has told friends she has no intention of becoming a "talking head," one of those ready commentators whom she views with scarcely disguised contempt. And she is said to be wary of offering speeches or commentary without also having a structure that offers her a base and a staff.

One possibility with those benefits would be to head a college or university. But some academics believe that's not a realistic option. When Kansas Sen. Nancy Kassebaum was mentioned as a possible chancellor for the University of Kansas in 1994, an uproar from professors objecting

to her lack of traditional academic credentials, such as a Ph.D., prompted her to withdraw her name.

There's another issue, says Scott Jaschik, managing editor of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. "University presidents and chancellors these days spend a lot of their time raising money, and generally, you have to be somebody who doesn't have a lot of people who don't like you," he says.

"But all the things about her that make her controversial are things they would love on the faculty," Jaschik adds. "They want people on the faculty who everyone is talking about, who would be provocative, who would be in the news a lot."

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, a friend of Hillary Clinton and a former chancellor at the University of Wisconsin, agrees. "Most of the universities in the country would give anything to have her come and teach," she says.

Over the long haul, that could prove to be the most enduring choice of all, says historian Allida Black, a biographer of Eleanor Roosevelt's post-White House years. "You take 15 or 20 graduate students a year and work them to death, give them postdoctorates and then place them in agencies," she suggests. "Do that for 10 years, and you've got 200 people running the programs and policy that you care about."

Hillary's in a N.Y. state of mind

His close Hollywood friends tell me that Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton will definitely move to New York at the end of his presidency. Clinton tells intimates that "Hillary loves New York" and "whether she runs for the Senate or not, she wants to live there."

Clinton added that Hillary has spent a good part of her adult life being where he wanted to be, that it's about time he went where she wanted to be.

It's still fifty-fifty whether she'll run, but New Yorkers can add two new residents as of January 2001. . . .

Oscar picks: I think *Shakespeare in Love* will win best picture in a tough year to call winners in all key categories. *Life Is Beautiful*'s Roberto Benigni will win for best actor (the man is absolutely amazing). I attended a party Marvin Davis gave in Benigni's honor before he received the Screen Actors Guild award in Los Angeles, and the man was totally captivating. There were 60 guests, and he charmed every one with his love of life. The movie, by the way, is a gem.

I see best actress going to

Gwyneth Paltrow for *Shakespeare in Love* in what might be the night's closest vote (I wish they announced the vote tally). Best supporting actor will be Billy Bob Thornton for *A Simple Plan*. He absolutely owned that role.



Larry King's People
News & Views

This column appears every Monday.

The best supporting actress will go to Lynn Redgrave in *Gods and Monsters*. The movie was a downer, but her performance was stellar. The best song will be *The Prayer* from *Quest for Camelot*, and the highlight of Oscar evening will be when Celine Dion

and Andrea Bocelli sing it together.

Best director will be Steven Spielberg for *Saving Private Ryan*. Guaranteed to happen: The show will run long, and there will be 4,632 thank-yous. By the end of the night, those in the auditorium will be thanking their urologists for being able to sit through it all. (That's an actual line once used by the late Danny Kaye, who was honored by the Washington Touchdown Club and who was not called upon to speak till 1 a.m. because of all the awards and thank-yous that ran on before

him. So he said, "I would like to thank my urologist for making it possible for me to sit here through this.") . . .

I have a new pet annoyance: hospital answering machines. You call a hospital, and you don't get a human being. You get a machine with 11 options. While you're waiting to hear all the options, you could pass away. Whatever happened to the human being? . . .

Last week I had the joy of a lifetime, experiencing the birth of Chance Armstrong King. I never thought I would be able to hold up, but it's the best thing I've ever done. I even got to cut the umbilical cord.

You'll see pictures in *People* this Friday. I also attended the circumcision the following day. This was difficult; any male would relate to the occurrence. I don't need to say more.

Mother and child are doing well, and this Medicare father is holding up as well as possible. The first call we got was from Nancy Reagan, and the youngster will have his picture taken with former President Reagan in the next couple of weeks.

Chance, no doubt, will have a lot of interesting things to learn about growing up. Shawn and I thank you for your kind wishes.

Larry King Live airs nightly on CNN and is simulcast on the Westwood One radio network.

Introspective Hillary

You'll have to wait at least a month to learn if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the U.S. Senate from New York, says Sen. Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat.

Interviewed yesterday on ABC's "This Week," Mr. Schumer said he spoke with Mrs. Clinton Saturday and learned she's embarking on a "period of introspection," in which she will "look deeply into her soul and determine whether she really wants to be senator."

She is "going to take a good month at least to do that," he said, adding: "I think she's very enthused about the possibility of being senator and helping New Yorkers and Americans, but [she also has to consider] whether she's willing to undergo the ardor of a campaign. You know how New York campaigns are, and this one will be a hot one."

Mr. Schumer, who will become New York's senior senator when fellow Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan retires next year, said the first lady will not be traveling to New York during her period of reflection.

Oh, what a relief

Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, New Jersey Democrat, was quizzed about a possible Senate bid by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on "Fox News Sunday."

He said November is "more than sufficient time" for her to decide if she wants to run, given that another "strong candidate, Congresswoman Nita Lowey, is available if she decided not to."

"I think that this campaign would be so intense, such a national spectacle and an ideological debate, that, indeed, it would

be a relief to the people of New York if we could limit it to 12 months," said Mr. Torricelli, who said he believes both Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Lowey could beat New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a race for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While Mrs. Clinton ponders her political future, Patricia Schroeder, former Democratic congresswoman from Colorado and one-time presidential wannabe, says she sees the first lady as a possible presidential or vice presidential candidate in the years ahead. Speaking on CNN's "Late Edition" yesterday, Mrs. Schroeder said a Senate run by Mrs. Clinton would serve as a springboard for a possible bid for national office.

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1999 ★

Flying north?

As first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton considers her own political future, it's important to give her career record independent scrutiny.

And we're not just talking about two terms as perhaps the most powerful first lady in American history. Some might have forgotten, for instance, that from 1978 through 1980 Mrs. Clinton was chairman of the Legal Services Corp.

You'll recall Mrs. Clinton and her friends telling us in recent months that it would be wrong to impeach President Clinton and overturn his election by the voters. Yet Mrs. Clinton didn't always hold to this dictum.

In 1980, we're told, at the end of her two-year reign as head of the board of the LSC, Mrs. Clinton transferred control of the corporation's television studio, valued at about \$1 million, to a legal activist group known as the Project Advisory Group (PAG). This allowed the latter to produce in-house media instruction and training tapes.

"The studio was deemed no longer useful," a source tells Inside the Beltway, "and was simply given away."

PAG and legal-service advocates closely associated with Mrs. Clinton not only made good use of the studio, but all sorts of class-action lawsuits were filed to undermine and overturn the popular election of the then newly elected president, Ronald Reagan.

Which goes to show the goose doesn't always like what it thought at one time was good for the gander.

Soul-searching time for Hillary

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to enter a month of "introspection" before announcing whether she'll make a run for the U.S. Senate in New York, Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) said yesterday.

Schumer, who said he talked to Clinton on Saturday, reported that the First Lady won't be hosting New York political types or flying up to the Big Apple during this "period of introspection."

"I think the parade of people coming in and out and talking to her is going to greatly diminish," Schumer said. "She's going to take a good month, at least, to do that and look into herself."

"She has to look deeply into her soul and determine whether she really wants to be senator," Schumer said on ABC's "This Week."

Clinton is eyeing a run for the seat being vacated in 2000 by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

She could face Mayor Giuliani, who also is looking at the race.

Among those advising her not to run are Liz Moynihan, the senator's wife, and James Carville, an adviser to President Clinton, *Newsweek* reports.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton's staff has denied reports that her anger at her husband played a role in the abrupt ending of their family ski vacation and her decision to skip trips to Central America and Arkansas with the president.

President Clinton said Hillary wanted to travel with him but couldn't. "She's gotta make sure she's in really good health," he told reporters on Air Force One on the trip from Arkansas to Washington late Saturday.

Mrs. Clinton's aides claim she reinjured her back when she was hit by a skier in Utah.

This week, Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to attend four public events with her husband.



'WEATHER' OR NOT: Hillary Rodham Clinton, leaving a church in snowy D.C. with the president yesterday, needs a month of introspection before deciding on a Senate run, Sen. Chuck Schumer says.

Reuter

USA TODAY · FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1999

► Hillary Rodham Clinton is considering forming an exploratory committee for a run in New York at a Senate seat in 2000, associates say. But spokesman Marsha Berry says that's "way, way ahead of where she is." — Susan Page

► As sometimes happens in politics, there's

DAILY HERALD, Chicago, in an editorial: "Presumably, one day a woman will emerge from the pipeline into the Oval Office. But that day might be a ways off. And it's a little discouraging that at least some of the women poised to run for high office — such as Dole and (Hillary) Clinton — got there largely because of their husbands' famous names, instead of solely through their own efforts."

Senate
clips

(+ trip
clips from
other packet)

Hill is shopping New York-style

LAST Thursday's N.Y. Post headline "Chillary" showing the Prez and Mrs. Prez staring icily in different directions? Possibly it's coincidental but she was wearing a pearl-and-gold necklace with a *detachable* heart. I know the piece. Comes from Mad Ave's Judith Ripka. So, maybe she isn't living in New York yet but sure as hell she's shopping in New York.

And a clue to is she is or is she ain't running for Senator from here? Watch the lady's pro-Palestinian stance. If she backs away, she's go.

Hillary edges closer

Hillary Rodham Clinton, seemingly ever more likely to run for the Senate in New York, is considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making, the Associated Press reports.

The idea of such a preliminary step has been discussed as a way to avoid questions of impropriety in the raising and spending of money, a senior adviser said yesterday. The discussions are still preliminary, and it is possible that she will not form a committee, even if she does seek the seat held by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the adviser said.

Still, the talks reflect how seriously Mrs. Clinton is considering a campaign, reporter Ron Fournier writes.

In several interviews this week, friends and associates said the first lady appears more likely than ever to run for the Senate. One confidant said she is "very inclined" to make the race. The associates caution, however, that she does not plan to decide until late summer or early fall.



Political Roundup

Hillary May Form Senate Exploratory Committee

■ FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM Clinton, seemingly ever more likely to run for the Senate in New York next year, is considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making.

The idea of such a preliminary step has been discussed as a way to avoid any questions of impropriety in the raising and spending of money, a senior adviser told the *Associated Press* Thursday.

The discussions are still preliminary and it is possible that she will not form a committee — even if she does seek the seat held by retiring Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, the adviser said.

Still, the talks reflect how seriously Clinton is considering a campaign.

In several interviews this week, friends and associates told the *AP* that the first lady appears more likely than ever to run for the Senate. One confidant said she was "very inclined" to make the race.

The associates caution, however, that she does not plan to decide until late summer or early fall.

Under FEC rules, potential candidates can raise and spend money to "test the waters" and gauge support for a campaign. They do not have to register with the FEC, nor publicly disclose contributions and expenditures.

But they must raise money within federal contribution limits, and they also are limited as to what they can spend their funds on: polling, traveling and other actions designed solely to determine whether there is support for a candidacy.

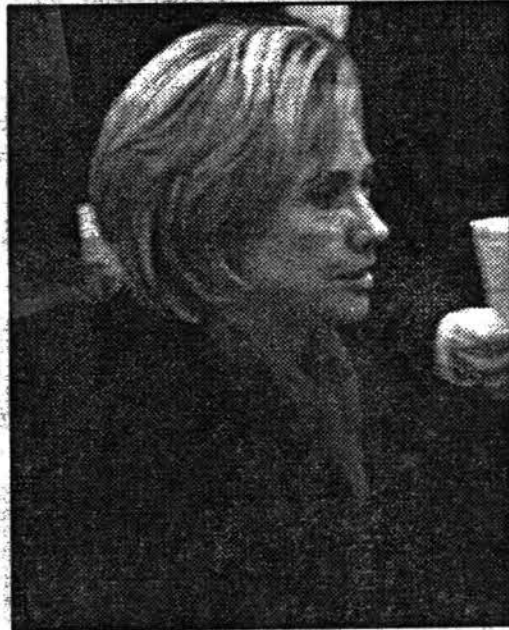
If the person formally becomes a candidate, these contributions and expenditures must be disclosed when the first campaign committee reports are filed.

Polling is not yet being done on her behalf, officials say.

And, in another sign of her mounting interest, Clinton will meet at the White House Friday with the top Democrat in the New York Legislature. Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver encouraged Clinton to run when she called him last month to talk about the Senate race.

CHILLARY

IS IT DIVIDE



SPLIT DECISION: Hillary could win sympathy votes if she breaks up with Bill, experts say.

Hill boosts Senate odds by ditching Bill: experts

A First Marriage on the rocks could spur Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for Senate, experts said yesterday.

Political pundits said an estrangement makes it easier for Mrs. Clinton to run for retiring New York Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat because it stirs up sympathy for her — and allows her to fend off embarrassing questions about her hubby's sexcapades.

"If they are a team, she has to deny and defend or fudge. If they aren't a team, she can say, 'He's disappointed me, and that's a question you really need to ask him,'" said one Democratic strategist.

New York Democratic consul-

By Marilyn Rauber and Deborah Orin in Washington and Robert Hardt Jr. in New York

tant Hank Sheinkopf predicted "voters won't blame her and they might even support her more."

The First Lady is mulling forming an exploratory committee — the first step toward launching a full-fledged campaign. Pals say

See **HILLARY** on Page 20

AND CONQUER?

Experts say split with prez boosts Hill's Senate hopes

HILLARY from Page 6

she's leaning toward running.

In New York, Mayor Giuliani, who might find himself in a race against Hillary — and whose own marriage has been dogged by rumors of trouble — said the Clintons' relationship is nobody's business.

"I don't think it's anybody's concern but theirs — if it is a concern," the mayor said.

Marist College Poll Director Lee Miringoff said a highly publicized split between the Clintons could hurt Giuliani.

"If [the Clintons'] marital problems were to somehow become a long-running show, of course, it would then be tough for Rudy to even get a quote into the paper," he said.

New York state Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, who has openly urged the First Lady to run, plans to meet with her at the White House today.

New York Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf predicted "voters won't blame [Hillary] and they might even support her more."

Meanwhile, President Clinton, on a four-day goodwill trip to Central America, came up with a new explanation for his wife's last-minute decision not to go with him.

Clinton, repeating White House claims that she hurt her back during their ski trip to Utah, insisted she would have come along but didn't want to risk "seriously ruining her back for Africa." The First Lady is slated to tour Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco with daughter Chelsea starting March 20.

The White House dismissed as "rumor and gossip and innuendo" reports that a furious Mrs. Clinton cut short the couple's ski trip after a huge row, and couldn't bear the idea of sharing a hotel room with her husband in Central America.

But Democratic insiders said there's little doubt the First Lady

is "very angry" with her husband.

"What a lot of people on the inside say is that there won't be a formal separation. It's just like an ebbing away," said a Democratic source.

Although Mrs. Clinton issued a statement standing by her man after his fling with ex-intern Monica Lewinsky, she's been silent on Juanita Broaddrick's recent allegation that Clinton raped her in 1978.

Today, Clinton makes a sentimental journey back to Arkansas for the dedication of his childhood home in Hope. His wife isn't going.

Later this month, while Mrs. Clinton is in Africa, the president will go stag to the Gridiron dinner — an annual roast of the First Couple — and the White House radio and TV correspondents' dinner, both traditionally attended by the president and his wife.

Mrs. Clinton kept out of the public eye yesterday. Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the First Lady "wanted to rest up."

Despite the back-injury claim, Mrs. Clinton has shown no sign of being in pain.

She sat on a hard wooden pew for two hours at Tuesday's funeral service for Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, said one guest.

And just two days after she cut short the ski trip, Mrs. Clinton was stumping in New York, effortlessly bending over to chat with young kids at a Flushing school.

AM-NY--Mrs Clinton-New York,560

New York Democrats still courting Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate

By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton kept talk of her could-be Senate candidacy alive on Friday, huddling in the White House with the New York Legislature's top Democrat and the state's party chief.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and state Party Chairwoman Judith Hope joined the swelling ranks of New York Democrats journeying to Washington to meet with the first lady about a possible Senate bid.

``I'd say she's very interested. That's what I'd say,'' Silver said after a more than one-hour meeting with Mrs. Clinton in the White House Map Room.

Former Clinton administration advisers Harold Ickes and Mandy Grunwald also breezed into the White House early Friday afternoon for a meeting with the first lady. Both are allies of Mrs. Clinton's with strong connections to New York.

Asked about a possible Senate race, a smiling Ickes said, ``I don't know anything about it.''

Mrs. Clinton has still not said whether she will run for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But she is apparently considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making and allow her to avoid questions of impropriety in fund raising.

Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Friday Mrs. Clinton was continuing to meet and talk with New Yorkers; other associates say she may not decide until late summer or early fall.

Silver said Friday that timetable would still give her plenty of opportunities to raise the needed cash for a campaign.

``She's magic. She's a terrific candidate'' Silver, from Manhattan, said.

Silver said he and Mrs. Clinton discussed the New York political geography and issues over coffee. He said he urged her to ``seriously consider running.''

Silver, an Orthodox Jew, said he had also asked Mrs. Clinton about statements attributed to her advocating an independent Palestinian state. He said Mrs. Clinton had clarified on Friday that the statements were made after conversations with the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

``It's an issue that needs clarification as to what her position is. I've heard her position. I respect that and I understand the context in which it was made,'' Silver said.

Jewish voters are a crucial block in any New York race and Mrs. Clinton's most likely Senate race rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, has already attacked her remarks as seemingly pro-Palestinian.

Hope, an Arkansas native, has been one of the primary boosters of a Clinton candidacy. She was meeting with the first lady late Friday afternoon.

Mrs. Clinton has already held White House meetings with Moynihan and Sen. Charles Schumer. Last Friday, a contingent of New York black leaders and union chiefs paid calls on Mrs. Clinton at a dinner attended by President Clinton. Among those at the dinner were state Comptroller H. Carl McCall, the only black elected to statewide office in New York, and his wife Joyce Brown, a former deputy mayor of New York City. Also attending was Bill Lynch, former New York City deputy under David Dinkins and a top black political operative now working for a holding company of billionaire Ronald Perelman.

**** filed by:APW-(NY) on 03/12/99 at 17:13EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/12/99 at 18:32EST ****

Rudy Goes Upstate As He Ponders N.Y. Senate Bid

■ NEW YORK City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani — who is considering a run in 2000 for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. — courted upstate Republicans Tuesday, declaring, "We're going to elect someone from the state of New York to be our next senator."

Giuliani's comment was a shot at First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a

potential Democratic candidate who has never lived in the state.

But Giuliani declined to say whether he would be a Senate candidate. "I'll make a decision in the next few months," he was quoted as saying by the *Associated Press*.

While Giuliani made headlines in the state capital as the keynote speaker at the Albany County Republican Lincoln Day dinner, GOP Gov. George Pataki also attracted attention by not attending.

Giuliani and Pataki have had a rocky relationship since Giuliani crossed party lines in 1994 to endorse then-Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo over Pataki.

A Pataki aide insisted the governor was not trying to snub the mayor. Rather, the aide said, Pataki "had a previous family commitment."

A Familiar Name Is No Guarantee of Victory In Next Year's Senate Races

I've been watching Senate elections for many years, and I don't think I've ever seen so many big names who either are already candidates for open seats or are being mentioned as potential challengers. I'm not merely talking about strong candidates. I'm talking about nationally known names or individuals who are clearly the top political players in their states.



In Virginia, it's former Gov. **George Allen** (R) challenging **Sen. Chuck Robb** (D), while in Missouri, it's Gov. **Mel Carnahan** (D) challenging

Republican **Sen. John Ashcroft**. These aren't just good races — they are simply the premiere contests you could get in each state.

In Missouri, both Ashcroft and Carnahan have repeatedly proved their electoral appeal. Ashcroft served as the state's auditor and attorney general before winning two terms as governor. Carnahan served in the state legislature, as state treasurer and as lieutenant governor before winning his two terms as governor.

These guys know each other. And they aren't exactly friends.

Let me put that another way: Carnahan clearly despises Ashcroft. In fact, I don't think

Despite a high profile nationally, narrow wins over the embattled Florio and little-known McGreevey proved Whitman can turn what should be an easy win into a cliffhanger.

I've ever interviewed a candidate who had more contempt for his opponent than Carnahan expressed when I met with him recently.

Carnahan not only says the Senator hasn't accomplished anything in Washington, he feels Ashcroft treated him poorly when he was the Republican's lieutenant governor. That's bound to make for a slugfest.

In Virginia, Robb, married to the daughter of a former President, was re-elected in 1994 with a measly 46 percent of the vote. He narrowly defeated the controversial **Oliver North** (R) in that race, but now must face Allen, son of the late Washington Redskins football coach of the same name.

Allen, a former Congressman who started the 1993 race for governor far behind in the polls and ended up clobbering the Democratic nominee, Attorney General **Mary Sue Terry**, 58 to 41 percent, proved popular throughout his term.

The names mentioned in New York, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R), are even bigger. I don't know whether or not either or both of them will run, though Giuliani surely sounds like a candidate in all his interviews. Moreover, the mayor is a politician, and politicians run for office. With the governorship not an option, the open Senate seat will probably be too enticing for Giuliani to pass up.

Republican strategists, who figure the mayor can come close to breaking even in New York City and win the Senate race by piling up big margins in the suburbs and normally Republican upstate, ought to consider the case of **Bob Greenlee**.

Greenlee, the mayor of Boulder, Colo., was a moderate Republican and successful busi-

nessman who was supposed to win an open seat against **Mark Udall** (D), whose greatest strengths were his looks and his family name. But Greenlee couldn't peel off as many Democratic voters as he had hoped, even though he was a moderate. And that's something New York Republicans shouldn't forget.

As for Clinton, if she runs, she will find the going much rougher than some political dietitians think it would be. Being a candidate requires different skills and a different temperament than being a first lady, and voters evaluate people in the two roles differently. But New Jersey is, in some ways, the most interesting case. Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman** (R) obviously is the biggest name mentioned in that race, and she looks to have the most inflated reputation of the "800-pound gorillas." Whitman initially made her name in winning 47 percent of the vote against then-Sen. **Bill Bradley** (D) in 1990, and her reputation as a political powerhouse comes from two terms as governor.

But Whitman's showings in her 49 to 48 percent 1993 victory over then-Gov. **Jim Florio** (D) and her 47 to 46 percent 1997 reelection win over little-known state legislator **Jim McGreevey** (D) suggest political vulnerability as much as they do strength. Whitman beat Florio, surely one of the most controversial governors of his day, by just 26,093 votes out of 2.5 million cast, even though Florio's tax hike destroyed his party in the legislature and gave him terrible poll numbers. Four years later, Whitman, who began the election year with a 62 percent job approval rating, looked as if she would cruise to an easy re-election victory over McGreevey (she led

58 to 22 percent in a February media survey). The governor mishandled a couple of key issues — including automobile insurance rates and property taxes — and barely won, this time by 25,426 votes, proving once again that Whitman can turn any easy win into a cliffhanger. And, of course, conservatives are likely to put a third-party candidate up against the governor if she runs, and Rep. **Frank LoBiondo** hasn't ruled out taking Whitman on in the GOP primary. Whether she'd face Rep. **Frank Pallone** (D) or Florio, Whitman couldn't afford to take anything for granted. At the end of the day, none of the current crop of 800-pound gorillas is likely to cruise to victory the way Ohio Republican **George Voinovich** or Indiana Democrat **Evan Bayh** did last year.

CAMPAIGNING

By Stuart Rothenberg

AM-Mrs Clinton Senate,500

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK: Mrs. Clinton may form Senate committee

By RON FOURNIER= AP Political Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton, seemingly ever more likely to run for the Senate in New York, is considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making.

The idea of such a preliminary step has been discussed as a way to avoid any questions of impropriety in the raising and spending of money, a senior adviser said Thursday, speaking on condition of anonymity. The discussions are still preliminary and it is possible that she won't form a committee, even if she does seek the seat held by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the adviser said.

Still, the talks reflect how seriously Mrs. Clinton is considering a campaign.

In several interviews this week, friends and associates said the first lady appears more likely than ever to run for the Senate. One confidant said she was ``very inclined'' to make the race. The associates caution, however, that she does not plan to decide until late summer or early fall.

Under Federal Election Commission rules, potential candidates can raise and spend money to ``test the waters'' and gauge support for a campaign. They do not have to register with the FEC, nor publicly disclose contributions and expenditures.

But they must raise money within federal contribution limits, and they also are limited as to what they can spend their funds on polling, traveling and other actions designed solely to determine whether there is support for a candidacy. If the person formally becomes a candidate, these contributions and expenditures must be disclosed when the first campaign committee reports are filed.

Polling is not yet being done on her behalf, officials say.

In another sign of her mounting interest, Mrs. Clinton will meet at the White House Friday with the top Democrat in the New York Legislature.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver encouraged Mrs. Clinton to run when she called him last month to talk about the Senate race.

His spokeswoman, Patricia Lynch, said Silver would again urge her to enter the race when they meet in Washington.

Former Vice President Dan Quayle has a message for the rest of the GOP presidential field: Catch me if you can.

Though he is lagging in polls that show Texas Gov. George W. Bush as the early favorite, Quayle says voters New Hampshire and Iowa will determine the true front-runner next year. He is steering his energy toward those two early-vote states.

``Then, the rest of them can try to catch me if they can,'' Quayle said at a school in Indianapolis on Thursday.

Quayle is touring Indiana for a series of fund-raisers and private campaign events, but he met with reporters to talk about his education reform agenda.

EDITOR'S NOTE Associated Press writers Shannon McCaffrey and John Kelly contributed to this report.

**** filed by:APE(--) on 03/11/99 at 14:48EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/11/99 at 14:52EST ****

BC-POLITICS-HILLARY -

A Senate race not easy one for first lady -- analysts

By Ellen Wulforth

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Hillary Clinton leads in the polls, supporters promise ample campaign funds and her name recognition reaches off the charts. The marks of of a dream campaign for the U.S. Senate seat from New York? Not exactly, experts say.

Front-runners have the most to lose, those experts say. And so much early momentum -- with the election to fill the seat being left open by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan a whopping 18 months away -- could backfire.

"At this point, as far as I'm concerned, the worst thing in a campaign is being way out in front," said veteran political strategist David Garth in an interview this week.

As undeclared as she may be, Mrs. Clinton has been propelled to front-runner status. Polls have put her as many as 18 points ahead in a hypothetical race against New York City's Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is expected to run.

But her lead has narrowed in recent weeks, dropping as low as a statistical tie with Giuliani in one survey last week.

"A front-runner has no where to go but down, and that's especially true in Hillary's case," said New York magazine's political commentator Michael Tomasky.

"Her best day, potentially, is the day she announces, and it's down hill from there," he said. "When you come down to the atmosphere that real flesh-and-blood candidates breathe, you start to look a little more human and a little more flawed."

Mrs. Clinton's party support is strong, if last week's fundraiser in New York City offers any clue. The guest list was nearly doubled due to demand, hundreds of people were turned away and the event raised a half million dollars.

Even New Yorkers who don't support her want her to run -- gleefully anticipating a rousing contest between two such strong-willed figures as the first lady and the mayor.

But the timing so far could be troublesome, said Garth, who cautioned, "Her problem is opening up too fast."

"Right now, she has the wave of empathy, sympathy, etc. that is a reaction to what her husband did," he said. "The problem is when people start to think about her as the Senator from New York."

For example, he said, look back to her handling of the ill-fated health care reform proposals early in President Clinton's first term. "It was a disaster," he said.

For one losing front-runner scenario, analysts point to Geraldine Ferraro, who ran for the Democratic Senate nomination in New York last year.

She started out in front, only to be roundly defeated in the primary by Charles Schumer, who went on to oust Republican incumbent Sen. Alfonse D'Amato.

Analysts say Ferraro, who made history in 1984 as the first major woman vice presidential candidate, lost in part by riding on her laurels rather than reaching out to New York voters.

"Her only rationale for running was 'I'm Geraldine Ferraro, I'm famous, I didn't get in last time and I deserve it,'" Tomasky said. "Hillary has to learn from that and tell voters why she cares about New York and why she should represent them."

To win, Mrs. Clinton, who has never lived in New York, needs to stave off criticism that she is a carpetbagger, said pollster Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie, New York.

"One misspelling of Schenectady and she's in trouble," said Miringoff, referring to a town in upstate New York.

Neither, of course, is she impervious to the threat of Giuliani, who has strong support for his battles to improve the quality of life and cut the

crime rate in New York City.

Political tactician and former Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch argues that Democrats need to build a base now for a statewide victory, registering voters and forging alliances between party strongholds and weaker locales around the state.

"My problem is New York Democrats just standing on the sidelines saying 'Run, Hillary, Run' rather than doing something," he said.

And so much attention so early could tire out voters long before polling day, analysts added.

"The worst sin in this business is boring people," Garth said.

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/11/99 at 16:35EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/11/99 at 19:14EST ****

Kennedy, D'Amato in bipartisan coalition

"Have you any idea the mischief I can do? I've had you torturing me for years!"

That's the new advice columnist of *George* magazine talking to the editor, John F. Kennedy Jr. It's not Barbara Walters or Monica Lewinsky (though Kennedy said "anything is possible" with Lewinsky), but just-defeated GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, whose monthly effort will be called "Ask Alfonse."

D'Amato had his mom, "Mamma D'Amato," a campaign staple, at his side as Kennedy made the announcement Tuesday in New York. The news conference quickly focused on whether Kennedy will run for mayor or anything else and on the chances of Hillary Rodham Clinton's entering New York's U.S. Senate race in 2000.

"I'm sort of betting she will. I have a large bet with Rich," Kennedy said (that's *George* executive editor Richard Blow). D'Amato warned the first lady yet again that the 2000 run will be "the Super Bowl of all Senate races... one heck of a battle" if she gets in.

Kennedy's new columnist predicted his boss "will choose, in the fullness of time, to pursue public service." Kennedy ducked as always: No, he couldn't see running for mayor, "not today."

He does see many futures: "I can see myself lying on a beach in a hammock, so I can see myself in elective office." TV work? "Possibly."

D'Amato, who lost last fall to Democrat Charles Schumer, would advise the first lady "to decide what do you really want to do with your life." The race should not be about "advancing your name for history," but to aid the state and nation.

D'Amato goes on AOL tonight to solicit questions (e-mail address: Senald@aol.com) for what's billed as the world's first political advice column, to begin in May.



Jeannie Williams

News & Views

This column appears Tuesday through Friday.

In other Kennedy news, John and sister Caroline have given Jackie Robinson's widow, Rachel, \$110,000 for the Robinson Scholarship Foundation.

VIPS: Tom Hanks, 42, still is hospitalized with a blistered right knee that became infected on his return to L.A. from shooting *Cast Away* in Fiji, where watery scenes did it no good. But he's on the mend, his jovial

self, and should be released "any day now," spokeswoman Leslee Dart said Tuesday, and back on his feet next week, ready for the Oscars (he missed the nominees lunch, Screen Actors Guild Awards and ShoWest in Las Vegas)... Woody Allen and wife Soon-Yi turned up at the weekend opening of *Lizzie Borden* at New York City Opera. Writer Peter Maas said he also relished "the soprano with an ax," while Kurt Vonnegut tried to figure out how Lizzie got acquitted (one theory is that the male jury didn't want to hang a woman)... Former Clinton staffer/confidant George Stephanopoulos gets two parties for his new book, *All Too Human*. Tonight's, at Veruka in New York, co-hosted by ABC News chief David Westin, draws media/literary bigs from *Time's* Walter Isaacson to *60 Minutes'* Don Hewitt and Steve Kroft, plus Al Franken. On March 22, Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts will be hosts at the Four Seasons in Washington. No Clintons. Stephanopoulos writes he's now "the enemy" to them.

WHO'S AFRAID OF HILLARY CLINTON?

Republicans in Albany have introduced legislation to create a five-year residency requirement for anyone who wishes to run for Congress from New York. The bill's intent: To preclude Illinois-bred and Arkansas-wed Hillary Rodham Clinton from running for the United States Senate from a mail-drop apartment in the Big Apple.

Now, we understand that it's been a long winter in Albany (actually, every Albany winter is long), but the bill begs a question of the lawmakers:

Have you folks lost your minds?

The bill (let's call it Hillary's Law) makes the Republican Party look cowardly, intellectually bankrupt and ridiculous - in no particular order.

*Cowardly, because it signals an unwillingness to do combat with a (fleeting?) popular Democratic icon who probably pronounces Houston "Hew-ston" and whodoubtless couldn't get from The Bronx (up) to the Battery (down) on a subway if her life depended on it - as would become glaringly apparent during a campaign;

*Intellectually bankrupt, because if the GOP can't develop issues strong enough to beat Health-Care Hillary Clinton on the merits, it doesn't deserve the seat in the first place; and,

*Ridiculous, because - well, just because. Does the party seriously think that Rudy Giuliani, or anybody strong enough to take the party's nomination away from him, needs this kind of help?

Online
Sports in Town.
NYPST.COM

Please.

The GOP got the tar kicked out of it last November - Gov. Pataki excluded - because the Democrats fielded better candidates and moved sharply to the center on the issues.

That lesson appears not to have sunk in yet. Residency laws, indeed.

[Story Index](#) | [Other Newscorp Sites](#) | [Contact Us](#) | [How to Advertise](#)
[Home Delivery](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [E-Mail Directory](#)

New York Post®, nypostonline.com™, nypost.com™ and Newyorkpost.com™ are registered trademarks of NYP Holdings, Inc. Copyright 1999 NYP Holdings, Inc. All rights reserved.

Eleanor Roosevelt, too, was lobbied for N.Y. Senate seat

Former, current first ladies' advisers cut from same cloth

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — New York Democrats were lobbying the first lady to run for the Senate, and the presidential adviser leading the campaign was Harold Ickes.

But the first lady involved wasn't Hillary Rodham Clinton. And the Ickes she consulted wasn't the former White House deputy chief of staff who has become the point person as Clinton considers the New York race in 2000.

File this under History Repeats Itself: In 1945, as Eleanor Roosevelt weighed what to do in her post-White House years, Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes took the lead in urging her to run for an open Senate seat in her native New York.

Now Ickes' son has become the political clearinghouse for Clinton as she considers a race for the same seat. It has been held in the interim by senators including Robert F. Kennedy and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who retires next year.

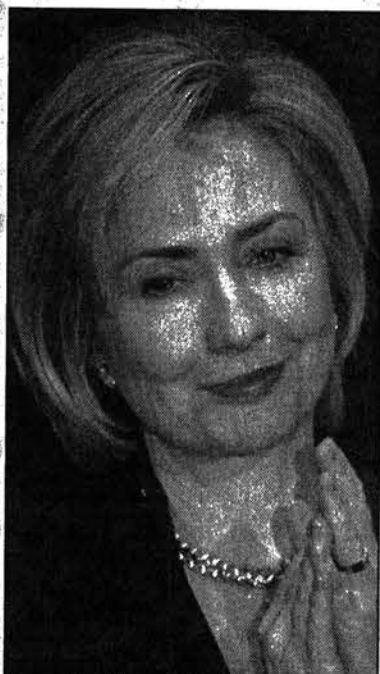
Harold M. Ickes, a longtime Democratic activist in New York, says he wasn't aware of his father's role in the prospective Senate campaign more than a half-century ago. He also notes that his role is that of a broker and resource for Clinton, not an advocate for her entering the race.

"I wonder whether Mrs. Clinton, since she has a great admiration for Mrs. Roosevelt and what she accomplished and her wisdom, maybe will follow her lead," he says.

Hillary Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, says she doesn't think the first lady is aware of the Roosevelt situation.

The involvement of Ickes the elder, one of FDR's closest confidants, is explored by historian Alilda Black in her book *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism*.

Soon after President Franklin Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, Ickes and his wife, Jane, went to the Roosevelts' estate in Hyde Park, N.Y., to urge Eleanor Roosevelt to run for the Senate. The Ickes' son was 5 years old at the time.



By Khue Bui, AP

Clinton: Considering run for N.Y. Senate seat after husband's term expires



AP file photo

Roosevelt: Decided she'd be most useful continuing her other work

"You would be unbeatable and you would help greatly to defeat Gov. Dewey," the elder Ickes wrote her in a follow-up letter dated May 21. He and other Democrats wanted to hold the Senate seat and weaken Thomas Dewey, who would be the Republican presidential candidate in 1948.

Within days, however, Eleanor Roosevelt decided against the race.

She still was considering her options, she wrote Ickes in a letter dated May 26. But running for office "is not the way in which I can be most useful," she wrote. She said she feared eclipsing her sons' political ambitions.

Her goal, she said, "is to help the liberals in the country, and if I can write interesting columns and do an article now and then, my voice would not be silent."

In December, Truman appointed Roosevelt one of three U.S. delegates to the newly formed United Nations, where she served for more than seven years.

There are remarkable parallels between the two women.

Like Roosevelt, Clinton has written a syndicated newspaper column as first lady. And Roosevelt considered such post-White House options as heading a woman's college or leading a liberal advocacy group — simi-

lar to the possibilities being suggested for Clinton.

Black says the similarities when it comes to the Senate race are striking but not exact.

"New York, obviously, was Eleanor's home state, and before she went to the White House she was very active in the Democratic party structure there," she notes.

Clinton grew up in Illinois, and was educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut. She lived as an adult in Arkansas.

If she ran for the Senate, she would be establishing residency in New York for the first time.

What's more, Roosevelt was seen as a sure winner if she chose to enter the campaign. Political analysts say that Clinton could face a tough contest against New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate.

New York Democrats who are concerned that their party might lose the Senate seat if the first lady decides against running will find cold comfort in the historical precedent.

Without Eleanor Roosevelt as their candidate, Democrats lost the race in 1946, when Republican candidate Irving MacNeill Ives easily defeated Democrat Herbert Lehman. Ives would hold the seat for two terms.

The Washington Times

★ TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1999

Heavy carpetbag

"If Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the U.S. Senate from New

York, the carpetbag she'd be totting around next year could be a lot heavier than many now believe," writes USA Today political columnist Richard Benedetto.

"New Yorkers don't mind carpetbaggers, political pundits say. After all, they elected Robert Kennedy of Massachusetts to the Senate in 1964 and James Buckley of Connecticut in 1970, didn't they?

"Yes. But both had stronger ties to New York than Hillary Clinton has. Kennedy lived in New York City from a few months after his birth in 1926 until 1942. Buckley lived in Connecticut but was a corporate lawyer in New York City for 14 years before running for the Senate.

"But each still had to fight the carpetbagger label, Kennedy more than Buckley because his association with New York was less recent," Mr. Benedetto noted.

The columnist added: "Hillary Clinton also will likely be accused of having presidential ambitions if she runs in New York. But unlike Kennedy, she can make no

tenuous claims to the state. She was born and raised in Illinois, went to school in Massachusetts and Connecticut and has spent the majority of her adult life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C."

Are We Ready to Elect First Woman President?

Politics • Elizabeth Dole is gearing up. But many analysts say that a female vice president would have to clear the way.

By MARTIN MILLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The next U.S. presidential election could someday be remembered as a stunning reversal of fortune and roles for the Dole family.

In 1996, former U.S. Sen. Bob Dole was almost president and his wife, Elizabeth Dole, almost first lady. Four short years later, however, Elizabeth could conceivably become the first woman president, while her husband could become the first "first gentleman."

With the election about 20 months away, Elizabeth Dole, a former Cabinet officer and retired head of the Red Cross, joins the head of a pack of hopefuls bidding for the Republican nomination, according to a recent Los Angeles Times Poll. Dole commanded 25% support and was eclipsed in the poll only by Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the son of the former president.

Neither candidate has officially declared his or her candidacy yet, but both are positioning themselves to do so. Bush took the necessary first step Sunday of forming an exploratory committee to seek the presidency, and Dole is expected to do the same Wednesday.

Dole's surprisingly strong numbers raise, once again, a long-standing question of American politics: Will the world's most powerful democracy elect a woman president any time soon?

A definitive answer may finally be coming. If not Dole in 2000, then another woman will become head of state, probably within a generation, many political analysts contend.

"It's inevitable that a woman will be president," said Ruth Mandel, a professor at Rutgers University who is recognized as a leading expert on women in politics. "The breakthrough will be historic."

Though noting women are still underrepresented in politics, analysts point to the electorate's growing acceptance of women as leaders. With 56, there are more women in Congress than at any other time, and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton may join the august group if she decides to run for the Senate seat from New York. And recent years have also seen the first women rise to U.S. attorney general and secretary of state posts.

"It's a case of the extraordinary becoming the ordinary overnight," adds Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics in New Jersey. "It wasn't so long ago that people thought it inconceivable that a woman be on the Supreme Court. Then, that happened. Then, they said the same thing about secretary of state, and then that happened."

Nowhere was the rise in women leadership displayed more dramatically than at a January swearing-in ceremony in Arizona. The

governor, secretary of state, attorney general, treasurer and schools chief were all women, which made Arizona the first state with an all-female line of succession.

But winning a state is one thing, winning the White House is another, analysts point out. Geraldine Ferraro is the closest any woman has come to being elected to the presidency—and that wasn't very close. In 1984, the Democratic ticket of Mondale-Ferraro lost convincingly to the Republican ticket of Reagan-Bush.

After a 16-year absence, a woman may yet again appear on the Democratic ticket as a vice presidential candidate, analysts predict. Democratic strategists think the public will warmly receive a woman vice president, especially if Dole chooses not to run.

Bill Would Bar Hillary From Running In The Empire State

■ REPUBLICANS IN THE New York Legislature have introduced a bill that could block Hillary Rodham Clinton from running for Senate in New York next year — but its chief sponsor conceded Monday it had virtually no chance of becoming law, thanks to the state's Democratic-controlled Assembly.

Nonetheless, the measure has provided Republicans with an opportunity to vent their frustration over the possibility the first lady might run for, and even win, the seat being vacated next year by Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, the *Associated Press* reported.

"I thought carpetbagging went out in the 1860s," declared Assemblywoman Nancy Calhoun — apparently forgetting that twice in the past half-century, New Yorkers have elected such "carpetbaggers" to the seat now held by Moynihan.

The late Democrat **Robert Kennedy**, who hailed from Massachusetts, won the seat in 1964 — and the Conservative Party's **James Buckley**, a lifelong Connecticut resident, triumphed in 1970.

State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope, a big booster of the first lady's possible candidacy, said she welcomed the GOP legislation. "They just don't get it. The Republicans in Albany are just like the Republicans in Washington, D.C.," Hope declared.

She continued: "They think people elected them to get the Clintons. If they keep it up, they're going to guarantee, No. 1, that she runs and, No. 2, that she'll win."

GOP introduces anti-Hill bill to nix Senate bid

ALBANY — Call it "Hillary's Law."

Republican lawmakers have quietly introduced a bill aimed at barring First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton from running for the Senate in New York.

The legislation would require a candidate to have lived in New York for at least five years to be elected to the U.S. Senate or House. New York currently has no residency requirement.

"I thought carpet-bagging went out in the 1860s," said Assemblywoman Nancy Calhoun (R-Orange County), a sponsor of the measure.

"We have lots of talent in both parties within this state, and certainly our next senator should come from New York."

But state Democratic boss Judith Hope said the bill shows that state Republicans are bent on persecuting the Clintons much the same way she charged Washington, D.C., Republicans did — at their own peril.

"I love it!" Hope said of the bill.

"Here the Republicans are talking about how to stop Hill-

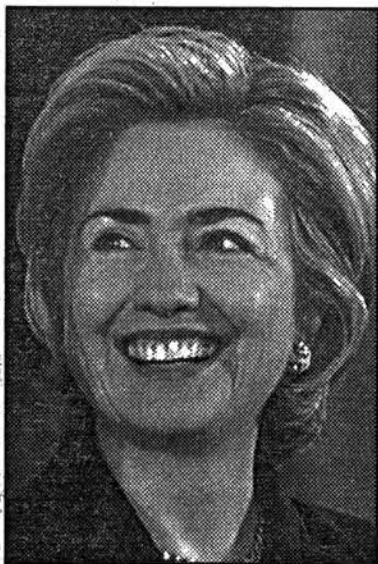
By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

ary Clinton from going to work for the people of New York. It's beautiful . . . I hope they keep it up. They think people elected them to get the Clintons.

"If they keep it up, they're going to guarantee, No. 1, that she runs, and, No. 2, that she'll win," she said.

Mrs. Clinton — who has never lived in New York — has said she is giving serious consideration to running for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

On the GOP side, Mayor Giuliani has emerged as the likely



HILLARY CLINTON
Has never lived here.

candidate, but he has not announced his decision yet.

Republicans backing the residency bill said they recognize it stands no chance of winning passage in the Democratic-controlled Assembly. Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) is strongly encouraging the First Lady to run for the Senate next year.

Under state law, candidates for the state Legislature and for governor must have lived in the state for five years before their election.

But there are no such restrictions for congressional candidates. The candidate must simply be a resident of the state on Election Day to qualify for the office.

billy, john, norm: jack anderson is reporting this today:

bc-MGRwed

Anderson column

GNS transmits this column only for those Gannett-owned papers that have contracted with the appropriate syndicate for its use.

For advance March 10, 1999

By JACK ANDERSON

And JAN MOLLER

United Features

NEW YORK CITY -- Hillary Rodham Clinton will not run for the Senate next year from this state, according to White House sources. The prospect has been a wonderful distraction and ego uplift for the first lady, but it is not going to happen, these knowledgeable sources told our associate Dale Van Atta.

They emphasize that Mrs. Clinton has not made a final decision yet, but she is leaning in the direction of passing up the Senate race as of last week -- even as she was visiting this city in what appeared to be a candidate's outing.

We were the first to report the strong possibility that she would run for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Our column on this subject ran last Nov. 27.

Despite being first on the subject, we now conclude that she will not run, based on information from our White House sources, and our own knowledge of the first lady's persona. There are three key reasons for what we predict will be her final decision to take a pass.

The first, and most important, is that she would find the campaign extremely distasteful and repugnant, because of the "unseemly" charges likely to arise during a New York campaign.

Mrs. Clinton is a fighter, and would be prepared to fend off questions about older Arkansas-based scandals like Whitewater and her lucrative commodities trades.

But what she fears most is that the most personally painful material about her husband's sexual indiscretions would be raised again and again in such a campaign.

"The role she hates most is that of the blind-and-loyal wife," explained a White House source close to Mrs. Clinton. "She doesn't want to be cast in that role again, especially in a New York Senate race."

The same source says Hillary wasn't nearly as upset by the Monica Lewinsky hoopla as she was by the rape allegation recently floated against her husband. The source refused to speculate on whether she was surprised about the report, or believes her husband is innocent.

"She was just very upset that this thing would be publicized, just when she thought all this mess was pretty much over," the source said. "Now she can't be sure there aren't more land mines like this out there, that would come out if she ran in a Senate race -- to embarrass her."

The second reason, confidantes say, is that it's not a certainty that she could beat this city's popular mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Once the "shine" and novelty of her possible run wore off, early polls began shifting back to Giuliani in what appeared to be a dead heat. The Republican Giuliani wouldn't sling dirt against the first lady, but he would play the "carpetbagger" issue to the hilt. He would charge that she was less interested in helping the citizens of New York than in gaining a political position to push her more national and international views.

One source in the mayor's office says Giuliani might put Hillary in a bind by pushing issues that would be beneficial to New York, but might not be good national policy. The goal would be to divide the Clintons by forcing Hillary to adopt a position contrary to her husband's.

Such political ploys aside, Giuliani is a strong issues candidate because of his record turnaround of crime and the economy of America's largest city.

Finally, many sources believe Hillary will forsake a race because the job of New York senator is too small and domestic for her overall vision.

Mrs. Clinton has great strength on the world stage -- on issues like women's rights. If Vice President Al Gore won the presidency, she might like to go the Madeleine Albright route -- acting first as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. If Gore were amenable, though, she might just like to skip straight to Secretary of State.

Confirmation for either position would be a cakewalk compared to a New York Senate race.

If Gore didn't win, or wasn't amenable, there are other world-class positions for the then-former first lady. She could take a post as the head of one of the United Nation's many organizations. Or, more likely, as we've mentioned before, she might head the World Bank or a similar organization that dispenses aid and money to developing nations.

The White House sources who say she is leaning against running in New York report that she will make this announcement in the near future. The positive publicity that the potential race gave to her and her husband has been well spent but was already pushed off the front pages late last week by Lewinsky and other stories, so its high-profile appeal has worn off with the media.

And the longer she waits, the more unfair it is for a fellow Democrat to run in this state -- which would obligate a late-declining Mrs. Clinton to raise serious funds and do serious campaigning for any other candidate whose fund-raising and campaigning she had delayed.

Write Jack Anderson and Jan Moller, United Features, 200 Park Ave., New York, NY 10166

Hillary Rodham Carpetbag? It's up to you, New York

If Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the U.S. Senate from New York, the carpetbag she'd be toting around next year could be a lot heavier than many now believe.

New Yorkers don't mind carpetbaggers, political pundits say. After all, they elected Robert Kennedy of Massachusetts to the Senate in 1964 and James Buckley of Connecticut in 1970, didn't they?

Yes. But both had stronger ties to New York than Hillary Clinton has. Kennedy lived in New York City from a few months after his birth in 1926 until 1942. Buckley lived in Connecticut but was a corporate lawyer in New York City for 14 years before run-

ning for the Senate.

But each still had to fight the carpetbagger label, Kennedy more than Buckley because his association with New York was less recent.

The New York Times, a newspaper inclined to back Democrats, endorsed Kennedy's Republican opponent, incumbent Kenneth Keating. In a series of editorials, the *Times* denounced "the Kennedy Blitzkrieg" on New York and charged that he was using the state as a steppingstone to the presi-

dency. Kennedy did indeed run for president four years later, only to be assassinated minutes after winning the California Democratic primary.

Hillary Clinton also will likely be accused of having presidential ambitions if she runs in New York. But unlike Kennedy, she can make no tenuous claims to the state. She was born and raised in Illinois, went to school in Massachusetts and Connecticut and has spent the majority of her adult life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C.

New York Republican Gov. George Pataki has made clear that the GOP will make her lack of New York roots an issue if she makes a run next year for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"She's thinking about moving to New York to straighten things out. Well, let me say with all due respect, we don't need liberal Democrats moving from Washington to the states to straighten out the states. I think we can find a New Yorker who

can do the job for us," he said.

Up to now, most of Hillary Clinton's visits to New York have likely been to attend Democratic political events such as the one last week at which she flirtatiously toyed with her admiring audience about her chances of running.

"There was talk I might have an announcement to make," the first lady told the Democratic National Committee's Women's Leadership Forum. "I do not."

Groans of disappointment all around.

But there were groans of anger among many New York Democrats in August 1964 when Robert Kennedy decided to enter the Senate race there. Charges of opportunism flared because Kennedy made the decision only after Lyndon Johnson rejected him as his vice presidential

candidate. Democrats who were considering running that year, only to be shoved aside by Kennedy, became embittered. One was Adlai Stevenson, ambassador to the United Nations in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

"The avarice of the K's makes me sick," he wrote a friend angrily after Kennedy entered the race.

Johnson wrote in his memoir *The Vantage Point* that he felt obliged to support Kennedy's run, mostly out of loyalty to his slain brother. But it came at a price.

"I had to disappoint a friend — Adlai Stevenson, who at that point had decided to seek the New York senatorial nomination himself. He abandoned the idea when I told him that I felt I must support Bobby. Stevenson was hurt, and my inability to encourage him constituted one of

my deepest regrets about the New York campaign," Johnson wrote.

In the end, Kennedy won the election. But not without a tough fight and a strong ride on Johnson's coattails. Johnson, running for president that year, carried New York by 2.7 million votes. Kennedy won by 720,000 votes.

If Hillary Clinton runs in New York, her race won't be a breeze either. She could face New York City's popular mayor, Rudy Giuliani. Latest polls already show that hypothetical race nearly tied. In a close contest, and burdened by a carpetbag, could she count on Al Gore's coattails to help pull her to victory?

Richard Benedetto's column appears Mondays. Past columns on USA TODAY Online at www.usatoday.com



Politics
By Richard Benedetto

First lady gauges support on possible foe's home turf

BY SUSAN ROTH
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

NEW YORK — At Intermediate

School 70 in downtown Manhattan, audience members were getting restless Thursday, but they were much more patient than young teen-agers usually are.

The 600 students of all shapes, sizes and ethnicities who jammed into rows of folding chairs and bleachers in a concrete-walled gymnasium had been waiting more than an hour to see Hillary

Rodham Clinton, first lady and potential Senate candidate from their state.

All wore blue T-shirts advertising a television program they had never heard of. In another room at the school, 600 more waited to watch Hillary Clinton's appearance on a television monitor.

The first lady was to help hawk a new HBO Sports documentary called *Dare to Compete: The Struggle of Women in Sports*. On hand to

See **FIRST LADY**, Page 11A

First lady

• Continued from Page 1A

do the same were tennis great Billie Jean King, who initiated the film, professional basketball player Nikki McCray and Olympic gymnast Dominique Dawes.

The three athletes arrived on time and conducted media interviews along the sidelines while they waited an hour and a half for Hillary Clinton. But their appearances didn't matter much to the kids.

When an announcer finally said, "Please welcome the first lady of the United States," the teens stood and screamed as though a rock star were walking through the door. When student and basketball player Sofia Totti introduced her as "hopefully, a runner," the crowd went wild again.

Hillary Clinton coyly sidestepped the issue of her political future in her remarks, in which she managed to tie together pitches for women's sports and President Clinton's proposal to hire more teachers.

But the sophisticated teen-agers of New York City knew what was up. They knew Hillary Clinton was seriously considering a run for the Senate from their state. They knew this was just the last campaign stop for her two-day, support-gauging swing through the city.

They won't be able to vote in the 2000 election, but they love Hillary Clinton, and it's likely that many of their parents do, too.

If New York state held an election today for the Senate seat held for four terms by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Hillary Clinton would win the sympathy vote for stoically standing by her man in the worst of times.

In New York City, she would take the liberal Democrats' vote, the women's vote and the votes of ethnic minorities. Middle-class folks look up to her, and the rich and the intelligentsia like her style, her professionalism and her dignity.

But New York City is not New York state, with its vast rural areas, smaller cities and moderate-to-conservative Republican strongholds. Recent polls put Hillary Clinton in a dead heat with her potential Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, even with her high name recognition and celebrity status.

The election is 20 months away and politicians and regular folks alike sought to warn her last week about the potentially bruising battle ahead.

While fellow Democrats have respectfully backed away from candidacies, waiting for the first lady to decide, Hillary Clinton would face a formidable task beating Giuliani, who has said he will run if she does.

The mayor, who went to Washington to court fellow Republicans while the first lady visited his town last week, has a reputation for toughness that has angered many New Yorkers. Still, many herald his accomplishments in lowering the city's crime rate and improving its image, which has brought a new wave of economic development and tourism.

Terry O'Brien, a spokesman for the New York Republican State Committee, said the hints of a Hillary Clinton candidacy have energized the state's conservative Republicans.

"She has never held elective office, but she does have a record. And it's not a good one," O'Brien said, citing the first lady as "the architect of that disastrous health-care plan" in 1993.

New York's voracious media, which screamed last week about Monica Lewinsky's television interview and new book, would raise questions over Whitewater — questions Hillary Clinton has avoided, O'Brien said. "We wouldn't even have to bring it up."

"Campaigns are not tea time here," O'Brien said. "They tend to be bare-knuckle affairs, particularly with the media scrutiny. She has been very insulated from that."

Hillary Clinton has never lived or worked in New York — constitutionally, she has to establish residency only as of Election Day — and O'Brien said the GOP won't have to work very hard to exploit her outsider status.

"It would be like a liberal New York City person coming to Arkansas and trying to tell people what their problems are," he said.

But her audiences last week included only her obvious supporters.

Besides the school event in Manhattan on Thursday, the first lady spoke at a Queens intermediate school about the importance of arts in education. She addressed a sold-out crowd of more than 1,000

female Democratic donors at a luncheon sponsored by the Women's Leadership Forum, a branch of the Democratic National Committee, raising \$500,000. And she spoke of women's rights and human rights to an audience of 500 celebrating International Women's Day at the United Nations.

Hillary Clinton seemed most at home, though fatigued, at the United Nations, where there was not even an oblique mention of her political potential. Speaking after U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Hillary Clinton passionately argued that "it is no longer acceptable to say the abuse of women is cultural. It should be called what it is — criminal."

She was least comfortable, by contrast, at Wednesday's overtly political luncheon at the Plaza Hotel, where state Democratic Chairman Judith Hope urged her to run. Hillary Clinton seemed to be seeking a justification for her candidacy when she spoke, addressing the importance of women's political involvement. Afterward the audience talked enthusiastically about a Senate run and ultimate victory.

For several of the politicians in attendance, however, it was an opportunity to warn her.

"She is not a shoo-in. It would be a very competitive race," said Mark Green, a Democrat who is second in line to the mayor's job, which he desperately wants. Green is the city's public advocate — an ombudsman for residents' complaints — and would automatically become mayor if Giuliani were to step aside to run for Senate.

Green said he believes Hillary Clinton can overcome the "outsider" label.

"It depends on how she runs," he said. "She has a public modesty and true curiosity about people and the state that could answer cynics. She has fame without arrogance, which is disarming to New Yorkers."

Peter Vallone, the Democratic president of the City Council who lost the gubernatorial race last year to incumbent Republican George Pataki, said Hillary Clinton has already withstood a storm of damaging publicity in the last year but she has to worry about fund raising and her outsider image.

"New York politics result in tremendous personal strain," Vallone said, echoing the GOP. "You can't get away with double talk here. ... She could win. She is a very gutsy woman. But in this business, you can never think you have anything sewn up."

Vallone said he believed Hillary Clinton "came about as close as she could possibly come to announcing without announcing" in her luncheon address. "I think she set the table," he said.

"She'll get it," predicted Hector Centeno, a trucker from Queens

who was hauling pallets and watching the crowd gathered outside the Plaza.

"There's nobody like Rudy Giuliani," Centeno said. "They won't vote for him again. They know him now, and they don't like him. When you want to win something, you're sweet. But when you get it, your true personality comes out."

Leo Hartnett of Manhattan, who was working the counter at 18th Street News, which sells magazines and newspapers from all over the world, agreed. He likes Hillary Clinton, and he liked her health-care plan. He thinks Giuliani has polarized the city along racial and ethnic lines. "We're all separated now. It's terrible."

"I think she could win now. She could beat Giuliani," he said.

"But that's not this year, right? That's next year. That's a long time from now. A lot could happen between now and then."

First Lady Speaks on Women's Issues at U.N.

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

On the second day of her visit as a potential candidate for a New York Senate seat, Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke out yesterday at the United Nations against "the egregious and systematic trampling" of women's rights under the Taliban in Afghanistan, and called the trafficking in women and children in Asia an international human rights violation.

Mrs. Clinton, who has made the human rights of women a focus of her work as First Lady, has spoken out repeatedly on both issues, and her remarks were consistent with Clinton Administration policy. But they come as she is under increased scrutiny as a potential Senate candidate, and underscore her strong stand on women's issues.

In a 30-minute speech to 1,000 United Nations staff and delegates on the United Nations Trusteeship Council, Mrs. Clinton said she had spoken with young girls in Thailand whose parents had sold them as prostitutes.

"You could often tell the home of where girls had been sold because they might even have a satellite dish, or an addition built onto the house," Mrs. Clinton said. "But I met the girls who had come home after they had been used up, after they had contracted H.I.V. and AIDS. If you've

ever held the hand of a 13-year-old girl dying of AIDS, you can understand how critical it is that we take every step possible to prevent this happening to any other girl, anywhere, in the world."

Mrs. Clinton also cited the "iron rule" of the Taliban, an armed religious movement in Afghanistan that has kept women from working or going to school. Echoing remarks often made by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Mrs. Clinton said: "It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural. It should be called what it is — criminal."

In the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton spoke about women's sports at the Lab School at the O. Henry Learning Center in Chelsea, where a student basketball player, Sofia Totti, introduced Mrs. Clinton as "hopefully, a runner."

Mrs. Clinton grinned — the only sign she gave yesterday to New York Democrats who are in a frenzy hoping that she will run next year for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. All day, Mrs. Clinton avoided the crowd of reporters trailing her. Three times at the United Nations, Mrs. Clinton walked silently by reporters, who were shouting questions about the Senate race from behind a barricade.

Marsha Berry, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, said the First Lady "doesn't have anything to add right now" to her earlier comments about the race. Last month, Mrs. Clinton said she was giving "careful thought" to a Senate run and that she would make a decision "later this year." Her advisers have not given a more specific timetable, although the view of New York Democrats is that the longer Mrs. Clinton waits to announce a decision — perhaps as late as the fall — the more likely she is to run. Many Democrats want her to make up her mind more quickly so that she does not hamper other candidates from raising money.

Mrs. Clinton appeared at the Lab School to promote an HBO film on women's sports with Billie Jean King, the former tennis champion; Nikki McCray, the women's basketball star, and Dominique Dawes, an Olympic gold-medal winning gymnast. In her remarks to teachers and junior high school students, Mrs. Clinton said she wanted Congress to make lowering classroom size its "top priority." She also recalled playing "half-court" basketball in high school, when girls had to stay on one side of the court. Mrs. Clinton said the girls asked why they could not play like the boys and were told, "We're sorry, but we just don't think



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton at a school in Manhattan yesterday.

girls' hearts can take that much exertion."

Mrs. Clinton seemed to have a lot of support among the students, a number of whom volunteered to reporters that they had seen the "20/20" interview with Monica S. Lewinsky the night before. "Hillary is very strong," said Christopher Williams, 13, an eighth grader. "If she can live through that and get along, she's like Superwoman. That's a lot of stress."

JUDY MANN

The Time's Not Ripe for a 'Sen. Clinton'

Leave it to the Clintons to keep the national pot boiling. We'd barely come out of the theater of the absurd after watching the impeachment trial bomb, and there to greet us in the bleak light of a February afternoon was the prospect of Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the U.S. Senate from New York.

As first lady, Clinton has been one of the state's most frequent and visible visitors. But, like Robert F. Kennedy did decades ago, she's got her eye on that Senate seat before having a legal residence in the state. Another negative being raised by New Yorkers is that she is relatively unfamiliar with the state.

Those are not particularly compelling reasons for her to pass on the opportunity. Residency is as easy as buying a condo, and Hillary Clinton is one of the quickest studies I've ever seen. In her travels around the world, she knocks people out with her knowledge of various regions. She is a legitimate expert on issues that transcend New York: health care, child welfare and development, to name a few. She would be a compelling and forceful advocate for the interests of women, young people and families, and for job development and worker retraining—two of upstate New York's most critical needs.

In her, we'd see the difference between lip service to family values and genuine service to families.

The "but clause" comes now.

The nation needs a break. The Clintons have done more than their share of nontraditional things, and we don't really need one more stormy round of political and emotional divisiveness swirling around Hillary Clinton as she runs for the Senate while still first lady. It's a lousy idea, fraught with potential conflicts of interest, ranging from who is paying for her transportation and Secret Service costs while she's campaigning to what she's doing in New York when she ought to be in the White House. Hillary Clinton's popularity is at its peak right now because she stood by her man and kept her family together in a time of grave peril. But you can bet the mortgage that a Hillary Clinton run for the Senate while she is in the White House would provoke a firestorm from the right wing, which is flapping around for an issue like a beached whale dying for lack of water.

We don't need it, and she doesn't need it. Besides, what's the rush? As Geraldine Ferraro pointed out in last week's *Time*, Sen. Peter Fitzgerald (R) will be up for reelection in 2004 from Illinois, Hillary Clinton's home state. Sen. Tim Hutchinson (R-Ark.) will be up in 2002, and he is the brother of Rep. Asa Hutchinson (R-Ark.), one of the House impeachment managers.

Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), who is considering a Senate run, has told Clinton that she will step aside if the first lady chooses to run. In turn, Lowey said, Clinton has said she will make up her mind in a timely fashion so that Lowey won't be left hanging. She and Clinton are close,

and they met last week.

"It's a major change in her life," Lowey said in an interview. "The impeachment process has just been over. It's draining. She has to sort out many aspects of her life. I respect her decision-making process."

Lowey secured a national reputation last fall when she went to the mat in the midnight hours of the budget fight to force health insurers of federal employees to cover the full range of contraceptives. The measure will have huge impact, since private health insurers generally follow the lead of federal insurers. A six-term representative, Lowey serves on the Appropriations Committee, where she has championed increased funding for breast cancer research (from \$88 million in 1989 to more than \$500 million this year). She also has backed biomedical research, helped save the Public Broadcasting System and turned federal support for after-school programs from a \$1 million drop in the bucket three years ago to a \$200 million commitment this year. It's an understatement when she describes herself as an "effective, aggressive legislator."

"I look at Hillary as being in a special category," Lowey said. "If I stay in the House, I will continue to gain seniority and make a difference in the lives of people. . . . Serving in the Senate is an expanded opportunity to do good things. . . . But if Hillary makes that decision, she would be an extraordinary senator, and she would win. And then Nita Lowey would continue to be effective in the House, and you would have both of us serving the people of New York."

In the meantime, Lowey is raising money and meeting people across the state so that she will be in a position to run if she decides to. She won 80 percent of the vote in her last campaign.

"I'm well positioned to raise the money, but I frankly think it's really obscene that \$15 million has to be spent on a Senate race," she said. She has a clear and forward-looking agenda: money for school construction and renovation, deductability of college tuition, lifetime training and retraining of workers, health care reforms, preserving Social Security and Medicare, and getting guns off the street. Lowey is chair of the abortion-rights task force in the House.

"I know how to work in a bipartisan legislature," she said. "You have to know when to hold your ground and be tough to accomplish your goals."

New York would be well served by having Nita Lowey in the Senate, and so would the country. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton could write her memoirs, help shore up the family's dodgy finances and give herself a well-deserved breather from the purgatory of modern politics. Then, in a couple of years, we might see a Sen. Clinton from Arkansas or Illinois taking her seat with Sen. Lowey.

Clinton is at a critical juncture in constructing her life. The hope here is that she decides wisely and doesn't get seduced by the media hype.



U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan greets first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who spoke on women's rights at the United Nations yesterday.

Hillary leaves N.Y., leaves them guessing

Pol's, pundits seek clues on Senate bid

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — Some are calling it the Big Tease, others the prelude to a run for national office.

In any case, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton left this city yesterday after a two-day visit that produced more fevered speculation — but no hard evidence of what political plans she may harbor.

In a speech at a U.N. commemoration of International Women's Day yesterday, Mrs. Clinton hammered away at the theme she has repeated at virtually all of her appearances here: women's rights. But she offered no hints that she would seek the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year, and would not answer questions shouted at her by the media horde that turned out at her every stop.

Mrs. Clinton told the U.N. audience that it is "no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural. It should be called what it is — criminal." Later, she joined former tennis star Billie Jean King in a visit to a Manhattan school to screen a movie on women in sports.

High school basketball player Sofia Totti elicited a grin and a handshake from Mrs. Clinton at the event when she introduced the first lady as an athlete, too — "hopefully, a runner."

Mrs. Clinton's second day of public appearances and private huddles with party supporters was anticlimactic, since she made it clear at a luncheon Wednesday that she had nothing to say on her possible political future.

Should she decide to run, Mrs. Clinton may well face New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani who, although reserving his decision to run, has said repeatedly that he would welcome a chance to go head-to-head with the Illinois-born first lady.

In the wake of her trip, Democratic and Republican party officials and advocates were reading the political tea leaves to fathom Mrs. Clinton's remarks.

"It seems to be she was setting

the table to run," said Democratic City Council President Peter Valone. "I don't know how much closer she can come."

At least one poll indicates that Mrs. Clinton's lead over the Republican mayor is shrinking. Former Democratic Rep. Geraldine Ferraro said that since both are known nationally, a Clinton-Giuliani match would be a test of voter support, not name recognition.

"I think she should base her views on what she believes is in her best interests, and not what the politicians are urging or the polls telling her," Mrs. Ferraro said.

Arguing the merits of Mrs. Clinton versus Mr. Giuliani in the Senate, former Democratic Mayor Edward I. Koch, a fierce critic of the mayor, weighed in on the speculation. "I think [the U.S. Senate] respects her and she'd get a great response from Democrats and Republicans. Whereas with Giuliani, they'd be waiting for him to attack them."

Amid the adulation heaped on the first lady by Democratic loyalists, notes of discord arose from other quarters.

Some feel that "the sympathy factor" for the first lady from the Monica Lewinsky scandal will wear off. Others, like conservative Paul Weyrich, head of the Free Congress Foundation, say Mrs. Clinton's haughtiness will turn off voters.

Mr. Weyrich told New York's WABC-TV: "She isn't just content to put her point of view across, to which she is entitled, but there is this know-it-all superior type of attitude that she projects. This is one figure who could actually make conservatives support Rudy Giuliani."

Many, like Carmen Pate of Concerned Women for America, are put off by the family values Mrs. Clinton talks about. "We certainly don't believe she has the right ideals for the American family, so in turn, we don't think she has the right ideals for our country."

Television and radio commentators here were calling Mrs. Clinton's flirtation "the Hillary Factor," but the media gave her visit less prominence.

DECISIONS, DECISIONS, DECISIONS

Hillary rolls home on wave of cheers

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday ended her two-day blitz of New York City, where she got plenty of publicity for her possible Senate candidacy while dodging all questions about her political future.

Basking in the glow of her supporters, Mrs. Clinton received a thunderous ovation when she addressed the United Nations Trusteeship Council. She was later warmly welcomed at the NYC Lab School in Chelsea, where female athletes were honored.

Unlike her talk to Democratic women at a Wednesday fundraiser, the First Lady never even alluded to the fact that she is seriously eyeing a run for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Only Sofia Totti, a Lab School

student who introduced Mrs. Clinton to 400 students, acknowledged the buzz the First Lady has created.

Looking at the dais that included tennis legend Billie Jean King, WNBA star Nikki McCray and gymnast Dominique Dawes, Totti quipped, "Today, we have a tennis star, an Olympic gymnast, a basketball hero and, hopefully, a runner."

After Mrs. Clinton's raucous welcome by more than 1,000 people at the U.N., Secretary-General Kofi Annan joked: "I think the revolution is on the move."

Mrs. Clinton's near-silence on her future has forced political junkies to check every sentence she utters for double meanings. The irony that the Lab School event was also promoting a documentary titled "Dare to Compete" was lost on few observers.

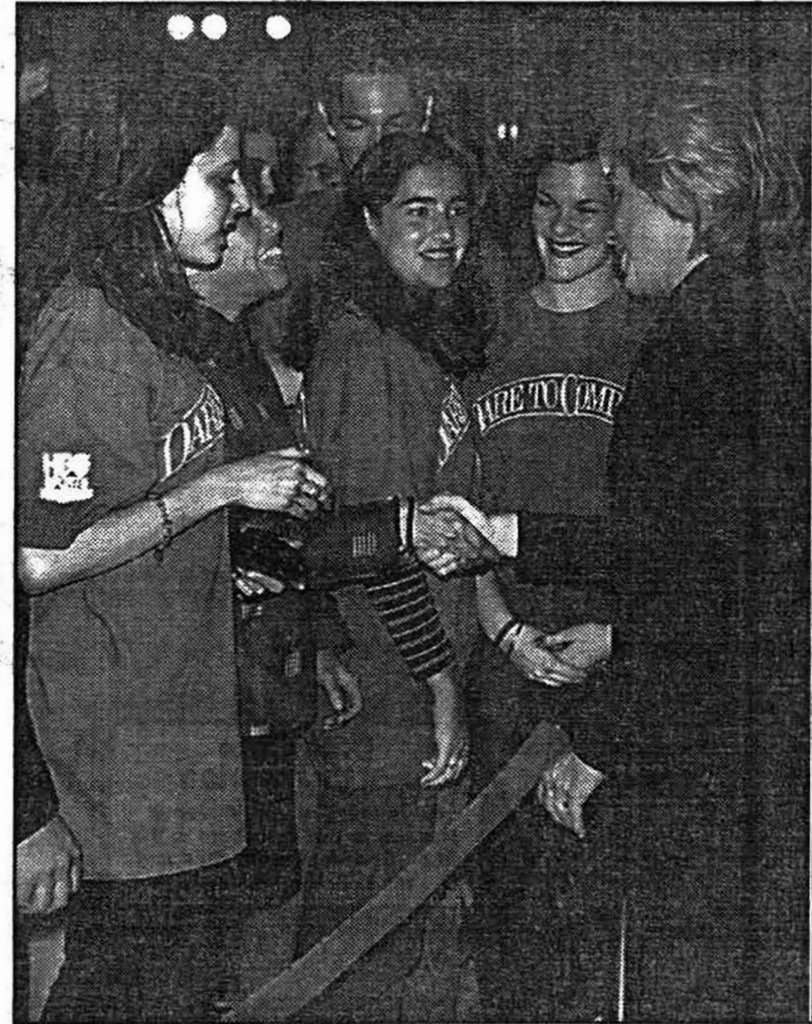
A source close to the First

Lady said it may be summer before she makes a decision.

"There's not going to be a lot coming out for a while," said the source, who asked not to be named.

"There's a real press to read the tea leaves when there's not a lot of tea leaves to read," said the source, adding that Mrs. Clinton may not make her intentions known until as late as July. Continuing her series of private meetings with top state Democrats, Mrs. Clinton tonight is scheduled to have a dinner meeting with State Comptroller Carl McCall in Washington at which hospital union leader Dennis Rivera has also been invited.

While allowed to watch the Hillary show from afar, reporters were prevented from asking her a single question about her weighty decision-making process.



YOU GLOW, GIRL: First Lady Hillary revels in the smiles of students at the NYC Lab school in Chelsea yesterday. Dave Allocca/DMI

Friday, March 5, 1999

The Big Apple took a shine to Hillary Rodham Clinton on her trip this week – but cynicism may dull the glitter.

The first lady talks up the town

By Alexandra Marks

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor



NEW YORK

As Hillary Rodham Clinton's motorcade sped across midtown toward New York's Plaza Hotel this week, the city's mayor was

sitting in Washington touting New York's greatness before a House committee.

It was a perfect swap, a clear coincidence, just the kind that savvy New Yorkers like to think was anything but accidental. Particularly when it deals with two potential rivals: Washington's most powerful woman and the Big Apple's duly elected potentate – the two who could give New York the Senate race of the century, the political battle of the millennium. Just perfect for a city that considers itself the true "Hub of the Universe."

And with polls showing a matchup between the two tightening to a statistical dead heat, it would be a cliff hanger, the kind of nailbiter this still-edgy city could really get into.

But even as Mrs. Clinton inspired and fired up her faithful with this week's visit, many have growing doubts that the nation's first lady of families and children will want to take on New York's tough, crime-fighting king. Particularly in a city where even some of her admirers can be brutally frank.

"I'd like to hear what she has to say," said Barbara Klaus of Manhattan, who plunked down \$1,000 to see the first lady. "I have a lot of doubts about her. If she can't manage her own marriage, how's she gonna handle the State of New York?"

But when Clinton stepped onto the stage of the Plaza's gilded Grand Ballroom, you couldn't tell there was a doubt in the room. The packed hall roared with applause and rose almost in unison to give her a sustained standing ovation.

The first lady, grinning and glowing in the spotlight, reached her arms forward and applauded back at the crowd.

This, clearly, was Hillary's crowd.

But the air of mutual admiration at this luncheon sponsored by the Democrats' Women's Leadership Forum was also charged with expectation and uncertainty. Planned months ago, it suddenly sold out when rumors began circulating that Clinton might actually take to the stump here in New York.

That brought out many of the 500 women (and a few scattered men) crowded around lunch tables in the ballroom, and the 400 more who watched the event via a monitor in an overflow room, and the 300 more left disappointed on the waiting list.

But as much as these upscale, liberal women might be "Hillary's crowd," they're also sophisticated and complex, with a host of questions and expectations of their own.

While they roared in approval as Sen. Charles Schumer

(D) of New York announced it was time for a woman to represent the great state in the US Senate, a surprising number are quietly withholding judgment on the wisdom of a Clinton candidacy.

And that, too, could end up as an important factor in the first lady's final calculations.

"Some might think I have an announcement to make," she told the hushed crowd early on in her speech. "But I don't."

Scattered groans erupted – the loudest seeming to come from the press corp, which turned out en masse for the event.

"It looks like the Democratic convention," said one aide, shaking her head at the dozens of cameras crammed together at the back of the hall.

But the media weren't alone in their frustration. New

Yorkers are not known for their patience.

"Well, I think it would be best if she would make her decision soon so other possible candidates can begin their fund-raising and active campaigns," said Linda Keim of Scarsdale, N.Y.

But the sense of disappointment was momentary.

As Clinton began recounting the progress women have made and reminding them of the responsibilities they still have to continue the work for other women and families, the crowd sat in rapt attention.

As she recounted the gains made during the six years of her husband's presidency, gains she translated into the everyday lives of individuals she met, the crowd roared and was ready when she called on them to take up the political cudgel.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas," Clinton said. "We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity. I don't like all of the ads on television.'"

Indeed, the first lady said, women have a responsibility to "humanize politics."

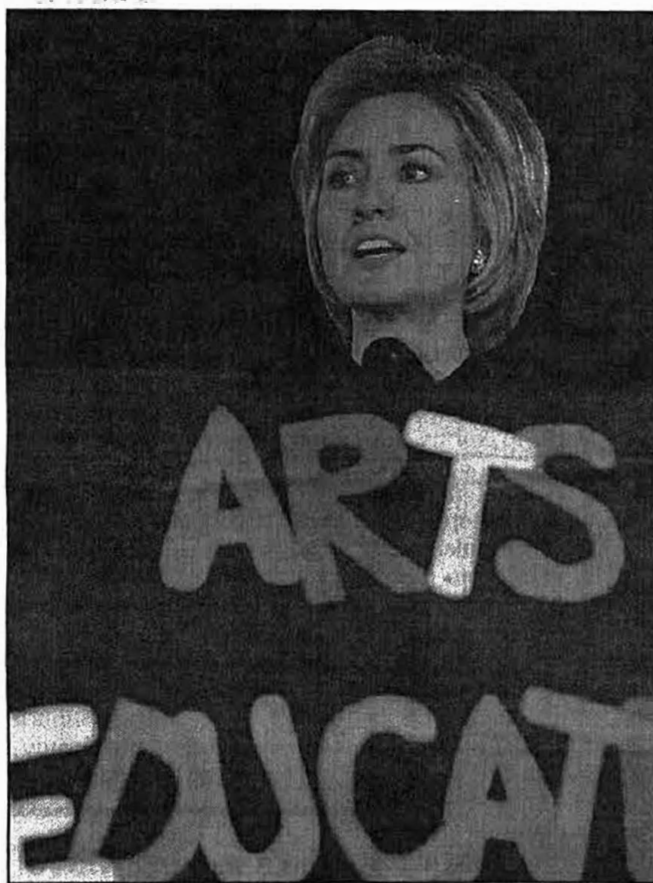
For a city known for its liberal leanings, the speech hit the perfect note.

"People admire her tremendously now, she's got such great strength and courage – and she's very, very smart – a brilliant woman," said Barbara Peck, a child-welfare worker from Manhattan.

The sentiment echoed around the hall. "She understands what goes on with average people, has deep concerns about people who aren't necessarily middle class," said Dorothy Hibbert of Copiague, N.Y. "And regardless of how difficult the situation is, she feels she has to do her part in a leadership role in this country, and that's exactly what she's doing."

But even some of Clinton's staunchest supporters here think she may be better off someplace else.

"I think she's terrific, her ideas are just right, they're for all of us," said Carolyn Gottfried, who retired from the fashion industry. "She should run for president and leave New York out of it."



SUZANNE PLUNKETT/AP

NEW YORKER? Hillary Rodham Clinton said nothing during her New York trip to clarify whether she'll run for senator. Above, she visited Intermediate School 25 in Queens.

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

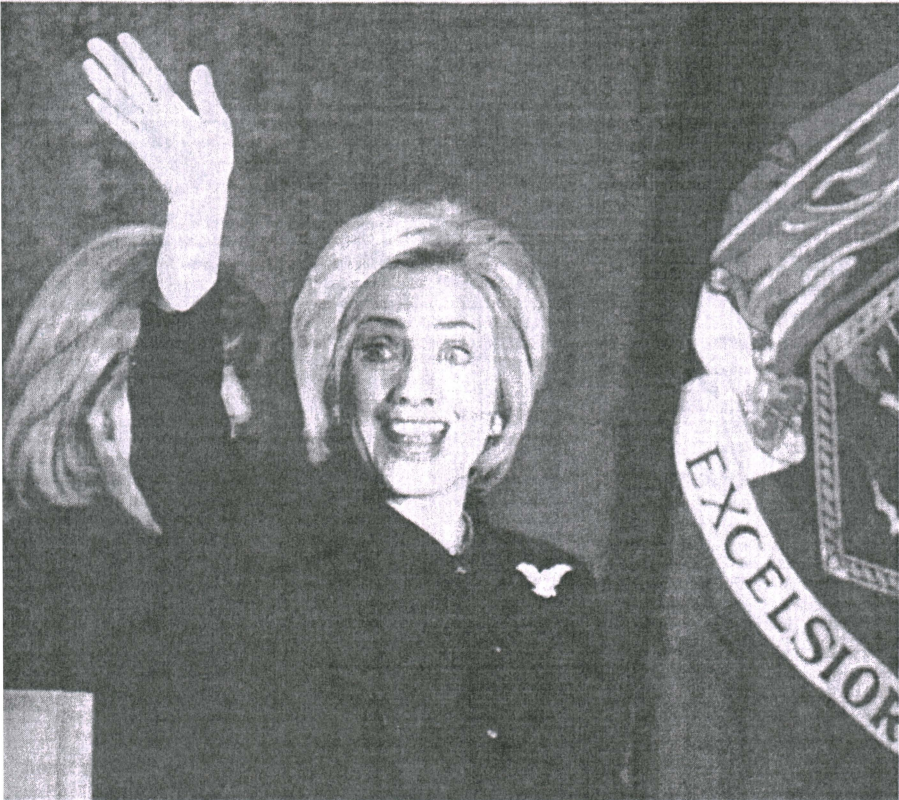
The New York Times

Wash
very
clear
31. T
high

OL. CXLVIII No. 51,451

Copyright © 1999 The New York Times

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1999



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

lary Rodham Clinton in Manhattan yesterday. Many Democrats want her to say she will seek a Senate seat.

New Yorkers Hear First Lady and See a Candidate

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

In a speech that many Democrats viewed as a strong indication that Hillary Rodham Clinton would run for the Senate from New York, the first lady proclaimed her commitment to government and politics yesterday before some of her most passionate supporters, New York Democratic women, in a packed and enthusiastic ballroom of the Plaza Hotel. We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to be with very specific agendas," Clinton said in remarks so rich in double meaning that some men wondered if the First Lady was referring to them, to herself or

to both. She added that "you can say all you want about the flaws of our political system, but when it comes right down to it, somebody is going to make the decisions."

Although Mrs. Clinton started her day in New York as a traditional First Lady with a visit to a Queens school and a speech about the importance of arts education, by the time she arrived at the Plaza she seemed transformed into a potential Senate candidate at an exuberant rally.

"Don't you think it's time for a woman to represent New York in the United States Senate?" said Senator Charles E. Schumer to cheers as he introduced Mrs. Clinton to the crowd.

It was Mrs. Clinton's first visit to New York since announcing two

weeks ago that she was giving "careful thought" to a Senate run next year, on a day when President Clinton was attending a fund-raiser in New Jersey. Mrs. Clinton addressed the issue of her candidacy almost as soon as she came to the podium. "I was told that there were some who thought that I might have an announcement to make," Mrs. Clinton said. "But I don't."

But Mrs. Clinton seemed to tease the crowd, a Democratic Party fund-raising group called the Women's Leadership Forum, as she spoke about a woman's responsibility to participate in politics. "We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like all of the negativity, I don't like all of the ads on television,'" Mrs. Clinton said. She added to laughter, "I can certainly understand why someone might feel that way, but it is not a feeling that you should act on."

Afterward, Judith Hope, the chairwoman of the New York State Democratic Party and one of the most ardent supporters of a Hillary Clinton candidacy, said in an interview that Mrs. Clinton was "publicly sharing her thought process with us" as

Continued on Page A22

First Lady Seems to Inch Closer to a New York Bid for Senate

Continued From Page A1

she considered a Senate run. Peter F. Vellone, the City Council Speaker and one of the few men attending the lunch, went so far as to call Mrs. Clinton's speech "very close to an open declaration" of candidacy.

But some women at the lunch for \$100, who paid \$150 to \$10,000 per ticket, described the speech as nothing more than "classic Hillary" in its advocacy for women and children and its view of politics as a higher calling. Some of it, in fact, was recycled material from a speech Mrs. Clinton made at the 150th anniversary of the first women's convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y., last summer. At the Plaza, Mrs. Clinton spoke about what she considered the obligations of women today.

"Just like those women in Seneca Falls, we are standing in for countless other women who cannot be here, who couldn't afford the ticket, wouldn't think they had anything to wear, or anything to contribute, who wouldn't see themselves as a political person at all," Mrs. Clinton said. "One of our great challenges in the next years is to make sure that our society doesn't split apart along income lines."

Mrs. Clinton made no reference to her potential opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who in a reversal of geography spent yesterday in Washington testifying about reduc-

ing crime and cutting welfare rolls before a Congressional committee. In a news conference after his testimony, Mr. Giuliani, who has not announced whether he is running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, said Mrs. Clinton is "acting like a Senatorial candidate, I'm acting like a Mayor."

Mr. Giuliani added, "That's not a bad comparison."

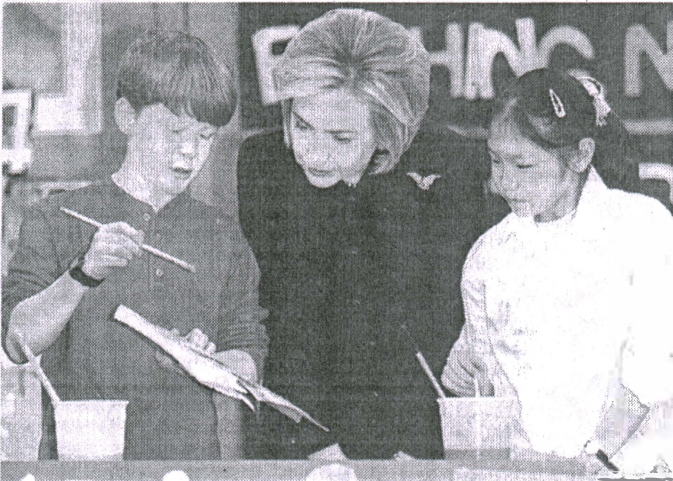
He also pointed to a poll released yesterday by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion that showed Mrs. Clinton in a virtual tie in a hypothetical race with the Mayor, with 50 percent for Mrs. Clinton and 46 percent for Mr. Giuliani. The poll was taken among registered voters in New York and showed a drop in her support compared with a Marist poll of two weeks ago, when she led 49 percent to 38 percent.

"Take a look at today's Marist and see if she's crowned the winner," Mr. Giuliani said.

Mr. Giuliani added that "celebrity status is helping her a great deal," but that "when she becomes a candidate" and "maybe even faster, it's coming down to more and more questions in the race."

"That doesn't mean she wouldn't be a strong candidate," he added. "But so will the Republican."

Mr. Giuliani predicted a very close "two- to three-point election" and "either the Republican or Democrat will win."



Fred R. Conrad/The New York Times

At Intermediate School 25 in Flushing, Queens, Hillary Rodham Clinton looked at artwork by Benjamin Harson and Jennifer Chong yesterday.

Mrs. Clinton's visit to New York, which coincided with a highly publicized "20/20" television interview with Monica S. Lewinsky, drew press attention worthy of a Presidential visit. There were 25 television cameras from the networks, and foreign, local and cable channels positioned in the auditorium of the Adrien Block Intermediate School 25 in Flushing, Queens, where Mrs. Clinton did nothing more political than release a

national report about the benefits of arts education.

The First Lady, who was to spend the night at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, spent yesterday afternoon having her picture taken at the Plaza with each of 150 supporters who paid \$1,000 for the fund-raising lunch. She stopped in the early evening at the Upper East Side home of Lynn Forester, a longtime Democratic supporter and an owner of a wireless communications company.

Later she went to dinner at the Upper East Side home of Jurate Kazickas and Roger C. Altman, an investment banker who was President Clinton's Deputy Treasury Secretary and whose company bought The National Enquirer and Star magazine two weeks ago.

Friends and supporters who have talked to Mrs. Clinton in recent days said she had not decided whether she would run, but that she was continuing her research.

After her remarks at the school, Mrs. Clinton was surrounded by well-wishers and a mob of reporters, who were kept at a distance by the Secret Service.

The Plaza was even more crowded. Guests at the lunch, which raised \$500,000 for the Democratic National Committee and sold out two weeks ago, were split into two groups: one in the ballroom where Mrs. Clinton spoke, and another in a separate room to watch her on a television screen.

Among the many citizens of New York who had opinions about the First Lady's visit yesterday was Cathy Arevalo, 14, a ninth grader at I.S. 25.

"I think it's a campaign appearance," she said.

Hillary Clinton Plays Coy, Wows New York

First Lady's First Visit Since Senate Speculation Began Draws Lots of Interest

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, March 3—Who knew the national news media took such a passionate interest in arts education? And since when do reporters care so deeply about women's participation in politics?

Since today, it seems. Then again, Hillary Rodham Clinton's presence at an arts education awareness-raiser in Queens and a Democratic women's leadership fund-raiser in Manhattan might have had something to do with the massive media turnouts at both events. Journalists certainly care deeply about that particular woman's participation in politics.

"One might ask: Why is this such an important event?" the first lady said with a mock-innocent grin during the fund-raiser. "Why are we all gathered here today?"

As if she didn't know. The question of the day, of course, was whether the first lady plans to run for Senate in New York. The answer, for the record, remains: maybe. So on her first visit to the state since the speculation began about her political future here, the media gaggle was reduced mostly to parsing her speeches and pestering her allies. When she said she "thinks about the future in political terms," was that a hint? When she urged women to "get involved in the political process," was she talking about herself? Her long rift on how "politics is a noble calling," was that a sly way of saying it's calling her?

"I don't want to play psychiatrist, but she did sound a little bit like she was convincing herself to run," suggested Elliot Spitzer, the state's newly elected attorney general.

Clinton has said she is giving "careful thought" to the race to replace Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), and today her only public announcement on the topic was that she had no announcement to make. But she did engage in that time-honored political activity usually described as "sounding very much like a candidate," although most candidates don't have so many dark-suited men around them with earpieces and bomb-sniffing dogs.

This other obvious difference between the first lady and most other politicians is the intense reactions she inspires. She is a confident and polished speaker, scanning the room from side to side, deftly alternating between hard-nosed policy and rousing emotion. But that alone cannot explain her rock-star appeal to fans like Rosaria Bonomo, 20, who nearly hyperventilated with excitement after snapping a photo of Clinton in her limo.

validates what we're doing to see her here."

Then it was off to the opulent Grand Ballroom in the Plaza, to address the party's Women's Leadership Forum. The group expected 500 donors at \$150 to \$10,000 a pop, but after the Hillary-for-Senate frenzy started, the guest list grew to 900, with another 300 on a wait list. Introducing the first lady, Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said he

hoped she could make her decision in a "nonfrenzied atmosphere." But that was not what ensued when he asked the crowd: "Don't you think it's time for a woman to represent New York in the U.S. Senate?"

Then Clinton spoke about the importance of public service, and women's responsibility to get involved in politics. She shared her ideas about Social Security, Medicare, class sizes and a patients' bill of

rights. "The issue is not what we have done, but what we will do," she said, sounding very much like a candidate.

She will be in Manhattan again tomorrow, first at a United Nations event for International Women's Day, then to view an HBO documentary about women in sports. Rumor has it the national media are about to take a new interest in International Women's Day and women in sports.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton looks over crowd Women's Leadership Forum in New York, with Sen.

"She is absolutely my role model," shrieked Bonomo, a community college student who works two part-time jobs and hopes to go into broadcasting or psychology someday. "She's so strong. She's so beautiful. And she stands by her man. I love everything about her."

New York was President Clinton's second-best state in 1992 and third-best in 1996, but not everyone around here feels warmly toward him and his wife. As speculation about a Hillary Clinton candidacy has increased, her lead in a hypothetical Senate race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) has dwindled. According to a new poll by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion, Hillary Clinton leads the mayor 50 percent to 46 percent, down from 49 percent to 38 percent two weeks ago.

Kathy Ray, a librarian who stood outside a Queens junior high school to protest the first lady's visit, says the Clintons have driven her out of the Democratic Party. "I know she has a lot of support, but I'd hate to see her get a Senate seat as a payoff for keeping her mouth shut about her husband," she said. "That man just lies and lies. And she just sits there aiding and abetting him."

But that was a minority view at her two events today.

First, Clinton came to Community District No. 25 to release a study heralding the benefits of arts education, one of her pet issues. In the early 1990s, the district had almost no arts programs to speak of, and no music program whatsoever. Now it has a \$4.7 million arts budget, with impressive student ceramics projects and pencil drawings posted all over the hallways, and has produced the second-highest math and reading scores in the city as well.

A miffed Giuliani said today that federal dollars had nothing to do with District 25's arts program. But nobody else talked about that, or about the chronic school overcrowding here, or about the data in the first lady's own report revealing that the Illinois district where she attended school spends three times as much per pupil as District 25. This was the first lady's day. She quoted Winston Churchill. She said "Mr. Holland's Opus" was "a wonderful movie." She recalled lip-synching in high school chorus because she was tone-deaf. The crowd loved it.

"New York is a town that thrives on excitement, and she's exciting," said Jeff Dobbs, a dance teacher in Queens whose fourth-graders performed their "Love and Kindness Dance" for the first lady. "It really

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

Hillary in New York: Return of the Neo-Native?

Memo to future Presidential spouses: If you're feeling overlooked, float a rumor that you might run for the Senate. So many people were dying to pay \$150 or more to hear Hillary Rodham Clinton's luncheon address at the Plaza yesterday that hundreds were exiled from the main dining room, eating lunch with a public address system. The place was abubble with incipient feminist triumphalism and plain old Democratic opportunism.

The press corps trailing Mrs. Clinton was perhaps not as large as the contingent that turned up when the former Vice-Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro announced she was running for the Senate in 1992. But it was big considering that Mrs. Clinton was not announcing anything more earth-shaking than her belief that "this is a great time to be a woman in America." It is not every day you see men from the British tabloids virtually weeping in frustration at their inability to get a good position to cover an address about the importance of public commitment.

Within all her pleasant generalities, of course, Mrs. Clinton had enough positive things to say about

The Democrats say
please, please,
please, please.

running for office to encourage the local Democrats who are yearning for someone to save them from His Fearsome Rudyness. She managed to lace her remarks with a notable number of references to places she has been in New York State — that marvelous bus trip from Newburgh to Seneca Falls, the inspiring gathering at the Y.W.C.A. in Brooklyn. And if she shied away from political specifics, the same could not be said of her less-than-subtle string of warm-up speakers.

"If California can send two women to the Senate, can't New York do one?" demanded Judith Hope, the head of the state Democratic Party. Ms. Hope told the crowd that it was the least one could expect from a state "that gave the world" a list of political women that began with Eleanor Roosevelt and dwindled down rather quickly.

The crowd at the Plaza consisted of

about 1,000 women and a handful of men, virtually all of whom were elected officials hoping to be asked to give the First Lady more advice about her Senate prospects. "She's very thorough, but don't quote me," said one. Mrs. Clinton is famous for her dislike of the media, and local politicians have figured out that if they want to be confidants, they had better be confidential. As much as it kills them.

"I'm usually more interesting than this," protested New York City's Public Advocate, Mark Green, after he had most uncharacteristically declined to say anything about anything.

Meanwhile, the ubiquitous junior Senator, Charles Schumer, who lost his wife, Iris, in the press of the crowd, promised to "be there" for the First Lady if she runs. He also urged Mrs. Clinton to wait and make her decision "in a non-frenzied atmosphere," a term that most definitely did not apply to the Plaza ballroom. "I say to the First Lady, take a little time and think this through," said Mr. Schumer, as Mrs. Clinton stood next to him, her hands folded demurely in front of her.

That may have been the only controversial statement of the day, since

virtually all the state's Democratic politicians have been urging Mrs. Clinton to make up her mind quickly. The First Lady could easily wait until the fall and still raise plenty of money for the race, but if she chooses not to run, another candidate could have a tougher time. "She'll kill the Democratic chances if she waits and then doesn't run," said one of her many off-the-record advisers.

Mr. Schumer said later that his own experience made him feel strongly about the virtue of taking some time. Not only did he devote months to mulling the pros and cons of a Senate run, he said. "I brushed my teeth with it. I went to the park with it."

If Mr. Schumer has his way, Mrs. Clinton will go back and brush her teeth with the Senate option for some time, leaving the rest of New York to wonder whether her contention that "politics is really the lifeblood of democracy" was a secret signal of something big, and whether she should be worried about the fact that her poll ratings have dropped since she was first mentioned as a candidate. Perhaps the public is beginning to feel that instead of a village, it takes a resident.

Players on the public stage

Their names are linked in history: Monica Lewinsky, Linda Tripp, Bill Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton. More than a year after allegations of Clinton's affair with Lewinsky exploded into print, all the major players were on public stage Wednesday. From Lewinsky's lucrative book deal to Hillary Clinton's prospective Senate race, all seemed to be prospering.

In New York, first lady extols joys of politics

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Hillary Rodham Clinton, whose flirtation with a Senate candidacy has captivated Democrats here, offered them on Wednesday a romantic view of politics and said she sees political life as a responsibility.

She didn't tell the 900 supporters gathered to hear her speak at Manhattan's glitzy Plaza Hotel exactly what they wanted to hear.

"There was talk I might have an announcement to make," the first lady told the Democratic National Committee's Women's Leadership Forum at a sold-out luncheon fundraiser that was expected to raise \$500,000. "I do not."

But if she's not yet a candidate for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000, she surely sounded like one.

In a speech that had her audience spellbound for more than a half-hour, the first lady made a case for public service. She laid out what she sees as the achievements of her husband's administration: a good economy, lower crime and poverty rates and declines in teen pregnancy and abortion. She said they are proof that politics can improve people's lives.

"I know that some people, when you talk about politics or public service, you know you can see that they're put off," the first lady said. "I'm often asked ... 'How can you stand politics?'"

She didn't acknowledge the year-long scandal that culminated in the impeachment trial of her husband. But she said, "Politics, in the good times and the bad times, is really the lifeblood of a democracy."

Her two-day trip to New York City is the first since she said last month that she was considering a run for the Senate. It began on the same day Monica Lewinsky was making headlines with a TV interview and release of a book about her affair with the president.

But if that was weighing on the first lady's mind during a trip to a school in Queens or at the lunch, she didn't show it. She spoke only in upbeat terms about the past and the future.

Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., told the crowd the first lady should "take a little time and think this one through" before entering what could be a nasty race against New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, a Republican who is expected to run. At the same time, Schumer said, "I haven't felt this much excitement and electricity in one room in a long time."

Aides say it will be a couple of months before the first lady decides. She was scheduled to have dinner



By Mike Sargent, Reuters

Team spirit: Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., gives a St. John's University basketball team jacket to Hillary Clinton.

at the home of Wall Street financier Roger Altman. Today, she plans a speech at the United Nations for International Women's Day and a trip to another classroom to see documentary on women and sports.

President Clinton, meanwhile, was going to a fund-raiser Wednesday night in Newark, N.J., for Democratic Sen. Robert Torricelli.

Clinton, who often bemoans the end of his own political career at the close of his second term, has said his wife would make a great senator.

On Wednesday, she made it clear that she feels the calling, even if she's not quite ready to jump in.

"We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity. I don't like all of the ads on the television. I don't feel comfortable speaking about it, talking about politics in the way it's become,'" she said. "I can certainly understand why someone might feel that way, but it's not a feeling that you should act on."

1:00 P.M. ET

Hillary remains mum on Senate bid

Offers no hints at fund-raiser

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton swept into town yesterday, but disappointed eager Democratic Party officials by refusing to say whether she would be a candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York.

"I was told there are some who thought I might have an announcement to make," she said, pausing. "But I don't."

Mrs. Clinton's coy demurrer came at a fund-raising luncheon at the Plaza Hotel sponsored by a leading Democratic Party women's group. The overflow crowd — mainly women — had waited with anticipation for word that the first lady would seek the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

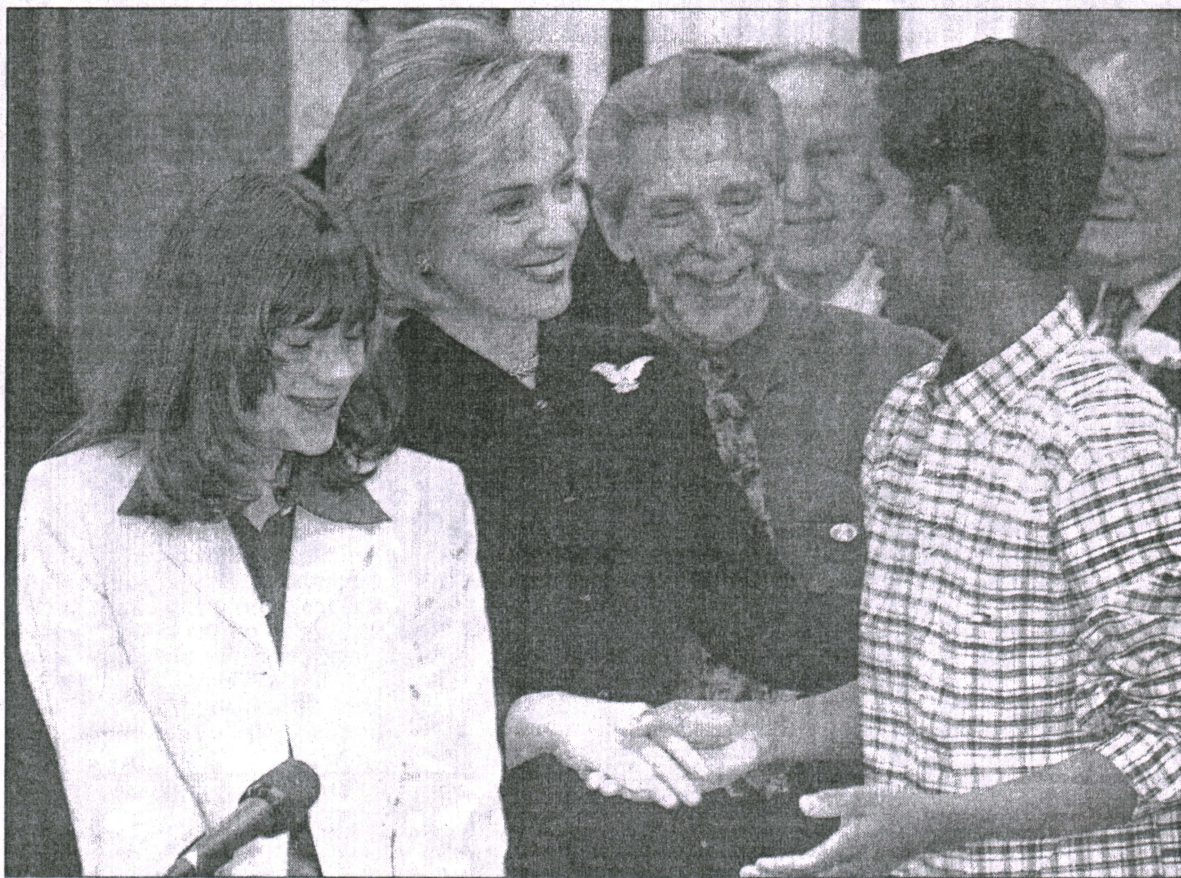
New York City Public Advocate Mark Green, a luncheon guest, said that he had discussed privately with Mrs. Clinton a Senate run, but that she had not yet reached a decision.

"Clearly, she's in this to stay until the process unfolds," he said. Quoting Eleanor Roosevelt to the effect that a politician must have the skin of a rhinoceros, he added, "Hillary Clinton has that, as well as the brains and vision to be a great candidate."

Mrs. Clinton's two-day visit, her first since speculation first arose that she may seek the Moynihan seat, began with a visit to a Queens intermediate school to talk about arts education. She dined yesterday evening with investment banker Roger Altman, a former Treasury Department official who resigned in 1994 in the fallout from the Whitewater investigation.

Since the idea of Mrs. Clinton as a candidate surfaced three weeks ago, the media hype and political prognostications have gone unabated. Only a nod from the first lady would send Democrats to the ramparts in what would by all accounts be billed as the New York political battle of the century: the first lady against hard-nosed New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the GOP front-runner.

By a twist of fate, Mr. Giuliani



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, in her first visit to New York since talk of a Senate bid there began some weeks ago, visits a Queens school, where she greets students Vikash Khandai and Suzanne Griffing.

was in Washington on the day Mrs. Clinton came here, testifying at a hearing on Capitol Hill.

A Marist College poll released yesterday found that Mrs. Clinton's 11-point lead over Mr. Giuliani in a survey conducted two weeks ago has narrowed to 3.5 points — a statistical dead heat.

Introducing the first lady, New York Democratic Sen. Charles E. Schumer, who has strongly urged her to run, said he had offered her this advice: "Take a little time and think this one through. Then if you decide you will be a candidate, we will support you."

Mrs. Clinton drew a standing ovation from the more than 500 people in the grand ballroom and about 300 listening in another room. Some 300 people were reportedly turned away. Ticket holders paid the Women's Leadership Forum, the luncheon sponsor and an arm of the Democratic National Committee, between \$150 and \$10,000 to attend.

Mrs. Clinton's remarks were taken by many as a signal she was leaning toward a race.

She spoke of "humanizing" politics and pointedly noted, "We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas. We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity.'"

The first lady's emphasis on familiar themes, such as child and family care, women's rights and health care, struck a chord with many, but it was her remarks on abortion that sparked the loudest cheers. Teen-pregnancy rates and abortion are down, she said, "and that was under a pro-choice president who refused to back down."

But when it was over, some expressed a sense of deflation.

Jennifer Carey, a Manhattan resident who voted for President Clinton in the last election, but said she would not do so now, described

the speech as "rote," adding, "I wanted to know if she is going to run."

"It was a very intelligent speech," said Vivian Degani. "I wanted to hear her views on Palestinian state, especially since they seem to be changing every day." Mrs. Clinton's comments last spring that the Palestinians deserved a homeland of their own could come back to haunt her in a state where the Jewish vote is considered key to a Democratic victory.

During Mrs. Clinton's visit, signs of the Monica Lewinsky scandal were abundant. A front page New York Post headline read: "Monica Phone Sex Shocker." Local papers carried heavy print view coverage of the Miss Lewinsky's television interview last night, as well as revelations from the forthcoming as-told-to book "Monica's Story," by Andrew Morton.

COY ON CANDIDACY



Reuters

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton disappointed some New York Democrats by declining at a fund-raiser there yesterday to say whether she would run for an open Senate seat. Story, A4.

Slip in a poll greets Mrs. Clinton in New York

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — Is the Democratic pipe dream — Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate — going up in smoke, just as the fantasy candidate herself is getting serious?

The first lady delivered an eagerly awaited speech here yesterday that, while stopping well short of declaring a run, sounded like a preview of a campaign stump speech.

Yet just hours earlier, a statewide survey, released by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, showed Mrs. Clinton in a statistical dead-heat with her most likely Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

Two weeks ago, the Marist poll showed Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 49 percent to 38. Yesterday, however, her edge had been cut to 49-45 — within the poll's margin of error of four percentage points.

Lee Miringoff, the institute's director, said in a telephone interview that many voters who were uncertain two weeks ago — especially among those who live upstate — have moved into Giuliani's column.

"The trial balloon came back to earth a little bit," Miringoff said. "She needs to make a transition between celebrity Clinton and candidate Clinton," meaning she will have to start showing up here a lot more, speaking out on New York issues from a New York angle. "No fly-by campaigns here," the pollster said.

Mrs. Clinton's 35-minute speech at the Plaza Hotel, before a sold-out, \$150-a-head luncheon of the Democratic National Committee's Women's Leadership Conference, could mark the beginning of that transition.

She started it with a tease. "I'm told there are some who thought I might have an announcement to make," she said to laughter. She paused, then said quietly, "But I don't." Many moaned. "But," she added, "I do have a lot on my mind."



Hillary Clinton speaking yesterday at Intermediate School No. 25 in Flushing, Queens, where she praised a report on the importance of school arts programs.

AFP PHOTO

The first lady made it clear that the stresses of this scandal-riven year in Washington will not drive her out of some sort of political life.

"Politics, in good times and bad times, is the lifeblood of a democracy," she said, reciting specific cases of people she had met — many of them during trips to New York — who have been helped by her husband's administration's policies.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas," she added, leaving it unclear whether she was talking about her own situation or merely urging her audience to stay politically involved.

Quoting some people who want out of politics because they "don't like the negativity," Mrs. Clinton remarked, to sympathetic laughter, "I can certainly understand why someone would feel that way." But, she went on, "somebody's going to make the deci-

sions" about a variety of issues — and "these are not decisions we should leave to someone else."

The issues she cited encompassed a range of social issues that President Clinton has put on the table — money for more teachers, a patients' bill of rights, saving Social Security and Medicare, increasing the minimum wage, the 1992 economics bill that raised taxes to lower the deficit, and the 1994 crime bill, which put more police on the streets and imposed tighter regulations on handguns.

If she does run for the Senate, she seemed to be hinting, her platform would amount to a continuation of Bill Clinton's agenda — a popular position here.

Senator Charles E. Schumer, who was greatly helped by the first lady's campaigning in his own successful election last fall, spoke before Mrs. Clinton, and warned the crowd not to get too excited by a possible

Senate run by her.

"One needs to make that decision in a deliberative way, and in an unfrenzied atmosphere," Schumer said. "So I say to the first lady, take a little time, think this one through." However, he added, to wild applause, that if she did decide to run, "you will be one of the finest senators New York will ever have."

Many of the 900 Democrats in the audience — almost all of them women — left the event at the Plaza in a buzz of excitement.

One of the few men, Peter Vallone, speaker of the New York City Council, nodded when asked if he thought the speech suggested the first lady would run for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "I think she's setting the stage," Vallone said.

Mrs. Clinton met with several local leaders, including Vallone, later in the day, and had dinner at the home of the financier Roger Altman, a Democratic donor.

Earlier in the day, the first lady spoke at a middle school in Queens that has been cited as a model in a new federal report on arts education. Ironically, that school's arts program was replenished by a two-year \$75 million citywide boost in arts funding ordered by Giuliani. Among the speakers who preceded Mrs. Clinton at the auditorium's podium was a mayoral aide who, politely but pointedly, made that clear.

The day before, Giuliani himself, when asked about the first lady's impending speech at the school, said a bit facetiously that he would be happy to hear her praise his accomplishments.

However, yesterday, as if to signal that the race is on, Mrs. Clinton singled out, as responsible for the school's success, the Annenberg Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the New York State government. She said nothing about City Hall.

Rudy and Hillary, the Jack and Jill of N.Y. politics

By SIDNEY ZION

OF COURSE, if the match is made, the spin mavens will turn it into Rudy the cop vs. Hillary and that village. Right against left, tough love against easy living. They have the images pre-set.

Who thinks of New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Rodham Clinton as brother and sister on the key issues of our time? But abortion, gay rights, gun control, immigration, smoking, drinking — they're Jack and Jill, not just Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

The first thing Mrs. Clinton did as first lady was to ban smoking in the White House. One of the first things Mr. Giuliani did as mayor was to sign a bill banning smoking in restaurants, in Yankee and Shea stadiums and at the race-tracks.

Is there anyone out there who thinks Mrs. Clinton wouldn't confiscate the cars of losers to the Breathalyzer?

There is a difference here be-

tween Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Giuliani does it from the head, Mrs. Clinton from the heart. The effect on the victims... well, as the philosopher said, "All executioners are alike."

Politically ambitious

We have a lot to look forward to, if it's Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton in the millennium. Can't Sen. Patrick Moynihan change his mind? But if Mr. Giuliani has national ambitions, he needs the GOP to change its soul.

A few years ago, I wrote a column saying that Mr. Giuliani would be a natural if he switched to the Democrats. This was when he came out for Mario Cuomo against George Pataki for governor. "Thanks a lot," Mr. Giuliani told me the next time I ran into him. "One day you'll get it," I answered. If he had listened to me, Mr. Giuliani would be practically a cinch for vice president, and in without question for Mr. Moynihan's seat in the Senate.

Imagine a Democrat who



proved that New York City can be governed, that crime in the streets was controllable, that the murder rate could be more than halved — a Democrat who supported abortion and gay rights and gun con-

trol and immigration.

All these things, save crime, are anathema to the Republicans. And Mr. Giuliani opposed the impeachment of President Clinton to boot. Now he appears to want the

Senate seat, with Mrs. Clinton as the apparent opponent. Can he beat her? I don't think so, especially since he'll be running against history.

Uphill battle

For nearly two centuries, no mayor of New York has won higher office. And Mr. Giuliani will be going in a presidential election year where the Democrats seem to be home free — this one looks like a landslide.

If Mrs. Clinton doesn't run — or, even if she does — Alfonse D'Amato is not dead. He might easily beat Mr. Giuliani in a GOP primary, given his strength upstate and Mr. Giuliani's weakness.

In the end, the only guaranteed way to keep Mrs. Clinton out of the race has thus far been ignored by everybody: Get Monica Lewinsky to enter the Democratic primary against the first lady.

Sidney Zion is a columnist for the New York Daily News.

In N.Y. Visit, First Lady's Pace Stops Short of Run

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—This being a story about an out-of-towner in New York, let's start with the bottom line: Hillary Rodham Clinton is not running for the U.S. Senate. Not officially. Not yet.

But beginning a two-day flirtation with the city Wednesday, she played her time here—from the far reaches of Queens to the heart of Manhattan (the Plaza Hotel, no less)—just like a candidate.

What she offered, gushed an important fan, City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, came "very close to an open declaration" of candidacy.

Mrs. Clinton has talked voting statistics with Sen. Daniel

Patrick Moynihan. From Sen. Robert G. Toricelli, the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, she has gotten the hard sell as he seeks to line up potentially winning candidates. And she has listened to the pleas of union leaders—and party fund-raisers.

But it was not until Wednesday that the boomlet based on the proposition that the first lady might someday be known as Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) got real on the streets of New York—with all the celebrity-sighting glamour that New York can turn out.

From the steps of the Plaza one could barely see the Fifth Avenue. Please see **FIRST LADY,**

FIRST LADY: The Non-Candidate Emerges

Continued from A1

Avenue display windows of F.A.O. Schwartz, all but hidden behind television satellite trucks parked bumper to bumper.

"I haven't seen so many photographers since the last Victoria's Secret show in the fall," muttered one woman working her way into the Plaza's Grand Ballroom.

The cause of all the ruckus was a seemingly offhand comment that Toricelli made on "Meet the Press" early in January, suggesting that, with Moynihan's suddenly announced retirement, Mrs. Clinton might consider running for the seat in 2000.

Ever since, she and President Clinton have masterfully teased the matter as she gives it, by all accounts, serious thought.

Marveling at the crowd that had gathered to hear her luncheon speech to the Women's Leadership Forum, an arm of the Democratic National Committee, she said at the outset: "I'm told some had thought I might have an announcement to make."

She paused, and then added: "I don't."

But she proceeded to address every reason why politics is a noble profession, how much political action had accomplished during the last six years of the Clinton administration and how much more it could accomplish in the future.

"Politics," she said, "is how we get along with one another. Politics . . . in good times and bad times is really the lifeblood of a democracy." And, she said, "women have taken their rightful place in the political landscape."

Consider, she said, the problems that have been addressed in recent years: gun control, raising the minimum wage, health care, child care and education. In each, she said, politics made a difference.

not shying from the topic of the day as he introduced her to the 500 people in the audience.

Today, it will be more of the same. She is speaking to a United Nations International Women's Day forum and visiting a school in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan to talk about women in sports.

While the first lady spent the day in New York, the Republican seen as the most likely candidate for the Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, spent the day in Washington, testifying before a House committee on gov-

ernment reform and taping an interview for a television talk show.

With the public having grown accustomed to the nearly 2-month-old non-candidacy of Mrs. Clinton, opinion surveys show a slight tightening of the non-race.

The Marist Institute for Public Opinion at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., found that a lead of about 11 percentage points for Clinton over Giuliani in a statewide poll last month (49%-38.1%) had narrowed to 4 points (49.7%-45.5%).

While her husband, traveling

separately, addressed a fundraiser for Toricelli across the Hudson River in Newark, N.J., the first lady's agenda called for a private dinner Wednesday night at the Upper East Side home of Roger Altman, the former deputy Treasury secretary who is a partner in Evercore Partners, a boutique investment bank.

A gathering of potential fundraisers from Wall Street's Democratic quarters?

Not at all, said an aide to Mrs. Clinton.

"Just friends of Roger's—more like corporate types," she said.



Associated Press

Hillary Clinton with art students at school in Queens on Wednesday.

As for the future, she said, decisions remain on protecting patients' treatment by health maintenance organizations, addressing the need for more teachers in the nation's schools, acting "fiscally responsible" with the federal budget surplus.

"These are not decisions we should leave to someone else," she said.

And with that, having spent part of her morning at an intermediate school in Queens (where 18 television cameras lined up to record the event) and having accepted at the luncheon a St. John's University sweatshirt (the local favorite expects to be in a postseason national basketball tournament), she spent more than 10 minutes shaking hands after her speech.

Talks like a candidate? Walks like a candidate? Must be. . .

Well, not necessarily.

Everything she said and each stop she made were typical of an activist first lady—and, indeed, each would serve to support the candidacy of Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a New York Democrat considered the most likely candidate for the party's senatorial nomination if Mrs. Clinton does not run.

"She spoke to all the women in the audience about their role in politics and that it's important for us to get behind these ideas," said Lynn Kirsch, who came in from Westport, Conn., for the speech. "I didn't hear her make a commitment. What I heard was: 'If I run or not, all of us have a very important role.'"

Mark Green, New York's public advocate, a top consumer protection official, heard it the same way: "It was a speech to promote the audience more than herself."

But will she run?

"Talmudic I'm not," said Roy Romer, the party's general chairman, a former Colorado governor picking up the patois of New York.

No need to rush the decision, said Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), who last November defeated Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, with major campaign help from the first lady.

"Think this one through and then, if you decide you want to be a candidate, we will support you and we will be resolute," he said.

THE FIRST LADY

Hillary's Encounter with a Runaway Snow Bunny

AMID SPECULATION THAT THE REAL REASON **HILLARY CLINTON** canceled her trip with Bill to Central America was that she is furious with him, sources in Washington say Secret Service agents are vouching for the account that she aggravated an old back injury while skiing in Utah. According to officials, Mrs. Clinton was sideswiped by another skier, which led to a review by Secret Service headquarters to make sure her security detail had been in place to deal with any sudden, threatening movement toward the First Lady. Mrs. Clinton, who wore a hat and dark glasses, apparently went unrecognized by the crowd at Deer Valley. She was standing at the bottom of a slope filled with inexperienced skiers when one of them lost control and ran over the back of her skis. Hillary

RICK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE/SEMA



Hillary at Deer Valley

fell, injuring her back in the process; she complained later of being in pain. (The Secret Service found nothing suspect about the collision.) **MARSHA BERRY**, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, has insisted all along that Hillary stayed home to recover for her forthcoming trip with Chelsea to Africa. And no, they won't be joined by Bill. —By Jay Branegan and Elaine Shannon/Washington

POLITICS

A Senate Candidate Waiting in the Wings?

NEW YORK DEMOCRATS ARE WORRIED THAT they may be left in the lurch if **HILLARY CLINTON** ends up deciding not to seek the Senate seat from their state next year. One possible contender had been **ANDREW CUOMO**, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who thought about running but then announced he wouldn't in order to spend time helping **AL GORE** get elected Presi-

dent. Now there are hopes that he may reconsider and get in the race if Hillary decides not to. His father **MARIO CUOMO** was disappointed by his initial decision, and has let his feelings be known. "I certainly hope that he would reconsider if it turns out that Hillary doesn't get in the race," the former New York Governor told *TIME* last week. But his son says that he has not had any second thoughts and is still feeling good about his decision to stay out of the Senate race.



DENNIS COOK—AP

Cuomo

THE ACADEMY AWARDS

A Life Sentence And an Oscar Nod

IT DOESN'T FAZE CONVICT-JOURNALIST **WILBERT RIDEAU** that he won't be able to attend this year's Oscars, even though his searing look at the hopelessness of prison life, *The Farm: Angola, USA*, is up for an Academy Award as best documentary film and will be encored on the Arts & Entertainment Network on March 15 and March 20. "One thing about prison is it keeps things in perspective," says co-director Rideau, who is 57 and has served 38 years in Louisiana prisons on a life sentence for murder. "The award would be nice, but it won't change my life one iota. I will still walk down to the chow hall afterwards for my beans and rice." *The*

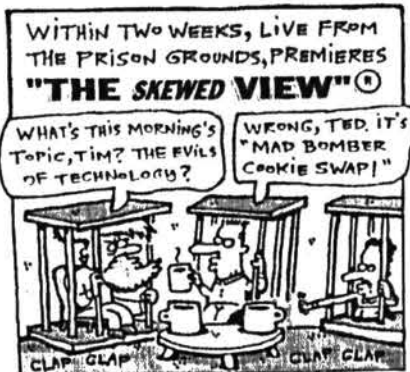
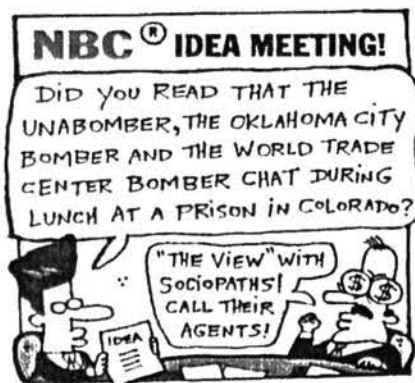


Rideau

Farm examines the bleak struggle of six convicts lost in a living graveyard where few ever get out. Rideau, who taught himself to read and write while on death row for 11 years, kept his story

out of the film because, he explains, "it's the only way to get credibility—people listen to you better." He has no illusions that his own long legal struggle for freedom will succeed. "If the courts go by the law, I'll win. If not, I'll lose. It is that simple." As for the Oscars, Rideau says, "it would be nice to be there. But if I don't go this time, there will be another time. I still have a lot of creative juices left in me." —By Richard Woodbury/Denver

THE DRAWING BOARD



\$adv07

For Release SUNDAY, March 7 and thereafter

The factors of Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision

Eds: Moving on news and political circuits

An AP News Analysis

By MARC HUMBERT= AP Political Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) Despite all the hoopla and mystery, the questions facing Hillary Rodham Clinton are fairly straightforward as she contemplates a run for the U.S. Senate from New York.

They are the same questions considered by potential candidate for everything from town council to the White House.

Can I raise the money? Can I put together the campaign team? Do I want the job? Can I handle a campaign that can be brutal and invasive? Can I win?

Some answers may have been provided by the first lady's two-day excursion to New York City on Wednesday and Thursday that served as part of her testing the waters.

Clinton advisers think the money part will be easy. She has already proven to be one of the Democratic Party's top fund-raising draws. She helped then-U.S. Rep. Charles Schumer raise the massive war chest he used last year in New York to unseat Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. On Wednesday night, she attended a small dinner at the home of Roger Altman, President Clinton's former deputy treasury secretary, where she met with the very rich people who might help put together her own campaign fund.

When it comes to assembling a campaign team, Mrs. Clinton played a key role in putting together the operation that won her husband the White House in 1992 and 1996. "They are very, very good," one top New York Republican strategist, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Wednesday. She also would be able to draw on the expertise of Schumer's campaign team, which has first-hand and recent experience at winning a Senate seat from New York.

There is little doubt she has more than a passing interest in the Senate seat. Her friends are quick to note that this is not just any Senate seat, but from the media center of the world and one with a pedigree. The seat is being vacated next year by Daniel Patrick Moynihan and was previously held by the late Robert F. Kennedy.

"Mrs. Clinton does not waste her time and she doesn't waste other people's time and the fact that she is considering this in the full glare of publicity means that she's very, very interested in the position," says one adviser.

There is no doubt a Senate campaign in New York could be brutal.

There would, almost certainly, be questions about her marriage and Monica; Travelgate and Whitewater; investment profits and billing records; and a host of other issues she might not want to revisit. She would also have to do something as a candidate that she has been loath to do as first lady: talk to the news media on a regular basis. During her New York visit, reporters once again had to settle for aides and advisers if they had questions.

*Nonetheless, Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday did offer something of a guide to her feelings.

"We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like all the negativity, I don't like all the ads on television,'" she told her enthusiastic audience at a Democratic Women's Leadership Forum fund raiser. "I can certainly understand why someone might feel that way, but it is not a feeling that you should act on."

Whether she can win in New York may be the toughest question for Mrs. Clinton.

The leading contender for the Republican nomination is New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, although he has not yet said he will run. He is a seasoned campaigner, has credentials and, unlike most other Republicans, may be able to

pull a substantial vote out of heavily Democratic New York City.

There is little doubt that if the mayor is the GOP candidate and she is the Democratic standardbearer, the Republican money spigot will be turned on for him. They would likely both be well financed.

There is a presidential election next year. Since Ronald Reagan twice carried the state, Democrats have consistently taken New York's electoral votes. That's not surprising in a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans, 5-3. Either Vice President Al Gore or his only announced opponent for the Democratic nomination, former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley, who once starred for the New York Knicks basketball team, would likely run well in the Empire State. There is some speculation that New York's Republican governor, George Pataki, is angling for a spot on the national ticket. That could help bring out GOP voters.

The most recent statewide poll, released Wednesday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion, found Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 50 percent to 46 percent. Just two weeks earlier, another Marist poll had her leading the mayor, 49 percent to 38 percent.

Advisers think she will not make her decision until June or July, at the earliest.

Marc Humbert, state political editor for The Associated Press, has been covering New York politics for the AP since 1978. He can be reached at: Box 7165, Capitol Station, Albany, N.Y., 12224.

End Adv

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 03/04/99 at 11:51EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 11:56EST ****

Hillary Clinton talks with students Benjamin
Harrison and Jennifer Chong at Intermediate
School No. 25 in Flushing, N.Y.

A big hint in the Big Apple?

**First lady says political
process can't be left to others**

MSNBC STAFF AND WIRE REPORTS

NEW YORK, March 3 — First lady Hillary Clinton came tantalizingly close to revealing whether she wants a future in politics during a much-heralded visit to New York City on Wednesday.

"Politics" - Complete Coverage

Pat Buchanan's populist promise

Bush, Buchanan alter GOP race

A new Bush aims for the presidency

"You're hired."



Hillary Clinton wants to be New York's next Senator if she can figure out how to win in spite, NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports:

CLINTON DID NOT announce her long-awaited decision about whether she will run for the Senate, but on Wednesday evening NBC News' Andrea Mitchell reported that the first lady's friends say she is, in fact, leaning toward entering the race — if she can figure out how to win.

During a speech at a luncheon of the Democratic National Women's Leadership Forum at the Plaza Hotel, Clinton exhorted the audience of 900 to be politically involved:

"We have to ask ourselves: Is now the time that we retreat into our world? Where we say, 'I'm fine, my family is fine, my business is fine, I don't have to worry about anybody else?'"

In a not-so-veiled reference to her husband's impeachment trial, she advised against bowing out of politics because of its "negativity."

"I certainly can understand why someone might feel that way," Hillary Clinton said as laughter rippled through the crowd. "But it's not a feeling you should act on. It's a feeling that should be transient."

Many in the audience interpreted the statement as a sign of her own interest in running.

"It sounded like she might be leaning toward running. It sounded very positive to me," said Manhattan Borough President Virginia Fields.

TEASING THE AUDIENCE

Hillary Clinton also teased her audience by asking why attendance at the luncheon was so high — 400 people were added to the guest list after the original 500 tickets sold out, and many of the latecomers were seated in an adjacent room.

"There was talk I might have an announcement to make," she Clinton said. She then paused and added: "I do not."

Some in the audience groaned.

When the speech ended, her supporters began chanting, "Go, go, go! Run, Hillary, run!"

First families

A look at family members bitten by the political bug

CLICK ON A NAME FOR MORE DETAILS



White House

- John Quincy Adams
- George W. Bush
- Florence Harding
- Benjamin Harrison
- Maureen Reagan
- Eleanor Roosevelt
- Bob Taft

John Quincy Adams, son of President John Adams, served in the Senate and later became the sixth U.S. president. After leaving the White House, he served 17 years in the House. He suffered a stroke and died in the Capitol in 1848. His son, Charles Francis Adams, was also a congressman.

Source: Associated Press

COMMANDING LEAD IN THE POLLS

It was Hillary Clinton's first trip to New York since announcing she was considering a run for office.

Polls taken a few weeks ago gave her a commanding lead in a hypothetical match-up with Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000. But another statewide poll released Wednesday showed a narrowing of the potential race.

The telephone poll of 702 registered voters conducted Sunday and Monday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found Clinton favored by 50 percent of voters with Giuliani the choice of 46 percent. The gap was the same as the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Clinton has held a commanding lead in the polls over Giuliani, a potential but also unannounced Republican rival for the Senate seat. A recent poll from Quinnipiac College Polling Institute gave Clinton an 18-point lead over Giuliani in a hypothetical race.

Quinnipiac pollster Maurice Carroll said Wednesday's visit wasn't likely to boost her polling numbers because "they're already off the charts."

'Maybe if she could jump in the East River and rescue a drowning baby her numbers might get higher.'

— POLLSTER
MAURICE CARROLL

"Maybe if she could jump in the East River and rescue a drowning baby her numbers might get higher," Carroll said. "I can't think how else."

WHAT CLINTON MAY CONSIDER

Before deciding whether to run, Clinton likely will take a hard look at her party's chances to gain ground in the Senate, where Republicans now hold a 55-45 edge.

When word first surfaced weeks ago that Clinton might consider a Senate run, it was considered at least a possibility that Democrats might capture up to six new seats to control the chamber.

Now, with at least two Democrats — Sens. Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey and Richard Bryan of Nevada — announcing they will not run for re-election, such Democratic hopes appear far less plausible. So, at best, Clinton might be jumping into a bitter, intensely covered campaign for a chance to be a junior senator in a minority party.

VISITS MIDDLE SCHOOL

Earlier in the day, she was greeted at a Queens middle school with raucous applause from students, education officials and local politicians. She spoke about the importance of arts education and announced a new report that cites the school, I.S. 25 in Flushing, for its attention to the arts.

Students in the chorus, fidgeting nervously in a hallway before performing for the first lady, said they hoped she would run.

"She's cool, she's not snotty, she's like a real, regular person," said 14-year-old Tiffany Mance.

"Some students don't learn well just sitting and listening," Clinton said in the school auditorium. "They need to move, they need to use their hands, and then ... the arts are a part of who we are," she said.

She also met with nine students in one of the classrooms. Some were sketching with pastels; others performed a short interpretive dance for her.

On Wednesday night, she was to dine at the home of Roger Altman, a Wall Street financier.

On Thursday, she was to talk at the United Nations about the forthcoming International Women's Day.

The Associated Press and Reuters contributed to this report.

DAILY NEWS
—online edition

HOME

NEWS & VIEWS
City Beat

Headlines Index

Last 6 Days

Search/Archives

QUICK SEARCH

GO

PULL-DOWN POETRY

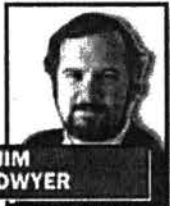
Shopping Online is great at Egghead.com.

egghead go!

**City Beat**

Hillary's Silence Speaks Volumes

I am reminded that the first trip Hillary Clinton made from Washington as an official First Lady was to New York City. She took the morning shuttle, Delta, and then got a ride to a school on 177th St., where she waded among children. It was a moment spilling with promise, in January 1993.



JIM DWYER

Yesterday, she arrived by Air Force jet, rode armored limousines and her distance from the public was measured in the following advisories given to the press by the White House.

"Lighting and a mult is provided. Throw is approximately 80 feet."

In English, this means that her words would be carried over a cable to the media machines that would then broadcast them to the world.

The "80-foot throw" meant that the closest she would come to an actual question is 80 feet. This is standard stuff, issued for all White House trips, which is why politics is so infernally boring. This is called the bubble, and it is meant to keep people in public life safe from the lunatic fringe. It also happens to make up the mechanics of official lies and silence.

And now it is imagined that Hillary Clinton is supposed to float in on the bubble from Washington, one that she did not invent but must live in, and be the senator from New York.

Some people believe that holy statues cry or move, and others think Hillary Clinton is going to run for the U.S. Senate next year.

You are well advised to wait to see any of these things before putting an iota of faith in them.

If she did run, Hillary Clinton would be the first person in the United States to make Rudy Giuliani look accessible.

She has had a bad job, First Lady, and it is not her fault that

she is supposed to say virtually nothing and vanish into the wallpaper of pleasant manners.

The harsh fact remains. Bending down to look at children's arts-and-crafts projects, then murmuring, "Oh great, that's really nice" doesn't add up to much of a credential for the U.S. Senate.

She begins with her greatest asset, which is her celebrity, which arises from her biggest problem, which is her husband. No matter what the polls say, the whole Clinton package — him, his dirty laundry, her excuses for it — is stale and tiresome.

A politician in Westchester County, Jeanine Pirro, is supposed to be burned toast now that her husband got indicted for some kind of tax flimflam. No more politics for Jeanine Pirro! The same week the Pirro household got into trouble, Hillary Clinton's husband was slapped with an accusation of rape from a woman, Juanita Broadderick, whose story is at least plausible.

Of course, this has nothing to do with her being a United States senator. Still, if she were sent to Washington by the people of New York, her job would be to look after our interests and not her husband's. Would she try to overturn the federal health care cuts for New York City that Bill Clinton personally made, and which are tremendously damaging to the medical research that goes on here?

Does she think the welfare bill he signed, cutting off food stamps from immigrants, is a fine idea?

One of these days, she will have to answer a question and can't walk off trailing yards of bland palaver.

Gabe Pressman, who remembers everything, spent the day trying to shoot a question at her for his television station, WNBC. He also is the president of the Press Club, and is better than we deserve.

"In 1964, Bobby Kennedy first ran, we could interview him on any subject right on the sidewalks," said Pressman. "One time, his press guy Frank Mankiewicz tried to shove me away when I was asking a question, but I got in there. Kennedy said, 'You're asking me for 30 seconds on Vietnam. That's a pretty complicated question.' "

Of course, they were only talking about a matter of war on a sidewalk. When it comes to discussing the Clintons' personal mess, the original Capitol Hillbillies, there will be an 80-foot wall of silence. So far, she hasn't run for anything but cover.

Original Publication Date: 03/04/1999

Related Stories

Rudy erases most of her lead: poll

By FREDRIC U. DICKER *State Editor*

ALBANY — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton arrived in New York yesterday to ominous new polling data showing her in a virtual dead heat with Mayor Giuliani.

The Marist College poll found Mrs. Clinton barely ahead of Giuliani in a possible race for the U.S. Senate next year, 50 to 46 percent, or just within the poll's 4-point margin of error.

The results were a sharp improvement for Giuliani, who trailed Mrs.

Clinton 49-38 percent in a Marist poll two weeks ago.

"We're seeing the transition from Celebrity Clinton to Candidate Clinton," said Marist pollster Dr. Lee Miringoff.

The telephone poll, which surveyed 702 self-described registered voters Sunday and Monday, is the first conducted after public disclosure of Arkansas nursing home operator Juanita Broaddrick's allegations of being raped by Bill Clinton in 1978, when he was Arkansas attorney general.

The poll found New Yorkers believe Mrs. Clinton was more likely than Giuliani to work with others in the U.S. Senate and to "care about people like me."

But it also found voters believe Giuliani would fight harder than Mrs. Clinton for New York.

Giuliani led Mrs. Clinton 52 to 43 percent upstate and 51 to 44 percent in the suburbs in the new poll.

Mrs. Clinton was ahead among heavily Democratic New York City voters, 64 to 33 percent.

Hillary's mum on Senate, but sounds like candidate

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and TOM TOPOUSIS

First Lady Hillary Clinton yesterday tantalized 900 supporters at The Plaza, saying she hasn't decided on running for the Senate — before giving a talk that sounded every bit like a stump speech.

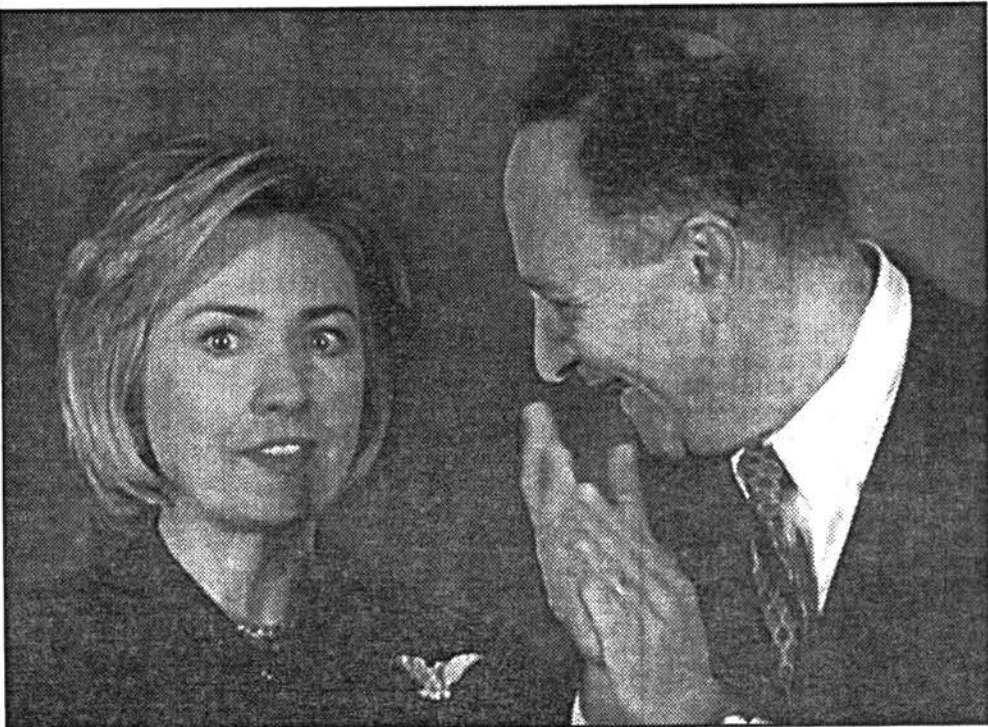
"I am told there were some who thought that I might have an announcement to make," she said, pausing for effect. "But I don't."

The First Lady also made the audience wonder whether she was referring to herself when she said it's important for women to remain politically active.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas. We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity,'" she said.

Earlier in the day, Mrs. Clinton visited a Queens middle school to promote arts education, the subject of a new report by a presidential panel.

Former Schools Commissioner Ramon Cortines, forced out by Mayor Giuliani,



FRIENDLY FACE: Sen. Charles Schumer gives the First Lady a warm welcome yesterday at The Plaza hotel luncheon. N.Y. Post: David Rentas

wrote the report's introduction.

Accompanied to IS 25 in Flushing by Queens Rep. Gary Ackerman and Borough President Claire

Shulman, Mrs. Clinton made a pair of thinly veiled digs at Giuliani when she spoke of overcrowding and construction problems in city schools.

"As we were walking in, Claire said to me, 'You know, this is a beautiful school, but I'm worried because we have so many young people, so many children in this borough now. I'm not sure we'll have enough seats and places for all of them in the years to come,'" recalled Mrs. Clinton.

The First Lady and the mayor are potential opponents in a race for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Giuliani, in Washington yesterday, was asked by MSNBC, "In the deepest part of your soul, wouldn't you love to run against Hillary Clinton?"

"Yes," he said, adding in a later interview, "I'd rather do it if she's in the race. It makes it more intriguing. More interesting."

Mrs. Clinton's arrival from Washington with Ackerman was marred when their limo broke down and they were forced to arrive in a car with a police sharpshooter.

PM-Mrs Clinton,660

Hillary Clinton's could-be campaign tour launches into second day
Eds: U.N. speech at 10 a.m.; will be led; also moving on national lines
By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

NEW YORK (AP) Dropping a hint about a call to civic duty, Hillary Rodham Clinton is tantalizing New Yorkers who look at the first lady and see their next senator. But so far she's just keeping them guessing.

On her second day in New York, Mrs. Clinton was giving a speech at the United Nations today about the upcoming Women's Rights Day and later was previewing an HBO documentary on women in sports at a school in Chelsea.

Mrs. Clinton's visit to the Big Apple had the feel of a campaign rally even as she remained coy on whether she will be a candidate. Democrats used her visit, Wednesday her first to New York since saying she was giving careful thought to a Senate bid to woo the fence-sitting first lady.

And some of her supporters were anything but subtle.

"Don't you think it's time for a woman to represent New York in the United States Senate?" Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., blared to an overflow crowd of about 900 mostly female donors who plunked down up to \$1,000 apiece to soak up the Hillary phenomenon at a Democratic National Committee luncheon.

Mrs. Clinton, standing behind Schumer, smiled as the crowd erupted in applause.

Although her aides sought to portray her jaunt to New York as just another of many forays here, Mrs. Clinton's words were just vague enough to stoke her boosters' hopes.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas," Mrs. Clinton said. "We cannot say 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity. I don't like all of the ads on television.'"

She alluded only once to the Senate race.

"I was told that there were some who thought that, uh, I might have an announcement to make," she said, pausing and holding the crowd in breath-catching suspense.

"But I don't."

Groans followed.

The aura of mystery surrounding Mrs. Clinton's political flirtation is spawning a parlor game in Democratic circles. The buzz after her speech placed odds on her running.

"If she's not running she's giving a good impression of someone who is," New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone said. "I think every indication now is that she runs."

Until she does decide, she is a huge cash draw for the Democrats. Wednesday's luncheon raised \$500,000, a record for the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum.

Even political veterans marveled at the sea of awestruck supporters, cameras and clamoring reporters hanging on the first lady's every word.

"I could not believe the amount of press," said former Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, who once ran as vice president on the Democratic ticket and lost to Schumer in the Democratic Senate primary last year. "It's like a presidential announcement."

Mrs. Clinton began Wednesday with a visit to a middle school in the Queens, where she discussed the virtues of arts education, and capped the day with a private dinner at the home of Roger Altman, a former Treasury Department official whose deep pockets could be crucial to financing a New York campaign.

Mrs. Clinton's visit came as Monica Lewinsky's face was again plastered on the covers of New York City's tabloids in anticipation of the former White House intern's interview broadcast Wednesday night about her affair with the president.

Although Mrs. Clinton would be a formidable candidate, she would also face what looks to be a tough battle against her most likely Republican opponent,

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Her lead against Giuliani, which had surged into the double digits in earlier polls, shrank to just four points, equal to the margin of error, in a survey released Wednesday by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion.

And not everyone was gushing. One man outside the Plaza Hotel held aloft a placard reading ``Hillary Clinton: Doormat of the Year.''

**** filed by:APW-(ar) on 03/04/99 at 03:44EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 07:57EST ****

bc-hillary-times - al655

(ATTN: National editors) (Includes optional trims)

She's Not a Candidate Yet but She's Acting Like One (New York)

By James Gerstenzang= (c) 1999, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK This being a story about an out-of-towner in New York, let's start with the bottom line: Hillary Rodham Clinton is not running for the U.S. Senate. Not officially. Not yet.

But beginning a two-day flirtation with the city on Wednesday, she played her time here from the far reaches of Queens to the heart of Manhattan (the Plaza Hotel, no less) just like a candidate.

What she offered, gushed a very important fan, City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, came "very close to an open declaration" of candidacy.

Clinton has talked voting statistics with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. From Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, she has gotten the hard sell as he seeks to line up candidates. She has heard the pleas of union leaders and party fund-raisers.

But it wasn't until Wednesday that the boomlet got real on the streets of New York with all the celebrity-sighting glam that New York can turn out.

From the steps of the Plaza one could barely see the Fifth Avenue display windows of F.A.O. Schwartz, all but hidden behind television satellite trucks parked bumper to bumper.

"I haven't seen so many photographers since the last Victoria's Secret show in the fall," muttered one woman working her way into the Plaza's Grand Ballroom.

The cause of all the ruckus was a seemingly off-hand comment Torricelli made on "Meet the Press" early in January, suggesting that with Moynihan's announced retirement, Hillary Rodham Clinton might consider running for the seat in 2000.

Ever since, she and President Clinton have masterfully teased the matter as she gives it, by all accounts, serious thought.

Marveling at the crowd that had gathered to hear her luncheon speech to the Women's Leadership Forum, an arm of the Democratic National Committee, she said at the outset: "I'm told some had thought I might have an announcement to make."

She paused, and then added: "I don't."

But she then proceeded to address every reason why politics is a noble profession, what political action had accomplished during the past six years (of the Clinton administration) and how much more it could accomplish in the future.

"Politics," she said, "is how we get along with one another. Politics ... in good times and bad times is really the lifeblood of a democracy." And, she said, "Women have taken their rightful place in the political landscape."

Consider, she said, the problems that have been addressed in recent years gun control, raising the minimum wage, health care, child care and education. In each, she said, politics made a difference.

As for the future, she said, decisions remain on protecting patients' treatment by health maintenance organizations, addressing the need for more teachers in the nation's schools and acting "fiscally responsible" with the federal budget surplus.

"These are not decisions we should leave to someone else," she said.

And with that, having spent part of her morning at an intermediate school in Queens (where 18 television cameras all lined up to record the event) and having accepted at the luncheon a St. John's University sweatshirt (the NCAA basketball tournament looms for the local favorite), she spent more than 10 minutes shaking hands after her speech.

Talks like a candidate? Walks like a candidate? Must be a candidate?

Well, not necessarily.

Everything she said and each stop she made were typical of an activist

Front page
below-fold
to start

first lady and, indeed, each would serve to support the candidacy of Rep. Nita Lowey, a New York Democrat considered the most likely candidate for the party's senatorial nomination if Clinton does not run.

(Begin optional trim)

``She spoke to all the women in the audience about their role in politics, and that it's important for us to get behind these ideas,'' said Lynn Kirsch, who came in from Westport, Conn. for the speech. ``I didn't hear her make a commitment. What I heard was, `if I run or not all of us have a very important role.' ''

Mark Green, New York's public advocate, a top consumer protection official, heard it the same way: ``It was a speech to promote the audience more than herself.''

But will she run?

``Talmudic I'm not,'' said Roy Romer, the party's general chairman, a former Colorado governor picking up the patois of New York.

No need to rush the decision, said Charles Schumer, who in November defeated Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, with major campaign help from the first lady.

``Think this one through, and then if you decide you want to be a candidate, we will support you and we will be resolute,'' he said, not shying from the topic of the day as he introduced her to the 500 people in the audience.

(End optional trim)

Thursday, it will be more of the same. She is speaking to a United Nations International Women's Day forum and visiting a school in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan to talk about women in sports.

While the first lady spent the day in New York, the Republican seen as the most likely candidate for the Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, spent the day in Washington, testifying before a House of Representatives committee on government reform and taping an interview for a television talk show.

Public opinion surveys show a slight tightening of the non-race.

The Marist Institute for Public Opinion, at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., found that a roughly 11-point Clinton lead in a statewide poll last month (49 percent to 38.1 percent) had narrowed to four points. (49.7 percent to 45.5 percent).

**** filed by:LAWP(--) on 03/04/99 at 03:00EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 07:58EST ****

"New Yorkers love people who live near the margins," said Moss, the N.Y.U. political scientist. "The very qualities that make people like Billy Martin or Joe Namath helps explain why they like the Clintons. New Yorkers like risk takers."

THE NATION

N.Y. race hasn't begun, but Clinton already slipping

By Rick Hampson
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — New Yorkers, who for weeks puffed hot air into Hillary Rodham Clinton's senatorial trial balloon, may be cooling to the idea.

When the first lady visits today for the first time since her future became a national obsession, she'll find that some of the euphoria that surrounded her potential candidacy is evaporating.

"I think she's peaked," Rich Eisenberg, a computer technician from Poughkeepsie, said Tuesday. "I don't think she's going to run. If she does, she won't win."

Two polls support his assessment of Clinton's political momentum:

► A Marist Institute Poll set for release today will show that her lead over a possible Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has narrowed.

► A Fox News/Opinion Dynamics Poll taken Friday found that Clinton's national favorable rating has dropped from 63% to 53% since late January, when she was touted as a successor to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who has announced that he won't seek reelection next year.

"The closer she gets to an actual candidacy, the more her popularity fades," Dick Morris, President Clinton's former political adviser, wrote in Tuesday's edition of the *New York Post*.

He added, "When you get your face on the cover of *Time* and *News-*

week and your ratings drop, something is wrong."

But Clinton remains popular here, judging from her continued lead over Giuliani in the polls and from New Yorkers' comments this week.

"She's a canny woman. You'd have to be canny, or stupid, to put up with him," Manhattan accountant Kent Taylor said, referring to the president.

Polls show Clinton is still very popular with registered voters. Last month, she increased her lead over Giuliani in the Quinnipiac College poll from 9 percentage points to 18 percentage points.

Clinton has never held elective office and never lived in New York State. Giuliani is a two-term mayor who has cracked down on everything from murder to drunken driving to unleashed dogs.

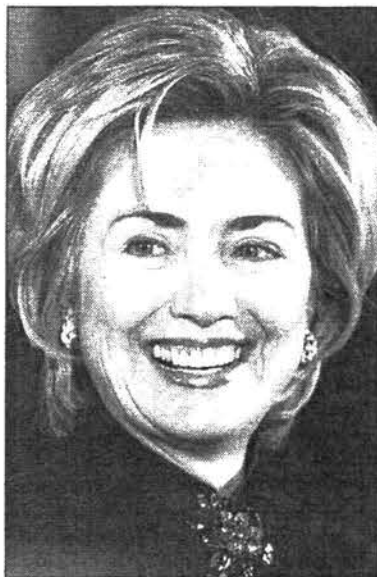
Is her candidacy merely what *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson calls "one of the weirder runaway fantasies of our time"?

Is the first lady taking New Yorkers for a little bit of a ride?

That was the suggestion of Doris Eggersham, an elementary school teacher in Brooklyn: "I don't think she really plans to run. But she's stretching it out. The attention from the Democratic Party must be flattering."

And, now that people are beginning to press for a decision, "I think she's getting a little cold feet," said Israel Acosta, a hotel worker who lives in Ozone Park.

Others were confident that the first



By Stephen Jaffe, Agence France-Presse

'Careful consideration': Hillary Rodham Clinton visits New York today for the first time since she said she'd think about running for Senate.

lady is serious. "I don't think she's playing games," said Bill Blackwell, a Yonkers steamfitter. "I think she wants to run because she's interested in helping the country. I think she actually needs more time if she asks for more time."

But Barry Posner of Great Neck, a lawyer, said that his friends and colleagues are beginning to separate Hillary Rodham Clinton the first lady — the celebrity, the stalwart wife, the victim — from Hillary Rodham Clin-



By Doug Mills, AP

Looking like a candidate: Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a baby while visiting Auburn, N.Y., in July, before speculation began about her running for Senate.

ton the senatorial candidate.

And the candidate, he said, is not as politically attractive.

"The fact is, she'd be a carpetbagger who wants a Palestinian state," he said.

Clinton's statement — "I think it will be in the long-term interests of

the Middle East for Palestine to be a state" — already has been mentioned by Giuliani as a political liability in a state that contains many Jewish voters.

But several Jewish voters said they would not hold that against her. "The Palestinians are not going to decide

the election," Eisenberg said. He has other concerns. "People are interested in education, transportation. What does she know about the Thruway, the subway?"

In her two-day visit to New York City, Clinton is to visit two schools, meet potential financial supporters and address the Democratic Women's Leadership Forum.

She'll make a speech in the grand ballroom of the Plaza Hotel, which has been expanded to accommodate 900 people at \$150 a head. The Democratic National Committee says it has filled every seat and has a waiting list of 300.

Since announcing two weeks ago that she would give "careful consideration" to running, Clinton has talked with many New Yorkers about such a race, but has not actually visited her could-be constituents.

They're eager for a look; even in the latest Week of Monica, many New Yorkers couldn't stop talking about Hillary. They're gossiping about where she'd live — East Side or West Side — how she'd deal with upstate issues, what she'd say about Israel and the Palestinians.

"I think she's trying to find out what the public opinion is before she commits," said Jean Paulus, who works for an international fruit shipping company in Manhattan.

She added: "I think she's going to run. ... I think she's doing it on her own. As soon as she unloads some dead weight, she'll be fine."

Contributing: Christine Sparta

Hope, Thy Name Is Hillary, in One Hurting N.Y. Mill Town

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

SENECA FALLS, N.Y., March 2—Here in the birthplace of the women's rights movement, in a Republican stronghold that seemed to fall in love with Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit last July, the first lady's possible run for the Senate is not the big news. No, even in the homespun small town that was supposedly the model for Bedford Falls in the money-isn't-everything fable "It's a Wonderful Life," it's still the economy, stupid.

In fact, throughout upstate New York, it's the horrible economy, and whoever ends up running for Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat will ignore that at their peril. And it is the economy that could create an opportunity for Hillary Clinton, or any Democratic candidate, and turn this traditional bastion of the GOP into a crucial battleground in 2000. Early polls and interviews around Seneca Falls suggest that upstate voters are so desperate to join the nation's economic boom that they would consider anyone who cares about their problems.

Clinton will surely stir up a national media frenzy Wednesday when she visits thriving New York City. But fittingly, 300 miles away in Seneca Falls—where a wry sign in the town supervisor's office reads: "Due to the present economic uncertainties, the light at the end of the tunnel will be turned off indefinitely"—there is a more pressing matter at hand. The owners of the Seneca Knitting Mills, the town's second-largest manufacturer and most visible downtown landmark, have decided to shut down the 155-year-old factory. The workers—about three fourths of them women—have until Friday to rescue the plant.

"I'm just so tired of starting over," said Sandra O'Connor, 52, who has worked at the mill for 13 years. Before that, she had worked 12 years at a local television factory, until it shut down. Before that, she had worked four years for a local auto parts factory, until it moved to Kentucky. "Maybe Hillary can save

our jobs," she sighed.

O'Connor's plea could be applied throughout upstate New York, where the hard times have made George Bailey's cinematic jump off the bridge look like a walk in the park. Its manufacturing base has hemorrhaged well-paying jobs, and few communities have figured out how to replace them. General Motors and Miller Brewing shuttered plants in Syracuse. Republic Steel and Bell Aerospace abandoned Niagara Falls. Rochester absorbed massive layoffs at Kodak, Xerox and Bausch & Lomb. Last year, after the Buffalo News ran a seven-part series titled "Upstate: Downbound," the region added only 14,200 jobs, versus 113,400 downstate.

In the past, that might not have affected a Senate race. Traditionally, Democrats have dominated New York City, Republicans have owned the rural communities upstate, and the downstate suburbs have been up for grabs. For example, in 1992 and 1996, President Clinton coasted to comfortable victories statewide simply by running reasonably close to his GOP opponents upstate. In 1994 and 1998, Gov. George E. Pataki (R) won on the strength of huge upstate routs.

But if the race to replace Moynihan becomes a celebrity battle—pitting the first lady, voted the most admired woman in America in some polls, against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), hailed as the tough guy who tamed the Big Apple—the usual geographical calculus may be useless. Giuliani is more popular than most Republicans in the city and its suburbs, but less popular upstate, where a New York City address can be more harmful than Arkansas and Washington ones. Even GOP-dominated towns like Seneca Falls could be in play.

"I didn't like what Hillary did with the health care, but I'd probably vote for her," said Dick Marshall, a Republican who owns a used-car business here. "She's a smart lady. Hey, at least she came to visit. I don't see anyone else paying attention to this place."

After a Quinnipiac College poll taken during last month's run-Hillary-run media blitz, the main storyline was the first lady leading Giuliani 54 to 36 percent. But the breakdown of the numbers showed how unpredictable that dream race could be: Giuliani won narrowly in the suburbs, while Clinton won big on Giuliani's city turf and even came out ahead upstate. Still, potential voters said Giuliani had a much better understanding of New York issues than the first lady, who has never lived in the state.

In interviews with about 30 voters in Seneca Falls, the refrain was almost always the same: They said they don't care about the first lady's role in the Travelgate firings, her Whitewater billing records or her cattle futures bonanza. They don't care about her husband's sex life or his testimony under oath. They said they just want a senator to feed their pain and do something to ease it. And despite her liberal reputation in Wash-



The first lady won many hearts in upstate Seneca Falls, N.Y., when she visited in July.

ington, the first lady seems to represent an almost non-ideological form of hope for many voters around here.

"This is a conservative area, and I think most of us would prefer someone from New York as a senator. But that doesn't mean we won't support her," said Janet Pfeiff, a Republican who is the first female town supervisor of Seneca Falls, where America's first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848. "The economy is the overwhelming issue. That comes first."

In some ways, Seneca Falls still resembles the picturesque mill town captured by "It's a Wonderful Life" in 1946, with its quaint Victorian homes and tidy downtown storefronts. The Women's Rights National Historic Park set an attendance record last year during its 150th anniversary and local wineries are attracting increasing numbers of tourists.

But the hand-hewn limestone knitting mill is not the only local institution unraveling like a ball of yarn. The county's largest manufacturer, Gould Pumps, has laid off 100 workers

since January. In the last year, a cafe, a newsstand, a deli, an art gallery, a furniture shop, an appliance store, a bakery and a historic hotel and restaurant have all gone out of business on Falls Street, the main drag. Unless the mill is saved, its Falls Street socks store will close soon. Meanwhile, the demise of a local Army depot has moved 3,000 military and 800 civilian jobs out of town. One resident recently posted a large sign on her house asking the last person to leave Seneca Falls to please turn out the lights.

There is some economic growth here, but most of it reflects the area's problems more than its promise. A 1,500-bed maximum-security prison is coming to the old Army base, along with a residential school for troubled youths. A new drug treatment center has opened. The county's landfill is about to expand, and its eight hog farms have all opened since 1994.

In this climate, to put it mildly, the 2000 Senate race is not exactly Topic A.

"Everyone just wants to know about the mill. That's people's lives, you know? That's

important," said Sharon Mannix, a manager of the Seneca Knit Mills sock store who was laid off last year from her job as a secretary at the Army depot.

When pressed, though, most Seneca Falls residents concede that politics can affect their lives. It was the federal government, after all, that shut down the depot. And it was Moynihan—after a chat two decades ago with George Souhan, the former owner of the knitting mill—who laid the groundwork for the 1848 convention site to become a national park. Some people here believe the first lady could work similar magic.

"I wish she knew more about our problems, but I'm sure she'd learn," said Republican Mary Lee Miller, a secretary in her husband's law office. "She's a real leader."

Hillary Clinton addressed 18,000 people here during the 150th anniversary celebration last July, and most of them cheered as she called for women to exercise their hard-won right to vote. That day, the women's rights park received more than four times as many visitors as it ever had before, and sold 16 times as much merchandise. But that doesn't necessarily mean the people here would vote for Clinton. Even Souhan, a former Democratic leader in the county, thinks she's wrong for the job. "I don't think she knows a damn thing about upstate New York," said Republican Bill Snyder, a local truck driver. "This place is dying. We need someone who understands that."

The employees of the Seneca Knitting Mills certainly do. There were once 240 of them, earning \$6 to \$15 an hour. It was hard work—winding, twisting, knitting, drying—but union leader Carol Thompson said they were always treated well when Souhan owned the plant.

In 1995, though, Souhan got sick, and had to sell his family's mill to a North Carolina firm. The new owners (who have not hired one female supervisor even though the work force is mostly women) posted cardboard signs with blue lettering on the shop floor: "Production Comes First." Employee grievances shot up to about 10 a week. Finally, after signing a new contract with the Seneca Falls workers, the firm announced it was eliminating their jobs.

"I have no idea what we're going to do," said Phyllis Beatty, a dryer who makes \$8.25 an hour after 37 years. Her husband is a supervisor; her son works on the line. "God knows there aren't any other jobs left in this town, except Burger King."

The workers need to come up with about \$5 million in financing by Friday to buy the mill themselves; federal loans and grants could help save the day. It's a long shot, but they say they know just the person in the White House who could help.

"Right now, Hillary is our best hope," said Thompson, an inspector whose daughter works at the plant as a knitter. "We know she cares about people like us."

PunditSpeak

By JoAnn Kelly

'Should Hillary Clinton run for the Senate?'

Carolyn Lochhead
Washington correspondent
San Francisco Chronicle

"That's obviously entirely up to her, but it would be interesting to see her as her own politician accountable to the voters, rather than as a power behind the throne. She would have to face voters, political opponents and the press, including the New York press. Certainly a race between Hillary Clinton and [New York Mayor] Rudolph Giuliani would be a thing to behold, not only for the clash of personalities but as a true ideological contest offering voters very different options. Why she would want to do this is another question. She's been first lady for six years with celebrity status, which is very different from being an in-the-trenches politician."



Katrina vanden Heuvel
Editor
The Nation

"It's her decision to make, but wouldn't Hillary Clinton be a happier and more politically satisfied person heading a foundation or writing a column championing the issues she's passionate about? New York is not a village. She's likely to face a brutal race against Emperor Giuliani (who makes [Independent Counsel] Kenneth Starr look like Mr. Chips), and the New York media will pummel her with tough scandal-related questions. New York and New Jersey's Democratic Party leaders may lust after Hillary Clinton's ability to raise pots of money, but they should advise the first lady that celebrity politicians haven't fared too well in New York state."



Bonnie Erbe
Columnist, Scripps Howard Newswire
Host, CBS series "To the Contrary"

"Yes, because the Democrats need her to hold that seat. But while she's their best hope, she'll have to answer a lot of questions, starting with what allegiance New York voters owe to a woman who was born in Illinois and spent most of her life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C. Her popularity right now is sky-high because America likes to see her standing by her man. But, when she was out front on progressive issues, such as universal health care and abortion rights, her numbers were closer to those of former Speaker Newt Gingrich [R-Ga.] when he was pushing for the Contract With America. All this means, even for New York, a hard-line feminist pushing a progressive platform will have a very hard time trying to win office."



Eleanor Clift
Contributing editor
Newsweek

"Unless Hillary really wants to be a senator, she shouldn't run. These last two years in the White House will not be easy, and if she's a candidate, she'll have to answer lots of questions she could otherwise avoid. Does she really want to spend the next 20 months explaining her positions on statehood for Palestine and children suing their parents? James Carville, the most loyal of the Clinton loyalists, has advised her to take a few years off, write a book, make speeches and make money. And this isn't Mrs. Clinton's last chance. She could credibly challenge Republican Sen. Peter Fitzgerald in 2004 in Illinois, her home state."

The Shirt List

■ The relentless *will she? won't she?* buzz over **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and the New York Senate race has clearly gotten to Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

So he brought a little sartorial prop to the "Fox News Sunday" set yesterday with which to gig Sen. **Bob Torricelli** (D-N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and father of the first-lady-for-Senate boomlet.

"I've come up with a T-shirt for Bob that I think says it well," declared McConnell, holding up the "I ♥ NY" model. "Of course, the first lady doesn't live in New York. And if she chooses not to run in New York, she could run in New Jersey [deft use of flash-card produces Exhibit B, a T-shirt with the slogan "I ♥ NJ"]. And the Democrats, of course, have an open seat in Nevada [morph to Exhibit C, "I ♥ NV"]. She's sort of the Senate candidate for all states this year."



BY CHRIS KILPONIS—FOX MORNING NEWS—VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS
McConnell, making a case for Clinton?

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

In Utah, a Little Downhill Time

■ The weather was splendid—sunny and near 60—yesterday in Park City, Utah.

But that didn't tempt **President Clinton** into schussing down the slopes. Instead, he remained inside and read books at the lavish mountain retreat of movie producer **Jeffrey Katzenberg**. But **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and daughter **Chelsea** did the whole snow bunny number in the resort that is readying for the 2002 Winter Olympics.

The two women caused a brief stir among photographers, who were thrilled to capture them strapping on skis and getting on a lift near Bald Eagle Mountain, reports The Post's Chuck Babington.

White House spokesman **Barry Toiv** said he did not know what Clinton was reading, but allowed as how "work was low on the totem pole to him as far as his priorities." Clinton has stayed away from the sport since injuring his left knee in a 1984 skiing mishap in Idaho.

This is the second year Katzenberg has turned over to the Clintons his home 25 miles east of Salt Lake City. He was not there.

On Saturday night, the family celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday with a cake and dinner. No word on gifts.



BY RICK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

First daughter **Chelsea Clinton** carves up the slopes yesterday near Park City, Utah, where she and her family gathered to celebrate her 19th birthday on Saturday.



Political Roundup

Duke Predicts Victory In Louisiana

■ **GOP HOUSE ASPIRANT** David Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan leader, predicted late last week that he would win the seat vacated by former **House Appropriations Chairman Livingston**, the *Baton Rouge Advocate* reported.

"In this race we don't have to worry about that black bloc vote. We have a great chance for victory," Duke told the Jeffersonians, a Baton Rouge political club.

Duke, the St. Tammany Parish GOP chairman and former state representative, said his statewide runs for Senate and governor failed because of opposition from a 30 percent black voting bloc in the state. But he said the 1st District, which wraps around New Orleans, has only about 9 percent black voters.

"I carried the 1st District before in statewide races, and the district since that time has been made more amenable to our principles and ideals," Duke said.

A May 1 special election to replace Livingston, who left Congress at the end of last week, will likely include at least four other declared Republican candidates: former Gov. Dave Treen, state Rep. David Vitter, attorney/New Orleans Zephyrs owner Rob Couhig, and ophthalmologist Monica Monica. Qualifying occurs March 17-19.

Fourteen Years Later, A Rematch In New Mexico

■ **FORMER LT. GOV. MIKE RUNNELS**, a Democrat, next year plans to challenge **Rep. Joe Skeen**, R-N.M., for the seat once held by his father — the late **Rep. Harold Runnels**, D-N.M., according to the *Associated Press*.

A Skeen-Runnels race would be a rematch of the 1986 contest — in which Skeen handily beat Mike Run-

nels by 63-37 percent. Said Runnels: "Things change over the years, and people change over the years. I've learned to work effectively with people of diverse interests. ... And I think the Democratic Party deserves a candidate who can reach across those diverse interests."

Skeen first won the seat in 1980 following Harold Runnels' death — as a write-in candidate in a three-way race. He was re-elected with 58 percent of the vote last November, following a 56-44 percent victory two years earlier.

Signs Point To Late Decision By Hillary In N.Y. Race

■ **SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER**, D-N.Y., late last week said that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton could take until June to make up her mind about running for the Senate from New York. And former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato**, R-N.Y., whom Schumer defeated last fall, suggested that if Clinton is set to run, she could announce as late as September, *Newsday* reported.

All of which points to a decision later, rather than sooner, for the first lady — who has been at the center of a speculative political swirl over the 2000 race for the New York seat being vacated by Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**.

Schumer's newfound advice that Clinton weigh her decision carefully contrasts with his earlier call that she make a quick decision. Schumer — who was among several New York politicians whom the first lady invited last week to the White House for consultation — said afterward that Clinton did not appear close to a decision.

While Schumer acknowledged that he had initially called on Clinton to decide by spring, he said last Thursday: "Spring could mean

[waiting] till June 20. It's not productive to put a time frame on it."

And D'Amato said the longer Clinton delays her decision, the more likely it is that she will run.

"If she's going to run, she can wait until September," D'Amato said. "Money is not a problem for her, bringing the entire party apparatus behind her is no problem. And she doesn't encounter the withering kind of inspection and questions that would take place as soon as she announces by the media."

Top Lobbyists Host Gingrich PAC Fundraiser

■ **SOME OF WASHINGTON'S** top lobbyists are co-chairing an April 14 fundraiser here for former **House Speaker Gingrich's** new Friends of Newt Gingrich PAC, the *Associated Press* reported.

The event will be not only a salute to Gingrich, but also a fundraiser for the PAC — designed to aid GOP candidates — as well as a benefit for the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation, one of Gingrich's favorite charities.

Among those organizing the event are former White House aide Nicholas Calio, whose firm's clients include Anheuser-Busch and Sears, Roebuck and Co.; former **Rep. Vin Weber**, R-Minn., who represents AT&T Corp. and Microsoft Corp.; former **Rep. Robert Walker**, R-Pa., whose firm represents American Airlines and Visa; and former Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour, who counts CBS Inc. and Philip Morris Cos. Inc. among his clients.

While Gingrich has not ruled out eventually running for president or another office, he has said he would not do it in 2000. In the meantime, he plans to give speeches and set up a consulting firm.



Political Roundup

Pallone Announces Senate Exploratory Committee

■ LESS THAN A WEEK after Democratic Sen. Frank Lautenberg's surprise retirement announcement, Rep. Frank Pallone, D-N.J., Tuesday said he is forming a committee to explore a Senate bid.

"I have run extremely tough races before — in traditionally non-Democratic areas," said Pallone, first elected to Congress in 1988, "and I believe that my records on taxes, education and welfare are reflective of New Jersey voters. Now, I am deciding whether this agenda can be better served in the Senate."

Pallone is not the only New Jersey Democratic House member interested in Lautenberg's seat: House Democratic Caucus Vice Chairman Robert Menendez is also reported to be lining up support.

DNC Seeks Appeal Of Ruling On 'Hard Dollar' Spending Limits

■ THE DEMOCRATIC National Committee is calling on the FEC to appeal last Thursday's decision by a district judge in Colorado who ruled that certain limits on the amount of "hard dollars" that a party committee may spend on behalf of a candidate are unconstitutional.

"We are disappointed that the court struck down the limits, and we hope and expect that the FEC will appeal the decision," said a DNC spokesman.

The case dates back to 1986, when the Colorado GOP spent money on radio ads aimed at then-Rep. Timothy Wirth, D-Colo. — who eventually won an open Senate seat that year.

In June 1996, the Supreme Court ruled that the Colorado GOP had not violated election laws — but remanded the case back to the district court for further argument on whether there should be any limits

on the coordinating spending by party committees.

"It is a great victory for the First Amendment and common sense," said Republican attorney Jan Baran. "This decision encourages parties to raise more hard money and reduces the political value of soft money."

Baran declined to predict that the ruling would cause the major GOP campaign committees to reduce the amount of soft money they will raise for the 2000 elections.

New Poll Shows Hillary Widening Lead Over Giuliani

■ A NEW POLL shows First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton widening her lead over New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican, in a potential 2000 New York Senate race matchup.

The survey, from Quinnipiac College's Polling Institute, had the first lady favored by 54 percent of 1,270 registered voters polled — with Giuliani the choice of 36 percent, an 18 point lead. The poll was conducted last Tuesday — the day Clinton said she would give the race "careful consideration" — and has a 3 point error margin.

An earlier Quinnipiac poll, conducted Jan. 26-Feb. 1, had Clinton leading Giuliani by 9 points, 51-42 percent.

Senate Minority Leader Daschle said Tuesday he has spoken with Clinton about a Senate bid, but said he "would be very surprised if she made a decision in the next six months."

Gambling Foe Enters Race To Succeed Talent

■ A FOURTH REPUBLICAN has entered the race to succeed Rep. James Talent, R-Mo., who will run for governor in 2000.

State Rep. Todd Akin, a conservative who has gone to court to chal-

lenge the legality of Missouri's gambling boats and a 1993 education tax increase, announced Monday he will enter the race in the suburban St. Louis district, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported.

Akin vowed to make his priority in Congress the adoption of a national version of Missouri's tax limitation law — even if it requires a constitutional amendment.

Besides the three other Republicans who have already announced — state Sens. Steve Ehlmann and Franc Flotron, and former St. Louis County Executive Gene McNary — at least two others are looking into it. They are state Sens. Betty Sims and David Klarich.

Two Democrats, state Sen. Ted House and Webster University Business School Dean David Harpool also have announced they will run in the predominantly GOP district.

California GOP Officials To Kasich: Stay Home

■ A TIFF INVOLVING the California GOP dating back to 1997 continues to dog House Budget Chairman Kasich's presidential campaign.

The flap occurred during the last election cycle, when Kasich initially planned to attend an event for his friend, Rep. Gary Condit, D-Calif.

After state party members complained, Kasich backed off.

Now, although most other GOP presidential contenders have been invited to speak at the party's spring convention this year, Kasich did not make the cut.

"We are sorry that they are still upset about a two-year old incident which never took place," said a spokesman for Kasich's presidential exploratory committee, adding, "We look forward to working with the new incoming chairman to raise money for the party and stump for California Republican candidates."

Off to the **RACES**

Suddenly, GOP Opportunities Arise In The Senate

By Charlie Cook

■ WHAT A DIFFERENCE a week makes! Early last week, while some overzealous Democrats were boldly talking about winning control of the Senate in 2000, almost all neutral analysts — and most realistic Democratic and GOP veterans — were privately suggesting there would likely be little net change in the Senate.

Before last week, each side had one incumbent in extreme jeopardy: Democrat **Charles Robb** in Virginia and Republican **John Ashcroft** in Missouri. Robb trails former GOP Gov. George Allen while Ashcroft runs behind current Democratic Gov. Mel Carnahan. The next risky spot for Democrats was in New York, where **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan** is retiring.

The early picture in the Empire State is muddled, depending upon go/no go decisions by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and **Rep. Nita Lowey** on the Democratic side and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, **Rep. Rick Lazio** and former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato** on the GOP side.

Although most have all but given Giuliani the nomination, it is important to note that the Republican primary vote is not in New York City — and that the Pataki-D'Amato wing of the party has no use for Hizzoner. Lazio, from Long Island, does not carry the baggage of hailing from the city and yet is moderate enough to be plausible in a general election. The first lady would be a slight favorite over Giuliani, while she would start off a strong favorite over D'Amato or Lazio. Giuliani would be a big favorite over Lowey, who would only get into the race if Mrs. Clinton does not run. In the unlikely event that both Clinton and Giuliani did not run, a Lowey-Lazio matchup at this point would look to be fairly even.

Beyond these three races, everything else in the Senate looked to be *status quo*. However, the outlook changed dramatically last week when Democrats got hit with both barrels of the retirement gun. The first blast came Wednesday when **Sen. Frank Lautenberg** of New Jersey announced he was not going to run, rescinding a decision last fall that he would seek a fourth term.

The other barrel was fired Thursday when Nevada **Sen. Richard Bryan** announced he would retire. Like Moynihan, both Lautenberg and Bryan were heavy favorites for re-election — not just because Senate incumbent re-election rates have risen over the last decade to over 70 percent, but also because their potential top-tier opponents seemed highly unlikely to run. GOP Gov. Christine Todd Whitman

seemed unlikely to take on Lautenberg while former GOP **Rep. John Ensign**, the 1998 Senate nominee, seemed unwilling to take on his close friend, Bryan.

■ NOW, ALL THAT HAS CHANGED. Whitman, who came within three percentage points in 1994 of upsetting then-**Sen. Bill Bradley**, now looks all but certain to run, and is a strong favorite over what could be a divided but decidedly second-tier field of Democrats. Whitman is very likely to carry the Republican torch — while Democrats potentially choose among former Gov. Jim Florio, ousted by Whitman in 1993; **Reps. Bob Menendez, Frank Pallone** and **Robert Andrews**; and Cherry Hill Mayor Susan Bass Levin, a prominent Democratic fundraiser.

Some Democrats worry that based on name recognition alone, Florio would have a big edge in a primary — but that he remains badly damaged goods from his ill-fated tenure as governor. The GOP begins the race favored to pick up the seat.

In Nevada, the GOP nomination is most likely to go to Ensign, who has already said he is running. GOP **Rep. Jim Gibbons**, who has also expressed interest in the race, could challenge Ensign if he decides to jump in. Ensign came within a few hundred votes of upsetting Bryan's colleague, **Sen. Harry Reid**, last November. Gibbons' district contains the half of the state's population with the highest turnout level overall — and the overwhelming majority of voters in a GOP primary.

On the Democratic side, the nomination seems most likely to go to former Gov. Bob Miller or Las Vegas Mayor Jan Laverty Jones, the party's 1998 gubernatorial candidate. Miller, who served as lieutenant governor under then-Gov. Bryan, assumed the top job in January 1989, finishing out the last two years of Bryan's term and easily winning election in his own right in 1990 and beating Gibbons by 12 points in 1994. The race starts off roughly a 50-50 contest with Bryan not running for re-election.

In sum, these three open seats where Democrats had 70-95 percent chances of winning have fallen into the 40-55 percent range. Democrats have more seats in immediate jeopardy, while Republicans have more that are potentially at risk — with tough challenges dependent upon strong Democratic recruiting, a continued favorable political climate and some lucky breaks. After the tumultuous past week, Democrats could sure use them.

■ **Charlie Cook's "Off to the Races"** appears every Tuesday in **CongressDailyAM**. During weeks when **CongressDailyAM** does not publish, "Off to the Races" can be accessed on National Journal's website: www.cloakroom.com. "The Cook Report" appears Fridays in **National Journal**.



AP photo

President Clinton leads Hillary Rodham Clinton down the steps of the Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington on Sunday. The first lady still has not announced whether she would run for the Senate.

GOP 'relishing' idea of Clinton

First lady likely to face nasty N.Y. race for Senate

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's reputation for toughness and political smarts would be put to a full test if she decides to run for a Senate seat from New York, politicians in both parties warned her Sunday.

Former GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, a potential rival for the seat, said Republicans "are actually relishing the battle."

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive to seek the Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view," Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition."

With the impeachment over and Congress not yet back in full gear, the possibility of a Clinton-Giuliani race in New York dominated the Sunday news programs. The topic is the cover story for Time and Newsweek this week.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch, a Democrat, predicted that Mrs. Clinton would win if she runs for the seat being vacated by four-term Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat. But "it'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk," he said on CBS' "Face the Nation."

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close. A Time/CNN poll of New York residents put Clinton, an Illinois native, ahead of Giuliani 52 percent to 43 percent, but Giuliani said, on ABC's "This Week," in the end "we are looking at a 2 or 3 percent race."

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. Time magazine reported that Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), who is urging Clinton to run, had discussed her candidacy with President Clinton

'Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view.'

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani

and that he was enthusiastic about her running. Publicly, the president has said only that she would make a good senator, and that he would support whatever decision she makes.

Weighing against a run is New York's notoriety for expensive, no-holds-barred, negative politicking. House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) said that even as a person familiar with tough Chicago politics, "I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics."

Former New York Rep. Susan Molinari, a Republican, said her gut feeling was that the first lady won't enter the race. "This is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into," she said on CNN. Giuliani "is going to be an extremely formidable candidate and will beat her."

Geraldine Ferraro, in Time, recalled how she twice lost bids for a New York Senate seat, "and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family."

Ferraro said she hopes Clinton would run, but another Democrat, former White House aide George Stephanopoulos, writing in Newsweek, advised otherwise. "Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back," he wrote. "Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure?"

Giuliani said he had no intention of attacking Clinton over the impeachment of her husband or accusing her of being a carpetbagger who doesn't live in New York.

But, when asked on ABC about the first lady's statements last year that she favored an independent Palestinian state, he noted that he agreed with the official White House position that the status of Palestinian-controlled lands are to be negotiated. "Mrs. Clinton is out there much more heavily favoring the Palestinians," he said.

Koch said most American Jews are for a Palestinian state. "For Giuliani to raise that [issue] shows you how low a blow he's willing to strike," the former mayor said.

One Democrat who expressed enthusiasm for Clinton's candidacy was New York Rep. Nita Lowey, whose own decision on whether to enter the senatorial race has been put on hold as a result of the first lady's possible entry. "Hillary Clinton is in a very special class of her own," she said on CNN and Fox.

D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last November after a nasty campaign against then-Democratic Rep. Charles Schumer, said Republicans aren't afraid of a Clinton candidacy and are "actually relishing the battle."

In addition to Giuliani, he said, New York moderate Reps. Jack Quinn and Rick Lazio would be strong contenders. Asked on Fox if he would consider running, D'Amato said it was "very tempting." He said it would be a race that those who enjoy politics "kind of salivate over."

Dear Hillary: If D.C. is the frying pan, N.Y. is the fire

ELLEN GOODMAN

Am I the only one in my homeroom class who thinks that Hillary would have to be nuts to run for the Senate?

My fellow media majors are all salivating at the prospect of what they have collectively dubbed "The Battle of Titans." They actually want to see first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wrestle Mayor Rudy Giuliani for the same seat.

Doesn't anyone else remember what happened to the original Titans? The giant children of Uranus and Gaea set out to rule heaven and ended up overthrown by Zeus and his family in a disaster of, well, Titanic proportions.

Ever since Hillary acknowledged, as a kind of thank-you note to her supporters, that she was giving the race "careful thought," I've had a feeling that HRC was being set up as a gladiatrix. She's being urged into the coliseum for the amusement of the masses. Or at least the mass media.

She doesn't get to choose between the lady and the tiger. She gets the possibility of being the senator from New York *and* the certainty of being mauled within an inch of her life.

I am not in the advice biz, and, as "Dear Abby" demurred this week, "the most unwelcome advice is that which is unsolicited." I don't know what makes HRC keep ticking or what internal muscle lets her hold her chin up. If I were HRC, I would have spent the last year in bed — and not Bill's bed.

Yes, there are attractions in an Empire State campaign — chief among them finding a legitimate reason for being a Metroliner away from Washington.

The transformation from wronged wife to front-runner would be good for the soul. After years as the

freebie in a two-for-the-price-of-one package, it would be a relief to run on her own. Instead of being psychoanalyzed by Vanity Fair — "a long-suffering, lamp-throwing wife and her straying husband" — she could have her position papers scrutinized by policy wonks.

Add to that the delicious prospect of watching Bill do a thousand hours of community service as a political spouse. If she won, he'd have to work to pay off the family debt while she went to the Capitol. (Memo to the Prez: See those brackets around your net worth? That's means debit.)

I have no doubt, after last fall's performance, that Hillary has the name recognition and the skills in fund-raising and crowd-pleasing. But New York? Now?

Dear Hillary: If Washington is the frying pan, New York is the fire. If Ken Starr is the frying pan, Rudy Giuliani is the fire. Those folks who are urging you to run, aren't they the same cheerleaders who waved their pompoms for Geraldine "Head-handed-to-her" Ferraro?

New York isn't a village, it's Bosnia. "Giuliani," says Ed Koch, the formidable former mayor of the Big Apple, "will run the most ruthless, vile, loathsome, defamatory campaign he's capable of." There will be some gnome at every stop with a Monica mask and a Whitewater map.

New Yorkers have a way of cutting newcomers — with or without carpetbags — down to size. Did you check the New York Post editorial last week that warned: "No cozy sequestrations of the sort that ac-



DEAN ROHRER ILLUSTRATION

crue to all first ladies. No more Matt Lauer softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does."

Only in New York would they think she's had a "cozy" old time in D.C. As Koch says, "I wouldn't suggest this to someone who didn't have steel in their spine."

Well, nobody doubts Hillary's mettle. But by the fall of 2000, the first lady's stardust may have faded in the country's exhausted desire to end the entire Clinton melodrama.

But there's another, less calculating reason for passing this up. HRC is at one of those moments when the right question is not what the New York Democratic Party wants. It is: What do you want to do with the rest of your life?

For decades, Hillary Clinton has been interested in both the politics of nuts and bolts and the politics of meaning. She's a Methodist and a pragmatist, a big thinker and a strategist, the woman who can inspire a UN conference and complain about a right-wing conspiracy. Which way now?

Even if she runs and wins, has Hillary given up the chance for a world stage to worry about the potholes in Queens? Or has she chosen a powerful seat at the table of policy-makers? Eleanor Roosevelt, where are you?

Anyway you look at it, this is not the time to run. The motto of the Hillary Fan Club has always been, "You go, girl." How about: "You go slow, girl."

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

Hillary's choice

To run or not to run? That is the question facing Hamlet-like Hillary Clinton: Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous New Yorkers in a race for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's soon-to-be-vacated Senate seat or take up arms against some other sea of troubles when she leaves the White House.

Politicos up and down the Hudson pant at the thought of a race between Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the consummate pragmatic problem solver, versus Hillary, the idealistic, liberal Democrat who is more associated with what might have been.

Hillary Clinton is of a transitional generation of women. She is where she is because of her husband, but she longs for a role of her own, which she should have. She burst on the national consciousness by saying she was not some Tammy Wynette character, standing by her man, but ended up adored for being exactly that.

The co-presidency, the "two for the price of one" that Hillary may have envisioned, was never on. There can never be a co-presidency. Her stewardship over health care reform was an unmitigated disaster — but she learned a great deal about

politics and the art of the possible from that defeat. No one doubts that Hillary Clinton is razor-smart, strikingly articulate, with a strong vision of her own about where America ought to go — a vision that is a bit to the left of the one her husband has put into practice.

To run in New York will not be easy. All the old unanswered questions about the propriety of the Rose Law Firm and cattle futures will be regurgitated. In Gotham there will be questions about her support for a Palestinian state. In addition, she has never before run for public office — but then, Moynihan had little elective experience and Robert Kennedy none before he ran for the Senate in New York.

It would be an enterprise of great pith and moment, a run for the Senate, and a worthy challenge to one who has, by necessity, had to hold her opinions and her politics back. So, unlike our columnist on the opposite page, we say it is an opportunity for Hillary Clinton that may not come again, and given the realities of politics, she should declare her candidacy soon rather than lose the name of action.

White House in a New York state of mind

First lady talks politics with senator; president urges delay

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton met yesterday with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at the White House to discuss a possible Senate bid by the first lady, a few hours before her husband cautioned that the momentum building around her potential run for Moynihan's seat in 2000 may be "a little premature."

In their 90-minute meeting, Moynihan, a New York Democrat who will retire next year, brought to the White House a synopsis of his four Senate races, including statistics reflecting the unpredictability of New York voters.



ASSOCIATED PRESS
Political godfather: Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan spent 90 minutes with the prospective candidate.

But even as the first lady and a top political adviser explore the idea of a Senate run with campaign consultants and national labor leaders, President Clinton sounded a cautionary note yesterday.

At a news conference,

Clinton pledged his support for the first lady, "just as she's helped me for the last 20-plus years." But he warned against stoking the campaign fires too vigorously, too soon.

"I think some time needs to be taken here," Clinton said. "I also think that even in a presidential race, it's hard to keep a kettle of water boiling for almost two years. It's a little premature, and I would like to see her take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument and decide exactly what you think is right to do."

The first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the meeting with Moynihan was purely exploratory.

"She wants to talk to people who have ideas and thoughts about it, and certainly Moynihan is one of them," Berry said. "She is a methodical person, and she will want to [See Senate, 4A]

First lady talks politics with New York senator

[Senate, from Page 1A]

look at all the different factors in making a decision like this."

Moynihan, who won the largest statewide victory in New York history in 1988 and is something of a godfather in New York politics, is an outspoken supporter of the first lady. On NBC's "Meet the Press" last Sunday, the four-term senator said he hoped that she would bring that "magnificent young, bright, able Illinois/Arkansas enthusiasm to New York, which probably could use a little."

Hillary Clinton said this week that she was giving "careful thought" to the race and would announce her decision later this year. But New York Democrats are urging her to decide by April so that another candidate can get an early start on fund raising should she decide against running. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City is expected to run hard for the seat for the Republicans and has already started raising money.

On CNN's "Inside Politics" yesterday, Giuliani sounded eager for a Senate race against a first lady — which would be a first in American history.

"I think probably one of the things that pitches you a little bit more toward doing a thing like this is it would be a great challenge," Giuliani said. "You would be creating new ground. This has

never happened before."

As pressure rises on Hillary Clinton to make a decision, Harold Ickes, her political adviser and a veteran of New York politics, floated the idea of the first lady's candidacy to several consultants who have had success in that state's bruising campaigns.

David Doak, a media consultant in David N. Dinkins' two New York City mayoral races, said he made clear to Ickes this week that he would want to sign on should the first lady run.

"I doubt there's anybody more suited to that kind of rough-and-tumble politics than her," said Doak, a campaign adviser with Doak, Carrier & O'Donnell and a friend of Hillary Clinton's for more than 20 years. Also, Doak said, the first lady can attract the money necessary in that state's hugely expensive campaigns.

"She brings an unbelievable ability to raise financial backing," he said.

Ickes attended the AFL-CIO's executive council meeting in Miami this week, talking with labor leaders about the first lady's prospects in a Senate campaign in New York.

Next week, Hillary Clinton will reportedly meet with several labor leaders, including AFL-CIO President John Sweeney. She is also expected at several New York appearances in coming months and



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Decision to make: Hillary Rodham Clinton is coming under pressure to announce her political intentions by April.

is planning to meet next week with Sen. Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, who heads the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

For now, the first lady's possible candidacy is the talk of New York politics. Longtime New York political consultants say that should she decide not to run, Giuliani's position will be even stronger for her having tested the idea and then withdrawn.

"It's not going to be a cakewalk if it's Rudy Giuliani; it's not going to be an easy time — he is a very, very good candidate — he may be abrasive, but he's good," said David Garth, a veteran adviser who worked on Giuliani's first victorious mayoral campaign. "Obviously, if she doesn't run, she's helped Rudy immensely — the obvious reason being that he must have driven her out."

Across the nation

FROM TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

First lady, Moynihan discuss running for his seat in Senate

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton met with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan on Friday about whether she should run for his New York Senate seat.

Afterward, Moynihan said they discussed New York voting patterns and demographics in Senate and presidential campaigns. "They're more complex than you might think," said the senator, who has said he won't seek a fifth term in 2000.

Moynihan said the numbers "look very good for her but New York is a big demographic problem." Asked if it were more likely now that Clinton would run, he said, "She's very much involved in that decision." He said he did not give her advice but said, "Of course I'd support her."

"It's a listening meeting, an opportunity to explore thoughts," said Marsha Berry, Clinton's press secretary, before the meeting.

President Clinton said Friday that he will "be strongly supportive of whatever decision the first lady makes" and was encouraging her to "take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument."

Hillary Clinton has met previously with Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth, Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), Senate Democratic campaign committee Chairman Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, and a few female senators, including Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.). She is to meet next week with AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

Hillary's greatest liability as candidate is her husband

JOHN ELLIS

It is impossible to overstate the humiliation Hillary Rodham Clinton has endured this past year. No one in her position has ever experienced anything quite like it. There were days when simply maintaining her composure seemed to require every ounce of her will. And it never ends. Yesterday, her husband was credibly accused of rape in *The Wall Street Journal*.

So it should come as no surprise that when Mrs. Clinton looks north toward New York, she sees greener pastures. What began as a daydream has become a serious consideration, holding out the promise of a new and perhaps better life. And on a number of levels, it makes sense. New York is the place you go when there's no place else called home.

She would be a formidable candidate for the United States Senate. She is intelligent, disciplined, hard-working, and tough. She's also a bit of a crackpot, but New York is nondiscriminatory in this regard. It frequently nominates crackpots for high office and occasionally elects them. It is understood that you have to be a little crazy to live there.

Mrs. Clinton has other assets. They include 100 percent name recognition and the ability to raise all the money she could ever need in a matter of months.

In addition, she would have the executive branch of the federal government at her beck and call. In addition to that, the Democratic nomination would be hers the day she announced, which may be the most important asset of all.

It is a thousand times easier to wage a coherent general election campaign if one's march to the nomination is

unimpeded. Chat show experts say that this moment is as high as her kite can fly, that the process, the press, and the pressure of the campaign would gradually diminish her. Not necessarily. The fact is that *any* Democrat with no primary opposition and \$25 million in the bank would be a 50-50 bet to win the Moynihan Senate seat. In a two-way general election race, Hillary Clinton would always be in the hunt, never out of it. In a three-way race, she would be even more formidable. New York's demographics have shifted since the 1980s, as any GOP pollster will attest. It is again a Democratic state.

She would, however, face competent and compelling opposition in the general election. New York City's May-

How can she stand up to the tough questions she will face?

or Rudolph Giuliani has done what many thought was impossible; by sheer doggedness and determination he has reversed the city's civic fortunes. New York is livable again. It is clean again. It is safe again. Walking down the city's streets, one can actually feel Giuliani's accomplishment, and it is considerable.

Historically, Democrats win statewide elections in New York by racking up huge margins in the city, splitting the suburbs, and holding on for dear life upstate. Giuliani changes that formula; he would at least break even in the city. As a result, Mrs. Clinton would have to spend most of her time outside of Manhattan — on Long Island, in Westchester, and in the counties bisected by

the New York State Thruway. The campaign would be what professional golfers call a "grind." And she would be competing with an opponent at the top of his game.

But her real opponent would be her apparently ceaseless humiliation.

Yesterday's story in *The Wall Street Journal* alleges that in 1978, her husband raped a woman named Juanita Broadrick in a Little Rock hotel room.

According to sources at NBC News, where I used to work, four contemporaneous witnesses and reams of supporting detail support Mrs. Broadrick's story. Lawyers for President Clinton have to date refused all comment on these new allegations.

How much more of this can Mrs. Clinton endure? What does she say when some hostile reporter from the *New York Post* asks her to explain her position on tougher sentencing laws for rapists? How does she explain her complicity in all the coverups of her husband's extramarital activities? How can she champion women's rights when her husband is widely believed (based on substantial and credible evidence) to be a sexual predator? Hypocrisy is part and parcel of politics. But hypocrisy on this scale is untenable. And unlike normal hypocrisy ("So good to see you!"), this kind of hypocrisy sears the soul.

Mrs. Clinton will find solace in New York if she goes there. After the initial flurry of interest, no one will bother her, just as no one bothered Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. But she won't find solace there if she runs for the Senate. Her humiliation will continue unabated. Which is why people who know her believe that, in the end, she will forgo the race. One hopes, for her sake, that they're right.

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — You can hear it in the voice of every local politico and columnist who brings up the subject — a tremble of excitement, a wavelet of giddiness, the palpable thrill that comes with the hope or dread of witnessing history.

Hillary Rodham Clinton versus Rudolph W. Giuliani, for the title of US senator from New York: The notion of such a fight, once the puffery of daydreams, has suddenly taken on the hard edge of possibility.

Polls, furthermore, show Mrs. Clinton leading the mayor, 51-42. But these are early polls. Election Day 2000 is still 18 months away. The question that many are starting to contemplate — not least Giuliani and Clinton, neither of whom has yet declared can-



AP PHOTO

The Clintons conferring yesterday during a program on Social Security.

didacy — is what kind of campaign would be involved and whether she would really win.

Some are skeptical of the flushed optimism displayed by many Democrats, eager to send one of their own to fill the seat of their senior senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who announced last fall he would not

HILLARY, Page A21

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

■ HILLARY

Continued from Page A1

run for another term.

Joseph Mercurio, a leading Republican consultant, said yesterday: "She could become the Geraldine Ferraro of the next Senate race." Ferraro, the TV personality and former vice presidential candidate, was thought to be a shoo-in when she entered last fall's Senate race — and then lost the primary, to Charles E. Schumer, by 25 points.

Mercurio predicted that, like Ferraro, Mrs. Clinton could start out 'very big in the polls, partly because of fame. Then she's fleshed out on issues; she has no set of accomplishments you can point to, and so she starts to slide."

Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, which took the survey showing Mrs. Clinton beating the mayor, said, "It's probably true" that her ratings now are as high as they will get.

"Her negatives are plenty," Carroll said. She will have to walk "a difficult tightrope" if her husband — who would still be president during the campaign — took a position unpopular with many New Yorkers. And there is her widely quoted statement of favoring a Palestinian state, which would alienate many Jewish voters.

John Faso, a Republican state assemblyman, said Mrs. Clinton's own bag of scandals will be fair game — her involvement in Whitewater and the suspiciously quick fortune she once made in trading cattle futures.

Finally, there is the carpetbag issue. "Why should we elect someone who's never lived in New York?" Faso asked.

The New York Observer, a weekly paper far friendlier to Mrs. Clinton, raised the same point in yesterday's issue: "What does she know about Utica and White Plains and the F train?"

On the other hand, even her critics acknowledge that Mrs. Clinton would come to the race with many strengths.

Foremost is her fame and popularity. President Clinton enjoys very high ratings all over the state and his wife seems, if anything, even more admired. Last fall, when she campaigned for Schumer in his successful race against the incumbent Republican senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato, her speeches were big hits at corporate luncheons and union rallies alike.

On Monday, Moynihan said "she'd be welcome and she'd win."

She would have the strong support of women, without — at least so it seems in New York — alienating many men. The Quinnipiac Poll shows her leading Giuliani among both genders.

She would have the overwhelm-

ing support of minorities, who might turn out at the voting booths in greater numbers than usual.

Some Democrats also reject the idea that Mrs. Clinton would be hurt by being from out of state. "What did Bobby Kennedy know about New York?" former New York Mayor Edward I. Koch asked rhetorically. Kennedy won the state's Senate seat in 1964 without living here. "That's not an issue."

Finally, the polls show her creaming Giuliani in New York City — 64 to 31 — and at least doing well elsewhere, tying him upstate and trailing by 5 points in the suburbs.

Giuliani's own popularity may be heading south. A citywide Quinnipiac poll released yesterday shows the mayor's positive ratings declining from 60 percent last November to 44 percent last week. His negative ratings, over the same period, have gone from 33 percent to 47 percent.

Carroll speculated that the mayor's handling of the Amadou Diallo shooting — in which four policemen fired 41 bullets at an unarmed African immigrant in his own Bronx doorway — may be partly responsible for the decline. But he added, "It's not just Diallo. It's his whole fortress attitude toward governing."

John Podhoretz, the conservative editorial-page editor of the New York Post, said Tuesday night, at a panel on mayoral politics sponsored by The New Yorker magazine, that Giuliani might not even run for Senate if Mrs. Clinton entered the race. Asked why, he replied, "Because I don't see any way that she doesn't win — to my regret."

However, a Republican with ties to the mayor said yesterday: "If Hillary runs, Rudy will be more inclined to run. He will relish Hillary Clinton. She's unproven, she's never run for office. Bring her on!"

The Republican, who spoke in condition of anonymity, said Giuliani would see the contest as a "philosophical" battle, which he enjoys confronting.

Also, the source said, "By betting her, he would be one of the leading, if not one of the top two or three, Republicans in the country."

Another Republican, who also asked not to be identified, dismissed this as "tough talk" and expressed doubts that the mayor would run any race that he had a serious chance of losing.

The mayor, for some time, has been courting Texas Governor George W. Bush, a leading prospect for the Republican presidential nomination, and many have speculated he might prefer being his vice president or a Cabinet officer. One might prefer to wait until George Pataki gets tired of being New York governor and run for that job. One could even wait till 2005 — four years after his second and, by law, final

consecutive term as mayor expires. By sitting out four years, he could run for mayor again.

Everyone, of whatever stripe, agrees that if Giuliani runs and Mrs. Clinton does not, then Giuliani probably cannot be beat. Similarly, if

Mrs. Clinton runs and Giuliani does not, then she probably cannot be beat. This may be another reason why the politically interested — eager for drama, if nothing else — are hoping that both join up for what would be a battle of titans.



U S A

Why a Senate bid entices the first lady

■ It would give her a more professional profile, but it could also reopen scandals.

By **Linda Feldmann**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON — Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) of New York?

At first, the speculation began as idle chatter. The New York Democratic Party began blue-skying about having the first lady run for Senate. Then Sen. Robert Torricelli (D) of New Jersey, chairman of the Senate's campaign committee, began talking it up. He's told Mrs. Clinton (read: begged) that he wants her on the ballot.

Then pollsters discovered that Clinton would have a good shot at winning the seat that's being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Early this month, Quinnipiac College Polling Institute in Hamden, Conn., showed Clinton beating New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (R), who's thinking of running, 51 percent to 42 percent.

Now Clinton has addressed the matter: She's giving it "careful thought," she said in a statement Tuesday, and will make her final decision "later this year."

The timing of her decision could be a bit troublesome to New York Democrats, and to other possible Democratic candidates, who want to get going now raising money and preparing for a bruising battle.

But for Clinton, it's the decision of a lifetime. And it entails

very large pros and cons. On the plus side, a run for the Senate allows her to break loose and become a serious political figure in her own right, not just as the spouse of the president. It also allows her to move beyond the humiliation of the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

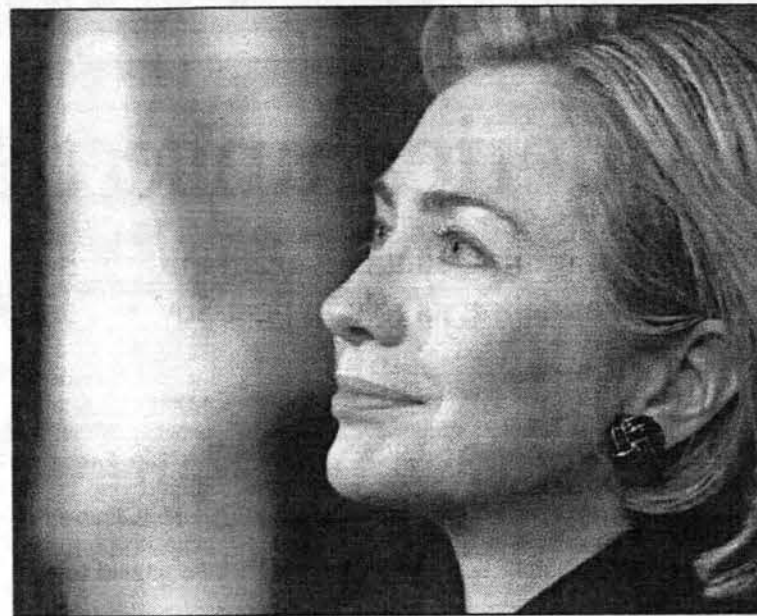
"She's very, very popular right now, but it's not the image she wants," says political analyst Bill Schneider. "She has the image of a victim ... but she wants to be seen as an independent professional woman who has her own career."

As a Senate candidate, she would already have what most political wannabes can only dream of: universal name recognition and awesome fund-raising ability. If she won, she would have a platform from which to push her favorite policy issues, such as helping children.

And as a member of the Senate, she would also be well positioned to run for president. The current president opined early this week that she'd be a "great" senator.

Six more years

On the minus side, Clinton would have to think long and hard about signing up for six more years in Washington after her husband's term expires. She's had a pretty bumpy ride



ANDY NELSON — STAFF

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said this week she is giving 'careful thought' to the idea of running for an open Senate seat in New York. She said she'll decide later this year.

here and is leery of the press. If anything, the New York press corps is tougher than Washington's. All the old scandals would come back — her role in Whitewater, the White House travel office fiasco, the missing legal files — as well as her husband's various misadventures.

A big negative of life in the Senate is that it would limit her ability to make money, an important consideration in light of her and her husband's enormous legal bills (reportedly at more than \$3 million and rising). Senators make \$136,700 a year and are

limited in their outside income.

As a footloose former first lady not tied down to a day job, Clinton would have the world at her feet: She could give highly lucrative speeches, serve on corporate and charitable boards, travel the world, and earn millions on her memoirs.

She would also be largely unavailable to help the Democrats campaign around the country, as the party tries to retake control of the House and Senate and keep the White House. If she were to run, she'd have to spend most of her time in New York until the

election in November 2000.

New York has lax residency rules for officeholders, but New Yorkers wouldn't tolerate a run for the Senate in absentia, analysts say.

If Clinton were to win, she'd be following in the footsteps of two other illustrious last-minute New Yorkers: Sen. Robert Kennedy (D) in 1964 and Sen. James Buckley (R) in 1970.

Timing isn't everything

Some New York political observers pooh-pooh the idea that Clinton has to announce soon if she's going to run at all.

"It makes no sense for her to declare now," says Maureen Connelly, a New York political consultant who works for both parties. "The usual reason you declare early is to raise money. Should she declare, she'd be able to raise the funds in a snap. All this does is give your opponents and detractors time to take potshots at you."

Of course, any delay in a decision not to run puts any other Democratic candidates at a disadvantage. So far, of New York Democrats, Rep. Nita Lowey has made the most serious noises about running.

But Ms. Connelly has little sympathy for the New York state Democratic Party. "She didn't seek them out," she says. "They sought her out."

■ *Alexandra Marks in New York contributed to this story.*

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

By Morton M. Kondracke

A Woman Could Be President — In 2004, Not 2000

With Elizabeth Dole on one presidential ticket, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) on another and Hillary Rodham Clinton running for Senate, 2000 could be another "Year of the Woman" — big time.

Having seen men make total fools of themselves this year, Americans probably are more willing than ever to see women at the top of the political system.

And why not? Women have proved they can run state and city governments, corporations and major federal agencies. Now that the Cold War is over — and with memories of the Monica Lewinsky scandal still fresh — the traditional demand for testosterone in the Oval Office is reduced.

Moreover, the issues now at the top of the nation's agenda — education, health care, retirement security — are stereotypically more "feminine" than in the past.

According to a recent poll by Celinda Lake, 76 percent of Americans say they could vote for a woman for President and Dole has quickly leapt into the first tier of Republican candidates.

Still, Dole is probably the frontrunner for the GOP vice presidential nomination rather than a serious contender for the top spot, partly because she's never held elective office before and partly because Republicans usually don't break new cultural ground.

But the GOP does hold its nominating con-

If women occupy the No. 2 slots on both tickets, the woman on the losing side is likely to be a bona fide presidential contender in 2004.

vention first next year, so if Dole gets the No. 2 spot, Democrats would be under considerable pressure to match the GOP to avoid losing their traditional advantage among women.

Feinstein also would improve Vice President Al Gore's chances of carrying California, so her selection would be a natural choice despite their apparent difference of opinion about the character strength of Gore's hero, President Clinton.

If women occupy the No. 2 slots on both tickets, the woman on the losing side is likely to be a bona fide presidential contender in 2004.

If Gore loses, Hillary Clinton could be a candidate for President whether or not she runs in New York next year.

My hunch is, she won't want to run for the Senate. She'll prefer to make millions per year between 2001 and 2003 writing, speaking and serving on corporate boards instead of being a junior Senator at \$136,700 and hounded by New York tabloids.

If Gore is elected, she could even spend more time making money, raising money and trumping Eleanor Roosevelt as a political force and then run in the 2008 primaries against Feinstein.

What about Gore's picking Mrs. Clinton instead of Feinstein next year? You could see the Democratic National Convention in 2000 going crazy for this, but it would freight poor Gore with more baggage than he could possibly carry.

But, what about Dole? Why can't she win the GOP nomination? I think it's cultural with Republicans. They can't stop being the primogeniture party. In the past, the rule was, "The oldest male in line gets to be king."



Photo by Laura Patterson

Elizabeth Dole won't win the GOP nomination but she could grab the No. 2 spot on the ticket.

This time, the two frontrunners aren't that old, but they have pedigrees — the lead candidate, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, is a son-of, Dole is a wife-of. My guess is, son-of takes precedence. Besides, he's a governor.

If Bush were to falter, my guess is the GOP still wouldn't go for Dole this time simply because she's a woman.

I'd love to be proved wrong, but Dole herself would have to help the process along by really fighting Bush and other males for the nomination while bringing new female voters to the polls in primaries. Usually, GOP primary voters are 52 to 54 percent male, according to GOP pollster Linda DiVall.

Dole also has to confront an identity problem. Is she a moderate who'll attract pro-abortion rights women in the primaries and the general, or an anti-abortion religious conservative?

Her initial speeches leave this in doubt, but aides who worked for her husband in 1996 say she's about as anti-abortion as he was — "near-beer, not 100 proof."

On religion, she's devout, but the Doles until 1995 were members of Foundry Methodist Church, where the Clintons worship. They quit after Pastor Philip Wogaman blasted the GOP "Contract with America," but Christian conservatives ask, "What were they doing there in the first place?"

In the Reagan White House, Dole argued for preserving affirmative action. One of her key campaign advisers, Kieran Mahoney, is associated with the anti-right Republican Leadership Council.

In her early campaign speeches, Dole repeatedly refers to herself as a Reagan conservative and she advanced a few-species agenda of lower taxes, local control of schools and a hard line against drugs.

Yet she also said, "Most Americans prefer solutions to soundbites. This makes us naturally suspicious of what I call either/or politics. Liberal versus conservative. Public school versus private school. Us versus them."

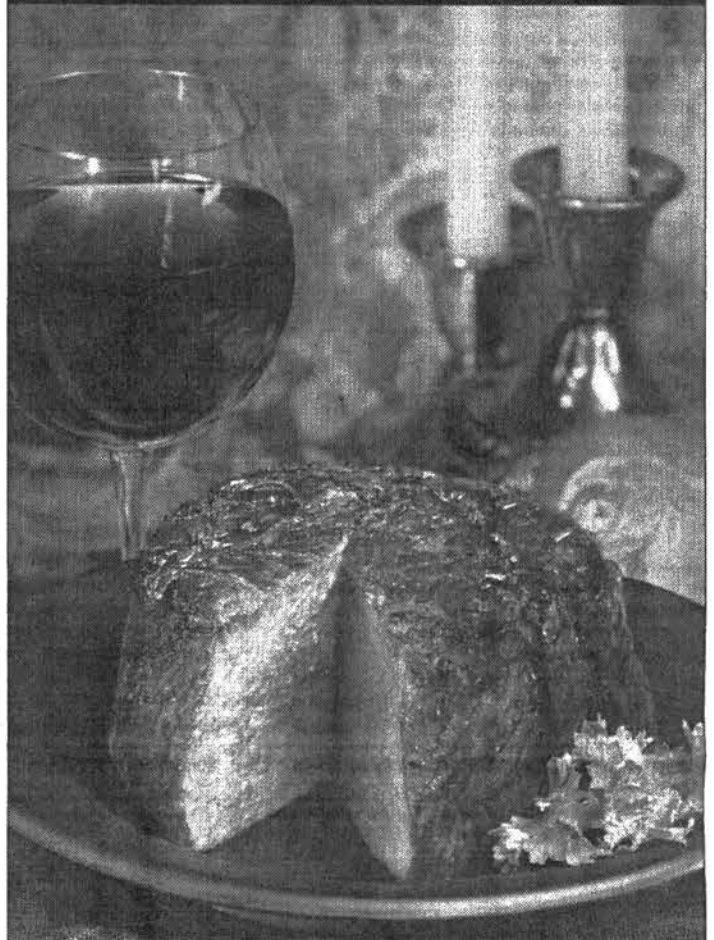
She says she believes in the free market, but not at the expense of the environment or cultural values. She wants the GOP to be "inclusive."

That's wonderfully moderate, sort of like Bush's "compassionate conservatism," but it's likely to be fiercely attacked by right-wingers and Dole is going to have to fight back.

My guess is, America — and especially the GOP — isn't ready for a female President until she proves she's as tough as Margaret Thatcher, Golda Meir or Indira Gandhi. Or unless she's first served as Vice President.

"I BROKE A LOT OF PLATES TO SERVE THIS STEAK."

Ruth Dole RUTH FERTEL, FOUNDER



When I was starting out, I was determined to serve my guests perfect steaks—custom-aged USDA Prime that stayed hot throughout the meal.

It wasn't easy. I had to design special high temp ovens to get the flavor right, and heat the plates just so. Of course, I broke a lot of plates in the process. But that's why your USDA Prime Ruth's Chris steak sizzles today. And that's why every bite is hot, juicy and delicious.



WASHINGTON • 202/797-0033
1801 CONNECTICUT AVE., NW

ARLINGTON • 703/979-7275
2231 CRYSTAL DR., 11TH FLOOR

BETHESDA • 301/652-7877
FORMERLY THE AIR RIGHTS BUILDING
7315 WISCONSIN AVE.

ALSO IN BALTIMORE AND ANNAPOLIS
WWW.RUTHSCHRIS.COM

CAMPAIGNING

By Stuart Rothenberg

In Running for Senate, Mayor Giuliani May Find His Job Is a Drag

The frenzy over the much anticipated Rudy Giuliani-Hillary Rodham Clinton Senate contest, pitting the Republican mayor of New York City against the Democratic first lady, is obviously unprecedented and probably says more about the post-Monica Lewinsky news environment than anything else.



I really don't know whether Clinton will run, but we'll all find out soon enough. My word to the wise on the race is this: It could happen, but don't bet the farm on it.

On the GOP side, Giuliani, of course, would be the frontrunner for his party's Senate nomination, assuming he wants it. But he couldn't count on a coronation. Even if former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) decides against the race, Giuliani might have a tougher time than you think with Rep. Rick Lazio, who is an all-but-announced candidate for the GOP Senate nomination.

For in spite of all the hype about Giuliani, the popular mayor could face the old "New York City problem." You see, his job has become one of the dead-end of dead ends in American politics. Put another way, more Hempstead town supervisors than mayors of the Big Apple have been elected to the Senate since the Great Depression.

Ed Koch couldn't win a 1982 Democratic primary for governor against Mario Cuomo, even though the mayor began with a huge lead. John Lindsay, who served as a Repub-



Photo by Maureen Keating

Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio (above) could be a tough primary opponent for Giuliani.

lican mayor, sought the Democratic Senate nomination but never won another election after he won the mayor's office. Then Mayor Robert Wagner was the Democrats' Senate nominee in 1956 but lost to Republican Jacob Javits. And others — including Abe Beame (D), David Dinkins (D) and even Jimmy Walker (D) and Fiorello LaGuardia (R) — also dead-ended at City Hall.

The situation facing any Republican mayor is particularly staggering. Just look at the numbers. Any idea what percentage of New York Republicans live inside New York City's five boroughs? How does 17.6 percent sound? (That percentage is based on numbers reported by the New York State Board of Elections as of Nov. 1, 1998.)

Just 548,000 Republicans reside in Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island, while a little more than two million Republicans reside elsewhere in the state. The largest concentrations of New York Republicans are in Nassau County (about 379,000) and Suffolk County (333,000), part of which is represented by Lazio.

In other words, there are many more Republicans on Long Island than in Giuliani's city. Another 160,000 Republicans live in Westchester County, to the north of the city.

And that doesn't even include upstate. The total number of registered Republicans in just five upstate counties — Erie (which is centered in Buffalo), Monroe (Rochester), Onondaga (Syracuse), Saratoga (Saratoga Springs) and Oneida (Rome and Utica) — exceeds the number of registered Republicans in all of New York City.

Upstate New Yorkers traditionally have held an unflattering view of New York City, and many of the people who live in Long Island and Westchester moved out of one of the five boroughs because of concerns about education, safety and other quality of life issues. Giuliani would have to overcome the resistance of some of those Republicans to voting for a New York City candidate.

Lazio, the Suffolk County Congressman, has about \$2 million in the bank for his Senate bid, and he has begun spending plenty of time upstate. It's hard to believe he would actually enter the race if D'Amato (who also comes from Long Island) runs, but, in any case, it appears very likely that if Giuliani runs, he will face a Long Island candidate for the nomination.

Giuliani, of course, is much better positioned to move to higher office than other mayors have been. That's because he has revamped New York City's reputation, cleaning up Times Square and taking steps to lower crime. So, unlike previous politically ambitious mayors, Giuliani has earned a reputation as someone who succeeded in taming the New York City beast and making the city work. That should make him much more acceptable to Republicans outside the five boroughs.

Giuliani shouldn't have any trouble raising money, and there is a star quality to him that many other mayors haven't had. Moreover, he looks like the closest thing the GOP has to a winner, a not insignificant consideration given the stakes.

Lazio would need to raise millions more than he currently has, and that would be a challenge, especially against the mayor. In addition, almost no one outside of his Congressional district knows who Lazio is — the flip side of his geographical advantage.

But a Giuliani-Lazio primary race would have some interesting elements. Both Republicans are moderates (Lazio, for example, voted against repealing the assault weapons

ban, against conservative changes to the Clean Water Act and for an increase in the minimum wage), but, unlike Lazio, Giuliani endorsed Cuomo for governor in 1994 against Republican nominee (and now Gov.) George Pataki.

Not surprisingly, Giuliani has had cool relations with Pataki for months and probably can count on the governor quietly helping Lazio (or D'Amato).

As for Clinton, while she has finally indicated that she is considering the race, I have no idea how serious she is. I think she would be formidable if she runs, if only because of the money she could raise, but don't get ready to crown her just yet, either.

I've seen so many celebrities mentioned as statewide candidates in the past that I have an uncompromising policy of skepticism. Basically, I'll believe it when I see it. Not before.

Over the years, I've heard that Burt Reynolds was going to run in Florida, Alec Baldwin in New York, Robert Redford in Utah, basketball star Charles Barkley and former Green Bay Packers quarterback Bart Starr in Alabama and football stars Brent Jones in California and John Elway in Colorado. None of them ran.

Some "celebrities," of course, have taken an electoral fling without paying their political dues. Nancy Kulp (D), from "The Beverly Hillbillies," ran unsuccessfully for Congress, while basketball star Bill Bradley (D) won a Senate seat in New Jersey and "The Love Boat" star Fred Grandy (R) won a House seat in Iowa. Bobby Kennedy (D) looks like the model for the first lady's possible bid.

Since the Great Depression, more Hempstead town supervisors than mayors of New York have been elected to the Senate.

Baseball star and now-Sen. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), in contrast, was a city councilman and state Senator before he ran for Congress, and the late Rep. Sonny Bono (R-Calif.) was a mayor as well as an entertainer. John Glenn (D) was elected to the Senate without holding lower office, but he lost his first statewide primary (to Howard Metzenbaum in 1970).

Remember one final point about a Hillary Clinton Senate candidacy. The first lady's numbers in New York now are about as good as they are ever going to be. She has no place to go but down.

The only reason I can see for Clinton running for the Senate would be to credential herself for a presidential bid. Otherwise, a Senate run doesn't make a lot of sense. Then again, if the White House wanted to get people to forget Monica and start talking about something else, the Hillary for Senate buzz would fit the bill. And maybe that's all that matters at the moment.



In Congress, Even The Flies On the Wall Read Roll Call.

ROLL CALL

To subscribe, call 1(800) 289-9331

ANA

IS PROUD TO ANNOUNCE A NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH

UNITED AIRLINES

All Nippon Airways operates the only daily, non-stop flight from Washington Dulles to Tokyo Narita with connections to Asia.



Earn frequent flyer miles on either airline.

Your Choice.

ANA MILEAGE CLUB ↔ MILEAGE PLUS. United Airlines

For reservations and further information, please contact your travel consultant or ANA at
1-800-2-FLY-ANA
1-800-235-9262
or call United Airlines at 1-800-241-6522

Talk of the Town

N.Y. Democrats Urge First Lady To Make Decision Soon

By Rachel Van Dongen
and Alexander Bolton

Democratic Members of the New York House delegation are eager to see Hillary Rodham Clinton be their standard bearer in the 2000 Senate race, and they think she would easily prevail over New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) in a general election.

"I think she'll whoop the pants off him," pronounced freshman Rep. Gregory Meeks.

Said Rep. Anthony Weiner, a former New York City councilman who often butted heads with the mayor, "I think Rudy doesn't run if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs. He's a smart politician and wouldn't be interested in running a losing campaign."

"She would beat him like a rented mule," Weiner predicted.

"I have three words. It's 'Run, Hillary, run.' I think it would be fantastic," enthused Rep. Eliot Engel. "I think she's a winner and I think that she would be an important step in the Democrats taking back the Senate in 2000."



AP Photo

First lady Hillary Clinton said she was "gratified" by speculation about a Senate bid.

"Let me put it this way: Because of her popularity in New York state, [Democratic Sen.] Chuck Schumer got elected," agreed Rep. Nydia Velázquez, referring to the first lady's efforts on behalf of then-Rep. Schumer in the 1998 campaign. "Knowing how much people admire and respect her in New York, and knowing how knowledgeable she is on the many issues important to us, she will be a perfect candidate."

Despite their heady talk, however, interviews with several New York House Members revealed that while they think the first lady is the best possible candidate to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), many are skeptical about whether she will ultimately enter the race.

"I think that she would be a great candidate for Democrats. She would bring a lot of instant credibility to the table for New York state, even as a junior Senator," Meeks said. But as to whether the first lady will actually enter the contest, Meeks admitted, "My real gut is no."

"She would just be a great candidate and she would revitalize, if anything, the party in New York. She would just give us a boost that would be incredible," said Rep. Jose Serrano. But asked whether he thought she would run, Serrano replied, "My guess is as good as yours."

The first lady stoked the firestorm of
Continued on page 12

New York Members: First Lady's Got the Right Stuff

Democrats Confident Hillary Clinton Can Beat Giuliani, But Worry About Timetable for Decision

'Let me put it this way: Because of her popularity in New York state, Chuck Schumer got elected.'

'I think she'll whoop the pants off him.'

Rep. Nydia Velázquez

Rep. Gregory Meeks

'I think Rudy doesn't run if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs. He's a smart politician and wouldn't be interested in running a losing campaign. She would beat him like a rented mule.'

Rep. Anthony Weiner



Photo by Rebecca Roth



Photo by Rebecca Roth



'I have three words. It's "Run, Hillary, run." I think it would be fantastic. I think she's a winner and I think that she would be an important step in the Democrats taking back the Senate in 2000.'

Rep. Eliot Engel



Photo by Christopher Martin

Continued from page 9

speculation about a possible Senate bid this week by confirming, for the first time, in a short statement that she was indeed weighing whether a run for elected office was plausible.

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan," read the statement.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

"I'm more hopeful now than I was a month ago. We thought that it was a long shot at best. Now it's certainly something that she's considering. She's never said, 'Oh no, don't be silly,'" Engel said.

But indications that Clinton might not make a decision until "later this year" set off alarm bells among some state Democrats. Led by Rep. Charlie Rangel, Democrats have been busy putting together a package that, in Rangel's words, the first lady "can't refuse," including the promise of no primary and solid labor and business support.

But Democrats are becoming increasingly worried that a late decision by the first lady will paralyze their party, making it harder for

other candidates to raise the necessary money and garner support for a tough race. Rep. Nita Lowey is the only other prominent Democrat expressing interest in the contest, but has made it clear she will withdraw if Clinton runs.

"[The first lady is] keeping her own counsel right now," said Rep. Mike McNulty. "Frankly, the situation in New York is that the field is frozen until she makes up her mind. If she decides not to run, a real possibility, a probability, it is better for her to make the decision soon."

"If she runs, I think all the Democrats will say 'Hallelujah,'" he added.

Said Engel, "I would hope that she would make the decision by the spring, by April."

House Members argued that Clinton's astronomical popularity in New York, her demeanor throughout the impeachment process and her ability to rally Democrats would far outweigh any negatives in a Senate race.

"She certainly has grace under pressure," said Rep. Jerrold Nadler, who pointed out there have been unconfirmed reports the first lady is looking for an apartment in his district. "It would be lovely," he said.

Nadler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee that wrangled over impeachment, said the first lady could only benefit from the

presidential scandal, even if her husband's image suffered.

"If the charges were that he had plotted with the army to overthrow Congress, that baggage would go to anyone associated with him," he said. "But the charges are that he engaged in a surreptitious sexual affair and covered it up. The one person who doesn't carry any of that baggage is his wife. No one blames the wife if the husband dallied on the side."

"I think the way she comported herself during the whole impeachment issue and beforehand speaks very well of her character and her fortitude, and people are very impressed."

But the first lady has been involved in her own share of scandals, including investigations into both Whitewater and Travelgate. She could also be vulnerable to attacks that

she is a carpetbagger, and for being too liberal, especially for voters upstate.

"You might have some people who would like very much to run against her the same way they've been running against the President for the last six years. But on the other hand, there are positives," Serrano said.

"I think that both of them have been under quite a bit of attack because people just didn't want the issues that they are discussing to be discussed," he added. "Those folks would be on her case, but the majority" would support her.

"New York numbers were almost ridiculous in support of the President [and] against impeachment. I think people would sort of want to vindicate all of us by electing her."

Engel contended that attacks on the first lady would only backfire.

"I think people are fed up with scandals and the attacks against the Clintons," he said. "I think Hillary would be welcomed with open arms."

The House Members surveyed all thought that Giuliani, who has clearly been eyeing a Senate bid when his second term as mayor expires in 2000, will think twice before challenging the first lady.

"Yeah, he'll run. He'll run out of the race," Meeks quipped. "He may very well back out, because he knows that he can't beat Hillary."

"I think he will think twice and she will defeat him," predicted Velázquez.

But the notoriously combative Giuliani has issued a number of strongly worded statements in recent days, indicating a race with the first lady might be too enticing to pass up.

"It would be tough to say no" to a race with the first lady, said Giuliani communications director Cristyne Lategano in a statement. "Mrs. Clinton would be the number-one unifier of Republicans statewide and nationally."

Samantha Lugo, the mayor's deputy press secretary, said it would be "premature" to respond to comments about a non-existent campaign.

"It's a hypothetical race at this point, so it wouldn't be fair to qual-

ify these things at this point. It would be advantageous for both sides to wait until something more concrete comes up."

But even Democrats acknowledge that the mayor would be a formidable candidate.

"I think that Hillary is the one person who would probably start off as the favorite against him," Engel said. "I think anybody else would probably start off as the underdog."

He added, "We don't know if [Giuliani] gets a challenge that he would necessarily win a primary. A compelling case [against Giuliani] can be made even for people in New York City. If they like the job he did as mayor, in Washington, he would be a Republican Senator who would vote for [Majority Leader] Trent Lott's [R-Miss.] right-wing, anti-New York [policies]."

"Nothing is guaranteed in life. But I think the overwhelming likelihood is that she would win," Nadler observed.

First lady leaves open Senate door

Clinton takes positive step
by not saying 'no' outright

By Lisa Anderson
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Creating the most delicious political anticipation here since former Gov. Mario Cuomo dithered over a run for the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton has Democrats drooling and Republicans reeling over the question: Will she run for the U.S. Senate from New York?

As rumors reached a frenzy Tuesday, the first lady addressed the issue in a two-sen-



Hillary Rodham
Clinton again spurs
speculation.

tence statement, saying she would give "careful thought" to making a bid for the seat to be vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Promising to announce a decision this year, she said she was gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running."

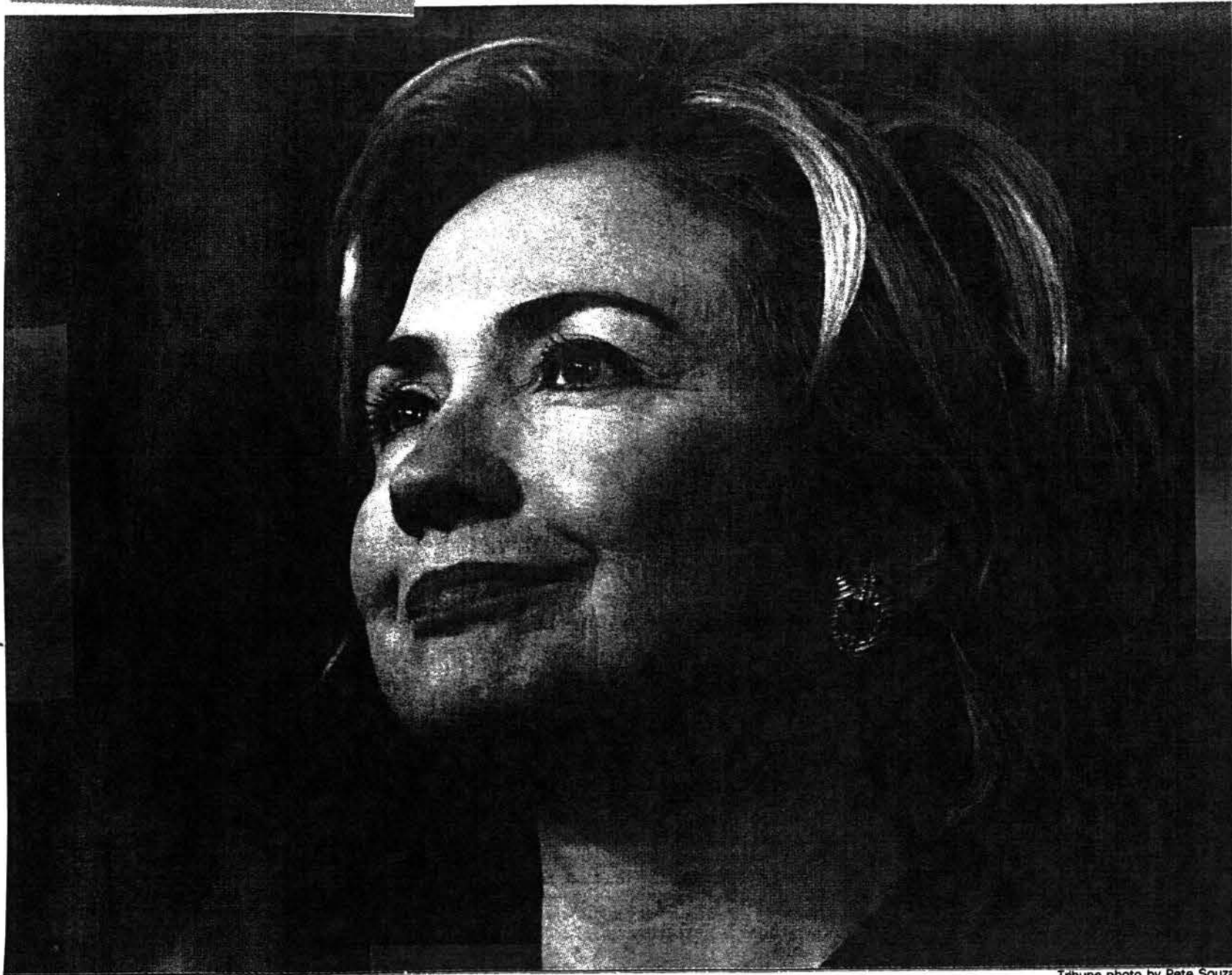
It wasn't much, but it was more than enough to keep the campaign fires burning.

Whether they see her as a carpetbagging outsider or an avenging crusader who can hold Moynihan's seat against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the probable GOP candidate, everyone seems to have something to say about it.

President Clinton himself fanned the speculative sparks Monday during his visit to Mexico. His wife, he said, would make a

SEE FIRST LADY, BACK PAGE

Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, February 17, 1999



Tribune photo by Pete Souza

Hillary Rodham Clinton attends an announcement Tuesday for Central American disaster relief at the Old Executive Office Building in Washington.

First lady looking beyond White House

Amid rising speculation, a poll indicates New York voters would favor Mrs. Clinton over Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"terrific" senator, but the decision to run is up to her.

In an effort to persuade her, U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, a veteran Manhattan Democrat, dangled the assurance that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would be unopposed in a Democratic primary. And should she run in 2000, Moynihan himself predicted, "She'd win."

Not so fast, cautioned former Democratic Mayor Ed Koch.

"I think she would win, but she should understand it's not a cakewalk, that Giuliani and the Republicans will use every loathsome opportunity to throw mud at her," said Koch, echoing the concerns of many of Mrs. Clinton's friends and supporters.

David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic consultant from Chicago, is one of them. "From the standpoint of New York Democrats, she's a splendid candidate. ... As someone who really likes and admires and knows her, I hope she will not do it," he said. "Do you want to put yourself through the mixmaster of New York politics with the ultimate attack dog on the other side? I don't think that is an elevating experience."

Axelrod said he thought she would win, "because I see her on a different level than Giuliani. It would be like a match between a champion and a club fighter. But

club fighters also hit below the belt and you have to be prepared for bruises."

New Yorkers are duly mesmerized—and divided—over the prospect of the political equivalent of Clash of the Titans, an almost inevitably bare-knuckled battle between the charismatic, liberal, out-of-stater Mrs. Clinton, and the pugnacious, starchily conservative, home-grown Giuliani, the man who tamed New York City.

"I think she would be the perfect person to replace Mr. Moynihan because she's a lady, she has charisma and I admire her," said Jorge Delgado, a taxi driver. "She can count on my vote."

Not so for Joe Russo, a dry cleaner. "I'd vote for Rudy, because he's from here and I like the job he's doing. I'd like to have somebody right here, from the state itself. They seem to know more about what's going on around here."

If Mrs. Clinton does enter the race, it would be the first time a current first lady has run for elective office, but it hardly would be the first time an out-of-stater has made a bid for a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

Most notable was former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who moved from Washington, D.C., and barely had his bags unpacked in New York when he was elected to

the Senate in 1964. In 1970, Republican James Buckley, a recent transplant from Connecticut, was elected to the seat vacated by Kennedy, who was assassinated while running for president in 1968.

Like Kennedy's candidacy, Mrs. Clinton's would come at a time when New York Democrats desperately need it. The party's most likely other contender for Moynihan's seat is Rep. Nita Lowey, who has represented the Westchester County suburbs since 1988 but registers virtually no name recognition in the state.

Speculation also has risen that Mrs. Clinton, a native of Park Ridge, Ill., might make a run for the U.S. Senate in Illinois in 2004, when Republican Peter Fitzgerald's seat comes up. Axelrod favors that idea.

"With all due respect to Illinois, a Senate seat from New York is a hotter political ticket than a Senate seat from Illinois," said Jay Severin, a GOP consultant.

Particularly if you are, as Bobby Kennedy was, looking for yet higher office. "This is a stepping stone to the presidency. I have absolutely no doubt that this is in her mind," said Severin, who considers Mrs. Clinton "Colin Powell in a skirt."

No question that New York is a big, highly visible and accommodating stage. It has no residency

requirement beyond an address in the state by Election Day. Even a hotel suite will do, though Mrs. Clinton might raise awkward questions by moving out of the White House before her husband does.

While the carpetbagger tag may rankle some voters, for others, many of them newcomers themselves, it matters little. "She doesn't need to be from New York," said Delgado, an immigrant. "She knows very well the New York people and she understands our needs."

Moreover, as Delgado pointed out, Giuliani may be popular, but he has alienated a significant number of New York City residents, ranging from taxi drivers and street peddlers to many in the minority community.

Mrs. Clinton is well known, respected and popular in the state. Her many visits were credited with helping Democrat Charles Schumer defeat longtime GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November. Sharing her husband's strength with minority voters, her greatest challenge may be reaching out to Jewish voters, some of whom were offended by her stated support for a Palestinian state.

Nonetheless, early opinion polls generally have been encouraging for her. In the most recent Marist poll, released Jan. 26, Mrs. Clinton beat Giuliani handily, 53 percent to

42 percent, among all registered voters. She did particularly well in New York City, upstate New York and among women voters. Her softest spot seemed to be among suburban voters.

Although Republicans hold the statehouse, Democrats hold a sizable advantage in registered voters. President Clinton carried the state overwhelmingly in 1992 and 1996.

Said Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center: "There are three things you should know: Hillary Clinton has enormous appeal because New York has never elected a woman to a statewide office except as lieutenant governor. She'd get the women's vote. Secondly, she would have no difficulty raising money, because she could draw upon a national pool of donors. And in a presidential year, the Democratic turnout is usually higher here by at least a million votes. That would also be to her advantage."

But as Axelrod said, there remain two threshold questions the first lady must answer: "Does she want to go the electoral route and, if she does, when and where is it best to pursue it? Is New York the right place and is 2000 the right time?"

Running for the Senate in New York

If First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton were to run for U.S. senator from New York, she would have to fulfill these constitutional requirements:

- Be 30 years of age.
- Be a U.S. citizen for 9 years.
- Live in the state where she is running.

The New York Board of Elections interprets the residency requirement as living in the state for any period of time—even just one day—up to the day of the election.

The state process

- Mrs. Clinton must be nominated by her party or collect 15,000 signatures from registered Democrats. To be nominated, state Democratic Party rules say a candidate must receive 25 percent of delegates' votes at the party convention in May 2000.
- If a Democratic opponent emerges, a primary election is held in September. The winner goes on the November ballot.

State voters

Number of registered New York voters by party as of 1998:

Democrat	4,997,773	(46.5%)
Republican	3,114,832	(29.0%)
Unaffiliated	2,164,121	(20.1%)
Other parties	464,062	(4.3%)

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not total 100

The strength of the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1996

- Won 52 out of 62 New York counties.
- Won 60 percent of the overall vote in the state.

Hillary Clinton ponders N.Y. race

She promises to give 'careful thought' to bid for Moynihan's seat

Would be 1st race for office

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton sent speculation about her bid for the Senate into overdrive yesterday with a formal acknowledgment that she would give "careful thought" to pursuing the New York seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

President Clinton stoked the issue Monday when he told reporters in Mexico that his wife would make a "great" senator.

The first lady took her cue yesterday, releasing a three-sentence statement that she was "deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate."

She added, "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

The Democratic nomination appears to be hers for the taking. Empire State Democrats vying to succeed Moynihan, a Democrat first elected in 1976, have all but said they would step aside to give the first lady a clear path to the nomination. After that, she almost certainly would face a difficult race against a well-financed Republican, possibly New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

But Democrats are clearly enlivened by the prospect of snagging a candidate of the stature of the first lady. The idea of a Clinton run was floated last month by New

But Democrats are clearly enlivened by the prospect of snagging a candidate of the stature of the first lady. The idea of a Clinton run was floated last month by New Jersey Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and a strong Clinton supporter, who reiterated his backing for her yesterday.

The offhand suggestion quickly took hold. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, an influential New York Democrat, started a recruitment push, and Moynihan on Sunday spoke of her "magnificent, young, bright, able Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm."

"It would [See Clinton, 4A]

First lady vows to give 'careful thought' to bid

Clinton, from Page 1A]

certainly be a thrilling experience, and we are all hoping she will decide this is a very good choice for her," said Judith Hope, the New York state Democratic Party chairwoman.

But the first lady faces any number of challenges that could keep her from the race. She has never held elective office, and New York would be a brutal place to

start her career in electoral politics. The tabloid press appears to be salivating at the prospect of a Clinton-Giuliani race, just two years after the bloody campaign of 1998, in which Democratic Rep. Charles E. Schumer fought tooth and nail with Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato and ultimately defeated the famed "Senator Pothole."

New York newspapers are gearing up to sift through all the scandals of the Clinton presidency that touched the first lady, including the Whitewater land deal, the firings in the White House travel office and the FBI personnel files controversy.

"No more ... softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does," promised the *New York Post* in an editorial yesterday. "When she drops a prickly pear, like suggesting a Palestinian state, she won't be able to hide in the White House while others haul out the damage-control team."

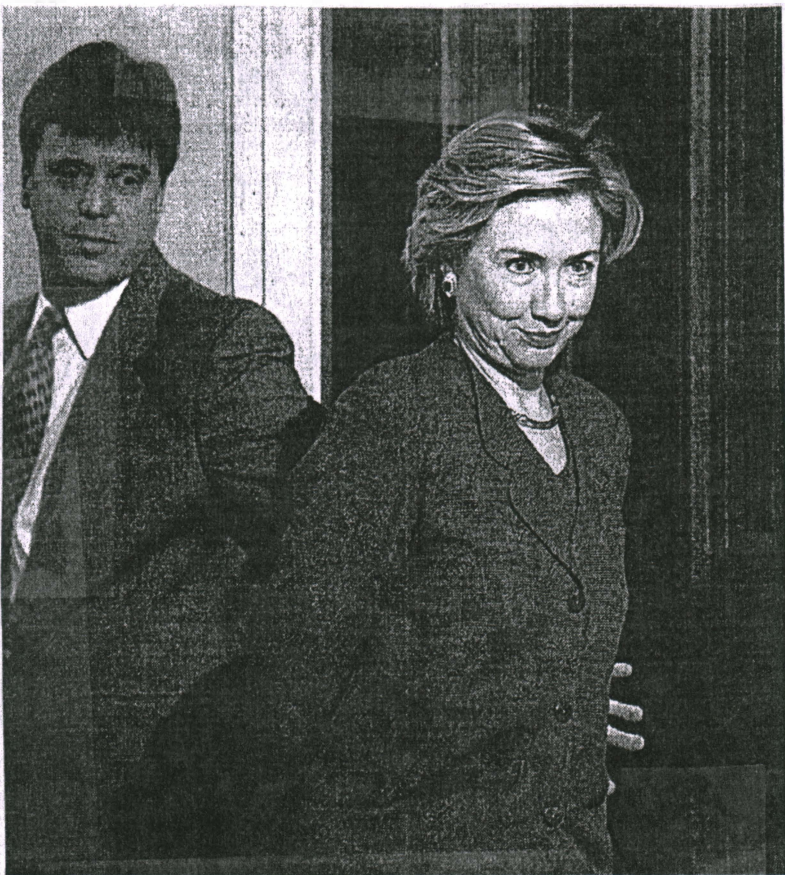
She will almost certainly be painted as a carpetbagger with no real ties to a state that has famously looked after its own interests. Moynihan's seat is no stranger to outsiders, however. It was once held by Robert F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Connecticut's James Buckley.

"Over 50 percent of New Yorkers were born someplace else. We are the melting pot," Hope insisted. "We pride ourselves for welcoming people of talent who are willing to work hard."

Moreover, the Clintons face daunting financial challenges. Next week, the president's legal trust is expected to disclose the magnitude of the family's legal debts, which are likely to be in the millions of dollars. And Hillary Clinton has long been the family's main breadwinner.

"The rumor is that she is really and truly tempted [to run] but that she realizes it would be a crazy thing to do," said a Democratic pollster, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "The Clintons are just about the poorest people in America, outside some majorly leveraged real estate developers."

And it is not clear whether the first lady would want the job, once she seriously considered what it entails. After the cloistered world of the White House, she would find



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS

Speculation: Hillary Rodham Clinton prepares to announce a relief program for hurricane victims in Central America and the Caribbean.

herself a junior senator, probably in the minority party, attending tedious committee meetings, confronting a press corps with far more access to her, and dealing with the mundane tasks of fund raising and constituent service.

"I think she would find it frustrating," said a longtime friend. "She has many other opportunities to be effective in a way that gives her more flexibility. A chamber runs on its own schedule. She has many other things she can do outside that arena, given her command over her own life and schedule."

The friend said Clinton currently enjoys a kind of power not found in the Senate.

"You have that bully pulpit which commands attention," the friend said. "You have to like the legislature and all the compromises and coalition-building — and a part of her does. But another part of her had experience in the executive branch, where you're more in charge."

For now, at least, the first lady is being greeted only by hosannas from the Democratic Party. Democrats such as Rep. Nita M. Lowey have been waiting for years for Moynihan's retirement and an opportunity to run. In the past month, Lowey has visited Syracuse, Newburgh, Albany and Buffalo.

Yet her chief of staff, Howard Wolfson, said Lowey would gladly step aside if Clinton decided to run.

"If she runs, [Lowey] will support her enthusiastically," Wolfson said.

The first lady may be pleading for time to make her decision, but she does not have long. Democratic hopefuls have been practically frozen in their tracks by the speculation about her run, not wanting to raise and spend campaign cash if they will have to step aside. Meanwhile, Republicans are running hard.

Still, the first lady appears to be enjoying the attention and is playing it for all it's worth.

Yesterday, a platoon of reporters showed up to hear her announce a \$956 million relief package for Central American and Caribbean nations clobbered last year by Hurricanes Mitch and Georges — an event they probably would not have covered normally.

When the event ended, a reporter shouted out the question that most of the journalists came to ask: When will you make your decision about the Senate bid?

She simply smiled and waved as she left the stage.

The question was, after all, a welcome respite from the Monica Lewinsky-related issues that have dogged the first lady for more than a year.

"People should respect the important professional decision Hillary Rodham Clinton has to make," Torricelli cautioned.

"I hope her friends will give her advice and encouragement, but I also hope they will give her consideration and time."

Sun staff writer Ellen Gamberman contributed to this article.

Her statement

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year.

"In the meantime, I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for many years."



Political Roundup

Another Democrat Takes A Pass On N.Y. Senate Race

■ ADD ANOTHER leading New York Democrat to the list of those who have decided against seeking the seat of retiring Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan** next year.

New York Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman late Monday issued a statement announcing he will not run — saying he wants to spend time with his children and continue work on state issues.

Bragman, a Democrat from up-state Syracuse, said he thought the race would be within his reach “from an organizational and financial standpoint.”

But he added: “... This discussion comes at a time when [GOP Gov. George Pataki] has released an executive budget that would be devastating to working families across New York state. I believe there is much more that can be accomplished in the weeks and months ahead. All of that would have to be put off during a Senate campaign.”

Bragman joins a lengthy list of prominent Democrats who have bowed out of the race — including HUD Secretary Cuomo, state Comptroller H. Carl McCall and environmental lawyer Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

The recent buzz in the race has centered on whether First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might enter. **Rep. Nita Lowey**, D-N.Y., and New York City Public Advocate Mark Green — who lost last year's Democratic primary to now-**Sen. Charles Schumer** — are also eyeing the contest.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the frontrunner should he decide to enter the race.

Reps. Rick Lazio and **Peter King** are also interested, and former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato** — defeated in November by Schumer in

a bid for a fourth term — has not ruled out running.

Poll: Congress Should Pay More Attention To Public's Views

■ IN A SENTIMENT that extends beyond the impeachment debate, the American public thinks Congress should pay more attention to its views when making decisions, according to a poll released Tuesday by the Center on Policy Attitudes.

“Elected officials who assert that the public has given them a mandate to do what they think is right are, to put it bluntly, wrong,” said COPA Director Steven Kull.

The poll, which questioned 1,204 respondents from Jan. 26-31, has a 3 point error margin; it found 84 percent of those interviewed felt the public should have more influence on Congress, while 4 percent said the public should have less and 8 percent preferred no change.

Kull said 68 percent thought public opinion is generally more important than House members' views, while 25 percent said members' opinions count more.

“This view is not simply due to the effect of the impeachment debate. When *Time* [and] CNN asked this same question in February 1993, the exact same number said the voters should take precedence,” he said.

Kull said it is not particular roll call votes that engender public dissatisfaction, but a feeling that special interests drive federal decision making.

Isakson Outraises Opponents By Tenfold

■ GEORGIA BOARD of Education Chairman Johnny Isakson, a Republican running to succeed **House Speaker Gingrich**, claims to have \$1.5 million in campaign funds and expects to spend at least

\$470,000 on television, cable, radio and direct mail ads before the Feb. 23 special election, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* reported.

Of the seven other candidates, only one has raised a tenth as much as Isakson — former House historian Christina Jeffrey, also running as a Republican.

The Jeffrey campaign claims to have raised \$200,000, some of it through appeals to pro-gun groups.

Isakson, a former state senator, already has television spots running, depicting him as a pro-business supporter of education who also supports a 10 percent tax cut.

Jeffrey campaign manager Tom Campbell said the campaign may start airing ads this week, but may use most of the money toward the end of the campaign.

Isakson campaign manager Heath Garrett said, “If Christina Jeffrey goes negative, we can respond.”

NRCC Set Announce Staff Promotions

■ THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN Congressional Committee is expected to announce today the promotion of two key staffers as the committee puts together its team for the 2000 election cycle, according to an NRCC staff member.

Terry Nelson, who served as the NRCC's national field director during the 1998 cycle, will become political director. In turn, Nelson will be replaced by Mike McElwain, who was the NRCC's Southern field director last cycle.

Nelson and McElwain join Executive Director Scott Hatch, **House Majority Whip DeLay's** former floor assistant; Finance Director Abigail Perlman, the former U.S. Chamber of Commerce corporate development director; and Press Secretary Jill Schroeder, who comes from Ralph Reed's Century Strategies.