The Washington Times · TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1999

'Worldly women' give Hillary advice

Many urge her to remain in politics

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Clinton is an advice magnet.

Yes, she hires pros to counsel her on the intricacies of legal matters or finances. Many more seem compelled, however, to tell the first lady what to do and just how to do it.

The latest recommendations come from the 12-million-circulation magazine, Glamour, which asked "worldly women" to advise Mrs. Clinton on her post-White House life.

"She should get the best divorce lawyer, she should get some professional counseling and she should stay out of politics," said singer Naomi Judd.

Do what you like, offered feminist Gloria Steinem.

"Hillary Rodham Clinton should finally be allowed to do anything she wants to do — without harassment from the press," Ms. Steinem said.

Phyllis Schlafly, meanwhile, advised Mrs. Clinton to "make money," while former Texas Gov. Ann Richards suggested that the first lady stay in public service. Camille Paglia said Mrs. Clinton should head to the United Nations as "ambassador-at-large for women's and children's rights."

Not everyone thought she should find solace in the public realm.

"I think Hillary Rodham Clinton should immediately get rid of her excess baggage," advised singer Eartha Kitt. "Everyone needs to simplify their lives now and again."

The magazine also polled "real women," who counseled Mrs. Clinton to take a vacation, write a best-seller or run for senator.

Mrs. Clinton's flirtation with public office has already brought in advice in the past few weeks from New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Geraldine Ferraro and former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo.

One young woman interviewed by Glamour, however, thought the first lady should go the vengeful route.

"She should have a very public affair with a really rich, attractive man who knows how to treat her right — and who knows what the meaning of 'sex' is," said Shannon Wall.

Is this familiarity cheeky?

"There is no longer a moat of distance between a first lady and her public," said Cynthia Leivy of Glamour. "She is not seen as above reproach. This is a celebrity culture. People feel they know Mrs. Clinton, even if they don't."

Staffers were surprised by the vehemence of the responses, she said, either for or against Mrs. Clinton.

"Some were ferocious," she said. "But it goes with the territory. Everybody has advice."

And they have given it for years.

When Mrs. Clinton first went on the presidential campaign trail in 1992, Joan Mondale told her, "Never leave home without Band-Aids, nail glue, safety pins, Tums, aspirin, needle and thread."

A year later, Rosalynn Carter advised, "In politics you are going to be criticized, so do what you want to do and be involved."

More opinions followed. Over the years, Mrs. Clinton was counseled about mothering, wifely duties, baking skills, White House hostessing, diplomacy, morality, tolerance, aging and the merits of good hair dye, among other things.

There was considerable hoopla in 1996 when a story surfaced that Mrs. Clinton had used a psychic to glean guidance from the ghost of Eleanor Roosevelt. It took three White House spokesmen to explain the rumor away, including Michael McCurry, who said Mrs. Clinton was "brainstorming for an upcoming book."

Free advice reached a crescendo last year during the White House scandal — like the Psychology Today special section called "Advice to Hillary," which suggested that the Clintons had "a boundary problem, not a love problem."

Traditionally, Mrs. Clinton has reacted with cool aplomb.

At one point she said, "Sometimes I read about myself and I say, 'Ooh, I don't like her at all.' But I don't see how I could change who I am."

The New York Times TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1999

For Giuliani, Often a Maverick, Support of Party Is Not Assured

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

For all the differences between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rudolph W. Giuliani, none may be more important than this: The Democratic First Lady is assured the support of her party if she runs for Senate next year. But the Republican Mayor faces the prospect of a complicated primary, fought in front of Republican voters who have long been wary of him.

The huge interest stirred by the prospect of a Clinton-Giuliani race has clouded Mr. Giuliani's sometimes difficult history with his party and its leaders, and the ways in which he might be vulnerable, for ideological and geographical reasons, in a Republican primary.

A reminder that his nomination would not be a foregone conclusion came yesterday as Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Long Island Republican, prepared for a week of appearances before Republican audiences upstate, where he will discuss his own interest in the Senate seat now held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat retiring after four terms.

Mr. Giuliani, unlike Mrs. Clinton, remains an unsteady figure in his own party, notwithstanding his evident political success. An array of influential party leaders — starting with Gov. George E. Pataki and including Alfonse M. D'Amato, the former Senator — have battled Mr. Giuliani for years, and many Republicans say the Governor and the former Senator are tacitly backing Mr. Lazio's bid.

Mr. Giuliani's success in positioning himself for an election where Democrats have a million-vote edge — moderate on some issues, and conservative on others — could complicate any Republican primary. The Mayor, for example, was one of the few Republicans who defended President Clinton during impeachment proceedings, and he opposed a ban on some forms of late-term abortions.

Mr. Giuliani's position on both issues runs counter to the strong sentiments of the generally conservative Republicans who are likely to vote in a primary. By contrast, Mr. Lazio voted for Mr. Clinton's impeachment and has supported a ban on the late-term abortion procedure.

Party strategists said it was clear that voters in Mr. Giuliani's political power base of New York City would have nowhere near the dominance in a statewide Republican primary that they would in a Democratic primary or, to a lesser extent, in statewide elections. Mr. Giuliani's advisers are counting on his strong standing in the city to help him overcome a statewide Democratic edge. In a primary, however, he could find himself facing a candidate from the suburbs who could erase any geographic advantage Mr. Giuliani hoped to have.

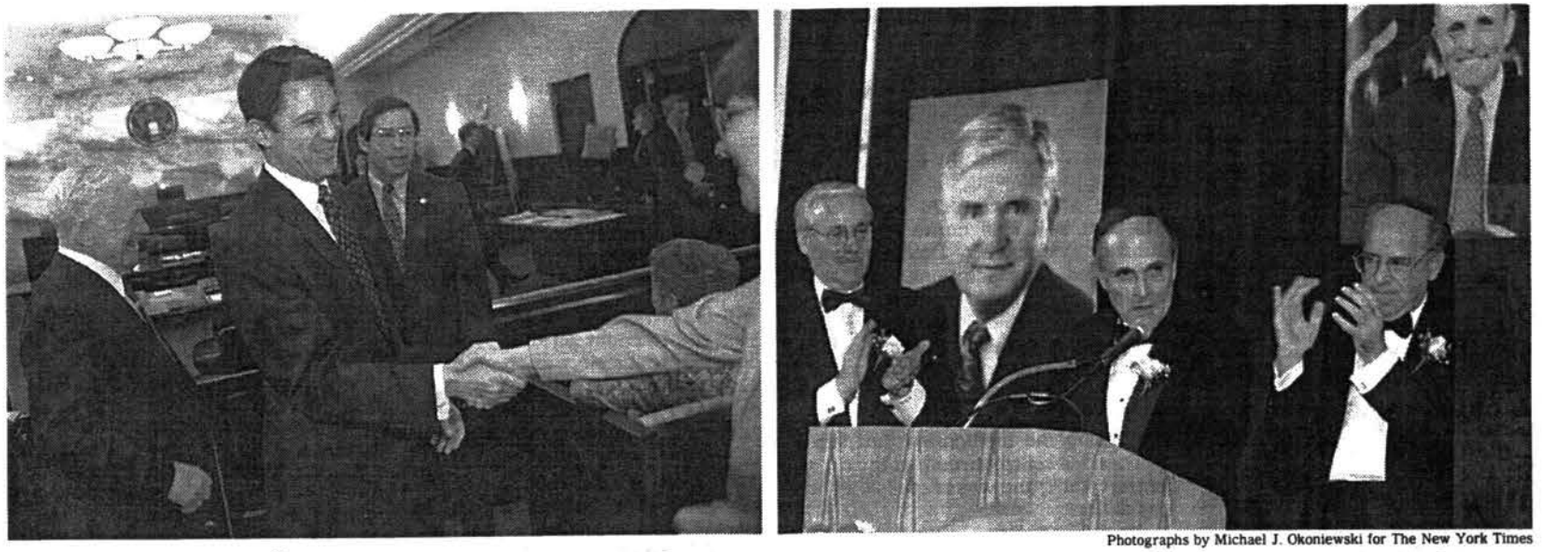
By any measure, Mr. Giuliani has to be viewed as a dominant figure in any Republican primary. He is well known, has demonstrated an overwhelming ability to raise campaign funds and has run New York City at a time when crime has dropped while the economy has boomed.

Mr. Giuliani's advisers asserted yesterday that they were not concerned about the prospect of a tough primary race if he decides to run for the Senate, recalling that he had won two primaries for mayor. "I don't see a Republican issue against him," said Peter J. Powers, the Mayor's political adviser. "When you look at what the Republican Party stands for — lower taxes, lower spending, fighting crime — he has stood for all of those things."

But other supporters of Mr. Giuliani were a bit more concerned about how he might fare in a Republican primary. The main concern is that the candidacy of a rival like Mr. Lazio — a poised and articulate 41-year-old, four-term Congressman — could turn into a rallying point for upstate Republicans wary of some of Mr. Giuliani's more liberal positions, from supporting rent regulation to backing gay rights, as well as the Mayor's frequently gruff manner.

Further complicating the outlook is the prospect that Mr. Pataki and Mr. D'Amato might support a subterranean campaign against Mr. Giuliani, encouraging supporters or contributors to back Mr. Lazio or saying things that could undercut Mr. Giuliani's standing.

Mr. Lazio said yesterday that both Mr. Pataki and Mr. D'Amato had offered him counsel as he considered his future career.



Photographs by Michael J. Okoniewski for The New York Times

Representative Rick A. Lazio shaking hands with a supporter recently in Syracuse, with Representative James T. Walsh, center. Also in Syracuse, right, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani was honored by Rabbi Charles S. Sherman, right, of Temple Adath Yeshurun. At left, Mayor Roy Bernard.

Clinton sees himself living in New York

He links post-presidency plan, wife's quest

DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE PRESS SERVICES

President Clinton hinted Wednesday that after his presidency he will move to New York, where speculation abounds that his wife will seek the U.S. Senate seat.

Clinton tossed the kernel of news about his post-presidency residence into an hour-long TV interview with Dan Rather on the fledgling newsmagazine *60 Minutes II*.



President Clinton

In the president's first interview in 15 months, he was asked indirectly about moving to New York by Rather's question about the responsibilities of a husband of a United States senator — an allusion to Hillary Rodham Clinton's rumored U.S. Senate bid.

"I can imagine that many voters in New York would wonder whether — even though she and I intended to move to New York after we left the White House, although I would also spend a lot of time at home in Arkansas — they would wonder, well, does this make sense for someone to be a United States senator," Clinton said.

While some have been certain that Clinton planned to come home to Arkansas when he leaves office, he had never, on record, announced his plans.

Speculation had ranged from Clinton taking a job working for Hollywood moguls in California to a move into a home on Lake Hamilton in Hot Springs.

When Clinton was elected in 1992, the question arose, accompanied by some promotion, as to whether Clinton would acquire a house or vacation retreat in Arkansas or elsewhere.

In 1992, Hot Spring's Presidential Search Committee, an arm of the chamber of commerce, went so far as to propose four possible retreat sites.

When Clinton visited the new home of friends and television producers Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason in 1992, rumors floated that the oceanfront mansion was intended to serve as a Western White House.

While Clinton could still purchase a home in Arkansas, it may not be necessary if apartments are built in the proposed presidential library in Little Rock.

"I believe that they will have a place in New York and in Arkansas," said Skip Rutherford, president of the Clinton presidential library foundation. "I expect him to spend a tremendous amount of time here."

Clinton's post-presidential plans were overshadowed during the interview by questions about the war in Yugoslavia and about the impeachment scandal, which was just getting under way the last time he gave a one-on-one interview, to Jim Lehrer of *The NewsHour* on PBS, on Jan. 21, 1998.

Rather's interview was part of a new policy of openness toward the press by the administration, a White House press aide said Wednesday.

Rather interviewed Clinton for an hour at the White House on Wednesday afternoon, then prepared reports for the *CBS Evening News* at 6:30 p.m. and two segments for the hour-long, three-segment *60 Minutes II*, which was broadcast at 9 p.m. last night.

SECOND JOB: President Clinton says he's not quite sure what the duties are for the husband of a U.S. senator, but he's willing to fulfill them if Hillary Rodham Clinton decides to run for the Senate from New York next year. "I would fill in at dinners, make speeches when she had to vote," he said. "I'd be the main caseworker in the New York office."

In an interview with CBS News, Clinton said he "never, never" considered resigning from office during the Monica Lewinsky scandal. "I do not regard this impeachment vote as some great badge of shame," he said, adding, "It's past us, and we need to put it behind us. We owe that to the American people, to let it go."

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1999

Rudy taunting Hillary .com-lately Web rivals

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Mayor Giuliani yesterday dared opponents to battle him on the Internet — but several of his most vociferous critics didn't need an invitation to use the Web to sling mud.

Gushing over his new anti-Hillary Clinton Web site, Giuliani declared that "there have never been more users, more hits, more participants, for a political Web site ever."

"Campaigning on the Internet is a good idea for modern politics."

Giuliani last week launched a Web site tweaking Mrs. Clinton (www.HillaryNo.com).

To prevent a counterattack, the mayor's campaign apparently secured rights to "www.RudyNo.com" and "GiulianiNo.com."

Asked what would happen if someone tried to play the same Web-site game, the mayor said: "If they try, let's see what happens. We may have thought of that . . . Let 'em try.

"The people who are doing this understand the Internet very, very well. They have great knowledge of it. If somebody wants it, they may have to pay us money for it."

While RudyNo may be off-limits to mayoral foes, there are several other Internet sites that have already been launched by Giuliani-bashers.

The "RudySucks.com" site is devoted to all things anti-Giuliani, sometimes in language that can't be published in a family newspaper.

> ***"Campaigning on the Internet is a good idea for modern politics."***
>
> MAYOR GIULIANI

"This Web site is for all those who want to speak out against the liquidation of our fair city, for all those with a voice who need to be heard," declares the site's creator, known simply as "NoMas."

The site's title page has a photo of Giuliani that transforms into a devil's face at the click of a mouse. The site features editorials and links to other anti-Giuliani locations on the Web.

City officials also won't be surfing to "The Anti-Giuliani Message Board" (www.outsider.net/fuehrer), and the Lower East Side Collective's website (burn.ucsd.edu/%7emai/giulianism.html), which calls on visitors to "Stop Giulianism before it stops you!"

The message board's title page declares: "Giuliani has proven to be an enemy of civil liberties, the free-market economy, and New York's proud image."

Cristyne Lategano, the mayor's communications director, belittled the anti-Rudy sites.

"In one minute, the mayor's new Web site has gotten more hits than these other sites have had in their lifetime on the Web," she said.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani — who are considering running for the Senate next year — have already lost out on choice Internet addresses.

"Hillary.com" is home to a software company and "Giuliani.com" is a Web site for an airport architectural firm.

★★ CAMPAIGN 2000 ★★

Giuliani Senate bid punctured by 41 shots

By Robert Schlesinger

Even before Rudolph Giuliani (R) ascended to New York City's Gracie Mansion in 1993, crime-fighting was his political shield. He had hoped the shield would protect him in his yet-unannounced bid for the U.S. Senate.

Then in early February, four New York City police officers fired 41 shots at a black African immigrant, Amadou Diallo. They hit the unarmed man 19 times, killing him — and punching holes in Mayor Giuliani's shield.

Those holes have widened as eight weeks of carefully orchestrated protests — including arrests of notable figures from Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) to actress Susan Sarandon — has kept the Diallo tragedy alive.

Now as Giuliani prepares for potentially his toughest political battle, the shooting and another case of alleged police mistreatment of minorities are threatening to rob him of his most potent weapon.

"To a lot of people, he's grown horns," said Peter Bynum, a New York Democratic consultant. "Crime-fighting made Giuliani a star. He was an Eliot Ness for the '90s. Now some people are wondering if they really want a Mussolini for the millennium. The issue that made him could break him."

David Garth, a political consultant who worked on Giuliani's 1993 campaign, disagreed.

"In the war on crime, the guy's got a tremendous record," he said. "Is this going to hurt a little bit? Sure it's going to hurt. On the other hand people are not that stupid in this city, and when they realize what we had before ... [the crime issue] is going to be a plus, not a minus."

But every time Giuliani mentions crime, Diallo's specter will be invoked, according to Democrats.

"The Diallo scandal cuts into Giuliani's whole identity," Bynum said. "His calling card has always been as a crime-fighter. Now every piece of praise about crime reduction will be followed by a criticism."

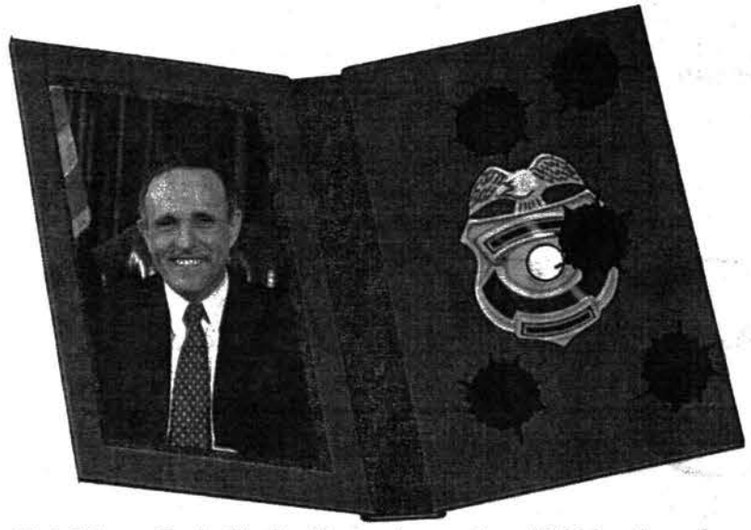
One of Giuliani's main electoral appeals is his ability as a Republican to win votes in New York City, one of the country's liberal Democratic strongholds. He won easy reelection in 1997 with 57 percent of the vote.

That was in a record low-turnout year. "One assumes that turnout will be bigger in a presidential election," said Democratic consultant Jerry Skurnik. "Most of those additional people will probably be minorities that are going to vote against him."

Giuliani does not have to win the city for a successful Senate bid because the rest of the state is fertile Republican ground.

"If he gets 40 percent of the city, then the rest is gravy," said independent pollster John Zogby.

But Giuliani has failed to even crack 30 percent in recent polls matching him against first lady Hillary Clinton, who has the Democratic nomination if she wants it.



New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani's tough on crime shield has been damaged.

"This is wearing on him in the city," Zogby said. "He can't take this steady barrage of negative, very negative press."

Still, the vast majority of Republican primary voters are not in the city.

"Upstate and in suburbs, they like the fact that Giuliani's been tough and he's made the city work," Zogby said. "So it's almost like the worse it gets in the city, the better it gets elsewhere."

More broadly, Giuliani's negatives with a general electorate may not be negatives for the primary voters.

"These are two different universes with very different agendas," said Jay Severin, a New York-based GOP strategist. "In fact, the qualities that make someone a strong primary candidate, in either party, generally doom them or weaken them in appealing to the broader general electorate, and vice versa."

Giuliani's reaction to the shooting — defending the Police Department — has come under blistering criticism. That may have a negligible effect on the primary.

"It's like saying there's no such thing as being too thin or too rich," Severin said. "There's no such thing as being too supportive of police in a Republican primary. Period."

Hillaryno.com Not Mud.com On the Web, Giuliani Says

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the as-yet-undeclared Republican candidate for United States Senate, said yesterday that a Web site set up by his supporters was not intended as an attack on Hillary Rodham Clinton but rather as an effort to capitalize on the fund-raising opportunity presented by her potential Senate candidacy.

Mr. Giuliani said yesterday at a morning news conference that he would be politically remiss not to take advantage of the attention raised by Mrs. Clinton.

"The reality," he said, "is that we want to take advantage of those people who think that she shouldn't run for the Senate, of which there are many and who feel very fervently about it. I would be foolish if I didn't take advantage of that. It's an opportunity that she's presented us."

The First Lady has said she is considering running for the New York seat being vacated next year by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The Web site set up by Mr. Giuliani's fund-raising committee asserts that Mrs. Clinton has no experience in elective office and no ties to New York.

New York Democrats said the Web site, called Hillaryno.com, was a sign of early mudslinging by the Mayor and an indication of the type of campaign he would wage. Mrs. Clinton, who is traveling in Morocco, has not commented on the Web site.

Mr. Giuliani said the new site merely reflected the sentiments expressed by New York voters that he has met in his recent travels around the state.

"Is it fair?" the Mayor asked, repeating a reporter's question yesterday. "Come on, it's politics. She presents us with an opportunity and we take advantage of it and then that's not fair? I mean is it fair that she comes to New York and raises lots of money?"

Mr. Giuliani said Mrs. Clinton's expression of interest in running had energized both Democrats and Republicans.

"Her consideration of candidacy has gotten her a great deal of attention," he said. "We're taking advantage of her consideration to raise money and to develop volunteers should I decide to run for the Senate. It's smart politics."

The Web site was paid for by one of the Mayor's campaign committees and invites visitors to make on-line contributions and to volunteer.

The Mayor, who was in Troy, N.Y., last night to deliver a speech, said the Web site received 200,000 hits yesterday from about 25,000 dedicated users. He said that more than 1,100 people had volunteered to help his campaign should he run and that 2,000 had signed a petition voicing opposition to Mrs. Clinton's candidacy.

Mr. Giuliani expressed amazement at the response. "Man, if I can continue to do that good, who knows," he said. "The sky's the limit."

Hillary No!

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's fund-raising committee has established a new Internet Web site that makes fun of Hillary Rodham Clinton and her possible run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

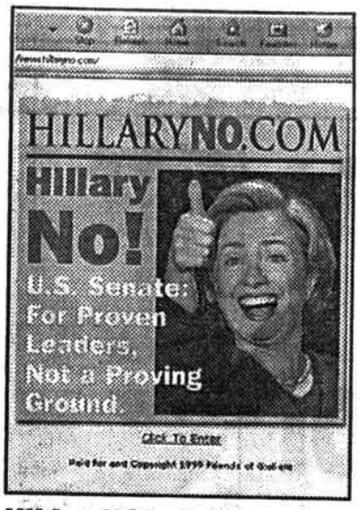
Hillaryno.com includes an unflattering photo of the first lady, her mouth open and her thumb up, and the headline "Hillary No! U.S. Senate: For Proven Leaders, Not a Proving Ground."

"With no governmental experience, never elected to any public office, her failed health-care experiment under her belt, Mrs. Clinton now wants to be part of the Senate as we head into the next millennium," reads the site's main page.

"Born in Illinois and carried to power in Arkansas, with no connection of any kind to New York, Hillary has set her sights on the New York Senate seat and maybe . . . probably . . . set her sights even higher."

The site allows visitors to include their names on a petition to "send a clear message that you object to Hillary Clinton using U.S. Senate as a stepping stone to higher office."

The site, sponsored by Friends of Giuliani, also solicits contributions and volunteers for the Republican mayor, who is contemplating a bid for the Senate seat.



HILL, NO! A page from Mayor Giuliani's Web site.

RUDY'S SITE GIVES HILL SHORT END OF THE CLICK

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Mayor Giuliani has launched an anti-Hillary Clinton Web site — his first major attack on his possible opponent in the Senate race.

The "www.HillaryNo.com" site was placed on the Internet on Friday by Friends of Giuliani, one of the mayor's three political fund-raising arms.

"With no governmental experience, never elected to any public office, her failed health-care experiment under her belt, Mrs. Clinton now wants to be part of the Senate as we head into the next millennium," reads the site's main page.

"Born in Illinois and carried to power in Arkansas, with no connection of any kind to New York, Hillary has set her sights on the New York Senate seat and maybe . . . probably . . . set her sights even higher."

The site allows people to make credit-card donations to Giuliani, volunteer for the mayor, and sign a petition to "send a clear message that you object to Hillary Clinton using the U.S. Senate as a stepping stone to higher office."

Both Giuliani and Clinton are strongly considering running next year to fill the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Harold Ickes, a close adviser to Clinton, said that he thought Giuliani has flip-flopped on the carpetbagging issue.

"His own Web site now flies in the face of what he assured the country would not be an issue from his point of view," Ickes said. "Now he has made it an issue, so I guess this is what one can expect."

Bruce Teitelbaum, who oversees the mayor's political-action committee, said it took several weeks to craft the "HillaryNo" Web site.

"We don't know if she's running or not, but we thought it would be clever to raise a few points about her possible plans," Teitelbaum said.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, was in Africa with the First Lady yesterday and could not be reached for comment.

Giuliani Web Site Assails Idea of 'Senator Clinton'

By DAN BARRY

For several weeks, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, have waged a kind of shadow campaign for the United States Senate. He is raising money and she is peppering people with questions, but both have refused to announce their intentions. It has all been so maddeningly . . . polite.

Until yesterday, that is, when the Mayor's Friends of Giuliani fund-raising committee posted a new Web site on the Internet. It is called Hillaryno.com and seeks to raise money and enlist volunteers for Mr. Giuliani by capitalizing on what the Mayor's advisers sense is an untapped world of inveterate Hillary haters.

The Web site — including an unflattering photograph of the First Lady with her mouth agape — portrays Mrs. Clinton as a would-be carpetbagger with aspirations for running for President. "Born in Illinois and carried to power in Arkansas, with no connection of any kind to New York," it reads, "Hillary has set her sights on the New York Senate seat and maybe . . . probably . . . set her sights even higher."

It also suggests that Mrs. Clinton is unqualified to serve in the Senate, recalling her "failed health care experiment" and saying that she has no governmental experience and has never been elected to public office. A subtitle to the Web site reads, "U.S. Senate: For Proven Leaders, Not a Proving Ground."

Those sufficiently outraged by the prospect of a Senator Clinton from New York are provided with a few ways to vent their anger — all to the benefit of Mr. Giuliani. In fact, the Web site strongly implies that the Republican Mayor will be running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.



A new Web site created by the Mayor's Friends of Giuliani fund-raising committee.

For example, people are informed that they can donate to Friends of Giuliani, a Federal fund-raising committee, through the mail or on line. "Either way, your dollars will send your message loud and clear — Hillary No!"

People are also encouraged to sign a petition intended to "send a clear message that you object to Hillary Clinton using the U.S. Senate as a stepping stone to higher office."

Bruce Teitelbaum, the executive director of Solutions America, Mayor Giuliani's political action committee, said that the Web site is intended to "alert people who are users of the Internet about Mrs. Clinton's potential run for the Senate."

Mr. Teitelbaum declined to elaborate further on why the campaign had decided to bolster Mr. Giuliani's support by attacking Mrs. Clinton; why, for example, the campaign does not have a Web site called Rudyyes.com.

Mr. Giuliani has said that Mrs. Clinton's entry into the New York Senate race would strengthen his resolve to run, and before this new Web site appeared, he said that he would refrain from criticizing her for not being from New York. Several Republican strategists have said that her candidacy would considerably bolster the state party's fund-raising efforts.

The Internet broadside did not exactly intimidate Mrs. Clinton's supporters; in fact, they described it as the kind of nasty stunt they would expect from Mr. Giuliani.

Judith Hope, the Democratic state chairwoman, said: "The tone of the Web site matches the direction of his approval numbers: negative, negative, negative." Her comment referred to the recent drastic dip in the Mayor's poll ratings, after the police killed an unarmed West African immigrant last month.

Norman Adler, a political consultant who works with candidates in both parties, said Hillaryno.com is "kind of amateurish." He added, "And I think it's jumping the gun."

Clinton as Giuliani Fund-Raiser



The Friends of Giuliani fund-raising committee has created a Web site, Hillaryno.com, that portrays Mrs. Clinton as a would-be carpetbagger — an issue that the Mayor himself has said he will not raise if they face each other in a Senate race. A23

New York Digest A23

THE WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1999

Giuliani vs. Giuliani

NEW YORK—Hillary Rodham Clinton had a good month here. For one thing, she went to Cairo. For another, she said almost nothing about whether she will run for a New York Senate seat. All she had to do, it turns out, is let Rudolph Giuliani, her prospective opponent, be Rudolph Giuliani. It cost him more than 20 points in his approval rating.

Being Giuliani means being petulant. It means being overly moralistic, dividing the world into good guys and bad guys and not ever meeting with the bad guys. It means being so severe, so stern, so implacable in your positions that the difference between principle and obsession is too blurred for anyone to discern the difference. The mayor says he never sleeps. Well, maybe it's time for a nap.

The issue at the moment is the killing Feb. 4 of Amadou Diallo, a West African immigrant. He was shot 19 times. His killers were four white policemen assigned to the vaunted Street Crime Unit. They were looking for a rapist and came upon Diallo. They must have thought he was the suspect. They must have thought he was armed. The cops fired 41 times. Diallo was unarmed.

These sorts of things happen. Cops get scared. They do dirty, dangerous work. The Street Crime Unit is both famous and notorious for its aggressive attitude and tactics. Something happened—we know not what. We do know this: The Diallo shooting triggered explosive anger in the minority community, where, it is now becoming clear, Giuliani is seen as the mayor of white New York only.

Giuliani insists he did all the right things. He said he was sorry. He went to see the bereaved mother. He went to the funeral parlor.

But he could not criticize his beloved cops. Instead, he saved his criticism for those who did. He dismissed them as political opportunists, which of course some of them are. New York has seen this pattern before. After a Haitian immigrant, Abner Louima, accused the cops of torturing him, the mayor initially said the right things—and then dismissed all criticism of the police department.

Enter next the Rev. Al Sharpton, pastor of no particular church and, in the indelible phrase of my colleague Howard Kurtz, the city's foremost racial ambulance chaser. Before long, Diallo's mother would deal only with him. He organized daily protests at police headquarters, blocking the door until arrests were made. The protesters were never manhandled or even jailed. The direst threat was to their lunch plans.

And yet, the protesters—David Dinkins, Rep. Charles Rangel, Susan Sarandon and rabbis and ministers galore—have made their point. Much of the city sensed that the incredible reduction in crime was happening at a cost—at least to someone's dignity. When blacks and Hispanics complained of being hassled, of being stopped on the street armed with nothing but youth and a dark complexion, no one could reasonably express surprise. It had to be happening.

At the same time, Giuliani was shunning the black leadership. Until just recently, he would not meet with the Manhattan borough president, Virginia Fields. Nor, until recently, would he meet with the state's comptroller, Carl McCall. Both are African American. Both are respected, mainline politicians. For some reason, though, Giuliani took one look at them and barred the door.

In the end, Giuliani may have endangered his own accomplishments. Crime is down by a stunning amount—there were 2,200 murders in 1992, 600 last year. Some of that is due to aggressive police work. The Street Crime Unit alone accounted for 40 percent of the illegal guns seized by the police. It is now demoralized and, by decree of the commissioner, no longer allowed to work in plainclothes. Uniformed, it is bound to be less effective.

The morning line on the New York Senate race went like this: Hillary Clinton's high standing in the polls was meaningless. She was a novelty, admired for her marital travails more than her political positions. She had never run for office and was astoundingly ignorant of anything north of, say, the Barney's store on Madison Avenue. If Giuliani ran, he would punch her up good. She would crumble to the canvas by October at the latest.

But it is Giuliani who's down—with a self-administered uppercut. His rigidity has cost him across the board. Whites and Hispanics are now significantly less supportive. Blacks never liked him much to begin with and now, if possible, they like him even less. If Hillary Clinton, seeing all this, reassesses her plans, who can blame her? Maybe she should run for mayor.

POLITICS

Dan Balz

Giuliani Sets His Site on the First Lady

Nobody ever accused New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** of being subtle. Check out the mayor's new Web site at *www.HillaryNo.com*. There's a not-so-flattering photo of a smiling **Hillary Rodham Clinton** flashing a thumbs-up and the message that New York's Senate seat isn't for rookies or outsiders. In big letters it reads: "U.S. Senate: For Proven Leaders, Not a Proving Ground."

"Born in Illinois and carried to power in Arkansas, with no connection of any kind to New York, Hillary has set her sights on the New York Senate seat and maybe . . . probably . . . set her sights even higher," the Web site says.

Bruce Teitelbaum, director of Giuliani's political action committee, Solutions America, said the Web site is designed to raise money and enlist volunteers for a Giuliani Senate campaign in 2000, if the mayor decides to run.

"Clearly Mrs. Clinton has said she is seriously considering running for the U.S. Senate," Teitelbaum said. "She's refused to put that speculation to rest. In fact, she's fueling it by saying she's not going to make a decision until later in the summer. It's fair to raise the specter of her potential candidacy to help raise interest in our campaign."

The use of the first lady's possible candidacy as a fund-raising tool comes as the mayor's approval ratings continue to slide in the face of public criticism over the police shooting of **Amadou Diallo**, an unarmed West African immigrant who was hit 19 times in a fusillade of 41 shots in February.



Rudolph Giuliani's PAC has put up a Web site targeting Hillary Clinton's potential bid for Senate.

"If we and our allies don't have the will to act, there wi be more massacres."

President Clinton, *explaining the justification for potential U.S.-led military action in the Balkans at his first full-fledged press conference in nearly a year*



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"Drive in no traffic and leave the turn signal on, it doesn't make any difference." *Former senator* **John Glenn,** *who at 77 years old became the oldest man to travel in space last year, joking about why space would make a good old-folks home*

"It gives the whole profession a black eye, but then nothing Simpson does surprises me anymore." **John Kelly,** *an attorney for Nicole Brown Simpson's family, upon learning that O. J. Simpson recently made radio and television commercials for law firms*

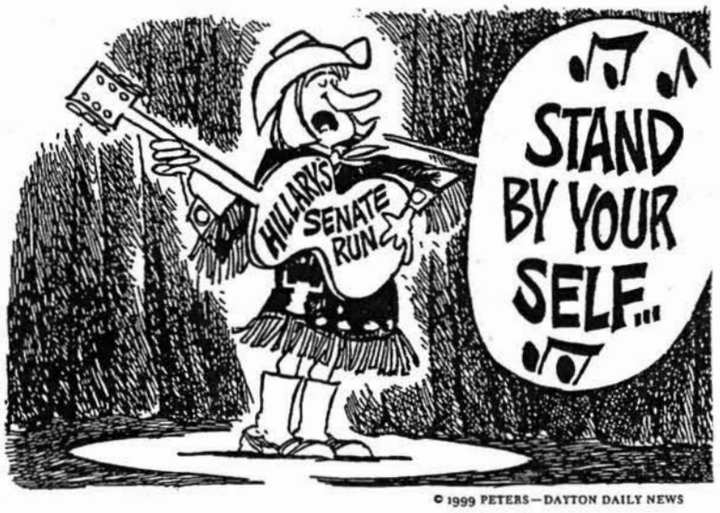


© 1999 WILLIS—SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS

"I have ways of persuading other than being diplomatic." *Minnesota Gov.* **Jesse Ventura,** *on the tactics he planned to employ on a trade mission to Hollywood, his first such trip*

"I heard about all these perks of Congress. I'm still waiting for them to show up." *Rep.* **James Rogan,** *Republican of California, arguing that a representative's $136,700 annual salary is insufficient*

"The minister's life is not in danger from any medical condition. You can applaud if you want." *Dr.* **Abdul Alim Muhammad,** *personal physician of Minister Louis Farrakhan, at a press conference called to answer rumors that the Nation of Islam leader is gravely ill*



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"Him? Eh. Her? I'd walk across hot coals for her." *Former presidential spokesman* **Mike McCurry,** *on his opinions of Bill and Hillary Clinton, respectively*

"He wasn't in a good mood." *Restaurateur* **Paul Vulaj,** *on boxer Evander Holyfield, who ate at Vulaj's restaurant after fighting Lennox Lewis to a draw in a bout everyone except the judges thought Holyfield lost*

"He made a good decision." *Businessman* **Lodwrick Cook,** *on former president Bush's decision last year to accept stock in Cook's firm in lieu of an $80,000 speaking fee. The stock is now worth $14.4 million.*

"It's too bad the guns found on your premises were not used on you and your family." *From an anonymous 1968 letter to the late Supreme Court Justice William Brennan, who held liberal views on race and abortion, that was among documents from his FBI files released last week*

Quotations are compiled from press, TV and wire-service reports as well as from NEWSWEEK *correspondents.*

The Washington Times ★MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1999

Frisk Mrs. Clinton

By Mark R. Levin

Hillary Clinton is eyeballing a Senate candidacy in New York. But before she packs her bags for the Big Apple, she has some unpacking to do here in Washington.

Now, I hate to bring this up, because we're all supposed to move on and put the myriad Clinton scandals behind us, but there are nagging little questions about Mrs. Clinton's role in two real estate scams - Whitewater and Castle Grande — that just seem to go unanswered.

According to published accounts, in 1978 the Clintons deducted $10,131 as an interest expense on their Whitewater property despite paying much less in total interest that year. In 1979, the Clintons paid $12,490 toward Whitewater, deducting most of the expense as interest when, in fact, $2,900 was not. In 1980, the Clintons made a principal payment of $9,000 toward Whitewater, yet they deducted the principal payment as an interest expense.

Between 1984 and 1985, the Clintons seemed to have improperly claimed a total of $5,133 in deductions for interest payments supposedly made themselves but actually made by Whitewater, resulting in an understatement of their tax obligation for these years by about $2,400. And in 1993, the Clintons apparently failed to disclose a taxable $58,000 economic benefit they received as a result of a 1992 agreement that released them from a Whitewater-related debt they owed to their business partner, Jim McDougal.

Who signed the Clintons' tax returns for these years? The Clintons did. They're legally responsible for what they reported to the Internal Revenue Service, whether they read their income-tax returns or not. Here we have multiple years of either inaccurate or fraudulent reporting of their tax liability.

Moreover, a $27,600 loan was made in 1982 in Bill Clinton's name and issued by a savings and loan controlled by the late Jim McDougal. Mrs. Clinton testified that she has no knowledge about the loan. A $5,081 check written in 1983 by Susan McDougal has a notation on it — "Pay off Clinton." The Clintons are apparently at a loss to explain this as well.

And, of course, in 1986, a $300,000 Small Business Administration loan



HILLARY CLINTON

was secured fraudulently by Ms. McDougal. These tax monies were used to help the McDougals' cash-strapped enterprises, including the McDougal-Clinton Whitewater venture. Mr. Clinton has testified that he had no knowledge of the loan, contradicting the testimony of two other witnesses — David Hale and the late Jim McDougal.

Yes, as we're told, this is oh so confusing. And for scandals to resonate, they apparently must be simple to explain and understand. Well, then, let me make it simple: Thousands of tax dollars were used illegally in a complicated money-laundering scheme to support, and later pay off, the Clintons' Whitewater real-estate debts, and everyone involved in these crimes was punished except the direct beneficiaries — the Clintons. They, we're to believe, knew nothing about any of it. In fact, the Clintons' defenders even go further: They were unwitting victims.

Then there was Castle Grande, a 1,000-acre development near Little Rock. The House Banking Committee best summarized this scam: "Following the purchase of the property for $1.75 million, financed entirely by Madison [Guaranty Savings & Loan Association], individual parcels were sold in a series of transactions involving insiders that the federal bank examiners deemed 'fictitious' and designed purely to inflate values." Of course, Jim McDougal ran Madison. This fraud cost taxpayers over $4 million.

The long lost Rose Law Firm billing records (you remember those — the records with Mrs. Clinton's fingerprints on them?) show that despite her earlier denial, Mrs. Clinton had, in fact, performed legal work on this deal in 1985 and 1986, for which she billed her client and for which her law firm was paid. In fact, Mrs. Clinton's client was Webb Hubbell's father-in-law, Seth Ward. Congressional investigators concluded that Mr. Ward was one of Mr. McDougal's straw purchasers, i.e., he helped inflate the value of Castle Grande.

The Arkansas Democrat Gazette reported that Mrs. Clinton denied doing any work on the real-estate project known as Castle Grande. She acknowledged working on the overall land purchase that included what eventually became known as Castle Grande. Why, then, did she charge Mr. Ward for those fourteen telephone conferences? Alas, try as she might, Mrs. Clinton can't remember. It all happened so long ago. And, of course, she has no idea how those darn billing records wound up on her conference table in the White House residence.

I'm one of those rare conservatives who hopes that Mrs. Clinton will run for the Senate in New York. Maybe then we'll finally get some straight answers. I understand that the New York media are a lot more inquisitive than their White House counterparts.

Mark R. Levin is president of Landmark Legal Foundation.

Lowey works, waits

Rep. Nita M. Lowey, New York Democrat, is a candidate in limbo, waiting for Hillary Rodham Clinton to make up her mind about running for the U.S. Senate from her state.

But the 61-year-old Mrs. Lowey is not sitting still, the Associated Press reports.

While Mrs. Clinton ponders whether she should enter the glare of a New York Senate race for the seat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is leaving in 2000, Mrs. Lowey crisscrosses the state, laying the groundwork in case the first lady says no.

"I think Hillary is seriously considering running for the Senate, and I've made it clear that if she does I would support her," Mrs. Lowey said. "In the meantime, I'm doing what I have to do to prepare."

That means raising money.

At last count, Mrs. Lowey had more than $800,000 in her congressional campaign account, an impressive figure given that many Democrats are keeping their pocketbooks sealed as they wait for Mrs. Clinton's decision.

But Mrs. Lowey's ever-present smile tightens a bit as she answers questions about Mrs. Clinton.

"I would hope in the next couple of months she makes a decision," she said. "I think it's necessary that she makes a decision."

CAMPAIGN 2000

Hillary Hears Strains of The Music She Will Face

TO SCANDAL COGNOSCENTI, THERE WAS nothing new in the headline last week that **KEN STARR'S** chief deputy once drafted an indictment against **HILLARY CLINTON.** But the confirmation by prosecutor **W. HICKMAN EWING,** coming at the outset of Whitewater figure **SUSAN MCDOUGAL'S** trial for contempt, sent chills through the First Lady and those advising her as she considers a run for a New York Senate seat, sources say. As a sign of things to come, says one, "this most recent news gives you pause."

The case against McDougal, along with the June 14 trial of Hillary's former law partner **WEBSTER HUBBELL,** are certain to stir all the old questions about Hillary's own

DIANA WALKER



Hillary Clinton

ethics. Her name was mentioned no fewer than 36 times in the indictment against Hubbell last fall. But despite the new signal of how bumpy a ride she may face, Hillary headed off to North Africa no closer to a decision, an adviser says. "She's exactly where she was four weeks ago." ***—By Karen Tumulty/Washington***

SECRETS, PART ONE

The Fallout from Nuclear Leaks to China

U.S. CUSTOMS COMMISSIONER **RAY KELLY** is adding agents and money to his agency's strategic-investigations unit because of Chinese efforts to smuggle out advanced U.S. weapons components and know-how. Last month agents thwarted China's second attempt to obtain military gyroscopes used in guidance systems for "smart" munitions, missiles and fighter aircraft. More customs cases are under way involving Chinese efforts to pilfer so-called critical technologies. FBI counterespionage specialists fear that the problem of spying isn't confined to Chinese visitors to the national labs. The FBI is taking a hard look at activities by scientists from several other nations, most notably Iran. For some years, Iranian scientists have visited the labs for exchanges that are ostensibly peaceful and beneficial, such as counterproliferation talks. Still, security at the labs has been so lax that FBI officials now want to find out if the Iranians or other foreigners picked up arms-related information on the sly. ***—By Elaine Shannon/ Washington***

KHUE BUI—AP



Ray Kelly

SECRETS, PART TWO

Another Case of High-Tech High Jinks?

AS IF THEY WEREN'T IN ENOUGH TROUBLE for letting the Chinese steal nuclear secrets, the national labs are about to get blasted for some high-tech appropriation of their own. In the past six years, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory has raked in $3.5 million in commercial license fees—and many millions more in government contracts—for a new ultra-wideband "pulse" radar that can peer through walls and spot Stealth planes. Former Livermore researcher **THOMAS MC EWAN** filed his first patent for "micropower impulse radar" in 1993, for which he was named "Distinguished Inventor of 1994."

The problem is, McEwan wasn't the first to invent the technology—if he invented it at all. It was first patented in 1987 by **LARRY FULLERTON,** founder of Alabama-based Time Domain Corp., and featured at a 1990 Los Alamos meeting attended by McEwan and his Livermore associates. In response to a Time Domain challenge, the U.S. Patent Office has initially rejected Livermore's key patents. Next month the House Science Committee will release a report that, sources tell TIME, will cite more cases of intellectual-property infringement committed by the weapons-making labs as they scrambled to find new raisons d'être in the post–cold war era. ***—By Arnold Mann/Washington***

TIME DOMAIN CORP



Larry Fullerton

THE DRAWING BOARD



Cartoon by Mike Luckovich for TIME

She's no 'Senator Pothole'

Turkey's warning, Richardson's stock, Forbes's foes, G-men intelligence

BY PAUL BEDARD

Friends want **Hillary Rodham Clinton** to understand that the job of New York senator isn't all peaches and cream. One big drawback is the expectation she'd take up the state's domestic chores once handled by former Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato**, affectionately dubbed "Senator Pothole." Mrs. C is getting an earful of warnings about how she'd have to spend time in Washington collecting pork for New York and, when back home, how she'd have to schmooze donors in Gotham and milk cows with farmers upstate. "New Yorkers won't be taken for granted," says one confidant, challenging Clinton's hope of carving out a role as "national senator." Another issue: Insiders say she wants to live in the Big Apple regardless of her Senate decision while her hubby is California dreaming.

Uniform anger

Morale in the Uniformed Division of the Secret Service has plummeted anew amid unusual staffing changes ordered at the top. Insiders tell Whispers that the brass have eliminated several key posts inside the White House and ordered supervising sergeants to stand guard. "They're dismantling the rank structure," says one officer who blamed the changes on agency leaders anxious to please the Clintons, who have shunned Uniformed Division members ever since several testified in the **Monica Lewinsky** scandal. But spokesman **John Tomlinson** says the complaints are off the mark. The changes, he says, "shouldn't be seen as provocative but as good management." And he dismisses reports that the division will be eliminated.

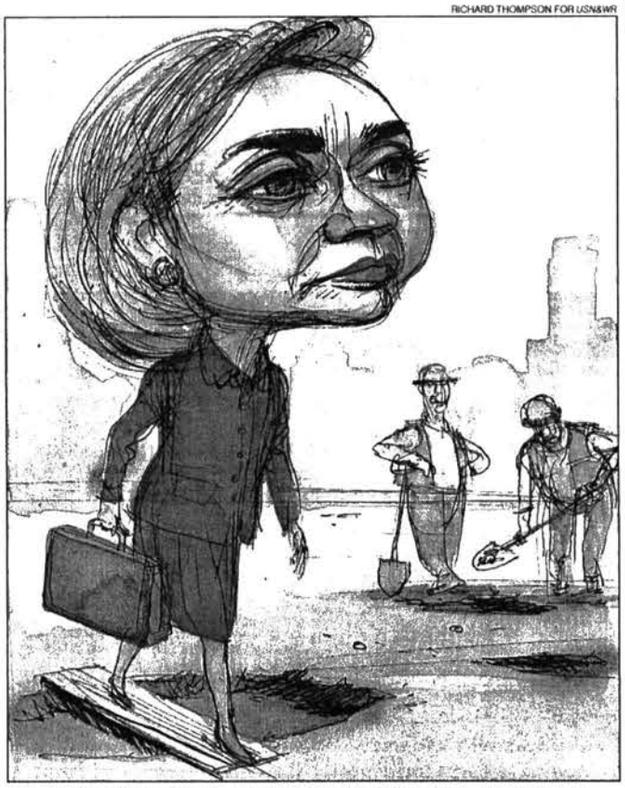
Rule breaker

Turkey is showing signs of unease with the almost daily American airstrikes on Iraq. The United States depends on the Turkish air base at Incirlik to launch its aerial policing of northern Iraq and, increasingly, its bombing of military targets there. But Turkish Defense Minister **Hikmet Sami Turk** signaled in an interview that his country feels the United States is close to violating an agreement that Incirlik-based aircraft will fire only in self-defense. "The United States is inclined to give a broad interpretation" of the deal, he says, while Turkey feels continuation of the operation "depends on the strict application of the rules of engagement."

Playing offense

If Energy Secretary **Bill Richardson** were a stock, you can bet that Wall Street would have yelled "sell" when reports of China's theft of secrets from nuclear labs broke. But Richardson has moved to turn the scandal into a plus, largely by cleaning house and tightening security at the labs. The result: Some Democrats say he's now in the running to be Vice President **Al Gore**'s running mate in 2000, and not just for his whip cracking at Energy. Allies say he helps Gore on two other fronts: As a Hispanic, he helps diffuse Texas Gov. **George W. Bush**'s bid for those voters, and his experience as U.S. envoy to the United Nations could settle jitters cited in polls that Democrats are lousy at foreign policy.

RICHARD THOMPSON FOR *USN&WR*



As senator, Hillary Rodham Clinton couldn't ignore local problems.

Plain speaking

From time to time, the Midwest gives Washington a rare straight shooter. Oklahoma's Rep. **Ernest Istook** is the latest example. The Republican just took over the chairmanship of the House Appropriations Committee's Washington, D.C., subcommittee and is asking panel members to check out the city and its new mayor. Istook, however, doesn't want to probe the old-fashioned way: by holding hearings. In a memo, he says, "Formal hearings are not always the best or most efficient way to gather the information. They can serve to bring information into the spotlight, but congressional hearings can also be tedious, overfilled with posturing and rhetoric, and not the most effective use of our time."

Top target

When **Steve Forbes** announced his presidential bid in Concord, N.H., last week, protesters with United for a Fair Economy brought in from Boston chanted against his 17 percent flat tax proposal. Though the group is described as an economic research group, Forbes allies went to work to see whom the organization represented. And what they found excited them: The protesters are pro-labor and Dem-

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1999

Queries For Mrs. Clinton

Hillary Clinton may make of herself a gift to the state of New York, which must replace Sen. Pat Moynihan, who is retiring. So she may wish to prepare answers to the sort of questions she can expect, such as:

In upstate New York (yes, Mrs. Clinton, there is such a place; it is somewhat north of the Carlyle Hotel), the industrial corridor from Schenectady-Troy to Buffalo is hurting. The corridor includes Seneca Falls, birthplace of women's suffrage, to which you have made a pilgrimage. Women began to get impatient for the vote when they began to get money, some of them by working in Seneca Falls' knitting mills. Today the mills' owners are moving operations to North Carolina. Do the problems of this corridor cause you sleepless nights down there within the Beltway?

You favor carving a Palestinian state into Israel's back. Schools run by the Palestinian Authority, which would run such a state, teach (among other antisemitic propaganda) that the Holocaust is a Zionist lie. How is Israel helped by a contiguous state run by Holocaust deniers?

You directed the drafting of your husband's health care bill, of which Martha Derthick of the University of Virginia wrote: "I have never read an official document that seemed so suffused with coercion and political naivete . . . with its drastic prescriptions for controlling the conduct of state governments, employers, drug manufacturers, doctors, hospitals and you and me." Was that your idea of nifty legislation?

Your husband said your legislation failed because sinister interests misled the American people about it. Moynihan said, "The American people got it clear enough." He said your plan clearly aimed "to cut the number of doctors in the country by a quarter" in order to cut demand by limiting supply. "If you have fewer doctors you have fewer doctor bills. But you don't associate it with improving medicine." And, Moynihan noted, your bill aimed to cut costs by cutting "the number of specialists in half." Moynihan vehemently objected, arguing that specialists are a function of science—new discoveries create new specialties. Moynihan, defending New York's great teaching hospitals (have you heard of them?), which produce specialists, said, "We are not swamped with specialists; we abound in them. And that is surely the glory of this great moment of medical discovery." Should the most intellectual senator be replaced by an advocate of anti-scientific, dumbed-down medicine?

Your health care task force met in secrecy that was challenged in a lawsuit by the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons. The judge, imposing $286,000 in sanctions against the administration for the association's legal fees, denounced what he called the "cover-up" of efforts to keep the health care planning secret. Noting that "reprehensible" misstatements had been made to him, he denounced decisions "made at the highest levels of government," which must be held accountable "when its officials run amok." He said the executive branch "was dishonest with this court" and declared that "some government officials never learn that the cover-up can be worse than the underlying conduct." Does such behavior run in the family?

Webb Hubbell, the felon who is your former law partner, was made the third-highest official in the Justice Department during your supervision of the staffing of the most politicized, least trusted department in modern memory. Will you promise that if you are elected you will not serve on the Judiciary Committee?

Some say the $100,000 you made as a rookie "investor" with a $1,000 plunge in cattle futures looks awfully like a bribe. You say fiddlesticks, it was just the fruit of reading the Wall Street Journal. If you are that gifted with money, will you promise to seek a seat on the Finance Committee?

In 1992 you participated in an American Bar Association tribute to Anita Hill, saying that all women who care about "integrity and morality in the workplace are in professor Anita Hill's debt." How fares morality in your current workplace, the White House?

You believed Hill's assertion that Clarence Thomas talked inappropriately to her, although she seems to have made at most one contemporaneous report of this to a friend, and followed him to a new job, and invited him to speak where she was teaching in Oklahoma. Do you disbelieve Juanita Broaddrick, who at the time told five people separately that your husband raped her?

Utica is (a) a heavy metal rock group; (b) a porn star; (c) a new cosmetic available at Bergdorf's; (d) a city upstate?

Was there a wee barb in Moynihan's statement that your candidacy would bring "Illinois/Arkansas enthusiasm" to New York?

POLITICS

Helen Dewar

Senate Challengers Emerge

After some early recruiting disappointments, Senate Democrats are beginning to fill in the blanks in their lineup for next year's campaigns in states from Pennsylvania to Nevada.

In Pennsylvania, Rep. **Ron Klink** (D) announced he will seek the Democratic nomination to oppose first-term Sen. **Rick Santorum** (R), whom Democrats regard as vulnerable. Klink joins four other announced Democratic aspirants: former House members **Peter Kostmayer** and **Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky**, state Sen. **Allyson Schwartz** and former state secretary of labor **Tom Foley**. Former lieutenant governor **Mark Singel** is also mentioned as a possible contender. Look for some polished television campaigning from Klink and Margolies-Mezvinsky—both are former TV newscasters.

In Michigan, second-term Rep. **Deborah Anne Stabenow** (D) plans to announce Monday that she will seek her party's nomination to oppose Sen. **Spencer Abraham** (R), another incumbent whom Democrats regard as beatable. Stabenow, a formidable fund-raiser, was wooed by Senate Democrats, although House Democratic leaders wanted to keep her where she was, fearing loss of her House seat if she did not run again for it. Earlier, former governor **James Blanchard** said he would not seek the Senate seat.

In Nevada, Democratic sources said state Attorney General **Frankie Sue Del Papa** is expected to announce within a couple of weeks that she will run for the seat of retiring Sen. **Richard H. Bryan** (D). Already in the race is former representative **John Ensign** (R), who came within a whisker of defeating Sen. **Harry M. Reid** (D) last year. Former governor **Bob Miller** recently said no to the race.

In Montana, rancher **Brian Schweitzer** (D) said he will challenge two-term Sen. **Conrad Burns** (R).

Meanwhile, Senate Minority Leader **Thomas A. Daschle** (D-S.D.), who used to oppose such things, formed a political action committee—called DASH PAC—to help raise money for some of those Democratic candidates and others. He said he now believes that contributions to PACs, which are subject to federal limits and disclosure, are preferable to unregulated "soft money" donations that have become the currency of campaigns.

First Lady's Numbers Dip

As first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** mulls a Senate race in New York, New Yorkers are cooling to the prospect.

Last month, 56 percent of New Yorkers surveyed by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion said Clinton should run for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**. The college's latest poll found just 45 percent said she should run. Still, 60 percent in the new survey said they believe Clinton will be a candidate.

The latest poll also shows the first lady's lead over New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** has shrunk dramatically. In February, she led the mayor by 49 percent to 38 percent. The latest poll calls the race a virtual dead heat, with Clinton ahead 48 percent to 46 percent.

Among those who believe Clinton will run is **Gerald McEntee**, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and head of the AFL-CIO's political committee. He was among a contingent of top labor leaders who met with Clinton recently to encourage her candidacy. He said, however, the first lady probably won't announce her decision until later in the summer, quoting her as saying, "You can't keep a kettle boiling for two years."

Staff writer Dan Balz contributed to this report.

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1999

Bill survivor

HAROLD Ickes seems to have avoided the financial ruin that legal fees brought to other former White House staff members. Ickes, who was one of **Bill Clinton**'s most trusted political aides, is said to have bought a $1 million-plus house in Washington, D.C. The three-story manse on P Street has a deck with a view of the Potomac. But if, as expected, Ickes runs **Hillary**'s proposed New York Senate campaign, he'll be spending more time looking at the Hudson.

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1999

Why the First Lady Should Be the Last Choice for the Empire State



GEORGE F. WILL

HILLARY Clinton may make of herself a gift to the state of New York, which must replace retiring Sen. Pat Moynihan. So she may wish to prepare answers to the sort of questions she can expect:

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NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, MARCH

Making book on Rudy Giuliani

MAYOR Giuliani is suddenly a hot property in the publishing world, with two major houses coming out with books on the crime-busting prospective U.S. Senate candidate.

Former mayor **Ed Koch** has signed with maverick publisher **Lyle Stuart** for a collection of his most scathing newspaper columns to be titled "Mayor Giuliani: Nasty Man."

"We're going to rush it out because we want it to affect his political career," Stuart said. "We're already working on the cover art." Koch said he is writing an introduction to the book "about how I helped him become mayor and why, and how we parted. It's almost a Greek tragedy — for him. It's sad. I take no joy in it."

Reached by PAGE SIX, Giuliani's communications director **Cristyne Lategano** wondered, "It's called 'Nasty Man?' And this is an autobiography? It's about which mayor?"

Koch's book will be out in three or four months, more than a year before William Morrow will publish a Giuliani biography by **Andrew Kirtzman**, a NY1 political correspondent and co-host of "Inside City Hall."

Kirtzman said he'll start writing on April 1, 1999, and turn in his manuscript on April 1, 2000. "The book itself will be out in the fall [of 2000] in time to play a role in the election," Kirtzman said.

Several publishers made bids in the auction handled by Kirtzman's agent, **Flip Brophy**. "Giuliani has become a national figure in the last year," Kirtzman said.

Hizzoner was already known through his appearances on **David Letterman**'s show, and for his unprecedented record of reducing crime, said Kirtzman.

Since term limits preclude Giuliani from running for mayor again, it is almost certain he'll run for the Senate seat being vacated by **Sen. Pat Moynihan**.

So, when the buzz spread that First Lady **Hillary Clinton** was considering challenging Giuliani, "the exposure he got from the Hillary story made him a familiar face around the country," Kirtzman said.

"He [Giuliani] is a fascinating guy who has done extraordinary things and kicked up extraordinary controversy," Kirtzman commented, adding, "Some people love him. Some people loathe him."

Lategano said the book deals show: "what a wonderful job the mayor has done, that his policies have created job opportunities and economic prosperity for all New Yorkers, including Andrew Kirtzman and Ed Koch."

Chicago Sun-Times Thursday, March 25, 1999

Richard
ROEPER



Running for Senate seat no cakewalk for first lady

Hillary Rodham Clinton's supporters point to Robert F. Kennedy as shining proof that an outsider with a household name can move to New York state on a moment's notice and still be elected to the United States Senate.

It's too easy, but I'll say it anyway: Hillary, you're no Bobby Kennedy.

(Ah, that felt good.)

Until now I've resisted jumping into the will-she-or-won't-she debate about Clinton's political ambitions, mainly because I figured the frenzy was largely the creation of a Washington press corps suffering from Monica withdrawal syndrome and desperately seeking another big story. Hillary for senator? Sounded more like wishful thinking—fodder for the topic-starved cable shows—than a solid possibility.

But the first lady is refusing to issue the outright denial that would make the story go away. This week Clinton acknowledged making "lots of calls" to friends and associates to get their input, and she was quoted in USA Today as saying she will "continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on. Any way I can continue to do that, I intend to. But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time." So apparently she really is flirting with the idea of running for the Senate, presumably against Rudy Giuliani.

How stupid.

Forget, at least for now, about whether Clinton would make a good senator. I'm sure she'd be all right—better than some, not as effective as others, certainly not the worst we've ever seen. (What, she couldn't top Carol Moseley-Braun's legacy?) It just seems as if it would be an incredible blunder, from a political, personal and practical point of view.

First there's the matter of the campaign itself, which would have the New York City tabloids salivating like Rottweilers eyeing a pork chop. The media-loathing Clinton would be subjected to daily headlines and stories about her husband, her daughter, her friends, her hair, her clothes, her calves, her campaign finances, her health care debacle, her own sexual history, you name it. You think the New York Post would be gentle with her? Puh-lease. If they've got a photo of Hillary chomping a hot dog with her mouth open on a bad hair day, it gets played on the front page. Big.

That's just one element of the media factor. In order to get her message out and compete with the camera-loving Giuliani, the often snippy first lady would have to submit to interviews with TV stations from Syracuse to Albany to Buffalo, and she'd have to do radio segments with the inexplicably powerful Don Imus and the deservedly influential Howard Stern. If she didn't, she'd get buried. Hillary could barely maintain a cheery facade with Matt Lauer and Steve Kroft; how's she going to grit her way through the local stuff and the radio goofing she no doubt believes is beneath her dignity?

Running for senator also means Clinton wouldn't have time to write the book that could erode a hefty portion of the family's legal bills. Even if she did find the time and the ghostwriter to churn out an autobiography, how forthcoming is she going to be if she's eyeing the Senate? And if it's not going to be a revealing, intimate work, the advance will disappear.

A campaign also means Hillary will have to at least temporarily eschew the $100,000 speaking fees, the lucrative corporate board memberships, the law firm partnership and the many other financial opportunities that would undoubtedly be awaiting the most fascinating first lady since Jacqueline Kennedy. You can't fly to Japan and accept a $1 million speaking fee—not if you're in the middle of a campaign.

As for the race itself, the risk isn't worth the reward. Right now, Clinton is enjoying unprecedented public favor, and as a former first lady her stock would only rise.

That would all change with a campaign.

If Hillary wins, she's the junior senator from New York. She gets a windowless office and a smallish staff, and she'll have to suck up to Senate veterans who barely got the time of day from her when she lived in the White House. When she visits her former residence, she'll have to wait in reception lines to say hello to the new first lady, be it Mrs. Gore or Mrs. Bush or Mrs. Underdog. That'll kill her.

If she loses—and I think she would—her social, professional and financial clout would be diminished.

The media want to see a Clinton-Giuliani race because it would make for great copy. Democrats want to see Clinton run because they think she's the best hope of keeping that Senate seat. Bubba probably would favor it because he owes Hillary big-time and this will be a chance for him to blabber about how his wife is the greatest thing since the invention of the intern.

My question is, why in the world would Hillary want to do it?

Hillary's okay of Palestinian state isn't an 'Israel problem'

by **Leonard Fein**

The silly season is here again, upon us a bit earlier than usual. The reference is, of course, to E2K, elections 2000. I have in mind in particular the flap over Hillary Clinton's "endorsement" of a Palestinian state.

Now that Clinton is contemplating a run for the United States Senate from New York, her words of last year have evidently come back to haunt her. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who may well be Mrs. Clinton's opponent in the race (if she runs, if he runs), has described her statement that a Palestinian state is "very important" to Middle East peace as "a very big mistake." That's hardly a surprise. What is a surprise — well, not quite a surprise, but still a disappointment — is that her words may alienate a fair number of New York's Jewish voters.

Indeed, political analysts agree that Hillary has an Israel problem. Perhaps that is why, in a recent *New York Times*/CBS poll, New York's Jews split 45-39 for Giuliani, with nine percent undecided. (Note, however, that they're a tad more pro-Clinton than white Protestants (50-32 for Giuliani) and white Catholics (52-37 for Giuliani.)

What can account for the tempest over Clinton's remark? As she herself recently observed, her assessment was based on discussions she had had with Yitzhak Rabin. It is an assessment she shares with Shimon Peres, with Yossi Beilin, with Ariel Sharon (yes, Ariel Sharon) and, mirabile dictu, with a majority of Israel's voters. All these apparently recognize that it will be much easier for Israel to deal with a Palestinian state than with an amorphous "Palestine Authority." All these apparently realize that the half-loaf of autonomy is a breeding ground for discontent. And all these apparently realize one more thing: A Palestinian "mini-state" — for what is contemplated is, in truth, less than a fully independent state — presents no serious security threat to Israel.

The grave threat to Israel these days comes from faraway Iraq and Iran and their putative capacity and willingness to use biological and chemical weapons against Israel. The Palestinian threat is very different. It is the threat of a resumption of low-level warfare, the kind of warfare that, as the intifada showed, Israel cannot win. And statehood reduces that threat.

A friend suggests that American Jews live in a fantasy world, a world in which the Palestinians are wished away, much the same as people involved in a divorce often wish to wish away their soon-to-be-former spouse. Poof! and the irritant simply disappears.

My friend is mistaken. A majority of America's Jews, the polls show, understand exactly what a majority of Israelis understand: Sooner or later, there will be a Palestinian state. One can raise all the obvious questions — most obviously, the question of why the Palestinians "deserve" a state and the Kurds, say, do not, nor the Albanians in Kosovo, and so on around the world. But the issue here is not morality or logic. The issue is the practical question of Israel's safety. The open question is not whether there will be an independent Palestinian state, but the circumstances under which it will come into existence. Will it be militarily hedged in, established with due regard for Israel's security, or will Israel, by its continuing blindness, forfeit the right to insist on that regard?

A majority of America's Jews understand that sooner or later, there will be a Palestinian state.

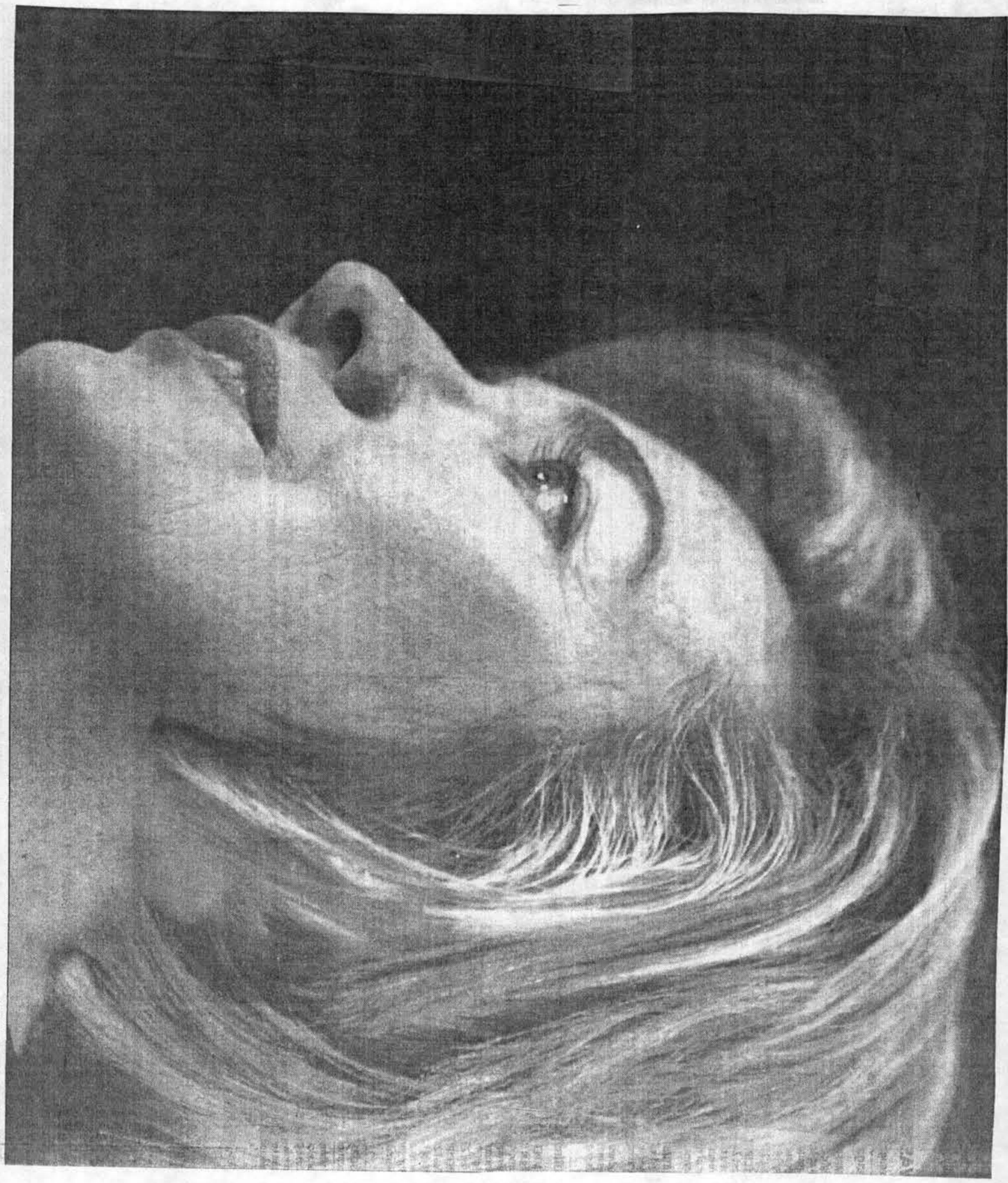
But if most American Jews understand these things, what explains the reaction to Clinton, who has not gone beyond their understanding?

Two possibilities: The first is that some number of Jews — not all that many, but enough to make a difference in a close election — are not part of the Jewish majority. They are hard liners who might be disposed to vote for a Democrat but whose fears for Israel's safety prevent them from voting for anyone who deviates from Israeli government policy. The second is that Jews permit themselves more dovish views than they permit their political leaders. We know, after all, where the red lines are; we trust ourselves to look out for Israel's safety. But we want our political leaders to be to our right, for we do not trust them.

All this presents a major challenge to Jewish leadership, one it is, alas, not likely to meet. Real leadership would involve telling America's Jews that endorsement of a Palestinian state does not place someone outside the pro-Israel camp. What we are likely to hear from our leaders instead, however, is that they have met with Clinton and have demanded from her a retraction. Quite possibly, she will accede to their demand; there have already been hints of that. Our leaders know better; Clinton knows better; the Jews themselves know better. But we love a charade. And so welcome to silly season, in an arena where such seasons move quickly from silly to absurd and from absurd to revolting. ■

***Leonard Fein**, a freelance writer, is director of the Reform movement's Commission on Social Action.*

[The Washington Post]
THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1999



The potential candidate: For the moment at least, Hillary Rodham Clinton is whatever New York politicians seem to want to make of her.

BY NANCY ANDREWS—THE WASHINGTON POST

THE WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1999

HILLARY CLINTON, THE NEW IDEAL

They're Crazy About Her in New York. But What Are We to Make of Her?

By MICHAEL POWELL
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK

She glides across the floor of the grand ballroom with her sculpted blond hair and black ensemble and that beatific smile. Financiers in Armani suits strain for a glimpse. Society ladies rise on tippy-toes, nip-and-tucked chins raised to the vaulted ceiling. A few hop upon red-velvet Louis XIVth chairs and loose whooping cheers.

It's Her. She. The first lady.

Hillary Rodham Clinton gives a royal wave or two, and applause dances and leaps about her in kinetic waves. She's alighted at the Plaza Hotel for a Democratic Party fund-raiser, but not as the embattled wife of a troubled and lame-duck president.

No, no.

She is the presumptive Democratic Senate candidate. (If only she'll take it! say New York's political guys. Oh please, please, please!) She is the woman that Newsweek declared the hottest commodity in American political life.

And she knows it, and plays with the moment. "I was told that some thought I might have an announcement to make"—she affects a pregnant pause—"but I don't."

And the standing-room-only audience erupts yet again.

"I so admire her for *everything* she's put up with," whispers a fortyish woman with an alpine pile of red hair. "She'll make a *great* senator."

It's the latest strange turn of a long strange trip, the transformation of Hillary Clinton. The woman who once insisted she would not simply stand by her straying man now finds marital humiliation the vessel of her elevation.

But to what?

To some amalgam of Princess Di and Eleanor Roosevelt, Evita and Sen. Clinton? How did this self-described feminist, who helped stage manage her husband's presidential career and battled for health care reform, emerge as an icon of persevering womanhood? *And* as the hot hope of New York's fading liberal Democrats?

Even Democrats who admire and cheer her find the image inversions vertigo-inducing.

"It's very good to see her held in such high public regard but rather sad to think about the reasons why," says Peter Edelman, who quit the Clinton administration to protest the signing of the welfare reform bill but remains friendly with Hillary Clinton. "As she becomes

See FIRST LADY, *C8, Col. 1*

For Mrs. Clinton, Tea Leaves and Sympathy

FIRST LADY, *From C1*

more a traditional first lady, more ceremonial, her poll ratings rise."

Presidential historian Robert Dallek discerns a historical rhythm at work: "It's a classic American case of progressive ends for conservative reasons. She's being talked of as senator, even president. But it's not because of her Yale law degree and considerable accomplishments so much as her victimhood."

But here's the thing about life as an air-brushed symbol: For all her eloquent championing of woman and children, health care and abortion rights, the private Hillary Clinton risks becoming ever more opaque.

Her husband, as always, is an easier read: The perpetual Slick Willie, caught between the gratifications of the flesh and the call of higher service. A prolix man versed in a thousand policy options but with a notoriously slippery center.

Loyalty, personal and political, bewitches him. His aides no sooner stumble out the door of the White House than they rend the air with their doubts, and sign television and book deals to better cushion their moral truth-telling.

Hillary Clinton is another matter. She can be folksy, even stirring on the stump (or, alternately, sound like a platitudinous valedictorian). And she is an observant student: She has learned to lean into the podium in the casual manner of her husband, can get off a mild joke at her own expense, and explode a 1,000-megawatt smile when she has to.

But she rarely indulges in the confessional anecdotes that are her husband's stock in trade. Nor is she enamored of public contrition; Bill bites his lower lip and summons the tremulous lump in his throat with a character actor's ease.

Not Hillary.

She is a Midwestern Methodist, not given to yakking about her personal life. In times of trouble, she goes posture-perfect, that tight smile signifying you're-not-quite-sure-what.

"She likes to say, 'How can you hold someone's hands if you're wringing your own?' " says a former aide. "It may be denial, but that's her way."

And yet she commands retainers' loyalty with an ease unknown to her husband.

"She's very private, and always talks about zones of privacy," says Neel Lattimore, her former press secretary. "She's incredibly loyal to her staff. She'll call you at home on the weekend to thank you for your work, and that generates loyalty in return. You want to protect her."

So her friends and aides build a wall about her, a protective edifice that all but forces well-wishers to imagine their own version of the first lady. Take the notion—commonplace in liberal circles—that Hillary Clinton tacks to the political left of her ever-triangulating husband. To listen to New York's liberal Democrats is to imagine the first lady as Mother Jones in knit suits. She will, they incant, vanquish those nasty Republicans—New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Gov. George Pataki—and restore liberal rule to the state.

"She's not running on Bill's record, she's running on the 'Romantic Party' ticket," says Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center. "Her advocates in New York are the same people who can't get over the fact that Bella Abzug lost to [Daniel Patrick] Moynihan by one point in the 1976 Democratic primary."

The rendering of Hillary Clinton as super-liberal strikes friends as incomplete. She's comfortable, they note, with some catechisms of the liberal faith: She's much taken with "her mission" for children and families, and holds dear the notion that government "can change the way that people live their lives," as a friend put it.

But the idea that she represents, in any concrete way, a lefty faction within the centrist confines of the White House is fanciful.

"The people who predict that her profile will be more liberal than his, they don't have any basis to go on," Edelman says.

Perhaps the last word in this regard should fall to that inveterate Svengali and former Clinton political adviser Dick Morris. He's no particular soul mate of the first lady, and he views her as something of a liberal. But he claims she was his advocate in nudging Clinton toward the ideological center when their presidential enterprise was listing badly.

And her taste for the jugular matches his own.

"We both came from the half of Clinton's life that likes to mix it up, negative ads, go after opponents." A little clot of admiration forms in Morris's throat. "There was no ideology in Arkansas. She was tough."

THE WASHINGTON POST
THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1999

Watching and Waiting

It's a marriage endlessly pawed over, Bill- and Hillary-watching raised to a Kremlin-reading art form. She sits next to him, *but she's not smiling.* She went skiing with him in Utah, *but she came home early.* She claims to have a bad back, *but she spent a couple hours sitting on a wood bench at church.* She let him *hold her hand!* She won't go to Central America with him . . .

It never ends.

Perhaps no subject is likely to cause Hillary Clinton more agitation in a possible Senate race than questions about the state of her marriage. The latest, unconfirmed, off-the-record, anonymously sourced, under-the-right-circumstances-it-*could-be-true* story had the president and the first lady agreeing on a trial separation.

It arrived courtesy of a breathy double shot from Team Murdoch: Fox News and the New York Post. Rita Cosby of Fox tells us: " . . . a Clinton family friend tells Fox News that the first couple barely speak in private, that quote, 'They have nothing to talk about anymore. The only thing they have in common is Chelsea.' "

It's anyone's guess what to make of this. The Bill & Hillary machine is no less adept at spin than its enemies. (The deeply conspiratorial among the Republicans speculate that the first family floated the rumor to an enemy organ, the better to politically distance Herself from Himself.)

"It's to her advantage to separate," says the ever-helpful Morris. "It's not politically advantageous for someone with 63 percent personal approval ratings to hang out with someone with a 34 percent. It might be contagious."

Perhaps. But for the record . . .

"For those who were there in Utah [on vacation with the Clintons], as opposed to those who think they were there, it was absolutely lovely," says Terry McAuliffe, a Clinton friend and fund-raiser. "We played board games and had hours of conversation. I'm sure there's some tension, given this year, but I saw nothing of it."

This much, too, is true. Throughout these days of alleged marital tension, the first lady and the president have wined and dined New York pols and labor leaders. And aides describe the president, who insists publicly that he hasn't "a clue" about his wife's plans, as invigorated by her prospects. The ultimate politician is given to rattling off obscure facts about little known political figures in remote rural counties of New York.

His legendary memory is a political Baedeker for his wife the aspiring pol: He knows whom to talk with in Onondaga County, how to snare a mayoral endorsement in Rochester, the best way to woo a farmer in Pottsdam . . .

"It's like he wants to be her manager," says one New Yorker familiar with the discussions. "It's his next campaign; his solution to the question of what's next."

There is a dollop of the surreal in this. If Hillary Clinton's recent prominence owes something to her grace in the face of degradation, she cannot escape the shadow cast by her husband's tomcatting. (Not to mention the unproven but disturbing charges of sexual abuse lodged against the president by Kathleen Willey and Juanita Broaddrick.)

So one finds Hillary Clinton at the United Nations on a recent trip to New York, basking in a loud standing ovation and inveighing against worldwide disrespect of women and girls.

"It's no longer acceptable," she lectures the assembled delegates, "to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural. It should



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

The hope of New York's liberal Democrats, with Alexis Herman, secretary of labor, at a National Education Association event this month in Washington.

be called what it is: criminal."

Her passion and her cause this day are heartfelt; the first lady has tilled this landscape for years. But anyone even vaguely familiar with the first couple's travails cannot help but wonder if her words this day carry an unwanted subtext.

There is, too, the question of her years spent under a special prosecutor's microscope. Former White House aide George Stephanopoulos recently wrote a "memo" to the first lady in Newsweek, reminding the magazine's 2 million readers of her every headache.

"Whitewater, billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande (real estate development) will all be back," he writes. "Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure?"

His solicitude is touching.

Still, it's the unusual politician who steps into a senatorial race with even rumors of a bad marriage banging about in the attic. But her likely opponent in a general election, Giuliani, is not—how to put this delicately?—a family values exemplar.

Giuliani's first marriage ended when he obtained an annulment on the grounds that his wife was his second cousin. And his present wife is so estranged that she refuses to campaign for him or mention his name in interviews.

Talk of marriage, in this electoral context, looms as a zone of mutual assured destruction.

Getting in Line

They're edgy, this roomful of New York City pols, awaiting their audience with Her. They're stuck in a hall of mirrors on the second floor of New York's ersatz Versailles: the Plaza Hotel. Lunch is being trundled into the first lady's suite, and one by one the borough presidents, assemblymen and city councilwomen will follow.

Politicians do not happily suffer waiting rooms. But this is royalty, so who's complaining? Brooklyn council member Ken Fisher marks time by handicapping Hillary's electoral prospects: He's very enthusiastic.

"She's Schumer but with a dress!" Fisher intends the comparison to New York's freshman U.S. senator as a compliment. "Besides, we consider all celebrities to be honorary New Yorkers."

There's something to this. Beltway pundits pass much verbiage each Sunday talking about her carpetbagger problem, but that's overstated. New Yorkers are famously parochial cosmopolitans who rock themselves to sleep comforted by the notion that *anyone* who is *anyone* yearns to be a New Yorker. So if Hillary Clinton wants to represent them in Congress—hey, that goes to show the lady's pretty smart.

"So they say she's from Arkansas. So what's that? So who cares?" says Sandra Stein, an assistant school superintendent in the Bayside area of Queens, who is now *quite disgusted* with the mayor and *quite impressed* with the first lady. "We'll *make her* a New Yorker."

Against such optimism falls reality's weight. The early polls, the insanely optimistic stuff showing her 15, 20 points up on Giuliani, have faded. The most recent New York Times poll has her on top, but by an 11-point margin that's thin enough to guarantee a dogfight with the city's Rottweiler mayor.

And there's the question of her celebrity sheen, and abrasions to come. First ladies don't have campaigns; they have missions. (Her most recent trip to New York was a "mission to save America's treasures.") They travel in Air Force planes with lots of legroom and limos that roll down highways swept clean of traffic, and they talk to the press when they deign to do so.

Everything will change when she announces her Senate candidacy. It's Pygmalion in reverse: She loses her status as sainted victim and becomes a commoner all at once. Her traffic goes bumper to bumper and the tabloid headlines go to 75-point type as the reporters try to peel skin off bone.

As Democratic pollster Harrison Hickman put it: "Running in New York is like being thrown on a Bunsen burner on your first day in chemistry class."

Moss of New York University is not convinced Hillary can follow another famous carpetbagger, Bobby Kennedy. "It's one thing to be the brother of an assassinated president," he says, "and another to be the wife of an impeached president."

There is, too, the question of her knowledge of New York and the issues she'd raise, which in turn hooks back to the question: Who is Hillary Clinton? New York's Democratic politicians tend to talk about *Her* as the immaculate candidate, a woman sprung from the Democratic National Committee's forehead. She can, they marvel, talk mosquito spraying in the Adirondacks and cleanup of the scummy Gowanus Canal in Brooklyn, and dispatch Giuliani with the back of her well-manicured hand.

In return, New York's congenitally contentious political class is making her a most extraordinary offering: a free pass through the Democratic Senate primary. They've even told their next strongest candidate—Rep. Nita Lowey—to put a cork in it until the first lady decides.

"It's absolutely bizarre. I mean, what are Hillary's issues?" says Katrina vanden Heuvel, editor of the liberal Nation magazine in New York City. "It's a manufactured candidacy, with help from the politicians in the smoke-filled rooms."

Perhaps. But right now Hillary Clinton's got New York's political class as tongue-tied as a bunch of young swells on their first date. Bronx Borough President Ferdinand "Freddy" Ferrer is one of the first pols to get ushered into her suite at the Plaza Hotel.

It left him ever so slightly rapturous.

"I haven't felt this way in 30 years," the mustachioed pol exclaims. "I would work for her nonstop. She's the best."

Did he think maybe she was just playing him along?

"Oh *no!* Take it from me, I *know* perfunctory meetings. I like her and she likes me. She said she wouldn't be living in the White House if not for my work for Bill Clinton in 1992."

Clearly, her touch is as impeccable as her plans are inscrutable.

And yet . . .

Even some excitable New York politicians acknowledge a nagging worry: Maybe this is another way for her to switch the channel from all-Monica, all-the-time. Maybe this is a way, for just a few months, for Hillary the Statesman to stand alone.

To escape the same fact that now feeds her fame: that she's the long-suffering wife of a straying man who not so long ago was nearly evicted from the White House by the United States Senate.

The Hill ■ Wednesday, March 24, 1999

Hillary for Senate — N.Y., Mich. or Minn.?

If **Hillary Clinton** decides not to run for the Senate in New York, she has at least two other options. Neither is far from her native Illinois.

The first is Michigan. As it stands now, Democratic **Rep. Debbie Stabenow** is eyeing a race against freshman **Sen. Spencer Abraham** (R). But not so fast.

Bill Ballenger, editor of the Inside Michigan Politics newsletter, commissioned a poll recently that might make the first lady consider a bid against Abraham. "I matched her up," Ballenger said. "I decided to have a little fun."

And the result? A statistical dead heat.

"Let's just say she can move to Michigan and run," Ballenger said. "She's got no more ties to New York than she does to Michigan."

Hillary might, however, want to stress her longtime association with Michigan (she vacationed there as a child.)

And if that doesn't pan out, Hillary could move to Minnesota and run against freshman Republican **Sen. Rod Grams**. At least that's what the Gopher State humorist, **Garrison Keillor**, invited her to do when he spoke at last week's annual Radio and TV Correspondents' Dinner.

That may not constitute a majority opinion but at least she'd be guaranteed every vote in Lake Wobegon.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1999

Arafat talks statehood despite chat with Clinton

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — President Clinton yesterday urged Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat not to try declaring a Palestinian state in May — but Arafat later hinted he's still considering it.

Arafat described the 90-minute Oval Office meeting as part of a "tour of consultation" before May 4, the day he has threatened to unilaterally declare an independent state.

Pressed on whether he would back down from his threat, he said he was still involved in "consultation."

Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu also turned up the heat on Arafat, warning, "We will not accept in any fashion" any unilateral action by him. And he told Clinton officials, "We will act resolutely" if Arafat tries to declare a state.

Both houses of Congress recently voted overwhelmingly for resolutions demanding that Clinton publicly state that he will refuse to recognize a unilaterally declared Palestine — but some Israel supporters worry the president will cave in down the road if peace talks break down.

"We need to make it very clear that the United States will not tolerate a unilateral declaration of statehood by Arafat at any time," said Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester).

Complicating the issue is First Lady Hillary Clinton's public statement last year supporting a Palestinian state.

Yesterday, Clinton aides sounded doubtful that Israeli and Palestinian leaders can negotiate an agreement on the fate of the Palestinians by early May — just two weeks before new Israeli elections.

State Department spokesman James Rubin said, "What we would like to see is the talks begin as soon as possible, on an accelerated basis." But he added, "It is very hard for us to see how you could finish the permanent-status talks in six weeks."

At the White House, neither side would give any details of the Clinton-Arafat huddle.

"The president used the opportunity to convey our widely known view that the issue of a Palestinian state must be negotiated by the two parties," said White House national security spokesman P.J. Crowley.

"It was a very good consultation and he listened intently to what the president said," Crowley added.

Malcolm Hoenlein, head of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, claimed, "Arafat wants to squeeze as much as he can out of the threat," and warned against the United States offering him any "reward" to back down.

Senate—

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1999

Hillary, Princess of Whines

Are you ready for Princess Hillary — or perhaps Eleanor Rodham Clinton?

On her sans-Bill jaunt through Egypt, the First Lady revealed that her goal for the future isn't really to serve in a legislature so much as it is to be what might be called an "Issues Ambassador."

Said the First Lady: "I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on, having to do with improving the lives of children and giving more opportunities to all kinds to people, particularly women, and improving relations around the world, among democracies, and making it clear that we have a lot to learn and give to one another in the world."

Someone with so grand an outlook, a mission if you will, would surely find the stuck-in-Washington, work-a-day world of the Millionaires Club a trifle unrewarding.

A senator is obligated to make the quotidian interests of his state the first priority on his agenda. In Clinton's case, that would mean creating opportunities for New Yorkers, *including men*, before doing so for oppressed women the world over.

What she clearly wants is to be another Princess Diana, an Eleanor Roosevelt — an internationally adored spokeswoman for the underprivileged and destitute.

That's a perfectly acceptable goal. But princesses belong in palaces and photo-ops, not the U.S. Senate.

The Washington Times ★ TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1999

Perilous statehood mission

When Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat meets today with President Bill Clinton, he is expected to ask the president to support the creation of a Palestinian state. But considering Mr. Arafat's continuing failure to stop terrorism against Israel, President Clinton should issue him a clear ultimatum: Drop any plans to unilaterally declare Palestinian statehood or face a cutoff of U.S. aid.

Mr. Arafat is largely responsible for the current impasse in the Middle East peace process. The Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations begun in Oslo, Norway, in 1993 would not be on the verge of collapse had Mr. Arafat abided by his commitments to help safeguard Israel's security. Now, he is making a bad situation worse by threatening to declare Palestinian statehood on May 4 when the five-year period of interim Palestinian rule established by the Oslo accords expires. Such a unilateral action would destroy the Oslo peace talks, precipitate a violent confrontation with Israel, and explode the prospects for a stable peace.

President Clinton must defuse this ticking time bomb. Palestinian noncompliance has already led Israel to suspend implementation of the Wye River accord, signed only last October. According to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority has defaulted on many of its Oslo obligations. It has failed to: reduce the size of the Palestinian police force to 30,000 members; confiscate illegal weapons from Palestinian civilians and police; outlaw Palestinian groups that support terrorism against Israelis; arrest terrorists and end the "revolving door" policy that quickly frees terrorists from Palestinian jails; and refrain from inciting violence against Israelis.



Yasser Arafat

A unilateral Palestinian declaration of independence, however, would deliver a fatal blow to the ailing peace talks and set the stage for a bloody confrontation. Violent clashes would result as both sides sought to establish control over disputed territories.

Nevertheless, Mr. Arafat clings to the statehood option. Part of the blame for this can be laid at the doorstep of the Clinton administration, which has done little to dissuade him. First Lady Hillary Clinton stated on May 6, 1998, that it would be in the "long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to become a state." And President Clinton's Dec. 14, 1998, visit to Gaza had many features of a state visit. The Palestinians certainly drew this conclusion, displaying banners featuring Mr. Clinton and Mr. Arafat with the caption, "We have a dream: Free Palestine."

Congress recently tried to stiffen the administration's spine on the statehood issue. The Senate overwhelmingly passed a resolution on March 11 urging the president to "unequivocally assert United States opposition to the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state." The House passed a similar resolution on March 16.

In his upcoming White House meeting, Mr. Arafat will reportedly agree to delay statehood, perhaps until Jan. 1, 2000, in return for Mr. Clinton's promise to recognize a Palestinian state. The president must firmly reject this offer. It only would reward Mr. Arafat's brinkmanship and encourage him to engage in other negotiating gambits prohibited by Oslo.

President Clinton should not only should refuse to recognize a unilaterally declared Palestinian state, but should urge other states to withhold recognition and work to penalize the Palestinian Authority for violating the Oslo accords. U.S. aid to the Palestinians, currently $400 million per year, should be withdrawn.

The president should also insist that Mr. Arafat abide by his commitments under the Oslo accords and negotiate the statehood issue directly with Israel. He should inform Mr. Arafat this is the only acceptable avenue for attaining statehood. Mr. Arafat must understand that only through strict adherence to past agreements can he hope to gain Palestinian statehood in a future agreement.

President Clinton must further urge Mr. Arafat to seek an agreement with Israel extending the negotiating period for final status issues. There is nothing sacred about the May 4 deadline. Every target date originally established for the interim negotiations has been missed, and it is unrealistic to expect both sides to meet this deadline.

The stakes are high. By threatening to declare Palestinian independence, Mr. Arafat is also threatening to destroy the Oslo peace accords. President Clinton should warn him that such a policy would severely harm U.S.-Palestinian relations, provoke a cutoff of U.S. aid, and deprive Palestinians of a chance to attain statehood through peaceful negotiations. Mr. Arafat must be convinced he has little to gain and much to lose if he shirks his Oslo commitments and unilaterally proclaims Palestinian statehood.

James Phillips, whose expertise is Middle East affairs, is director of administration for the Davis International Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation.

BOSTON GLOBE
MARCH 23, 1999

Poll: Hillary Clinton's lead narrowing

By Marc Humbert

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) - Hillary Rodham Clinton's lead over New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a possible Senate race matchup is narrowing, a statewide poll reported today.

The poll, from the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, found the first lady favored by 50 percent of registered voters surveyed to 39 percent for the Republican mayor. A Quinnipiac poll released a month ago had Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 54 percent to 36 percent.

The latest poll found Mrs. Clinton leading another possible Republican opponent, former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, 56 percent to 34 percent. Quinnipiac's February poll had her leading D'Amato, 60 percent to 30 percent.

"The first round of euphoria about Hillary Clinton's possible Senate bid has faded a bit and both Mayor Giuliani and former Senator D'Amato have gained some ground," Maurice Carroll, director of the Hamden, Conn.-based institute, said. "But New Yorkers still want to send the first lady back to Washington."

Mrs. Clinton is currently in North Africa with daughter Chelsea. The first lady said Monday that she would resume her exploration of a possible run for the Senate seat from New York being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan when she returns from the 12-day tour of North Africa.

Giuliani and D'Amato have not yet said if they plan to run, but both have said they are eyeing the race.

Quinnipiac's telephone poll of 909 New Yorkers who said they were registered voters was conducted Wednesday through Sunday, March 17-21, and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

A statewide poll released early this month by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion had Mrs. Clinton favored by 50 percent of registered voters surveyed with Giuliani the choice of 46 percent.

Another statewide poll, released March 15 by Zogby International, had Giuliani leading Mrs. Clinton, 48 percent to 37 percent, among a group identified as likely voters.
END

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, March 22, 1999

In his first full-scale White House news conference in almost a year, Clinton answered questions about suspected Chinese nuclear espionage and the threat of airstrikes in Kosovo. He said NATO must be prepared to carry out airstrikes against Serbs because the latter have already crossed the threshold that warrants military action. Clinton also said he didn't know if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton would run for a US Senate seat, but revealed that she'd suggested they move to New York when he leaves the White House. Clinton refused to discuss his impeachment. (*Re-*

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1999

GOP infighting over

Giuliani could hand victory to Hillary

FREDRIC U. DICKER
INSIDE ALBANY



NEW YORK'S Republican Party is on the verge of an explosive civil war over Mayor Giuliani's likely run for the U.S. Senate next year, worried insiders say.

The potential combatants include virtually every top Republican in the state — Giuliani, Gov. Pataki, Al D'Amato, state GOP boss Bill Powers, and Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno.

The goal of the anti-Giuliani camp is to damage the mayor in next year's primary, even if it hands the U.S. Senate seat to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"It's 1989 all over again," one of the state's most influential and respected Republican figures said with disgust, referring to Giuliani's first attempt to become mayor and his loss to Democrat David Dinkins.

Ten years ago, D'Amato convinced cosmetics billionaire Ronald Lauder to run an unsuccessful, but incredibly expensive and bitterly negative, Republican primary campaign against Giuliani, which was widely seen as causing Giuliani's narrow defeat by Dinkins in the general election.

The ongoing GOP cold war between Pataki and Giuliani almost got hot last week, when the governor and his aides blamed the mayor for leaking a letter from Joe DiMaggio's lawyer accusing Pataki of exploiting the Yankee Clipper's death.

Only quick intervention by several top GOP leaders prevented the bitter episode — which ended the supposed Pataki-Giuliani peace pact negotiated two weeks earlier — from getting worse.

The battling intensified again yesterday, when Pataki, in a appearance on ABC's "This Week," appeared to side with the largely Democratic forces critical of the mayor's handling of the Amadou Diallo tragedy.

The pro-Giuliani forces — the mayor, Powers and Bruno (R-Rensselaer) — control thousands of patronage jobs and, in the case of Powers and Bruno, the loyalty of hundreds of GOP operatives.

The anti-Giuliani forces — Pataki, D'Amato, Pataki aide Zenia Mucha, Conservative Party Chairman Michael Long, Pataki/D'Amato campaign guru Arthur Finkelstein, U.S. Rep. Rick Lazio and Westchester DA Jeanine Pirro and her influential, and recently indicted lobbyist-husband, Albert Pirro — also have an enormous number of loyalists throughout the state.

Insiders said D'Amato and Long have recently bragged of their determination to stop Giuliani, even at the expense of a Democratic victory.

Lazio and Jeanine Pirro are being eyed by the anti-Giuliani forces as possible opponents to the mayor in next year's Senate primary.

The immediate causes of the hostility are Giuliani's 1994 support for the re-election of Gov. Mario Cuomo and the current rivalry between the two men for the national GOP spotlight.

Bruno, who denounced "Judas Giuliani" in 1994 after the mayor endorsed Cuomo, has made it clear that he believes Giuliani is the strongest potential GOP contender for Senate next year, and the one most likely to get out a strong Republican vote.

Powers, who has held several private meetings with Giuliani, predicted late last week at a meeting of Hearst newspaper editors in Texas that Giuliani would beat any challengers in the primary next year.

The tensions were played out on a small scale two weeks ago, when Pataki skipped the Albany County Republican Committee's Lincoln's Birthday Dinner, which just happened to feature Giuliani as the keynoter.

The governor's absence infuriated Albany Republicans, who attributed it to Giuliani's presence.

Pataki then found time last week to show up for the annual Schenectady County GOP Dinner — *sans* Giuliani — a move that further angered Albany Republicans.

Fredric U. Dicker's radio show, "Live from the State Capitol," can be heard weekdays from 10:05 a.m. to 11 a.m. and Sundays from 1:05 p.m. to 3 p.m. on the Web, at www.wrow.com.

THE WASHINGTON POST MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1999

Robert D. Novak

Senate Steppingstone

The notion of Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the Senate from New York has been transformed from fanciful speculation to realistic probability for the worst of reasons: the First Lady's private life and personal ambitions.

This explanation comes not from Mrs. Clinton's "vast right-wing conspiracy" or even from less conspiratorial critics. Rather, friends of the First Lady and high-ranking figures in the administration are the ones predicting she will make the Senate run and saying why.

They surmise that her relationship with Bill Clinton contributes to her decision and are certain that she considers the Senate a steppingstone to the presidency, an audacious ambition that itself is connected to her relations with the president.

For concerned Democrats, such a rationale for a Senate campaign does not promise a favorable outcome. The shaky predicates of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy suggest that the seat held with distinction for a quarter-century by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan may now go to Rudolph Giuliani, the Republican mayor of New York City.

I began to grasp the baroque nature of this story three weeks ago when a senior administration official offered to bet me a dinner that the First Lady would run for the Senate. Why, I asked, would she covet the hectic, unrewarding life of a U.S. senator? "She doesn't," the official replied. "But this is the only way she can run for president."

After the initial shock wore off, I checked with prominent Democrats in Washington and New York and found a widespread perception that this truly was Mrs. Clinton's plan. A presidential candidacy for Hillary Clinton seems as inappropriate as it would have been some 60 years ago for her role model, Eleanor Roosevelt.

In her defense, New York Democrats note that Robert F. Kennedy, another outsider and neophyte candidate, ran for the Senate from New York in 1964 only to seek the presidency in 1968. But he was already an icon, heir to the myth of his murdered brother and symbol for the discontented in a ruptured American society.

Whether Mrs. Clinton stands for anything more than her husband's poll-oriented, election-directed policies is unclear. A case can be made that she has grown closer to a Senate race as she has appeared more distant from the president following public revelations of his reprehensible personal behavior.

Mrs. Clinton departed early from a family skiing vacation and did not accompany the president on recent trips to Central America (a place she loves) and Hope, Ark., to dedicate his boyhood home. The explanation of back trouble was undermined last Wednesday night when she sat for three hours at the Washington Opera.

As the capital's buzz about the first couple's alleged estrangement grew louder, Mrs. Clinton suddenly appeared at her husband's side during one of Washington's most lugubrious events: the annual radio-television dinner. She reverted to her supportive role, flashing a radiant smile through the president's witty remarks and even during the interminable musings of humorist Garrison Keillor.

Mrs. Clinton's reemergence as the politician's wife emphasized how different this role is from a candidate's. Years of being required to assume this fawning posture may partially explain why she is anxious to prove her own merit.

But the revelation Thursday in a Little Rock federal court that a Whitewater indictment against the First Lady had been drafted but never presented to a grand jury predicted what she can expect in a New York Senate race. A woman with a short fuse and no tolerance for criticism would subject herself to unlimited questions for the first time.

Even before such an ordeal, Mrs. Clinton is less of a sure thing than many Democrats claim. Polls showing her well ahead of Giuliani have interviewed either too many nonvoters or too many New York City residents. The reliable pollster John Zogby has the mayor running ahead of her—by 11.5 percentage points in a March 10-12 survey.

But New York Democrats have no alternative. The party that produced the likes of Al Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert Wagner Sr., Mario Cuomo and Pat Moynihan has no alternative to a non-New Yorker who her own supporters say seeks to relieve her personal frustrations by fulfilling grandiose ambitions.

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NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1999

N.Y.: Just Her Stepping Stone?

THE notion of Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the Senate from New York has been transformed from fanciful speculation to realistic probability for the worst of reasons: the First Lady's private life and personal ambitions.

Friends of Mrs. Clinton and high-ranking figures in the administration are the ones predicting she will make the Senate run and saying why. They surmise that her relationship with Bill Clinton contributes to her decision and are certain that she considers the Senate a stepping stone to the presidency, an audacious ambition that itself is connected to her relations with the president.

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New York Democrats correctly note that Robert F. Kennedy, another outsider and neophyte candidate, ran for the Senate from New York in 1964 only to seek the presidency in 1968. But RFK was already an icon, heir to the myth of his murdered brother and symbol for the discontented in a ruptured American society. Whether Mrs. Clinton stands for anything more than her husband's poll-oriented, election-directed policies is unclear.

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ROBERT D. NOVAK

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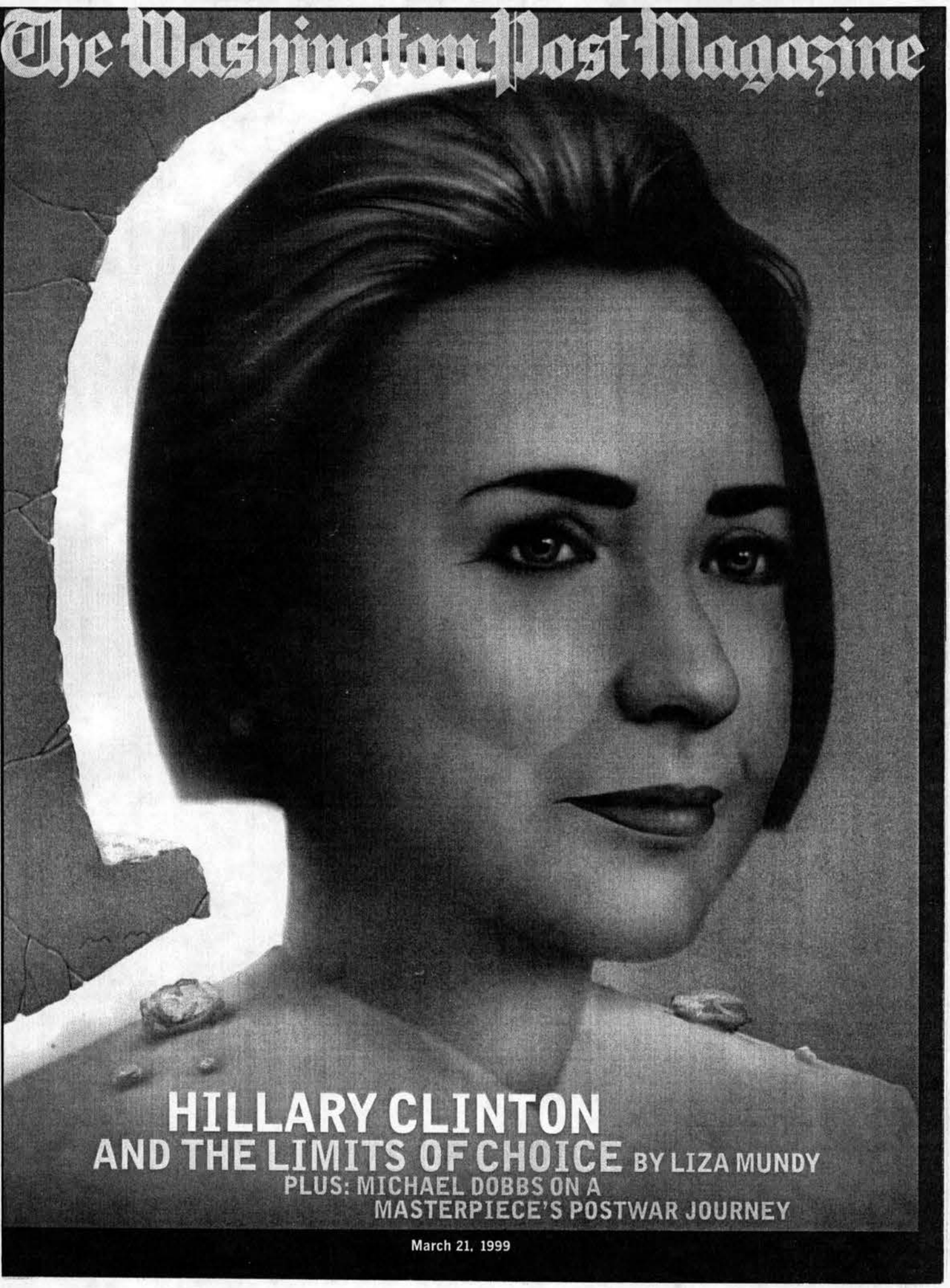
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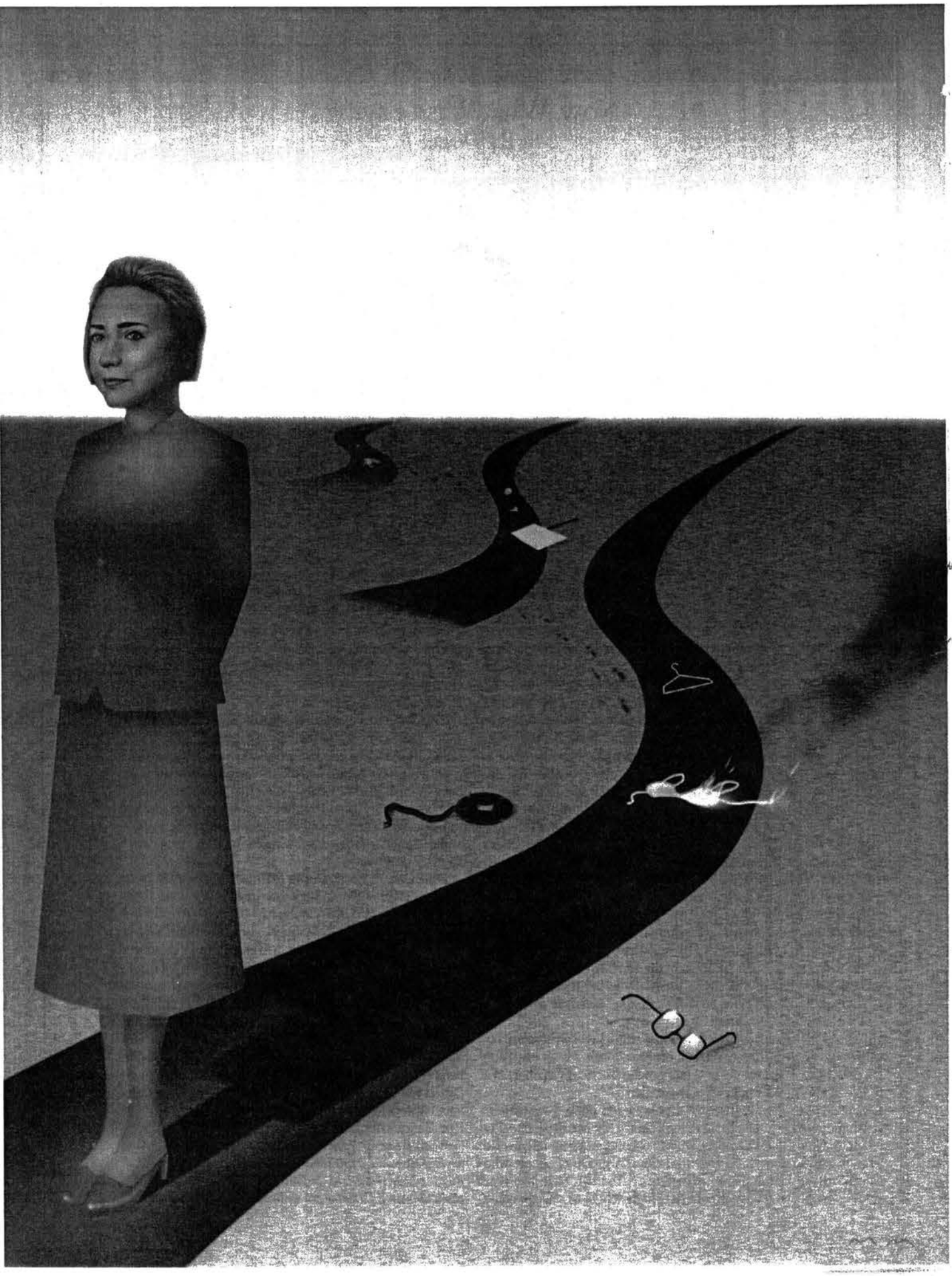
The Washington Post Magazine



HILLARY CLINTON
AND THE LIMITS OF CHOICE BY LIZA MUNDY

PLUS: MICHAEL DOBBS ON A MASTERPIECE'S POSTWAR JOURNEY

March 21, 1999



THE HILLARY DILEMMA

As she stands by her man, the women's movement stands by Hillary Clinton as a symbol of women's right to choose—a career, a home, a marriage. But what has she really chosen?

BY LIZA MUNDY
PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATT MAHURIN

"I'm going to drive. That's understood," says a dashing Ingrid Bergman in an early scene of Alfred Hitchcock's 1946 spy thriller "Notorious," as she vamps an intelligence agent played by Cary Grant. Fascinated and repulsed by Bergman's sass, Grant gets in the car but then, in a bit of unmistakable symbolism, overpowers her and seizes the wheel. It's the beginning of a long and spirit-crushing journey: By movie's end, having endured emotional neglect at the hands of Grant and poisoning at the hands of the Nazi she was forced to marry, Bergman lies in bed, too weak to walk.

Only then does Grant, seeing her helpless and suffering, realize he loves her.

As happy endings go, this one is pretty ambiguous. But hardly more ambiguous than the recent stream of tributes to Hillary Clinton appearing in venues from Vogue to Vanity Fair to Newsweek. Hardly more ambiguous, for that matter, than the nationally televised moment, late in the president's January State of the Union address, when Bill Clinton paused to "honor" the

first lady, taking advantage of the resulting applause to mouth the words "I love you." Surely there is something wrong with this picture: Here is Hillary Rodham Clinton, facing the two entities responsible for her greatest public humiliations—Congress, which rejected her health care plan, and her husband, who had betrayed their marriage not once but serially—and here they are, Bill Clinton and Congress, madly clapping.

They aren't the only ones. In the aftermath of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, the first lady's national poll ratings are higher than they've been at any time since the 1993 inauguration. She's now ranked as the woman Americans most admire. Her popularity has, in turn, started a frenzied political conversation in which she's being hyped as the runaway favorite in a New York Senate race, should she decide to run.

What has she done to bring about this national change of heart? Nothing, apparently, except stoically endure. A nation that long regarded her as Glenn Close, the homicidal working woman in "Fatal Attraction," now apparently sees her as Anne Archer, the long-suffering wife who welcomes her husband back to the hearth. She's become a performance artist of pain, a vaudevillian, like someone who swallows swords or walks, unscorched, over hot coals. How much pain is she feeling? How much more can she take?



More to the point: How do we reconcile Hillary the strong-willed feminist leader with Hillary the mistreated wife? Here's how: "She's a woman who has made choices," declares her longtime friend Sara Ehrman, a few days after watching the State of the Union speech. "And her choices are her own."

Choice. The word recurs, mantra-like, in conversations with Hillary Clinton's friends and colleagues. "She has always talked about women having the freedom to make choices and to choose the path that seems right for them," says Mandy Grunwald, a political consultant and confidante of the first lady. "And that that should be the goal: that women should be free to work all day, stay home all day, free to have children, not have children . . . To her, that is the ultimate kind of liberation, it's the freedom to be whoever you want to be."

Choice is also the word invoked by leaders of the women's movement as they try to make sense of Hillary Clinton—her silence, her suffering, her decision to stay with her husband, her newfound popularity—and how all these things affect her status as a feminist leader. Because it seems fair to say that they do, or should, affect that status. Just as it's gotten a lot harder to characterize Bill Clinton as a friend of the working girl, so too has it become more problematic to lionize Hillary as a feminist standard-bearer. This, remember, is a woman who campaigned with her husband on a platform that emphasized women's equality. During her tenure, she has championed women's rights in venues from Beijing to Kampala. Yet she—of all people!—has stayed in a marriage that, whatever blessings it has brought her, has also brought unimaginable pain. In doing so, she has stuck with a man who, in the course of his womanizing, is alleged to have harassed and even sexually assaulted other women. Hillary has endured not only her pain but theirs.

How to accommodate such contradictions?

Choice, apparently, is the one concept strong enough to dissolve the inconsistencies and explain the devolution of Hillary Clinton's public persona. It's the ideal that permits her supporters to accept her dual role as one of the world's most articulate advocates of women's rights, and, at the same time, a wife who has endured months—years, decades—of emotional mistreatment.

"When Lee Hart did not leave Gary Hart," allows Patricia Ireland of the National Organization for Women, "a fair number of women just wanted her to leave him flat." But Hillary Clinton, Ireland suggests, is different. She is a woman who has made most of the money in her family, a woman who presumably knows what she's doing, a woman who in some ways symbolizes the mature understanding of all '60s activists. "People make complicated lives," Ireland reflects, and Hillary has chosen to be where she is. "The feminist movement," she points out, "has always been about women's ability to make their own choices."

In other words, we can continue to see Hillary Clinton not only as a feminist but as emblematic of the contemporary women's movement itself. Long criticized as pro-abortion, pro-working woman, pro-divorce and anti-traditional family, feminism is at pains to display its nonjudgmentalism. What's important, women's leaders now argue, is not so much which choice a woman makes as the simple fact that she has the power to make one.

Yes, choice is precious—and feminism has won for women a dazzling array of new choices. Still, it seems important to examine this idea of choice and ask whether it is being used to deflect valid questions, not just about the first lady but about a women's movement that works so hard to defend her. It may be that feminist leaders are merely looking for a way to stick with both Clintons because of their concrete support on women's issues. But it's also possible that what's happening is a broader distortion of the women's movement. Born from the idea that the personal is political, feminism once held it as a bedrock article of faith that decent treatment in one's own household was a crucial element of equality.

Or, as Hillary Clinton herself told women in Kazakhstan in 1997, "democracy is nurtured and sustained by what we in America call 'the habits of the heart,' in the way people live their lives and in the lessons they teach their children."

Is this not true?

Or to put it another way: If Hillary's choices are okay, are there any choices that aren't?

"I really didn't want her to go. She was so gifted and promising. I thought her life should be on a bigger stage,"

A nation that long regarded **HILLARY AS GLENN CLOSE, THE HOMICIDAL WORKING WOMAN IN 'FATAL ATTRACTION,' NOW APPARENTLY SEES HER AS ANNE ARCHER, THE LONG-SUFFERING WIFE WHO WELCOMES HER HUSBAND BACK TO THE HEARTH.**

Sara Ehrman remembers with real feeling, even now, 25 years after the fact. But when lank-haired Hillary Rodham declared with characteristic hardheadedness that she intended to leave Washington and move to Arkansas to try life with a Yale law school classmate named Bill Clinton, Ehrman knew it was pointless to argue.

So when Hillary stood puzzling over how to ship her stuff—books, mostly, and what passed in Hillary's mind for a wardrobe—Ehrman said it was all too complicated, the boxes, the hassle, the airplane tickets, and offered to drive her down.



They packed up the car and left Ehrman's house in Southwest D.C., where Hillary Rodham had been living while she worked for the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate hearings. Together with a friend who rode part of the way, the two women crossed the Potomac and headed south on Route 29. Munching snacks and talking, they cruised down to Monticello, then southwest through Roanoke and over the state line, stopping in Laurel Bloomery, Tenn., to buy dishes for Hillary's new household. Then it was on to Nashville and Memphis, a route that included an encounter with a convention of Shriners on scooters. It took a while to find a place to stay, Ehrman recalls, but Hillary was unflappable.

Unflappable and determined. "I was saying, 'He's just a country lawyer. Why are you doing this?' " recalls Ehrman, who was deeply opposed to Hillary's decision to abandon her flourishing East Coast career to facilitate Clinton's. Rather than Thelma and Louise, the two women were more like Thelma and June Cleaver, though it's hard to say which woman was playing whom. A generation older than Hillary, Ehrman—who'd met her when the two were working in a get-out-the-vote effort in the McGovern campaign in Texas—was a professional woman before the modern movement existed, a woman who went to work in the Senate at a time when female aides didn't venture on the floor. Her salary was half that of her male colleagues and there were no bones about it. A married woman didn't need the money, was the thinking, so why take funds away from the men?

"I thought: I worked hard as a woman to help her get the opportunities she was entitled to," Ehrman says. "I thought she was throwing that opportunity away." So she nagged and drove, nagged and drove, until Hillary silenced her with the "ultimate rejoinder," which was, of course, that she loved Bill Clinton deeply and wanted to try making a life with him in Fayetteville, where he was teaching at the University of Arkansas law school. Ehrman stopped nagging but didn't stop worrying. When they reached Fayetteville, their arrival coincided with a football weekend when the Razorbacks were playing at home.

Entering town, Ehrman saw undergraduate men, hanging from lampposts, wearing something odd on their heads and hollering "*soooey*!" She looked closer and realized that her beloved Hillary Rodham, her high-powered hope for the future, was about to settle in a town full of frat boys wearing pig hats. "And that," she says, "is when I started to cry."

Over the years, of course, Ehrman came to respect Hillary's decision, and she now thinks of this story as comic rather than tragic, a funny tale where the joke, ha ha ha, was on her. "The president once kidded me: 'Well, Sara, do you still think Hillary made the right decision?' " she says with a laugh. But at the time it was genuinely wrenching to see this smart, super-educated young woman forsake a career in civil rights or at a big city law firm and move to her boyfriend's home turf, where he was launching his first political campaign for the U.S. House of Representatives. "His life," Hillary explained to Ehrman, "is there."

It was one in a series of complicated choices Hillary Rodham would make that could be seen as—take your pick—deeply traditional or deeply liberated.

"Liberation," not "choice," was the buzzword when Hillary Rodham moved to Arkansas in 1974, a year after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision legalized abortion. The stakes were too high for such an inclusive, value-neutral term as "choice." Instead, women desperately agitating for contraception and legal abortions spoke with deep and angry conviction of "saving women's lives," of "coat hangers" and "back alleys."

Feminists were called "libbers" as well as less flattering terms, often containing the adjective "hairy-legged." Protesters ran the streets with their faces painted like witches, put hexes on Wall Street and staged nude-ins to protest recruitment of Playboy models on college campuses. War was

Addressing her own marriage **IN A 1996 NEWSPAPER COLUMN, HILLARY WROTE THAT SHE AND BILL HAD LEARNED 'TO CONFRONT PROBLEMS BEFORE THEY'VE REACHED IRREPARABLE PROPORTIONS.' IT WAS A CHEERFUL SPIN ON AN UNPLEASANT SITUATION.**

declared at home as well as in the office: Inspired by Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, women testified at consciousness-raising sessions where they agreed that there was more to life than diapers and housework; that they should take a stand against families, if need be against husbands. The climate was such that an editor named Robin Morgan could write, in her passionate introduction to an anthology called *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, that "the nuclear family unit is oppressive to women."

Presumably, some couples were trying to find their way to more egalitarian arrangements in Fayetteville, which, despite the pig hats, was a university town and therefore one of the more "liberated" places in Arkansas. After Clinton lost his try at the House, he and Hillary, both law professors at the university, were a paradigm of the two-career household. But when he won the attorney general's seat in 1976, and then the governorship in 1978, the couple moved to Little Rock and the balance of power shifted. As University of Arkansas historian Randall Woods notes, the couple's thinking was that "they would be two sides of the same coin"—but he was governor and so it would be "his coin" they were two sides of. Hillary got a job with the Rose Law Firm, and worked as political helpmate while maintaining her Washington connections by serving on the board of the Children's Defense Fund and as board chair of the Legal Services Corp.

It was a busy life but invigorating. Ehrman recalls a lunch they had at the old rail depot in Little Rock where Hillary, she thought, looked deeply satisfied.

"She was beginning to grow into herself," Ehrman remembers, recalling that Hillary, very pregnant, was wearing a great-looking maternity dress and contact lenses rather than glasses—the beginning of an image makeover that later included going blond. "I said to her: 'How are you doing it all? You're a hotshot lawyer, you're pregnant, you're the governor's wife, you're working for the Children's Defense Fund . . .' "

"Life," Hillary sighed happily, "is so interesting."

Then, in his try for reelection in 1980, Bill Clinton lost.

"He was defeated over his efforts to change the auto license tax," Woods recalls, not because of his hotshot feminist libber, maiden-name-keeping spouse. Even so, as Bill Clinton biographer David Maraniss has reported, Hillary reckoned that, in his subsequent bid for reelection in 1982, they could pick up some crucial points if she changed her name to Clinton. Having made one drastic choice for love, she was now making a second choice that Mandy Grunwald describes as "pragmatic."

"It was a necessary and correct political decision," agrees Ehrman, pointing out that the name thing was a "big deal" to Arkansans but a trivial thing to anyone with experience in the compromises of public life.

For feminism, too, a certain pragmatism was taking hold. Witches were out. Coat hangers were history. But the *Roe* victory already felt chillingly tenuous. Violence against clinics started right away, and it quickly became clear that abortion rights were going to be not so much a one-time victory as an ongoing struggle.

And so, also around 1980, Faye Wattleton, then president of Planned Parenthood, recalls commissioning a poll to take America's temperature on abortion. What the group discovered, Wattleton says, was that Americans felt abortion, on a certain level, was killing.

"Americans aren't stupid," she says. "They believed that in some cases it was necessary but morally wrong, but they did not want the government to make the decision." Ergo: "If we focused on the issue of whether abortion was moral or not, we forced people to come down on the side that it was immoral, and that was dangerous. The position that would appeal to most people was: We were really talking about a choice."

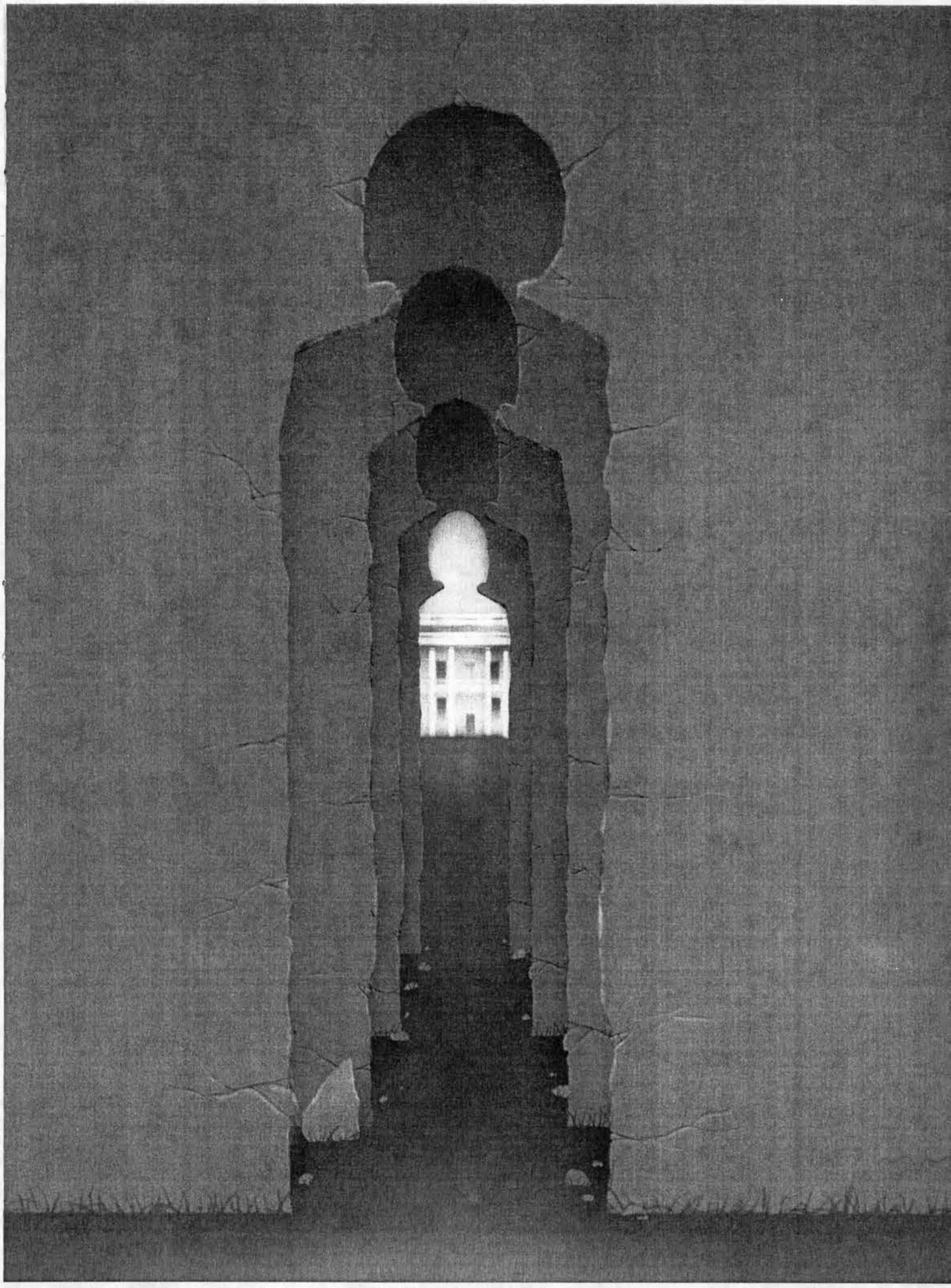
Thus did choice become the central theme of the reproductive rights—or, as it's now often known, the pro-choice—movement. The term sprang from a sincere impulse, but it also made for an effective platform—not just for the reproductive rights movement but for feminism as a whole. By now, women had gained enough ground to call into question the need for "liberation"; and it was becoming clear, as Wattleton points out, that choice "is a word that appeals to people."

The thing is, choices sometimes clash. If a woman chooses to have an abortion, the child loses any say in the matter. Once Bill Clinton lost his election, Hillary Clinton felt her choice, regarding a last name, was no choice at all. Nor was that the only choice closed off to her. After the difficult conception and birth of their daughter, Chelsea, friends say, she would have liked to have more children, but her hopes were never realized.

As an advocate for children, Hillary already knew something about the zero-sum nature of choice. In her often-misrepresented paper for the Harvard Educational Review (the so-called childhood-equals-slavery argument), she wrote that parents should not always have sole decision-making power over how to raise a child. Or even over whether to raise the child at all. That is, she argued that in difficult custody battles, children—not parents—should decide whom they wanted to live with, even if that meant adoption by a loving foster parent.

The primacy of a child's well-being is a position she has stuck with. In contrast to her liberal image, she is on record deploring "casual attitudes about divorce," arguing in *It Takes a Village* as well as her newspaper columns that for the sake of familial stability, divorce should be harder to obtain—that once two adults have made a choice to marry, their subsequent choices should be constrained, if necessary, by the state. Addressing her own marriage in a 1996 column, she wrote that she and Bill had learned to "bite our tongues when we need to. And like many other couples, we've learned to confront problems before they've reached irreparable proportions."

It was a cheerful spin on an unpleasant situation. In the 1992 presidential campaign, the emergence of Gennifer Flowers and her tearful allegations of a 12-year affair with the governor (which, by this account, would have been ongoing when Hillary was taking his name, cam- *continued on page 22*



continued from page 10

paigning on his behalf and bearing his child) had forced her to make another decision. She would go on "60 Minutes," confront the womanizing allegations, defend her own decision to stay with Bill, and keep him in the race. "I'm not sitting here—some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette," she said passionately but puzzlingly, raising the still-open question: If she wasn't Tammy Wynette, who was she?

"I think she was talking about blind faith versus making a conscious choice," explains Mandy Grunwald. "I think what she was saying was, this is a conscious choice. I choose to be with this man. I am not stuck here, I am not blindly staying here. I do this with wide-open eyes."

Whether it's always better to make a conscious choice rather than a blind one is not entirely clear. What is clear is that—as in her notorious comment that she could have stayed home and baked cookies—Hillary Clinton chose to define herself against some presumably lesser woman. At that point, she was not exactly making an egalitarian argument for women's choices. Six years later, in January 1998, she would again go open-eyed on national television, this time with Matt Lauer of the "Today" show, to defend her husband amid allegations about his affair with Monica Lewinsky.

After she had assured Lauer that the allegations were untrue, Lauer asked her a hypothetical. If it did emerge that an American president had had an affair in the White House and covered it up, would that be a serious matter?

"If all that were proven true, I think that would be a very serious offense," she replied. "That is not going to be proven true." She did not say *true*, she said *proven true*. It was not going to be *proven true*. What was the purpose of this lawyerly, Clintonesque parsing? Were Hillary's eyes open or closed?

Her staff and friends insist she honestly did not know the truth; that only much later, in August, did she learn that her husband had indeed had an affair with Lewinsky, had lied to her about it, and sent her out to lie to the nation. "He betrayed her," says her former press secretary Neel Lattimore. "He betrayed her personally and professionally."

But regardless of what she may or may not have known or suspected, what choice did she have? Her interview had been scheduled before the Lewinsky scandal broke. Her only choice was whether to cancel or not.

"To cancel," Grunwald says, "would have been politically deadly."

In other words: Given who she was, and where she was, and what had happened, at that moment she had no choice at all.

Not if the Clintons wanted to remain, to use a familiar phrase, politically viable.

"She sings a woman's song—our song—choice is a complex matter," says Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, introducing the first lady a few days after the State of the Union speech. "A right both profound and personal, but a right nonetheless."

On stage this day, the paths of Hillary Clinton and the paths of the women's movement—or one important wing of it—are once again crossing, more than a generation after they both got their public start. The first lady is the keynote speaker at a glitzy Omni Shoreham luncheon to celebrate the 30th anniversary of NARAL.

"The greatest of American freedoms is choice," says a new NARAL television ad campaign. The ad is being shown on huge television screens to women who are sitting at tables, wearing long skirts or short skirts or medium-length skirts or slacks; wearing bras or not wearing bras; long flowing hair or straight short hair or dreadlocked hair or plain gray hair or radically dyed white hair; boots or sensible pumps or clunky platforms. The only fashion item about which there is not limitless choice is, apparently, shoe color. Whatever style, it seems, the shoes must be black.

In the hotel lobby is a man who volunteers for Voters for Choice, because men, too, can favor choice. So can Republicans. The first speaker is Selwa "Lucky" Roosevelt, who describes herself pointedly as a "pro-choice Republican who speaks for millions of other pro-choice Republicans."

Who here would speak against choice? Nobody, not even the family of Barnett Slepian, the Upstate New York doctor murdered because he made the difficult choice to do what he saw as his job, which consisted not only of delivering babies but also performing abortions. Slepian's wife is here, but too grief-stricken to take the stage to receive a posthumous award for her husband. After a moment of silence, there are speeches by, among others, Dana Delany, star of "Choices of the Heart: The Margaret Sanger Story." Then Hillary Clinton, who takes the stage to characteristically thunderous applause.

Today, she's announcing that the administration has asked for $4.5 million for defending vulnerable abortion clinics against attacks. In addition, she outlines what Michelman describes as the first "comprehensive integrated reproductive health framework" any administration has ever presented.

Which is to say, she talks not about abortion but about choice. "Being pro-choice is not being pro-abortion," asserts the first lady, who helped coin the administration's stated goal of making abortion "safe, legal and rare."

Choice can indeed mean choosing to have an abortion, her message runs, but it can also mean choosing to use contraception, choosing not to have sex, choosing to have a whole gaggle of kids. All of these are choices the administration supports. In addition to the money to defend clinics, she cites proposals as specific as forcing insurance plans to pay for contraception and increasing money for international family planning, and efforts as vague as filling teenager's lives with "meaningful activities" instead of sex.

Hillary Clinton has always shared a "broader understanding of what it means to be pro-choice," says Michelman. When she said the first lady embodies the complexity of choice, she explains, she was talking not about her marriage but about her support for abortion, family planning—and families.

In 1992, Hillary CONFRONTED THE WOMANIZING ALLEGATIONS ON '60 MINUTES.' 'I'M NOT SITTING HERE—SOME LITTLE WOMAN STANDING BY MY MAN LIKE TAMMY WYNETTE,' SHE SAID, RAISING THE STILL-OPEN QUESTION: IF SHE WASN'T TAMMY WYNETTE, WHO WAS SHE?

"There may have been those who thought that in the early stage of the contemporary women's movement, the choice to be at home with your family and to be a wife and mother . . . was somehow not as worthy a choice," says Michelman. "[But] the very purpose of the women's movement was to expand choices. To respect choices. I have always been concerned that women across the country, and men as well, understand that the choices women make are equal in value."

The choices are equal in value. The important thing is to have one. What the women's movement wanted, Michelman and other leaders emphasize, was to make sure women don't feel stuck. That they don't feel choiceless because of poverty or dependence. Or even by their own physiology: "I tended to be very fertile," Michelman recalls, and as a result she suffered through a pre-*Roe* abortion and almost died from taking the Pill early on, when the levels of hormones were far higher. Raising three young daughters, alone, after her husband left her for another woman, she learned what *stuck* feels like. "I'm just old enough," she says, "not to have had the choices."

Hillary, she thinks, does have choices. "She's chosen to stay with her husband . . . when clearly there have been times, in addition to the current one, that have been so painful. I don't think we should be judging that choice . . . You have to be able to allow for the personal choices people make that are really embedded in their own moral and ethical value structures."

So that's where we are. Personal choices are embedded in the individual's own moral and ethical value structure. Given this, are there any choices she would *not* salute?

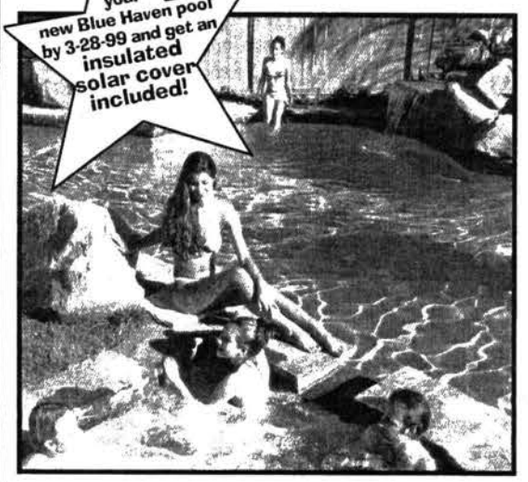
Michelman hesitates. There is domestic violence. She wouldn't salute a woman staying with a physically abusive husband. And there is something else. "I, for instance, wouldn't salute a woman leaving her family. And yet I had a friend—I struggled with this—I had a friend who left her family because she couldn't be a mother. She just couldn't. She had two children and made the decision to leave her family, leave her marriage . . . That was one of the hardest things for me to cope with: trying to understand how a woman could leave her children."

"Yet," she says, "I have enormous respect for the fact that there might be circumstances where you would have to."

"We don't push any choice on anyone," stresses Cherien Dabis, a 22-year-old staff member of the Feminist Majority Foundation, an Arlington-based organization that skews younger than other mainstream feminist groups. Together with three twentysomething colleagues, Dabis is sitting in a cybercafe on Wilson Boulevard, talking about feminism—and about Hillary

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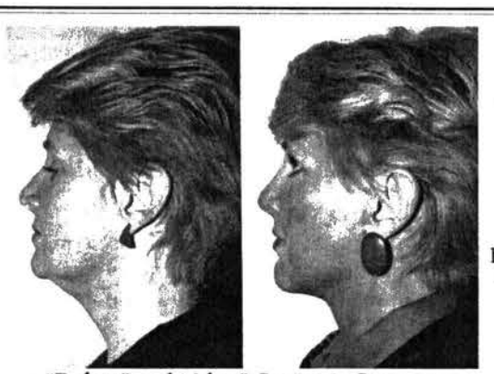
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Clinton, who, they all think, totally rocks.

"She keeps moving forward," says Niyati Shah, who, like the rest, watched the first lady admiringly at the NARAL event.

"She's made a choice in which she feels empowered," says Dabis.

"That's what feminism is about," says Sarah Boonin. "It's about access to choices."

"I think she knows she has certain choices to make," says Summer Damon, "especially if she wants to go into politics in the future. She's able to separate the personal from the political."

She's able to *separate the personal from the political.* Truly, we've come a long way, baby. For these younger, third-wave feminists, Hillary Clinton represents what could be called the supermarket theory of feminism, or, alternatively, the lipstick-is-okay-and-no-lipstick-is-okay-too theory of feminism. The I'm-okay-you're-okay theory of feminism. A theory in which any choice or way of life is okay as long as it doesn't involve judging other choices or ways of life. As Boonin puts it, "Feminism is about the interconnection between sexism, racism, classism and homophobia.

"The isms," she acknowledges with a grin, "and the phobias."

Boonin was on the team that devised the foundation's new "Choices" campaign, an effort that, as much as anything, shows how "choice" has broadened as a feminist concept to embrace not only reproductive rights but all of a woman's life. Part of the Choices campaign is devoted to defending abortion clinics against vigilantes. But the other part aims to awaken young women to the possibilities open to them in life. One Choices project, for example, sends college women to high schools to coach girls in career options. Actually, the real idea is to open them to *progressive* career options—they teach them how to write a "progressive résumé"—but even so, any choice would be okay.

Like, say, if a high school girl told her Choices counselor that she wanted to pursue a career in cosmetology? That would be okay, from a feminist point of view?

"That's a choice she's making," says Damon. She could do their hair, the women joke.

If a young girl wanted to make a fortune on Wall Street?

"We need to be all over the place," says Dabis.

What if a young girl wanted to drop out of school and have kids?

"It happens," says Damon.

What if a young girl decided she wanted to join the antiabortion group Operation Rescue?

"That would make me wonder," says Shah, "how informed is this decision."

Because that's the goal: giving girls information about what they can do. Information is access. Information is power. Hillary Clinton, they feel, is informed about her options and so any choice she makes is okay. If she's staying in her marriage now in order to keep open the possibility of a Senate campaign—as Damon, for one, suspects—that makes sense. She wants to maximize her choices. After all, she's able to separate the political from the personal. The political matters. Ideologically, the personal doesn't. "I don't know if adultery is a feminist issue," says Damon.

And so naturally, when these women are asked what they sit around and worry about when they sit around and worry about their lives, it isn't personal lives. It isn't homes. It isn't boyfriends. It isn't kids. It isn't who does the dishes. It isn't balancing work and family.

It's glass ceilings and lack of access to power. "We all want," they say sincerely, with the hope and terror of the young, "to do so much."

But when asked why they are feminists, they all cite personal reasons. Familial reasons. For Sarah Boonin, her feminism started in what she acknowledges is a laughable way: Once, when she was a kid, she wasn't allowed to go to the circus, and her brother was allowed to go, and she thought this was sexist so she put a placard on a popsicle stick and "picketed dinner." Summer Damon, who was raised with her siblings by a single mom, remembers being a really good baseball player—not softball but baseball—and trying to play with boys who ridiculed her. Niyati Shah's family is from India, though she grew up in the United States, and she remembers having her own consciousness raised when she went to India and met many women who had suffered sexual abuse.

And Cherien Dabis is Christian Arab, she explains. Her mom is Jordanian, her dad Palestinian. She has four sisters. She always felt, growing up, that her father was disappointed by having all these girls. It was something her mother and father fought over. "He always called her ultra-feminist," she remembers. It wasn't a compliment.

"It ended bitterly," she says matter-of-factly, "in a divorce."

"Where do human rights begin?" the speaker asks. "In small places, close to home, so close and small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person—the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm or office where he worked. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination.

"Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere."

Where do human rights begin? In small places. Close to home. So said Hillary Clinton, quoting Eleanor Roosevelt, in a 1997 speech to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Because, in fact, Hillary Clinton does not generally exhibit the cool, postmodern, multicultural, anything-goes supermarket philosophy of the sort that American feminists adopt toward her. She doesn't share the "whatever" attitude of, say, social historian Ann Douglas, who in a recent Vogue profile celebrated Hillary Clinton for abandoning feminism's old tendency to worry about curbing "masculine immorality." Feminism is no longer about making men behave, to their wives or girlfriends or even, presumably, their employees, says Douglas. Feminism is on to other things.

Is it? In many ways, Hillary Clinton is much more like the moralizing feminists of

'I don't think she could **HAVE SAID, "YOU GO TO THE WILLARD AND I'M STAYING HERE,"' MANDY GRUNWALD SAYS OF THE FIRST LADY'S ALTERNATIVES AFTER THE MONICA LEWINSKY SCANDAL BROKE. 'I DON'T THINK THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN AN OPTION.'**

the late 19th century than almost any other American woman one can think of. And where these views emerge most clearly is on the international stage. Since the latter part of her first term as first lady—having been advised that she needed to keep a lower profile if her husband wanted to get reelected—her most visible domestic activities have been feel-good crusades such as her millennium project and a book about the White House pets called *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy.* But she has also continued to travel around the world, where she can speak more freely, condemning discriminatory practices like genital mutilation and inheritance laws that favor men.

The most famous of these speeches was at the 1995 U.N. Conference on Women in Beijing, where she expressed the view that "women's rights are human rights." But in virtually every speech abroad, she finds a way to speak out against practices that degrade and humiliate women. She's making the case for moral *in*tolerance, for curbing masculine immorality. She's Carrie Nation. She's Harriet Beecher Stowe. She's an abolitionist. She's a missionary. She's a temperance worker wielding a hatchet.

None of this choices-are-embedded-in-individual-values business.

"In too many places," she argued in the 1997 speech, "the suffering of women is defined as trivial, explained away as a cultural phenomenon." Explicitly rejecting a multicultural approach to women's issues, she spoke out against governments that encourage or ignore domestic violence, or force young women into the commercial sex trade, or banish them to sweatshops. She spoke out against the Taliban's treatment of women in Afghanistan. Against denying women schooling or inheritances. Against "inequitable divorce laws" that force women to stay in "cruel marriages."

Mostly, she's asking governments to change their ways. But she is also asking women and girls themselves—women and girls in countries where the stakes are very, very high—to demand schooling; to demand new divorce laws; to refuse to be genitally mutilated; to start small businesses with "microcredit," the tiny loans that enable them to buy a sewing machine or a loom or a cow. To stand up and change the world they live in. The world close to home.

Because for women—as for no other group—empowering them does mean empowering them in their personal lives. Their bodies. Their bedrooms. Their daily routines. Their checkbooks. There is no way around it. The personal is political.

And sometimes the hardest place to be a feminist is at home.

Oddly enough, Hillary Clinton seems to be one of the few remaining people willing to say this.

"I don't think she could have said, 'You go to the Willard and I'm staying here,'" Mandy Grunwald acknowledges. "I don't think that would have been an option."

That is to say, when the Lewinsky scandal broke, it would have been impossible for Hillary Clinton to kick Bill Clinton out of the White House, as an ordinary wife could have done. She may be empowered; she may have more money than he does; she may even have a more interesting political future. But she is, just now, living in one of the few residences in the country from which a wife may not eject her adulterous spouse. Even so, Grunwald asserts, she could have left if she'd wanted to. She could have taken her popularity, and her power base, and gone to the Willard herself. "She has now built an international reputation on these women and family issues."

But she has also built a reputation on sticking with her husband. In the past year, Hillary Clinton's favorability rating has risen steadily, a surge in popularity that's demonstrably linked to her decision to stand by her man. Before the affair, she "was a lightning rod for people who have a problem with powerful women," says Andrew Kohut of the nonpartisan Pew Research Center. "Since the [president's] mea culpa, she is a much more sympathetic figure." According to Kohut, 57 percent of the American public had a favorable view of Hillary Clinton in January 1997. A little over a year and a half later—just after the president's public confession—that number had risen to 66 percent. Her big gains were with more culturally conservative groups such as older people; less well-educated Americans; and men, especially what Kohut calls the "testosterone set."

And for the first time, women who didn't go to college—the Tammy Wynettes, shall we say?—felt exactly the same way about Hillary Rodham Clinton as those who did go to college.

Which is to say, they felt pretty good.

"She is better regarded as a wounded woman," Kohut says, "than she was as a powerful woman who doesn't bake cookies."

Why didn't she leave? While she declined to be interviewed for this article, some observers say that the Clintons are affectionate in private and conclude they remain deeply in love—a pretty notion but one that's hard to confirm about any married couple, much less this one. Grunwald points, too, to Hillary's position on divorce and her commitment to family. "I don't think this is paradise for her," Grunwald says. "And I think that people who are cynical and think she's made this choice because she has chosen power, misunderstand their relationship and misunderstand her belief in marriage and family . . . They miss how much pain is there, people who think this is a political choice. If that were true, there would be no pain. That would be easy."

Or perhaps, like Ingrid Bergman in "Notorious" (who accepts marriage to the Nazi, Claude Rains, to collect intelligence and prove her own patriotism), Hillary Clinton made her choice for what she saw as the good of the country. But whatever the reason, one thing is clear: To the extent that feminists cheer Hillary, to the extent that they harness themselves to her popularity, they are harnessing themselves to a woman who is popular specifically because she has made a very traditional choice, to stand by her man despite his infidelity, despite his workplace misbehavior, despite allegations of sexual harassment of other women. Because of the Lewinsky scandal, then, there's been a split between what Hillary Clinton does as a political figure and what she symbolizes as a wife.

What she does, as a political figure, is work on behalf of all women—working women who need after-school child care, stay-at-home moms who need to keep their Social Security benefits—to shore up their choices. But what she symbolizes, as a wife, is *not* choice. She symbolizes a narrow idea of how women should behave. And this symbolism goes a long way in explaining why she's suddenly so popular.

"There is a tremendous amount of reinforcement to the traditional role of women," reflects Faye Wattleton, who is now the head of the research-oriented Center for Gender Equality. "We are products of a long tradition of subservience. The official structures that open the choices to us do not necessarily change our conditioning and mentality as women."

In this split—the liberalism of her words and the traditionalism of her actions—Hillary Clinton is in sync with a poll the center conducted, which found a reactionary streak among many American women. Or rather, an increasing belief that women can retain equality in the world and the workplace even if they relinquish it, to some degree, in the private sphere. For example, the poll found, almost all women think they should be treated equally with regard to employment, bank loans and schooling. But 44 percent believe divorce should be more difficult to obtain; 70 *continued on page 29*

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percent favor some restrictions on abortion; and 36 percent agree with the Southern Baptist dictum that wives should "submit graciously" to the leadership of their husbands.

Which brings us back to the supermarket metaphor. Women, says Wattleton, believe they can pick and choose what they want from their value systems. That they can stand down in the hard household arguments, and still hold their own in the workplace and the world.

It's not just women, either, who like the idea of picking and choosing. Thanks in part to the success of this feminist rhetoric, suddenly everybody wants to be about choice. The more embattled a special interest, the more important choice becomes; you could say, in fact, that choice has become the last defense of scoundrels. "The individual right to choose to own firearms is essential to a free people," exhorts an ad for the National Rifle Association. The tobacco lobby, too, has hit upon choice as a concept to defend smoking against big government.

The notion of choice has spread so deeply in our culture that it's now being used to excuse anything and, basically, change the subject. Right now, feminists are using it to excuse away a genuinely troubling contradiction between the first lady's public sphere and her private one.

In fact, it could be argued that just now, Hillary Clinton symbolizes not choice but the limitations of choice. What she illustrates is that we are inevitably the product of other choices we've made; that once we make a choice, we lose other choices; that some choices are, frankly, lousy; and most of all, that choices sometimes clash. The first lady is on record as opposing divorce, and—unlike many other "family values" proponents—she has so far lived by her creed. On the other hand, she is also on record as being against the degradation and humiliation of women, something of which her husband seems indisputably guilty.

Sometimes, you really can't have it both ways. Sometimes you do have to choose. Run for the Senate? Head for the hills? Start a new life? Start a foundation? These may all be tempting options. But other choices have been irretrievably taken away from her by her own actions and—more often—the actions of Bill Clinton. Contrary to the fond assertions of her defenders, Hillary did not choose to end up where she is just now. Presumably what she would choose, if she could choose, is a family unblemished by betrayal. A future unmarred by scandal. A public persona unclouded by suffering. Given this, what she has is not "choice." What she has are merely choices. ■

Liza Mundy is a staff writer for the Magazine.

DURER

continued from page 18

Durer collection and other art objects, he ended up living out his life in the family villa on the French Riviera. He died in December 1978, at the age of 91.

As the Cold War wound down and local nationalist sentiment began to reemerge in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, museum curators in Lvov began asking questions about what had happened to the city's magnificent Durer collection. The case of the missing Durers bubbled into a political issue in Ukraine. In December 1991, the Kremlin asked foreign governments for assistance in returning the Lvov Durers "to their rightful owners." By the end of the year, the Soviet Union had fallen apart and Ukraine had gained international recognition as an independent country.

The Ukrainian claim gathered momentum with the publication of an article in the influential Art Newspaper of London in April 1995 suggesting that the drawings rightfully belonged to Lvov. The article, which largely accepted the Ukrainian version of events, has become the basis for much of the subsequent discussion about the Lubomirski Durers. But both the Art Newspaper and the Ukrainian curators omit any mention of the 1866 document drawn up at the time of the founding of the Lubomirski museum that set very precise conditions on the bequest. Without this document, it is difficult for anyone to understand why the U.S. government returned the Durers to Prince George at the end of the war.

Lubomirski descendants insist that—whoever else may have claim to the Durers—the Ukrainians most certainly do not. "My family were Polish aristocrats. They would not have left their art to Ukrainians," says Anthony Potulicki, who now lives in New York. "The museum was set up as an endowment by my family for *Polish* culture. It had nothing to do with Ukraine."

But Laryssa Krushelnytska, the woman who last November faxed the National Gallery with the Ukrainian claim, cites a clause in an agreement drawn up in 1823 in which Prince Heinrich Lubomirski first declared his intention to donate his books and works of art to a museum to be established on behalf of the Polish people by his friend Count Ossolinski. This clause states that "once items are put into the library, they are to constitute an integral part of it . . . and should remain in it permanently." In her view, this means that the works of art should never have been allowed to leave Lvov, now known by its Ukrainian name, Lviv.

Poland also has asserted an interest in the Lubomirski Durers, if not a formal claim. After the war, many of the books and works of art from the former Lubomirski museum and Ossolinski Institute were transferred from Lvov to the city of Wroclaw in western Poland as "a gift from the people of Ukraine." In 1995, after the collapse of communism, the institute was officially reconstituted in Wroclaw.

The deputy director of this new Ossolinski Institute, Dobryslawa Platt, says that the Americans were right to return the Durer drawings to the Lubomirski family. She doubts, however, that Prince George had the right to sell the drawings. The Lubomirski bequest 133 years ago provided for the return of works of art from the Lubomirski family to the museum if the Ossolinski Institute was reconstituted within 50 years of its abolition. "It seems that George had a duty to wait for 50 years before dispersing the collection," says Platt.

Given the time that has elapsed since the State Department's 1950 decision, it is unlikely that any of the Lubomirski Durers, "Male Nude" included, will ever be prized away from American and European museums through legal action. But the secrecy surrounding the Durers' restitution and the complexity of the legal issues involved guarantee continuing controversy.

For their part, National Gallery officials say that they are undertaking a systematic look at the provenance of the 101,000 works of art in the museum's collection—including "Male Nude"—and will treat serious claims on their merits.

"We do very thorough checks before we make new acquisitions," says Earl A. "Rusty" Powell III, the director of the National Gallery. "We have not found any problems to date . . . What we have seen so far casts doubt on the [Ukrainian] claim."

While the National Gallery has attempted to screen its collection for evidence of lootings—and standards have been tightened since the worldwide controversy erupted two years ago over Holocaust-era assets—it has also been skittish about admitting potentially embarrassing facts. There was no mention of the Hitler connection, for instance, to "Male Nude" when the drawing last went on display, in 1997 in the "Six Centuries/Six Artists" exhibition. Similarly, the gallery's Web site, *www.nga.gov*, provides what seems like a detailed provenance for the drawing but omits any reference to Kajetan Muhlmann, Adolf Hitler or Prince George Lubomirski.

Which is strange because, had it not been for these lovers of Durer, "Male Nude" would still probably be sitting in Lvov. ■

Michael Dobbs, a reporter on The Post's Investigative staff, last wrote for the Magazine about Madeleine Albright's Jewish heritage.

NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1999

The Giuliani Pile-On

City Comptroller Alan Hevesi showed class — and considerable courage — the other day: He refused to jump on the Al Sharpton-led bandwagon that's trying to cripple Mayor Giuliani's political career.

On Thursday, Hevesi made what is becoming an obligatory trip by New York Democrats to Washington for a private audience with Hillary Rodham Clinton on the U.S. Senate race. Mrs. Clinton, obviously eager for ammunition to use against Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate, asked Hevesi about the Amadou Diallo case.

To his credit, Hevesi refused to take the bait. He pointedly declined to criticize the mayor's handling of the situation, noting that Giuliani had offered to meet with the Diallo family and pay their funeral expenses, and had attended the slain man's memorial service.

Indeed, Hevesi said, "I think substantially in this case the mayor has acted appropriately." This, he said, despite the fact that Giuliani has become "a lightning rod" for protests.

That defines the situation exactly. As we've noted before, the ongoing protest marches and celebrity "civil disobedience" have less to do with the shooting of Amadou Diallo and more to do with Rudy Giuliani.

That, of course, is why Sharpton & Co. are marching against the mayor and don't even mention Bronx DA Robert Johnson, who is in charge of the investigation and whose grand jury is hearing the evidence. That's why the signs carried by those same demonstrators don't refer to Diallo but instead outrageously compare the mayor to Adolf Hitler and call for his arrest.

But Sharpton and his cohorts are not alone in the use of over-the-top and disingenuous rhetoric in this case. Public Advocate Mark Green's call for Police Commissioner Howard Safir's resignation is among the more ridiculous suggestions.

Indeed, talk of "the proven failure of this Police Department under Commissioner Safir" makes us wonder what city Mark Green lives in. It certainly isn't today's New York.

In a similar vein is Thursday's statement by American Jewish Committee leaders at City Hall that they "stand with those people who are afraid to walk the city's streets."

Huh? Few, if any, New Yorkers are afraid to walk the streets these days. And that fact is the achievement of this mayor and his police commissioners, including Howard Safir. The unprecedented drop in crime is felt in all neighborhoods — including the one in which Amadou Diallo was killed.

Giuliani's opponents — save for Alan Hevesi — see a golden opportunity to make political capital, at the expense of the city's greater good.

But few will answer the mayor's pointed request to a caller on his radio show: "Tell me what you would do if you were me that's different from what I'm doing."

NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1999

Case would haunt 'Sen. Rudy' at city polls

By DAVID SEIFMAN
City Hall Bureau Chief

Suddenly, Mayor Giuliani has to worry about his numbers in New York City.

Before the explosive Amadou Diallo case, Giuliani could justifiably view himself as the candidate to beat in the race for U.S. Senate.

Giuliani's strategy was simple: As a Republican, he could count on winning upstate and the suburbs — even against First Lady Hillary Clinton. And, with a solid record of accomplishment, he hoped to roll up enough votes in New York City to offset the enormous edge that Democrats usually enjoy here.

"If a Republican candidate gets 35 to 40 percent [in the city], he's probably a winner statewide," political consultant Jerry Skurnik explained.

That figure seemed well within reach — until the Diallo controversy sent the mayor's popularity ratings tumbling.

The latest New York Times poll shows Mrs. Clinton leading 48 to 39 percent, with Giuliani winning the suburbs and upstate but getting clobbered in the city, 66 to 25 percent.

ANALYSIS

If the First Lady runs, Giuliani can probably forget about capturing a significant segment of the minority vote.

That means the mayor has to demonstrate to liberal white voters — the same ones who deserted David Dinkins in 1993 — that he's capable of dealing with legitimate minority concerns in a measured way.

Giuliani didn't do himself any favors last year when he derisively dismissed the findings of his own panel on police-community relations. The panel was appointed in the wake of the Abner Louima case.

In fact, Police Commissioner Howard Safir claims the NYPD has now adopted 84 percent of the recommendations. If that's so, why did Giuliani have to denigrate the panel?

One insider said Giuliani is well aware of the tensions that exist between minorities and cops.

"The mayor is not insensitive to this problem," the insider said.

On his WABC-radio show yesterday, Giuliani tried to demonstrate his evenhandedness, even asking one critic: "Tell me what you would do if you were me that's different from what I'm doing."

But with the Diallo case entering its seventh week in the headlines, it appears many voters still need convincing that the mayor can't do more.

White House muscle may bruise Giuliani

Analysts see high-level help for Hillary

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

It's no coincidence that the White House and its Democratic allies are suddenly roughing up New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani over a police brutality case, according to several Democrats and independent analysts.

They believe that a series of strategically timed events — from a recent speech by President Clinton on excessive police force to a series of sit-in protests waged by Rep. Charles B. Rangel, former Mayor David Dinkins and others — is being orchestrated by the White House to help Hillary Rodham Clinton in a potential U.S. Senate race against Mr. Giuliani.

Amid growing speculation that Mrs. Clinton is warming to a campaign, her husband devoted his weekly radio address last Saturday to a condemnation "of recent allegations of serious police misconduct" — without specifically mentioning the slaying in New York of Amadou Diallo, an immigrant from West Africa.

"If you believe Clinton's remarks were coincidental, 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," said Dick Morris, Mr. Clinton's former political adviser.

Meanwhile, Mr. Giuliani's office made it clear yesterday that it suspects the White House is involved in stoking the controversy for political purposes.

Colleen Roche, a spokesman for the mayor, questioned the motives of a Justice Department decision to broaden its probe of the slaying after Mrs. Clinton talked to Democratic officials about the case.

"The timing of this is very curious. [Attorney General] Janet Reno makes this announcement on the same day that Hillary expresses an interest in Amadou Diallo," she said.

Democrats suspect that veteran

see **HILLARY**, *page A4*

HILLARY

From page A1

New York political operative Harold Ickes, who was Mr. Clinton's former deputy chief of staff and is now a key political adviser to Mrs. Clinton, has been encouraging and coordinating the actions to undermine Mr. Giuliani's job approval ratings.

"It's not a stretch to tie it all together. Ickes was a chief strategist in both Dinkins' races for mayor, he's active in New York politics and he's advising the first lady," said Bill Cunningham, a New York Democratic strategist.

"You can see Ickes' hand in all of this. These things don't just happen by themselves," said another New York Democratic consultant who did not want to be identified.

New York pollster John Zogby said, "It's all carefully managed and orchestrated, with this caveat: that can't take away the fact that the slaying of Diallo was a horrific, tragic event.

"What they are trying to do is neutralize the whole Giuliani message, which is that he made the impossible happen — New York works and crime is down dramatically," Mr. Zogby said.

Mr. Giuliani has been under increasing criticism in the news media for the shooting death last month of the unarmed Mr. Diallo by four police officers who shot him 21 times. The case, which the mayor said "was a horrible thing," is now being investigated by a grand jury.

> *"If you believe Clinton's remarks were coincidental, you sure don't know Hillary."*
> —*Dick Morris*

Emile Milne, Mr. Rangel's chief spokesman, heatedly denied that there was any sort of coordination with the White House in the protest sit-ins that the Harlem Democrat supported.

"I have never heard of anything so insulting," Mr. Milne said. "All of this stuff going on is about a poor black being murdered."

Local and national news media have been focusing relentlessly on the shooting, driving Mr. Giuliani's already sagging job approval ratings in the city down to 47 percent, from 60 percent last November.

However, it does not seem to have hurt Mr. Giuliani statewide. A recent poll by Mr. Zogby had the mayor leading Mrs. Clinton 49-38 percent, although other polls show her in the lead or in a dead heat.

This week the mayor blamed the continuing "media frenzy" and what he said were partisan attacks on the police's handling of crime during his term for his lower job approval scores. Mr. Giuliani said "obsessive media concern" had created a public "misperception" about police conduct.

"In the last two years all civilian complaints are down totally by over 11 percent and force complaints are down by 23 percent," said a spokesman for the city's Police Department.

State polling experts say the mayor is right to blame the media for shaping public perceptions.

Pat Smith, chief pollster with the Quinnipiac College Poll, said he has been asking New Yorkers for years an open-ended question about what they consider "the most important problem facing New York."

"Police brutality never even registered, but our latest poll it is the top concern with 14 percent," Mr. Smith said. "So the mayor is right. The story has dominated the media and the media has shaped what people think."

But others said the White House and its allies were helping to fuel and exploit the controversy over the shooting through a series of protest sit-ins at police headquarters in the past two weeks.

But were these protests, which followed the president's speech, and other attacks on Mr. Giuliani merely coincidence?

"You could make the case that Morris is making and you could be right. All the players in this scenario Morris has come up with know each other. There is an overlay of politics here, there always is," Mr. Cunningham said.

N.Y. poll sees win for Clinton

NEW YORK – Hillary Rodham Clinton would beat Mayor Rudolph Giuliani by nine percentage points if the two were candidates for the Senate seat from New York and the election were held today, The New York Times reported yesterday. A New York Times/CBS News poll found that more voters view Clinton favorably than they do the New York City mayor. When asked which candidate they would vote for if the Senate election were held today, 48 percent said they would support Clinton and 39 percent said Giuliani. The Times/CBS News poll of 1,469 registered voters was conducted March 8-14. The margin of sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points. (Reuters)

First Lady To Appear At Rothman Fundraiser

■ FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton has agreed to speak next month at a fundraiser for Democratic **Rep. Steven Rothman**, who was one of President Clinton's most ardent defenders during the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings, the *Bergen Record* reported.

Republicans quickly derided the event as an example of the Clintons' fundraising activities for supporters during the impeachment process.

Rothman denied the charge, claiming he had been asking the White House for a visit for several years.

The event gives Rothman the opportunity to cash in on the first lady's popularity — and it also gives Clinton an opportunity to attract attention in the New York media market at a time when she is mulling a run for the seat of retiring **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, D-N.Y.

Newsday (New York, NY)

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HEADLINE: HILLARY POLISHES VIEW ON PALESTINE

BYLINE: By Liam Pleven. ALBANY BUREAU CHIEF; William Douglas contributed to this story.

DATELINE: Albany

BODY:

Albany - She played a controversial role in the health care debate of 1994, and the extent of her knowledge about the Whitewater land deal still draws attention.

For Jewish leaders, however, Hillary Rodham Clinton's statements about a Palestinian state - and recent attempts to clarify them - have become a primary concern in light of her possible bid to represent New York in the U.S. Senate.

Last May the first lady created a diplomatic furor when she told a group of Israeli and Arab teenagers, "I think that it will be in the longterm interest of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state." The White House immediately distanced itself from what President Bill Clinton's press secretary called "her views." The remarks were criticized by Jewish leaders for appearing to favor the Palestinian position at a delicate moment in peace negotiations. The comments were welcomed by Arab-American groups.

Since Hillary Clinton said on Feb. 17 that she is giving "careful thought" to the Senate race, the remarks have attracted renewed attention. In two meetings at the White House in the past month, prominent Jews, including a group of rabbis and state Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan), have quizzed her on the subject.

In both cases Hillary Clinton said her comments reflected conversations with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before his assassination in 1995, according to people present. The Clintons are presiding over a ceremony honoring Rabin's memory at the White House today.

"I asked her would she clarify her position on a Palestinian state. She made it clear that it's up to the two parties to negotiate a settlement," said Rabbi Marc Schneier, president of the New York Board of Rabbis, which met with Hillary Clinton on Feb. 22 - a day after Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential Republican opponent, said there was "no question" her views would be an issue in any race.

Silver, an Orthodox Jew, consulted with Hillary Clinton about a possible Senate bid Friday and said, "We talked about the need to have a clarification of her remarks about a Palestinian entity . . . She said he Rabin said it's very difficult to make peace with an unknown."

Silver said he urged Hillary Clinton to run for the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. And Schneier pronounced himself satisfied with her response on the Palestinian issue. "Based on her clarification, it would be a nonissue," Schneier said.

Other Jewish leaders disagree. "It's an issue that she'll be asked to address, to repeatedly address," said Malcolm Hoenlein, who heads the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Referring to the clarification described by Silver, Hoenlein added, "Mrs. Clinton's a very smart person and a lawyer, and her words do not say 'entity. "

Marsha Berry, Hillary Clinton's spokeswoman, did not respond to requests for comment, but Berry was recently quoted in The Forward, a Jewish weekly, as saying, "She hasn't changed her personal position."

Whether her comments and views would help or hurt if she ran is hard to determine, according to some. A negative reaction from Jewish voters might be somewhat offset by a positive response from Arab-Americans. More significantly, political observers said Jewish voters views on the subject vary. "The Jews are very much divided as to whether a Palestinian state . . . is a good alternative," said Nitza Druyan, director of the Long Island Center for Jewish Studies.

GRAPHIC: Photo - Hillary Rodham Clinton

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: March 19, 1999

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Wednesday, March 17, 1999

Why Hillary shouldn't run

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON is pondering, if not life after Bill, at least life after the White House.

She has teased the press and public with hints about running for the Senate from New York state, resulting in Hillary covers in Time and Newsweek and a frenzy of will-she, won't-she publicity. Some of her advisers are saying she should. Some are saying she shouldn't.

She shouldn't.

The Hillary-for-Senate boomlet has been fueled more by her celebrity status, and sympathy for her as a "wronged woman," than by sober appraisal of her potential legislative effectiveness. That effectiveness is not striking, judged on past performance. For example, her attempt to define and ram through a controversial health-care program in her husband's first term was a disaster. Mrs. Clinton has an agenda, but has not so far demonstrated the political astuteness and art of compromise to successfully implement it.



Nor is it clear how she would fare with the rough handling she would get from the irreverent New York press.

Were it not for the Clinton connection that has made her a national figure, few would see her as a stand-alone political figure with the experience of Christine Todd Whitman, or Dianne Feinstein, who have fought hard elections to gain office, or Elizabeth Dole, who has survived the vicissitudes of life in the Cabinet.

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, her likely opponent for the New York Senate seat, far from being apprehensive, is slavering over the prospect of a contest with Clinton. It would bring him national exposure and unlimited financing. And in the tough political climate of New York, he thinks he can exploit her political weaknesses and win. He believes he can get the upstate vote, and despite Manhattan's traditional liberal image, can make significant inroads there. The mayor, although sometimes controversial, is given widespread credit by New Yorkers for improving their quality of life. The garbage gets collected now, the streets get cleaned, and with a remarkable reduction in crime, the streets are safer. Without Manhattan, Clinton could not win.

Despite a lot of early Democratic gushing over the prospect of Clinton's candidacy, her strong initial standing in the polls has slipped. Some of her political missteps, as for instance on the future of a Palestinian state, have cost her support with some of New York's Jewish community.

Some pundits have speculated that if Clinton ran, and won the New York Senate seat, that would position her for a try for the presidency in later years. She is certainly young enough to build a power base, and a political career, of her own.

But if she ran with all the current advantages of celebrity and lost, that would probably be the end of it.

Whatever the decision she makes about New York, the ongoing publicity has only enhanced her marketability in other potential careers. Clinton has discussed with friends the merits of running a think tank or foundation, from which she might project her liberal political views. There has also been speculation that she might serve in an ambassadorial post or even as a Cabinet member in the administration of Al Gore, should he become the next Democratic president. The ambassadorial post might offer ceremonial glitz, but hardly a political platform. The Cabinet post, subservient to her husband's former vice president, would seem pointless.

From a purely financial point of view, the most lucrative venture Clinton could undertake would be book-writing. If the self-serving books of Monica Lewinsky and George Stephanopoulos can fetch the millions of dollars they have, a revelatory book by Hillary Clinton would be a monetary blockbuster. It could not, of course, be a dusty tome on public policy. In today's prurient book-publishing climate it would need to be a tell-all story about her life with Bill. It's just that chapter of her life that she seems intent on putting behind her.

■ *John Hughes, a former editor of the Monitor, is editor and chief operating officer of the Deseret News in Salt Lake City.*

GUEST COLUMN

Women, children need Hillary Clinton in Senate now

By LONNA SAUNDERS
Special to the Rockford Register Star

Why should our native daughter, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, run for the U.S. Senate in New York rather than here in Illinois?

Because she is needed in the U.S. Senate now. Not a long six years from now when the newly elected Republican Sen. Peter Fitzgerald is up for re-election. Not even four years from now when the Republican senator from Arkansas, Tim Hutchinson, stands before voters.

The membership of the U.S. Senate is less than 10 percent women in a nation where women comprise more than 50 percent of the population. There is work to be done on behalf of women and children now. Closing the wage gender gap, providing affordable, quality child care and after school programs, stopping the feminization of poverty and rebuilding our schools.

New York's jail budget is larger than its school budget, even though it costs more to send someone to prison than to send him to Harvard. One in three of America's children is a grade or more behind in school. One in seven is poor, despite having a parent or guardian who works.



Lonna Saunders

There is also work to be done for women and children overseas, for the U.S. Senate deals not only with domestic issues, but foreign relations as well. Just pick up the paper and you'll read about women whose faces and dreams have been ruined with splashed acid as their spurned suitors punish them with impunity in Bangladesh. Or the routine practice of female circumcision in many African and Asian nations, more accurately called "female genital mutilation" by human rights groups. The wholesale raping of women and children in Bosnia. Why haven't we tied our foreign aid to the eradication of these practices? How can we have peace when countries treat over half their own populations so shamefully?

Clinton knows the world's leaders personally. She can make a difference. As someone who has served in leadership positions with the American Bar Association and the Children's Defense Fund, promoting and fighting for the rights of women and children, she is needed to make a difference now.

New York's Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is a smart guy. He not only opposed the Senate convicting President Clinton, he opposed the House impeachment from the start. He supports a woman's right to choose and, like Hillary Clinton, he's a Yankee fan. She's also a Cubs fan. All of which is a way of saying if she decides to run for Senate in New York, Republican Mayor Giuliani will not oppose her. Because, despite the talk that the debate would be between different philosophies of governing, in many ways, Giuliani is a plain-clothes Democrat. He has to be to survive in New York City.

Besides, the state would be better served if he were to run for governor, anyway. And he knows it. He would be better served, too. Governors have a better shot at the presidency, historically.

No, her opponent, if she should run, will be recently defeated Sen. Al D'Amato. It will be Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate and cattle futures — or is that pork bellies? — all over again. But not to worry, Mrs. Clinton. Those questions have been asked and answered.

What is the worst that will happen to Clinton if she does run? Well, she could strike out. But then again, she could win. It's time for her to step up to the plate. She proved her ability to campaign and raise money. Now, it's time to deliver. You can't win the lottery if you don't buy a ticket. You can't hit a home run if you don't swing the bat. You can't make a difference if you're on the outside looking in.

You have been chosen, Mrs. Clinton, during this time in history to lend your voice to the debate, to speak out for those who can not speak and to whom no one will listen. Not just for women and children in this country and in New York, but for women and children around the world.

New York has always seen itself as a beacon of liberty from its majestic statue of a woman in its harbor to its huddled masses of immigrants yearning to breathe free. After all, if New York is not the melting pot of America, what is? Well, northern Illinois comes close. So we'll lend her to you.

Who else can take the mean-spiritedness that is now Washington and turn it around? President Andrew Johnson, after surviving impeachment, is the only president to become a senator after he left the presidency. So, let's give this precedent a millennium twist. Hillary Rodham Clinton, it's your turn. It's time for you to sign in, please, before it's too late.

Lonna Saunders is an attorney and Rockford resident.

Media take liberties calling Hillary liberal

Hype: Coverage of the first lady's interest in a Senate bid overlooks her ties to centrist policies.

By JEFF COHEN

LET ME acknowledge my bias up front: I subscribe to the old-fashioned notion that party activists and voters — not the mass media — should be the main players in nominating political candidates.

As for Hillary Rodham Clinton, her New York Senate candidacy — launched by political reporters left dangerously idle by the closing of Monica-gate — rocketed through the studios of "Crossfire" and "Nightline" to the covers of *Newsweek* and *Time*. A real grass-roots mobilization of the media elite. Not until the candidacy was in orbit did the candidate have time to consider her candidacy.

"Let's admit right from the outset," declared Chris Wallace in opening a Feb. 17 "Nightline" show on Clinton and the Senate race, "that what we're indulging in tonight may be one of the better examples of hype."

Indulge, they did. What's happened is that many in the media have grown too bored or self-important to cover politicians. Nowadays, they prefer covering celebrities.

No sooner had Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan announced his retirement than political reporters began bandying names of "viable" Democratic candidates that sounded more like a celebrity A-list. There was a Cuomo and a Kennedy. And a Clinton.

Lest the public become suspicious that the media pundits see themselves as too important to cover a run-of-the-mill politician, the conventional wisdom is served up that only a super-candidate can win — only a star like Hillary Clinton could defeat the likely GOP candidate, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Yet it wasn't too long ago that conventional wisdom in New York held that only a celebrity with national stature — namely, Geraldine A. Ferraro — could knock off powerful incumbent Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato. Along came noncelebrity politician Charles E. Schumer, who beat Ferraro 2-to-1 in the primary and then handily retired D'Amato, who became a TV pundit.

What's also frustrating about Hillary hype is how sloppy some of the reporting is. Repeatedly, the first lady has been identified as a "liberal" who will galvanize left-leaning constituencies among New York Democrats.

It's possible that Hillary Clinton might develop into a progressive Democrat. But her history suggests a different story.

Return to the March 1992 Illinois presidential primary, when Bill Clinton's campaign was rocked by charges (from the *Washington Post* and candidate Jerry Brown) of unethically close relations between Bill's Arkansas administrations and Hillary's law firm, which represented corporations regulated by the state, including the failed Madison Savings & Loan.

Many will remember — because it dominated campaign news for days — how Hillary used a feminist appeal to fend off attacks on her husband: "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided to do was pursue my profession."

Hardly noticed was her revealing response that day about her representation of Madison: "For goodness sakes," she answered, "you can't be a lawyer if you don't represent banks."

The fact is that most lawyers — from Arkansas to New York and beyond — don't represent banks, while many do represent the activist constituencies that Hillary, we are told, will be galvanizing during next year's campaign: such as unions, consumer and civil rights groups, and environmentalists.

These other lawyers are the kind who battle corporations such as Wal-Mart (with its anti-labor record) or Lafarge Corp. (with its poor environmental record), companies on whose boards Hillary Clinton has sat.

It's probably unfair to hold Hillary Clinton responsible for policies of her husband that anger progressive activists. But, while it's rare for a first spouse to object to a White House policy, it's not unheard of. Barbara Bush, for example, let it be known that she opposed her husband's anti-choice stance on abortion. Yet when President Clinton pushed through the NAFTA trade deal over the opposition of unions and consumer and environmental groups, his wife didn't speak out. When President Clinton signed the Republican welfare-reform bill over the protests of liberal groups, Hillary did speak out ... in support of the signing.

The one Clinton initiative for which Hillary can be held directly responsible is health care reform — a fiasco that many activists attribute not to the first lady's being a "true liberal" but a compromised pro-corporate politician. Her "managed competition" proposal was a convoluted, bureaucratic measure whose main goal seemed to be the survival of a handful of giant insurance companies.

While Hillary Clinton's proposal was savaged by Republicans as "socialism" and by smaller insurance firms in the "Harry and Louise" ads, the Big Five insurers — Aetna, Cigna, Metropolitan Life, Prudential and Travelers — did not oppose the plan. In fact, they helped draft it.

In the meantime, supporters of "single payer" national health insurance (a streamlined proposal to provide universal coverage by cutting bureaucracy) were organizing one of the biggest national grass-roots movements of the decade. Single payer was endorsed by labor unions, Consumers Union, Public Citizen and 100 members of Congress, including 80 percent of the House Democrats from New York state. It was an army in need of a general, but Hillary Clinton was off fighting a different war.

One aspect of Hillary media hype is indisputably true: She will be a "formidable fund-raiser" — in part because of her celebrity, but also because of her corporate-friendly background.

As for the idea that hordes of left-liberal activists breathlessly await candidate Hillary so they can storm the voting booths on behalf of her and their mutual causes, that's largely a fantasy on the part of an out-of-touch pundit elite. Many activists harbor doubts about her.

A major theme of the media hype has been speculation that in running for the Senate, Hillary Clinton will gain independence from her husband and shore up her feminist credentials. Only if she also declares independence from her husband's corporate-centrist policies will she begin to resemble the "true liberal" portrait that some in the media have painted.

Jeff Cohen is the founder of FAIR, the national media-watch group based in New York, and a panelist on Fox News Channel's "News Watch."

RK OBSERVER

JOE CONASON

Hillary Exposes Flaws In Rudy's Battle Plan

Even if Hillary Rodham Clinton ultimately chooses not to run for the U.S. Senate from New York, she already has done the state an important service by demonstrating the surprising vulnerability of her most likely Republican opponent. The recent wave of manic media coverage has emphasized the many difficult burdens Mrs. Clinton would shoulder in this hypothetical contest, but Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would have to run against her lugging some rather heavy baggage, too.



The most onerous load may well be Mr. Giuliani's own personality. Apparently, the more people see of the Mayor these days, the less they like him. With his repellent swaggering on the Sunday talk shows, he actually managed to push his poll numbers down by several points, leaving Mrs. Clinton with an 18-point lead in the latest survey taken by Quinnipiac College.

Polls at this early moment are only suggestive, not dispositive, yet they can provide certain clues about the relative strength of a well-known politician like Mr. Giuliani. The theory supporting a Giuliani Senate candidacy was that the Mayor would enter a statewide race with an unusually secure base in usually Democratic New York City. That urban base, combined with traditional Republican strength upstate, was supposed to make him the prohibitive favorite against any Democrat.



MEL KHAFO

RUDOLPH GIULIANI

Unfortunately for Hizzoner, he isn't nearly as popular as he used to be, even on his home turf. Over the past few months, his favorable rating in the city has dropped nearly 20 points and now hovers somewhere below 50 percent. Among his negatives is the police killing of Amadou Diallo, which has sunk his standing in the black and Latino communities where he formerly enjoyed growing approval. The result, in Quinnipiac's head-to-head matchup against Mrs. Clinton, is an overwhelming rejection of his potential Senate bid in the five boroughs, by nearly 40 points.

The Mayor fares better in the downstate suburbs, but upstate voters aren't exactly in love with him, and in fact they never were. Right now, Mrs. Clinton beats him in New York's northern and western regions, albeit by a much smaller margin than here in the city. National pundits who are shocked by those results probably don't remember (or never knew) that Mr. Giuliani's political endorsements have invariably hurt rather than helped his allies among upstate voters. Local political consultants often laugh about the "kiss of death" he administered to Mario Cuomo in 1994, to Bob Dole in 1996, and to Alfonse D'Amato last year. His incessant feuding with Gov. George Pataki is still another encumbrance.

So much for the prospect of an unbeatable Mr. Giuliani. To anyone familiar with New York's political history, he is merely the latest Mayor to believe, quite wrongly, that his local achievements would lift him like an enraptured saint into higher office. Ed Koch suffered from the same delusion after a series of stupid editorials in the *New York Post* convinced him to run for Governor in 1982. Despite his immense popularity as Mayor, Mr. Koch soon found out how worthless Rupert Murdoch's advice could be, when he lost the Democratic primary to a Lieutenant Governor named Mario Cuomo. And 10 years before the Koch debacle, John Lindsay bombed as a Presidential candidate. No New York Mayor has run successfully for Governor, Senator or President in more than a century.

Rudolph Giuliani is the latest Mayor to believe that his achievements would lift him like an enraptured saint into higher office.

That is not to say Mr. Giuliani should pass up the race; given term limits, his only other realistic choice would be to retire. He has a record of real accomplishment—though not quite as superlative as he boasts—and his moderate Republicanism is much needed by his impeachment-addled party.

But if the Mayor does find himself in a campaign against the First Lady, he would do well to follow his own advice of emphasizing philosophical differences rather than personal attacks. Assuming those remarks were sincere, he might direct that his political surrogates not bark too loudly at Mrs. Clinton about her marriage, her financial investments or her appearances before Kenneth Starr's grand jury. From all appearances, Mr. Giuliani is in no position to exploit anybody else's marital discord. Smirking references to the Clintons' problems will only draw unwanted attention to his domestic situation, and increase the gigantic gender gap.

Whenever he is tempted to mention Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate or any other moldy "scandal," the Mayor should remind himself about Mr. D'Amato—whose trajectory toward resounding defeat began with the Senate Whitewater hearings.

As for Mrs. Clinton's remark about a Palestinian state, Mr. Giuliani should think carefully before he opens his mouth again. Foreign policy always deserves serious discussion in a Senate race. Provincial pandering that undermines the Middle East peace process, however, will rekindle unpleasant memories of his past clumsy meddling in international affairs. And what will the Mayor say when Leah Rabin, the acerbic widow of Israel's late, great Prime Minister, shows up to slap him upside his comb-over?

bc-hillary-senate-comment
(ndy) (ATTN: Editorial Page editors)
The Unexpected Can Decide Elections
Guthman, who teaches investigative reporting at the University of Southern California, was Robert Kennedy's press secretary 1961-65.
By Edwin Guthman= Special to Newsday=

A word to Hillary Rodham Clinton as she gives ``careful thought'' to running for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat next year: Don't worry about being called a carpetbagger. The Republicans and some reform Democrats tried to hang that around Robert Kennedy's neck when he came to New York to challenge Sen. Kenneth Keating in 1964 and it wasn't a factor.

Sure, the political circumstances are different. In 1964, the New York political organizations were strong. When John English, the young Democratic boss in Nassau County; Peter Crotty of Buffalo; Stanley Steingut of Brooklyn; and other New York City leaders, including Mayor Robert Wagner, lined up for Kennedy, he had no trouble getting the Democratic nomination and plenty of help during the campaign.

But the personal circumstances are not all that different. In 1964, Kennedy was emerging slowly from the tragedy of his brother's assassination, uncertain about his future, wanting to emerge from John F. Kennedy's shadow and establish his own independent base to work on domestic problems and have some impact on national policy.

As Clinton weighs the pros and cons of coming into New York, she'll be slowly emerging from the long travail of President Clinton's impeachment, uncertain about what the future may hold and surely having earned a chance to emerge from her husband's shadow and work on the domestic and national problems that most concern her. But, if she runs, her Republican opponent won't be a well-respected, courtly senator seeking re-election as Keating was.

Going into the race in 1964, Kennedy said his biggest liability would be that he was from Massachusetts, though his family maintained an apartment in Manhattan and had substantial real estate holdings in New York City, Albany and White Plains. He also had lived much of his childhood and youthful years in Riverdale in the Bronx, and then in Bronxville in Westchester.

He leased a home on Long Island and buckled down to master some 36 lengthy position papers on New York subjects. When the campaign got under way in late August, the cries of ``carpetbagger'' were loud, but they dimmed as other issues came to the fore. Among the issues were nuclear arms, civil rights, education, housing and economic opportunity. All of them would still be available for Hillary Clinton to pursue.

Kennedy had predicted very accurately how the campaign would go:

``I'll draw huge crowds ... All attention will be on that, and it will last for about three weeks. I'll hit a low point around the first of October. The question will be whether I can turn it around and regain momentum.''

And that's exactly what happened. Early on, with Kennedy off to a booming start, Keating challenged him to a debate, but Kennedy didn't accept. When the tide turned in late September, Kennedy challenged Keating to debate, but Keating, being the front-runner, demurred.

Then in mid-October, the polls showed Kennedy back in the lead and it was Keating's turn to demand a debate. Kennedy agreed, but neither side would accept the other's format. Keating, in frustration, purchased a half-hour on CBS at 7:30 p.m. Oct. 28 one week before the election and announced he would debate an empty chair.

When Kennedy heard that, he bought a half hour at CBS at 8 p.m. and decided, with tight secrecy, to show up and occupy Keating's ``empty chair.'' At 7:29 p.m. Kennedy arrived, but CBS personnel blocked the studio door. When Kennedy demanded that Keating be told he was there, a CBS man did, returned and told Kennedy it was a paid political broadcast and he would not be admitted.

``You are obviously being unfair, this is dishonest,'' Kennedy said as TV cameras rolled. Then he went to the studio reserved for him and expected

Keating would come. He had decided to admit Keating and have their debate, but Keating didn't appear.

Instead, he darted out of his studio, brushing aside reporters waiting to question him. Keating ran past some stage props furniture and artificial trees which Keating aides pulled into the path of pursuing reporters and photographers, out a door, down two flights of stairs and out the building.

Television cameras caught the whole drama Kennedy demanding to be admitted to Keating's studio and Keating fleeing the scene with fake palm trees hurtling through the air behind him. That was the election. Kennedy won by 719,693 votes.

As the first lady wrestles with her decision, she can consider that when the last Democratic outsider ran for a New York Senate seat, the race was settled by an occurrence that no one could have anticipated not a pundit, a pollster or the wiliest political consultant.

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The New York Times

February 17, 1999, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 15; Column 6; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 727 words

HEADLINE: Liberties;
Ambition As an Address

BYLINE: By MAUREEN DOWD

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

It's a wacky moment in politics.

We could have a Bush, a Dole and a Clinton running in 2000, but not that Bush, that Dole or that Clinton.

George Bush, Bob Dole and Bill Clinton might step into the unaccustomed roles of kibitzers to son, wife and wife. If you combine all the elections of these veteran campaigners, it's a century of experience.

It's easy to imagine the three tireless pols, with no more campaigns of their own left to run, making a nuisance of themselves in their loved ones' races -- lecturing son, wife and wife on how to work the crowd in Sioux Falls or Niagara Falls. ("Arggggghhhh," Bob Dole grunts at Elizabeth's campaign manager.)

With Hillary Clinton pondering a New York Senate run and with Elizabeth Dole on the cusp of a Presidential run, there is a heady sense of dutiful political wives on the lam.

The press is thrilled at the prospect of distaff races. "Elizabeth Dole," one male reporter confided in me, "has the best nails in politics. Red and perfectly groomed."

Wild scenarios abound.

Picture St. Hillary running against St. Rudy in a battle of the righteous. The corporate lawyer who made $100,000 as a commodities trader simply, she says, by reading The Wall Street Journal vs. the prosecutor who had Wall Street traders dragged away in handcuffs.

Picture Liddy Dole being pestered with questions about her spouse being undersexed -- and then becoming a Viagra guinea pig and spokesman to cure "erectile dysfunction" in ads featuring 1-800 numbers -- even as Hillary is pestered with questions about her spouse being oversexed.

On "Meet the Press," Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan slyly tweaked the First Lady eyeing his seat, saying she would bring a blast of "Illinois-Arkansas

enthusiasm to New York." But we would expect Mrs. Clinton to carpetbag, renting an apartment or hotel room to run in New York. The Clintons have always seemed oddly deracinated and unmortgaged.

They have lived in public housing most of their married lives, and their vacation retreats are determined by poll numbers and rentals and the availability of their friends' houses.

When the specter lurked of President Clinton being forced from office, journalists wanted to make comparisons to a disgraced Richard Nixon flying off in a helicopter to San Clemente, but they couldn't figure out where the heck the Clintons would fly off to. All Bill Clinton has is a proposed library site in the river flats of Little Rock.

The Clintons, like the Doles and the Gores, have been more intent on scrambling up the political ladder than on nesting. Their ambition is their address. Their career is the pillow they nuzzle at night.

If Elizabeth Dole ends up running against Al Gore, it would be a contest between two toney Washington ZIP codes, between people who have lived within a few miles of the Capitol for the last 20 years.

At a time when the American public recoils from Washington insiders, here is a race of ultimate insiders.

"Let's forget the primaries," jokes Howard Fineman of Newsweek. "Let's make it who can get the best table at the Washington restaurant of their choice."

As Mr. Fineman has noted, the Doles have spent most of their adult lives in a two-mile-square area in downtown Washington. Bob Dole's idea of triangulation was to travel from the Watergate to Congress to the "Meet the Press" studio. He would appear on the Sunday talk show -- "the Church of Russert," Mr. Fineman calls it -- while Elizabeth went to the Presbyterian church next door.

As the son of Senator Al Gore Sr. of Tennessee, Prince Albert grew up as the capital's version of Eloise at the Plaza, ensconced in a three-bedroom apartment in the elegant Fairfax Hotel on Embassy Row. Sometimes, when his parents went out, the future Vice President would order room service from the hotel kitchen, now transformed into the pricey Jockey Club restaurant.

So, really, the race would be between the mahogany-stuffy Fairfax and the marble-stuffy Watergate, or between Massachusetts Avenue and Virginia Avenue, or between the Jockey Club, which offers rack of lamb with cracked black pepper, basil and jus for $29.50, and the Watergate's Aquarelle, which offers rack of lamb encrusted in a spicy lamb sausage with rosemary and garlic essences for $32.

How insular can insular get? It makes you want to forgive a little carpetbagging.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 17, 1999

110TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

February 16, 1999, Tuesday, JOURNAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 03A

LENGTH: 502 words

SERIES: Today's News

HEADLINE: First lady as candidate would raise legal issues;
Could public costs be justified?

BYLINE: Julia Malone

DATELINE: Washington

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton, seriously considering a run for the U.S. Senate in New York next year, will have to consult more than public opinion polls. The first lady's first-of-its-kind candidacy would raise novel legal questions for attorneys to sort out. The notion of a race gained steam Monday when President Clinton said, ''I think she would be terrific in the Senate . . . but it's her decision to make. I will support whatever decision she makes enthusiastically.'' Clinton was speaking during a break in a meeting with President Ernesto Zedillo in Merida, Mexico. If she hits the campaign trail, would Clinton take her usual entourage of White House staff and Secret Service agents, whose traveling expenses would be charged to taxpayers? If so, would her campaign have to defray some of the costs? Already, the first lady is planning extensive travel on behalf of the president's Social Security and Medicare proposals and to promote historic preservation. Could she shuttle to and from New York aboard her Air Force jet, and from speech to speech in a motorcade of government cars? And could she justify the public costs by adding non-partisan ''first lady'' appearances to her campaign travels? ''This would be pretty much new territory,'' said Ian Stirton, spokesman for the Federal Election Commission, which oversees campaign election laws and financing. ''I imagine a lot of lawyers will be working on that.'' No one has begun that work yet, said the first lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, who agreed the legal research would be needed if Clinton decides to become a candidate. But ''none of that has happened,'' said Berry, because ''she's not there yet.'' At the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, which is urging the first lady to seek a Democratic seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, spokeswoman Kerin Polla also acknowledged the unanswered legal points. ''It's never been done before,'' she said of having a first lady as candidate. In the case of a president running for re-election, the rules are fairly well established, said the FEC's Stirton. The taxpayers get the bill for the security, the limousines and the jet designated Air Force One that always accompany the chief executive. Political parties pay a small portion of the enormous costs of a president's fund-raising or political travels. But the first lady's situation is less clear, since she holds no constitutional position, Stirton said. Among other potential issues, the Clintons have built up an extensive list of well-wishers and others on a White House computer database. Could the first lady use that information to raise money or build support for her Senate campaign? ''If some of the cost was generated by taxpayer dollars, there could be problems,'' Stirton said.

The Atlanta Journal, February 16, 1999

Ironically, the fact Clinton does not live in New York is hardly a problem at all. The residency requirement for Senate candidates in the state is so lenient she need only establish an address there by election day.

LOAD-DATE: February 17, 1999

11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

February 23, 1999, Tuesday, CONSTITUTION EDITION

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 02C

LENGTH: 581 words

SERIES: Home

HEADLINE: The Newsstand;
Political advice flows freely for first lady

BYLINE: Bo Emerson

BODY:

The newsweeklies devote major space to Hillary Rodham Clinton's flirtation with elected office. Newsweek ($ 3.50) calls Clinton the "hottest commodity in American public life," ranking somewhere between Gwyneth Paltrow and Princess Diana. In a guest column, George Stephanopoulos hints that the Senate would be a step down for Clinton, and suggests aiming higher, post-Gore, with a campaign that begins in Manchester (N.H.), not in Manhattan. In addition to gauging Clinton's chances against Rudolph Giuliani, Time ($ 2.95) offers free advice from Ed Koch (go for it) and Jimmy Breslin (forget about it). U.S. News & World Report ($ 2.95) says it's likely that a campaign would be "nasty, brutish and long. For a woman reeling from the Year of Monica, it could be a very unpleasant way to spend her remaining 23 months as first lady." Filming the apocalypse: In a story about the difficulty of putting World War II on the big screen, Forbes American Heritage ($ 4.95) surprises us with the information that American documentary units covering the war included such filmmakers as John Huston, Darryl Zanuck and David O. Selznick. In the same magazine, novelist Larry McMurtry writes about the battle at Little Bighorn, where Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, "that erratic egotist," did what he had always done: "push ahead, disregard orders, start a fight."

Into the teeth of the storm: Some of the bravest (or craziest) National Guard members can be found among Alaska's 210th Rescue Squadron, with the Air National Guard. These bravos jump from airplanes, rappel out of helicopters, and snatch foolish adventurers off of mountains and out of churning arctic seas. Men's Journal ($ .3.95) shows the 210th at work trying to save an errant climber on Mount McKinley. Also inside: the droll P.J. O'Rourke offers a guide to spring break for grown-ups.

Fresh air: Vladimir Joseph, the 25-year-old founder of Inner Strength, leads inner-city Atlanta kids on hiking, rafting or camping trips to prove to them that there are "things that are beautiful and brilliant" outside the grim reality of the ghetto. Read about Joseph, a reformed gang member and throwaway kid, in People ($ 2.99).

Blood brothers: Billy Bulger was, for 17 years, president of the Massachusetts state Senate. His brother Whitey Bulger was, during the same time period, a bloodthirsty gang leader in Boston's Irish underworld. In George ($ 2.95), Peter Maas and Mike Barnicle write about the odd duo, and explore the question: Was Whitey working for the FBI, or was the FBI working for him?

Assembled by humans, not robots: The Morgan sports car, with its wooden frame, whale-mouth grille and leather strap across the bonnet, is the most elegant of the open-air two seaters, says Polo ($ 4.95). No argument here.

Works on girlfriends too: Cartoonist Jeff MacNelly explains to Cigar Aficionado ($ 5.95) that he doesn't smoke cigars socially, calling his habit a form of crowd control. "Fire up a cigar and everyone leaves. It's kind of nice."
Pot wars: Last year, after the British medical journal the Lancet concluded that "moderate indulgence in cannabis has little ill effect on health," the FBI released statistics showing that in 1997, 695,000 people were arrested for pot. That number represents twice the arrests in 1992. Rolling Stone ($ 3) hammers home the irony that a president who has admitted smoking has had more Americans imprisoned for marijuana than at any other time in U.S. history.

LOAD-DATE: February 23, 1999

16TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

February 23, 1999, Tuesday ,City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. A10

LENGTH: 420 words

HEADLINE: Cuomo, at Harvard, says his son has a future

BYLINE: By Andy Dabilis, Globe Staff

BODY:

CAMBRIDGE - Former New York Governor Mario M. Cuomo told an audience at Harvard University last night that he will not run for president, but touted his son Andrew, who heads the federal department of Housing and Urban Development, as a potential candidate.

After a 45-minute speech in which he said there is a "second city" of Americans who have not benefitted from the country's prosperity, Cuomo said he did not want to run for the presidency.

"There's enough people vying for it so you don't need Mario Cuomo," he said in a question-and-answer period at which one audience member urged him to run. And then he said "I wouldn't rule out the possibility of Andrew being in it."

"He's got everything his old man has . . . and he's the next generation," Cuomo said of his son. "You should keep your eye on Andrew," he continued, while adding that Vice President Al Gore is the leading contender.

Cuomo had said Hillary Rodham Clinton would be a good vice presidential candidate for the Democrats rather than running for the US Senate in New York, where he said Republicans would put a formidable candidate against her.

Last night he said she should "look into her heart," to decide what she should do, but he urged her not to leave public life after President Clinton's term ends.

The political talk followed a trademark Cuomo speech in which he passionately decried the economic status of many Americans at a time when the country has the highest number of wealthy and super-wealthy people in its history.

"There is still a second city where the glitter does not show," he said. Cuomo said an estimated $4.4 billion federal surplus should be used to help provide health care for 43 million uninsured Americans, as well as for a massive school building program and the extension of the Internet and other aspects of the technological revolution to the lower-income population.

He said the lack of health insurance was especially disturbing.

"The disconcerting question is: Why isn't there more of a public reaction to it?" he asked. "Where are the politicians raising their voices and saying this is horrid?"

Cuomo said the surplus eliminates political excuses against spending on programs he said are necessary, and still provide tax relief. "We are not constrained anymore," he said.

"We need to give voice to the millions of Americans still locked in the second city," he said. It was time, he said, to resist the notion that government intervention only makes things worse.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 23, 1999

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Regarding Potential
New York Senate Bid



Friday, March 19, 1999

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LETTERS



A Campaign of Her Own?

"Anybody who has gone through what Hillary Clinton has in the past few years can handle anything. Senator Clinton sounds exciting!"

FRANCES L. BODE
Rocky River, Ohio

HILLARY CLINTON HAS ALL THE QUALIFICATIONS to be a politician in New York [NATION, March 1]. Wall Street loves anyone who has the expertise to earn nearly $100,000 on a $1,000 investment. As a lawyer from a firm with a somewhat checkered past, she meets that prerequisite for political service. But most important, by demonstrating the ability to turn her husband's escapades into a right-wing conspiracy, she has mastered that most cherished of political qualities, "the spin." She has learned from the best.

TED GROB
West Des Moines, Iowa

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HAS ALL THAT it takes to win a Senate seat and be an outstanding member of the U.S. Senate.

MARIANO PATALINJUG
Yonkers, N.Y.

I DOUBT WE WILL EVER SEE SENATOR Clinton represent New York State, but I would not be surprised to see Senator Rodham serving in that office.

WILLIAM R. PRITCHETT
Midland, Mich.

DON'T THE CLINTONS UNDERSTAND HOW sick we are of fame-obsessed power junkies who keep crawling back into the ring for one more dose of adoration? Hillary, go home! Handle your marriage. Heal your daughter. Get a real job.

RICHARD S. ABRAHAM
Oak Brook, Ill.

WITH HER EXPERIENCE MEETING THE leaders of great and small powers worldwide, Hillary Clinton might be the candidate par excellence for a future Secretary of State.

MARTIN FREUND
New York City

THE ADVICE TO HILLARY FROM FORMER Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, "Do what's best for you," is very telling. It is descriptive of much of the attitude of both Clintons. No one is raising the issue of what's best for the citizenry. Therein lies the problem: it's all about selfishness—not selfless service.

PETER V. HUISKING
Sierra Vista, Ariz.

THERE ARE 49 STATES IN ADDITION TO New York. I can assure you that the rest of the country has no interest in who might run for the Senate seat in New York in 2000.

ROBERT HIGGINSON
Orem, Utah

WHAT KIND OF RÔLE MODEL CAN THE First Lady possibly be? She obviously loves presidential perks far more than she hates the President's perversions.

ROGER CHAPIN
San Diego

THE POLK AWARD

Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele of TIME won the distinguished George Polk Award for national reporting last week for their series on corporate welfare—the tax breaks and subsidies that companies receive [SPECIAL REPORT: CORPORATE WELFARE, Nov. 9–Nov. 30, 1998]. It is the fifth Polk Award this reporting team has earned, setting a new record. As the judges noted, "The thing that was most astounding about the Corporate Welfare series was the kind of patience and intensity with which these reporters approached the subject. Their commitment to honest and accurate reporting was worth noting and awarding." If you would like copies of this four-part series, reprints are available for $1.50 each, with shipping and handling charges of $5 for up to four reprints (reduced rates for multiple-copy orders). To obtain reprints, call 800-982-0041.

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WHAT HUBRIS! SHOULD WE CALL THE idea of Hillary's running for the Senate the "Bonfire of the Inanities"?

RONALD R. STELZLENI
Mondovi, Wis.

SENATOR HILLARY CLINTON. THE VERY thought petrifies me!

EUGENE POOLE
Marina del Rey, Calif.

The Hunt for Ocalan

FAR FROM BEING A FREEDOM FIGHTER, Kurdish radical leader Abdullah Ocalan is a vicious hoodlum [WORLD, March 1]. Greece, which arranged to sneak this international terrorist into Kenya, should be put on the U.S. State Department list of terrorist countries. Greece has nurtured the ideology of Ocalan's Kurdistan Workers' Party cutthroats.

ILYAS BOTAS
Paterson, N.J.

GO, HILLARY!



With more than the usual frequency, TIME readers this week directed their remarks to our cover subject—apropos the prospect of Hillary Clinton's running for a U.S. Senate seat in New York in 2000—rather than to the magazine [NATION, March 1]. Though mostly H.R.C. fans, they have set their sights on even loftier goals for the First Lady. Posing the question "Did Eleanor Roosevelt run for office after 1945?", D. Albert Sach of Philadelphia responded, "Of course not! Stay out of that Senate mess, Hillary Clinton, and go on to your destiny as a world player!" Writing from Curaçao, bank president Lionel Capriles urged, "Do not run for the Senate. Run for the presidency. You will beat them all and serve your nation and the world better." Steven Bernstein of San Diego asked Hillary, "Why not really start at the top of the Democratic ticket? With Liddy the Republican nominee, we'd finally get the reasoned, passionate Clinton-vs.-Dole presidential race we were denied in '96."

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Should She Go for It?

WHEN MY 9-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER SAW your March 1 magazine cover with Hillary Clinton's picture and the heading "Her Turn," she posed an interesting question that I believe reflects the effect that President Clinton's scandal has had on the youth of our country. She asked, "What does 'her turn' mean? Is it 'her turn' to lie?"

EVA CHIRAPONGSE
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

WHY SHOULD NEW YORKERS ACCEPT AN outsider such as Hillary Clinton to be our senator? I want one of *us*, who has a truly vested interest in New York, representing me, not someone just looking for a high-profile job and a means of erasing her current misfortune.

MARC B. ZELOOF
KEW GARDENS, N.Y.

I CANNOT UNDERSTAND ALL THE PUBLICity about Hillary Clinton's possible candidacy for the U.S. Senate from New York. With her degrees from Wellesley and Yale Law School, she is certainly well qualified for the position, though it seems more logical for her to represent Illinois or Arkansas. It is time that Hillary was elected to a position that would not allow her to hide behind her spouse when faced with controversy.

DARBY PRELL
LAKE OSWEGO, ORE.

From Page to Screen

WHAT POSSESSED YOU TO PERVERT THE raison d'être of your MY TURN column ("Seeing Your Book on the Big Screen," March 1)? Ordinarily, I look forward to reading it for the refreshing viewpoint of an "ordinary" person who doesn't normally have access to the national media. But you turned the column by Jacquelyn Mitchard into a shamelessly self-promoting puff piece for her book "The Deep End of the Ocean" and the movie version that's just opened.

ALAN N. STERN
DENVER, COLO.

JACQUELYN MITCHARD EXPRESSED HER sensible views so well, I'm going out right now to buy "The Deep End of the Ocean," in addition to her newest novel. Anyone who writes like this deserves to be read.

EDWARD G. KORAN
PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Whose Free Speech Is It?

I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY A FORMER Vietnamese man who fled his homeland in 1980 to escape starvation and poverty would hang a poster honoring Ho Chi Minh, the man who was responsible for making it such a hellhole ("The Siege of Little Saigon," NATIONAL AFFAIRS, March 1). Although I believe in freedom of speech, Truong Van Tran is inviting trouble by continuing to hang that picture. I am surprised that NEWSWEEK wasted paper on this desperate cry for attention. There are plenty of good survival stories about people who escaped Vietnam, like Dat Nguyen's, the linebacker for Texas A&M University.

MICHAEL CANAVAN
GAINESVILLE, FLA.

THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY IN WESTminster, Calif., violently protests a store's hanging a poster of Ho Chi Minh. Each side has a right to free speech, and it's good to see America in action. But no one would get hurt if he protested simply by not doing business at this video store. No income, no more business. Easiest way to close down a shop. Makes sense to me.

THERESE HAND
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

THE RECENT COVERAGE OF THE DEMONstration in Little Saigon overlooked the inherent paradox of Truong Van Tran's use of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese flag to promote the First Amendment. Ho Chi Minh and his cohorts never had much use for free speech. Nor have his successors. At least until now. Nguoi Viet, the largest Vietnamese newspaper in the United States, recently reported that the Vietnamese government was requiring all air travelers into Ho Chi Minh City to contribute $50 to a legal-defense fund for Tran. Imagine—the very government that routinely imprisons its critics is now a vigorous supporter of this so-called advocate of free speech. Whether Tran is blind to his absurd position or a willing pawn in a charade orchestrated by Hanoi is hard to tell.

BILL PHAM
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

THE WHOLE MATTER'S VERY SIMPLE: IT'S his poster, his store and his right as an American. Leave the man alone.

NAME WITHHELD
POTOMAC, MD.

MAIL CALL

Choosing Her Course

Hillary Clinton's next career move and possible Senate run, the subject of our March 1 cover story, generated mostly critical responses. While one reader, definitely in the minority, referred to Mrs. Clinton as a "national treasure" and hopes she'll run, many others thought that her motives for considering the New York seat were not in the best interests of the state, but rather more personal in nature. Some called the First Lady a carpetbagger and considered our report, including the cover line, "Her Turn," tantamount to an endorsement of her candidacy. "Your issue," wrote one, "was nothing more than a political gift to Hillary."



A Searing Scenario

AFTER READING YOUR STORY ON SEARS and its credit-card scandal, I can only wonder how the company got itself into this mess ("The Sorry Side of Sears," BUSINESS, Feb. 22). The answer is the cheap and easy way out most consumers take these days—file for bankruptcy. Sears overpromoted its credit cards and got burned. This led to improper attempts to collect from customers who had filed for bankruptcy. But if so many people didn't live beyond their means, this probably wouldn't have happened. How many Sears employees will now lose their jobs or not get a raise? How many vendors will suffer because the debtors won't pay off what they purchased on credit?

TODD E. HINE
FRANKLIN, IND.

CONGRATULATIONS, NEWSWEEK, FOR your insightful piece on Sears and its misadventures in bankruptcy law. Your reporter took an investigative story and turned it into a riveting drama of today's business law and corporate culture. Every debt-burdened consumer in America should thank Judge Carol Kenner for her vigilance in bringing this matter to light. Every business leader in America should study Sears CEO Arthur C. Martinez's response as an example of the right way to build a business.

WARD LYNDALL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Many Shades of Gray

YOUR ARTICLE SEEMS TO IMPLY THAT A growing senior population will give the elderly a disproportionate amount of power and attention ("Home of the Gray," SOCIETY, March 1). I disagree with the notion that our society already pays enough atten-

PERISCOPE®

CAMPAIGN 2000

Gore Rides High on the Hog



The vice president officially hits the campaign trail this week

WHAT DO HOGS have to do with Al Gore's presidential campaign? One word: Iowa. The vice president officially hits the campaign trail for the first time this week, with forays into New Hampshire and Iowa. Though the New Hampshire primary has historically spelled trouble for front runners, Gore advisers say they aren't worried. His real concern, the advisers say, is Iowa, the site of the all-important caucuses. That system favors highly motivated (read: angry) voters, and the Gore team fears the veep's only challenger, former senator Bill Bradley, could get a foothold. "We can't let Bradley get any momentum there," says a top Gore aide.

In Iowa, the farm community is being severely hurt by low prices. Hog farmers in particular complain that meatpacking-industry mergers have created giant processors who use their buying power to drive down prices further. To help farmers—and perhaps not coincidentally Gore—the Agriculture Department will soon launch an investigation of possible antitrust violations by the processors. Farmers don't dominate the caucuses, but most Iowans share their concerns.

Meanwhile, Bradley is getting an unsolicited boost from his former colleagues, the New York Knicks. The team recently sent season-ticket holders free copies of his best-selling basketball book, "Values of the Game." A team spokesman says the gift was not politically motivated. A Bradley spokeswoman says there's "no election message" in the book.



Bono at home with Chesare

MONEY

Sonny's Son?

SONNY BONO DIED WITHout a will, so by law his assets go to his widow, Mary, and his children. Trouble is, it's not clear how many kids he left behind. A California man says he's Bono's natural son and he's ready to take a DNA test to prove it. Sources close to the case say Mary Bono's lawyers will ask the coroner this week for a sample of Sonny's blood to determine whether the estate will be split among four offspring—Christy (by his first wife), Chastity (by Cher), Chesare and Chianna (by Mary)—or five.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Electoral Dysfunction Edition

As Campaign 2000 warms up, former candidate Bob Dole has his eye on being America's first First Husband. And he's really trying to make sure he'll be "a *good* one."

	C.W.
George W.	Wakes up on home plate, and the CW thinks he hit a home run.
Liddy	Smart, novel and about as spontaneous as a Disney World animatron.
Gore	Suffering from VP syndrome: Crushed in early matchups. P.S.: Call Jenny Craig.
Bradley	Still a long shot, but gets to go one-on-one with Al. P.S.: Try some flashy street moves.
Lamar	Good news: Chucks plaid shirt. Bad news: Plaid shirt was best part of campaign.
Buchanan	Pitchfork Pat back ready to lock 'n' load again. Everybody duck!

HILLARY WATCH

'She's Doing Her Homework'



Gathering facts and opinions

WORD LEAKED LAST week that Bill Clinton was hinting his wife's decision on a New York Senate bid may be imminent. Not so fast, caution friends of Mrs. Clinton. "[Hillary's] doing her homework," says one confidant. She wants to be scrupulous about following campaign-finance rules. Advisers say she's looking into the legal issues raised by a run from the White House and mulling the need to form an exploratory committee to avoid any appearance of impropriety. Meanwhile, she's getting conflicting advice. Clinton loyalist James Carville and Liz Moynihan, wife of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, are cautioning against a bid. But California Sen. Barbara Boxer, New York Rep. Charles Rangel and longtime friend Harold Ickes are encouraging her to run. "Even if she decided yes right now," says a friend, "there would be no announcement until the fall."

TOP TO BOTTOM: PAUL HARRIS—ALPHA/GLOBE PHOTOS, NAILAH FEANNY—SABA, RON HAVIV—SABA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1999

Call by Call, Hillary Clinton Queries New York Leaders

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

In the month since announcing her interest in a United States Senate seat from New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton has discussed her potential candidacy with more than 50 influential Democrats in the state, most often in lengthy telephone calls she placed from the private quarters of the White House.

Mrs. Clinton, over the last few weeks, talked about her possible political future with labor leaders, elected officials and Democratic party chairmen from suburban and upstate counties crucial to winning a race. She also recently entertained powerful New York Democrats and public figures at the White House.

Several of those who spoke with Mrs. Clinton said she did not hint at her ultimate decision, but was systematically studying the politics and issues of a state where she has never lived. A number of them said she told them that she planned to do polling and was looking for ways to raise money even before she made a decision on the race.

Many of the county officials, who seem stunned and pleased by the First Lady's attention, described their conversations about local issues with Mrs. Clinton as lengthy and very detailed.

"She's obviously been doing her homework," said Steve Pigeon, the Democratic chairman of Erie County, the state's largest Democratic stronghold outside of New York City. Mr. Pigeon said he spoke by phone to Mrs. Clinton for an hour on Monday night. "I have to explain to a lot of candidates who come to me that you can't view upstate monolithically," he said. "She already knew the vast differences."

Mr. Pigeon said that Mrs. Clinton told him that she did not want her delay in making a decision to hurt the ability of other potential Democratic candidates — like Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester — to raise money.

Largely because of the possible impact on other likely candidates and their ability to raise money if Mrs. Clinton does not run, many Democrats have been irked by her announcement that she will not decide until "later this year," perhaps as late as the fall. The election is in November 2000.

In an apparent response to that concern, the First Lady and her advisers are exploring fund-raising options. "She said they're looking for vehicles to raise money to be used for whoever the candidate is," Mr. Pigeon said. "I think as long as she's raising money that can be used no matter who runs, whether it's her or Nita, that can buy some time."

Election law lawyers said yesterday that such a vehicle might be a committee, allowed under Federal election law, that would raise money for an unspecified Senate candidate in donations of up to $1,000.

In making her calls, Mrs. Clinton works from a list of 200 names provided by Harold M. Ickes, a former White House official and a veteran of New York politics. Mrs. Clinton's advisers say she has methodically made her way through the Democratic power structure in New York State, reaching out not only to labor and local Democratic leaders, but to fund-raisers, members of the New York Congressional delegation and leaders of black, Jewish, Hispanic and women's groups.

She has also had meetings at the White House — yesterday with the New York City Comptrol-

Continued on Page A19

Call by Call, Mrs. Clinton Queries New York Democrats

Continued From Page A1

ler, Alan G. Hevesi, and last Friday with New York's Assembly Speaker, Sheldon Silver.

Mr. Hevesi said that he and the First Lady spoke for more than an hour, half of which he said was spent discussing the case of Amadou Diallo, the unarmed African immigrant whose shooting death by the New York City police has led to protests against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a potential opponent of Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Hevesi said Mrs. Clinton brought up the case herself, but made no comment on Mr. Giuliani's handling of it.

Mr. Silver said he met for an hour and 45 minutes with the First Lady. In another indication that Mrs. Clinton may be positioning herself as a candidate, Mr. Silver said that she elaborated on her remarks last year that a Palestinian state was "very important" to Middle East peace.

Mr. Giuliani has called her comments "a very big mistake," and political analysts have said her remarks could give him a chance to cut into any support she has among conservative Jewish voters.

Mr. Silver said Mrs. Clinton told him that her remarks were a "reflection of her discussions" with Yitzhak Rabin, the late Israeli Prime Minister, "and that Rabin had told her that 'it was very difficult to negotiate with a nonentity.' Mrs. Clinton also said her remarks were "not inconsistent with American policy," the Speaker added.

Most upstate and suburban Democratic party officials said they came away from speaking with her believing that she would be a candidate.

"I thought I was talking to a political pro," said Steve Paquette, the Onondaga County Democratic chairman, who spoke to Mrs. Clinton for a half-hour last Thursday. "I honestly think for her to be taking the next broad step of calling folks like me, that's more than sticking your toe in the water."

Mrs. Clinton often calls at the end of the working day, sometimes after Mr. Ickes — who now has his own Washington consulting firm — has paved the way.

Paul Adler, the Rockland County Democratic chairman, said that last week, Mr. Ickes called him and asked him about local issues, and then Mrs. Clinton called to talk about property taxes, suburban development, the regional economy and transportation into New York City.

Mr. Ickes said that Mrs. Clinton was educating herself about New York through her phone calls, which she made alone. "She's finding out the lay of the political landscape, the lay of the issue landscape," he said.

Although most active Democratic Party workers are clamoring for Mrs. Clinton to run, many have also told her that the race will be very close and that she should expect personal attacks for her role in the Whitewater inquiry and her past profitable commodities trades.

"I certainly indicated that it would be a tough race," said Dominic Barranello, the Democratic Party chairman of heavily Republican Suffolk County. He said he told Mrs. Clinton last week that the Republicans "would revive many of the issues we've been hearing about ad nauseam" and that "she has to be prepared to handle that."

Some local Democratic leaders say they have been taken aback by the intricacy of Mrs. Clinton's questions. "She was curious about why there was a large Jordanian population in Yonkers," said David Alpert, the Westchester County Democratic chairman, who spoke to Mrs. Clinton for nearly an hour. "I did not know the answer."

Mr. Alpert also said that he and Mrs. Clinton talked about friends and colleagues they had in common in Westchester — Ronald H. Brown, the late Secretary of Commerce, who was a Democratic district leader in Mount Vernon in the 1970's, and Toby Nussbaum, a former county Democratic finance chairman who is married to Bernard W. Nussbaum, a former White House counsel.

The White House dinner that the President and Mrs. Clinton held for some influential New Yorkers took place March 5, in the family quarters. The guests included New York's State Comptroller, H. Carl McCall; Randi Weingarten, the president of the United Federation of Teachers; Dennis Rivera, the president of Local 1199, National Health and Human Service Employees Union; Bill Lynch, longtime adviser to former Mayor David N. Dinkins, and Victor A. Kovner, a First Amendment lawyer and a corporation counsel in the Dinkins administration.

The guests were up until 1:30 A.M. having dinner and watching a movie ("October Sky"). Afterward, the New Yorkers slept over at the White House.

None of them stayed, said one sleep-over guest, in the Lincoln Bedroom.

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March 19, 1999, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1102 words

HEADLINE: Frisking Policy Of the Police Faces Scrutiny

BYLINE: By BENJAMIN WEISER

BODY:

An investigation by Federal prosecutors into the tactics of the New York Police Department will be expanded to focus increased scrutiny on the Street Crime Unit, the elite police squad that includes four officers who fatally shot Amadou Diallo, the Justice Department announced yesterday.

The new phase of the inquiry, to be conducted by the United States Attorney in Manhattan, Mary Jo White, will focus on whether members of the Street Crime Unit have systematically deprived people of their constitutional rights through "stop and frisk" tactics and other practices. Ms. White's inquiry will broaden an investigation by Zachary W. Carter, the United States Attorney in Brooklyn, which began 18 months ago after the suspected police torture of a Haitian immigrant, Abner Louima.

Officials did not say last night why Ms. White was joining Mr. Carter's investigation. Ms. White's prosecutors have tried major police corruption and civil rights cases in the past, and Mr. Diallo's death took place in the Bronx, one of the boroughs in her office's jurisdiction.

City officials were formally notified of the expanded investigation earlier this week. On Wednesday, State Attorney General Eliot L. Spitzer said he would review assertions that officers routinely stop people on the streets and frisk them without justification, and earlier this month the United States Commission on Civil Rights said it would hold hearings on the city's police.

Last night, Colleen Roche, a spokeswoman for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani , questioned the motives of Federal officials in expanding the investigation to the Street Crime Unit.

"The timing of this is very curious. Janet Reno makes this announcement on the same day that Hillary expresses an interest in Amadou Diallo," referring to Hillary Rodham Clinton's inquiries to Democratic officials in the city about the case, "and one day after they are scooped by Eliot Spitzer's announcement of his investigation, which is very similar.

"We just hope that all of the Clinton Administration officials and Democratic Attorney General Spitzer don't bump into each other as they rush to conduct their investigations," Ms. Roche added.

Marilyn Mode, a spokesman for Police Commissioner Howard Safir, said last night, "We will fully cooperate with this investigation, just as we have with all of the other investigations." She added 'If this investigation is conducted fairly, it will demonstrate that the N.Y.P.D. is truly one of the most restrained police forces in the county."

Michael D. Hess, the city's Corporation Counsel, declined comment yesterday on Ms. White's investigation, but said the Police Department had worked diligently to fulfill the requests from the United States Attorney's office in Brooklyn. "We have been in contact," Mr. Hess said. "We've cooperated fully, and we were happy to provide information that was requested."

The Justice Department last night portrayed Ms. White's focus on the Street Crime Unit as an expansion of the original investigation authorized by the agency under a 1994 law that allows Federal officials to investigate whether "patterns or practices" in police departments deprive people of their civil rights.

The Street Crime Unit, based on Randalls Island, sends teams of officers into neighborhoods to hunt down suspects and seize illegal guns. It has been roundly criticized by civil rights groups who contend that its members stop and search tens of thousands of people, based on their race, without arresting the vast majority of them. Ms. White's investigation is likely to focus on the unit's stop-and-frisk policies, as well as on the screening and training of officers.

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures, and court decisions interpreting it have held that police officers must have a specific reason to suspect a person has committed a crime, not just a vague suspicion of someone, to justify a search of that person.

For the last 18 months, Mr. Carter has been conducting the broad investigation into the department's patterns and practices. That inquiry was spurred by the beating of Mr. Louima.

Mr. Carter's prosecutors have focused on the charges of brutality and have sought to determine "whether incidents of excessive force were the product of systemic deficiencies in police operations, including possible failures of complaint intake and investigation, discipline, and supervision," the Justice Department said in a statement last night. Mr. Carter's staff has sifted through thousands of Police Department files concerning abuse complaints and discipline.

After the Diallo shooting, Mr. Carter's office also opened a review of records that contain accounts of when police officers fire their weapons, to determine whether there has been a pattern of abuse in the use of deadly force.

Mr. Carter, who had declined to discuss his investigation, said in a brief interview last Friday: "We have made substantial progress toward concluding this inquiry."

Under the 1994 "pattern or practice" law, if the Government finds that there has been systematic abuse of civil rights by the police, it may sue in Federal court, seeking an injunction to compel the department in question to reform its operations.

In the two cases involving police departments where the Justice Department found civil rights violations -- Pittsburgh and Steubenville, Ohio -- the Government negotiated consent decrees in which local authorities agreed to reforms.

Representative Jose E. Serrano, in whose Bronx district Mr. Diallo was killed, said yesterday's announcement was welcome because it showed that the Federal authorities were willing to focus more broadly than on the investigation of individual incidents.

He said: "This is great. This is exactly what we've been asking for. We've been trying to get the Justice Department, with its power, if you will, and its weight to come in and conduct this kind of investigation."

"Now we finally have somebody," he said, "with the power to ask questions that must be answered."

The Justice Department, in the statement from Ms. White, Mr. Carter, and Bill Lann Lee, Acting Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, said both Federal prosecutors in New York City would work together in the investigation, which it portrayed as an expansion of Mr. Carter's inquiry into excessive force.

The Justice Department is also conducting a separate "pattern or practice" investigations into whether the State Police in New Jersey have been stopping motorists illegally on the basis of race.

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Prosecutor Says He Drafted an Indictment of First Lady

■ **Courts:** Top Starr attorney, testifying in McDougal trial, discloses tack made during Whitewater inquiry.

By ERIC LICHTBLAU
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The top prosecutor in independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's Arkansas operation revealed on the witness stand Thursday that he came to doubt the truthfulness of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Whitewater statements several years ago and even drafted an indictment against her.

The disclosure, made grudgingly by prosecutor W. Hickman Ewing Jr. as he testified at the contempt trial of Whitewater figure Susan McDougal in Little Rock, Ark., shed new light on the Starr team's aggressive but thus far fruitless attempt to press criminal charges against the Clintons in Arkansas.

And it threatened to complicate the first lady's possible run for the U.S. Senate in New York by reviving interest in a scandal that has dogged the Clintons for five years.

"There's nothing good that can

Please see CLINTON, A12

■ **NO BAR TO STARR PROBE**
Judges don't have power to halt Justice Dept. probe of independent counsel. **A3**

CLINTON

Continued from A1

come of this for her," said Lee Miringoff, director of New York's Marist College Poll, which shows Mrs. Clinton leading the prospective race. "The more it sounds like 'here we go again with the Clintons,' the less welcome her candidacy becomes."

The indictment apparently was drafted sometime in 1996. At the time, there was widespread speculation in Washington that Mrs. Clinton might be indicted because of her statements about investments that she held with McDougal and McDougal's late husband, as well as legal work she did on the Castle Grande land development, which siphoned money from the McDougals' savings and loan.

The mysterious discovery at the White House in 1996 of billing records belonging to the first lady, which had been subpoenaed by Starr but had vanished, only fueled rumors of a possible indictment. Starr's team, however, had never acknowledged the possibility—before Thursday.

David E. Kendall, the Clintons' personal attorney, was quick to ridicule Ewing's testimony. "The mere fact that this prosecutor drafted a frivolous indictment himself has no significance whatsoever except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

The day's events marked another unexpected twist in the trial of McDougal, a onetime business partner of the Clintons who is charged with contempt and obstruction of justice for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury looking into the Clintons' role in the failed Whitewater real estate development in Arkansas before his election as president. She maintains that Starr's office wanted her to lie to the grand jury.

On Thursday, Los Angeles defense attorney Mark Geragos adopted the unusual tactic of subpoenaing Ewing, Starr's chief prosecutor in Arkansas, and calling him as his lead witness.

Geragos said in an interview that McDougal had learned from "a reliable source" that Starr's office had drafted an indictment of Mrs. Clinton several years ago but never pursued it. Geragos said he wanted to question Ewing on the stand about the issue to show that "they went into this thing with the idea that they had a culprit and they were looking for a crime."

Ewing sought to downplay the significance of the draft indictment, testifying that it is not unusual for a prosecutor to draft such a document to explore whether a case might be brought. "You're always thinking about . . . what possible crime might it be," he testified.

Indeed, Joseph E. diGenova, a former independent counsel, said in an interview that prosecutors often use draft indictments as a tool to explore legal theories or even to show to a criminal target to get a suspect to cooperate. But he stressed that such drafts are usually reserved for someone who is being "seriously considered" for prosecution.

Ewing testified that, after he drafted the indictment against Mrs. Clinton, he showed it to several people in his office. Ewing did not say what charges were included or why prosectors did not seek a formal indictment. He said simply that "no charges were ever presented to the grand jury."

Ewing said he was bothered by doubts about the Clintons' credibility after several sworn statements they gave in connection with the Whitewater investigation in 1995.

On the question of Mrs. Clinton's legal work, for instance, Ewing said: "I had a concern that the president and the first lady were perhaps not telling it like it was."

Ewing was asked whether he had ever referred to the Clintons as liars.

"I don't know if I ever used the L-word or not. But I certainly expressed internally that I had problems with some of their answers," he said, according to an Associated Press account.

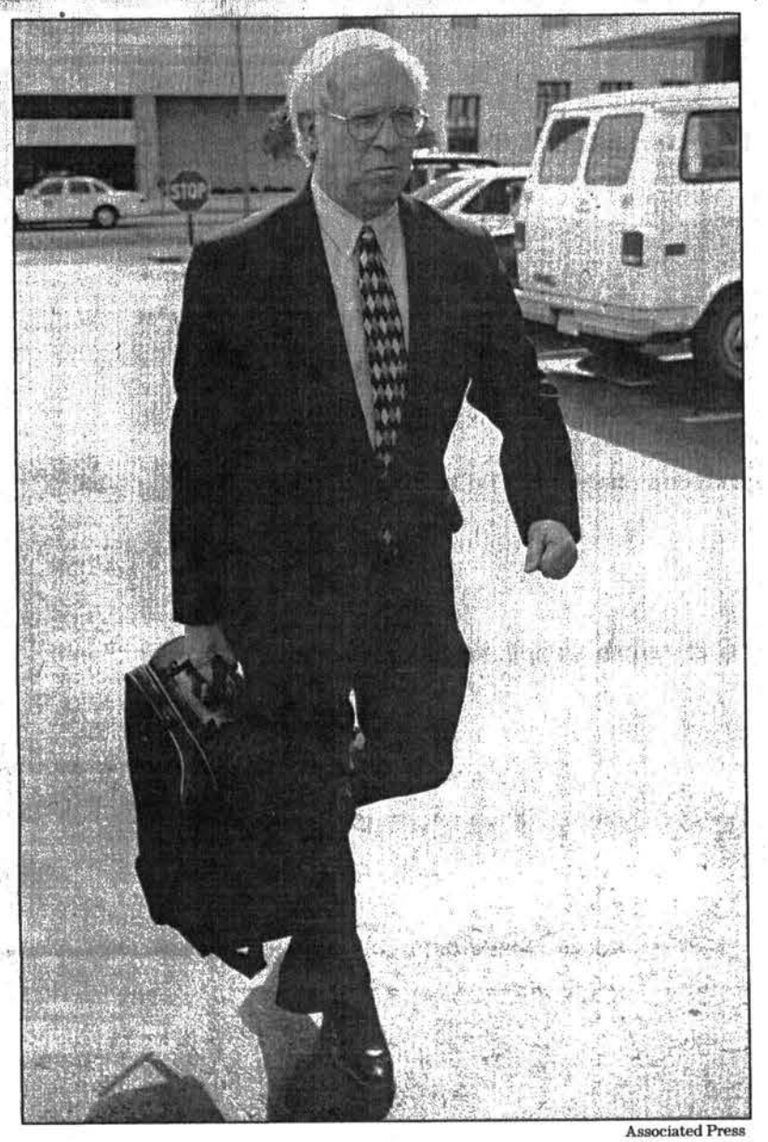
During one conversation with fellow Starr staff members, Ewing said, he graded the Clintons on their responses to questions, giving the president a 'C' and Mrs. Clinton an 'F.'

That statement came after the first lady had said, "I don't recall," about 50 times during a deposition in July 1995, Ewing testified.

Officials in Starr's office said Thursday that they would just as soon have kept silent about the existence of the draft indictment.

Prosecutors in the McDougal trial objected repeatedly to Geragos' questions about the issue, and Ewing said initially that he could not be certain if an indictment was drafted. Under questioning, he went into further detail.

"Obviously Mr. Ewing felt the answer was called for, but it was only given after the judge had twice overruled the objections of the government," said Edward Page, a spokesman for Starr's office. "We're just saying that it's irrelevant to the case."



Associated Press

Deputy Independent Counsel W. Hickman Ewing Jr., subpoenaed by Susan McDougal's defense attorney, walks to the Little Rock, Ark., federal building Thursday.

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1999

■ First Lady Hillary Clinton asked city Comptroller Alan Hevesi about the case in an hourlong, one-on-one meeting at the White House.

Hevesi, one of the city's top Dems, refused to criticize the mayor's handling of the matter — noting Giuliani offered to meet with the family and pay funeral expenses, and attended Diallo's memorial service.

"I think substantially in this case the mayor has acted appropriately — except he's a lightning rod," the comptroller said.

HAUNTED BY WHITEWATER

HILLARY'S CLOSE ESCAPE



NOTHING TO TELL: President Clinton and First Lady Hillary both swore that they knew next to nothing about the Whitewater land scam. AP

Indictment was drafted

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST *Post Correspondent*

WASHINGTON — One of Kenneth Starr's prosecutors testified yesterday that he drafted — but never sought — a Whitewater indictment of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Prosecutor Hickman Ewing's revelation in the Susan McDougal trial in Little Rock could haunt the First Lady if she decides to run for the Senate in New York.

Ewing said he "had problems" with some of her statements to investigators in April 1995 and drafted an indictment shortly after September 1996. He said he showed it to other prosecutors in Starr's office but went no further.

"You're always thinking about . . . what possible crime could it be," Ewing said, explaining that it's routine for prosecutors to draw up draft indictments.

Ewing was called to testify by McDougal's lawyer, Mark Geragos, in the obstruction-of-justice trial to try to demonstrate that Starr is obsessed with nailing the Clintons.

McDougal has refused to answer Starr's questions, saying she doesn't trust him.

Sources said the draft indictment dealt with Mrs. Clinton's statements denying — or claiming she couldn't remember — legal work that she performed for Madison Guaranty, a thrift owned by Jim McDougal.

Mrs. Clinton has said she doesn't remember doing work for Madison on a shady land deal known as Castle Grande.

But a 1996 report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. shows that calendar notes, billing records and a witness — a Madison loan officer — confirm that she worked on the project.

"She was in conflict with interviews we had already done with several people in the Rose Law Firm," Ewing said.

Mrs. Clinton's billing records disappeared shortly after the 1992 election. More than a year after Starr subpoenaed them, the records mysteriously showed up in the White House near Mrs. Clinton's office.

Mrs. Clinton could face more Whitewater trouble in June, around the period she's tentatively planning to announce her decision on the Senate race, according to sources.

She has a "good chance" of being called as a witness in Webster Hubbell's Whitewater trial, according to a lawyer close to the case.

David Kendall, the Clintons' defense lawyer on Whitewater, is preparing for the First Lady to testify in the trial, which is scheduled to start on June 14, sources said. Both sides must trade witness lists by April 14.

Kendall downplayed the news of the draft indictment, saying: "The mere fact that this prosecutor's office drafted a frivolous indictment three years ago has no significance whatsoever — except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

Earlier this week, Starr's prosecutors called Mrs. Clinton to the stand as a video witness in the McDougal trial. In a taped Q&A recorded last April, Mrs. Clinton claimed she didn't review Whitewater documents.

But testifying as a live witness in the upcoming Hubbell trial "could be a moment of real peril for her," said Bob Giuffra, who was counsel on the Senate Whitewater Committee.

"In the first Whitewater trial, it was Bill Clinton's conduct that was at issue. In this trial, it's the extent of Hillary Clinton's work for Madison."

Starr has charged Hubbell, a former partner of Mrs. Clinton's at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, with lying to Congress and to federal regulators when he denied the firm did any work for Madison.

Prosecutors charge that Mrs. Clinton performed legal work for Madison, arranging cover papers for sham payments of $300,000 to Hubbell's father-in-law, Seth Ward, in the Castle Grande deal.



MAN WITH A PLAN: Prosecutor Hickman Ewing considered bringing charges against the First Lady. Reuter

Experts split on how it hits Senate bid

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — News that Hillary Clinton had a close call with a criminal indictment probably won't hurt her much if she runs for Senate, many analysts say.

But others warned it tarnishes her post-Sexgate halo and should make New York Democrats think twice — and maybe a lot more than twice — about whether they should be so wild about Hillary.

"I don't think it will hurt her because she's already very polarizing . . . it will probably just hype her supporters," said Republican strategist Eddie Mahe.

"It would hurt anyone else — but those two people [the Clintons] are out there in another class.

ANALYSIS

They truly have this insulation that no other candidate I know has."

Democratic strategist Bob Shrum said: "I don't think that more nonsense from Ken Starr will have any influence. People assume it's political. He's not a star — he's a black hole. Stuff goes in but nothing comes out."

But Post pollster John Zogby, whose latest poll shows Mayor Giuliani leading Mrs. Clinton in a Senate matchup, said the news is a warning for Democrats.

And so is the risk that she may be called as a witness for the prosecution in the upcoming trial of her pal Webster Hubbell.

"It would be significant if not fatal because she would be dogged, even in places like Watertown and Binghamton, about everything from the Castle Grande real estate deal to her billing records, and she would find it difficult to deliver a campaign message above that clutter," Zogby said.

"If I'm a Democratic leader, I have to wonder if I want the risk of that or a safer candidate like Nita Lowey [D-Westchester]. It changes the debate over the next month or so and should give pause to all those New Yorkers making the pilgrimage to convince her to run."

Zogby said he doesn't think Mrs. Clinton has any real intention of running for Senate — "I think this is a great diversion, and a great way of energizing New York Democrats."

GOP pollster Ed Goeas said it's impossible to test how all this could affect Mrs. Clinton's potential candidacy because Sexgate-weary voters don't want to hear about scandal now — but that could change next year.

"She lives under a protective shield right now, but if she becomes the candidate that shield disappears, and I'd like to think she's no different from everyone else," Goeas said.

Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, also a GOP pollster, added: "Hillary Clinton is in the same place as Al Gore. You may not want to return something you bought and are unhappy with, but do you go back and buy more stuff at that same store?"

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Poll Indicates Fierce Struggle In a Clinton-Giuliani Face-off

By JAMES DAO with MARJORIE CONNELLY

As Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani test the waters for Senate campaigns next year, a New York Times/CBS News poll shows that New York State voters hold strongly partisan opinions, but also nagging reservations, about both politicians, indicating that a contest between them would be highly competitive.

The survey shows Mrs. Clinton leading Mr. Giuliani in several categories at this early juncture. More voters view her favorably, saying they think she is more caring and would probably be more effective than the Mayor, a Republican. When asked which candidate they would vote for if the election were held today, 48 percent said Mrs. Clinton and 39 percent said Mr. Giuliani.

Still 20 months away from the election, most voters' opinions about the race are fluid and are likely to have been influenced by factors that may have no bearing on the final outcome, from name recognition of the potential candidates to recent events like the shooting of Amadou Diallo by the New York City police and the impeachment trial of President Clinton.

The poll also suggested in several ways that Mr. Giuliani might not be quite as vulnerable as the figures indicate, and that Mrs. Clinton might not be quite as strong.

For instance, the survey showed that a significant number of voters, 4 out of 10, think that the First Lady would not be an effective representative for New York in the Senate because she has never lived in the state.

Republicans have already said they would make Mrs. Clinton's residency a campaign issue, and the poll indicates that a vigorous effort to portray the First Lady as a carpetbagger could work with some voters.

"It doesn't seem right that just

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Poll Shows Fierce Fight if First Lady Faces Giuliani

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because she's the President's wife that she can suddenly decide that she can run for Senate from this state," Sherry Groff, 24, a Democrat from the town of Copenhagen, north of Syracuse, said in a follow-up interview. "It's as if she's got her pick of all 50 and decided New York will be the one."

The poll also showed that 6 out of 10 voters north of the New York City suburbs were unable to give an opinion of Mr. Giuliani, more than double the number for Mrs. Clinton. The upstate region has historically been a Republican stronghold, and Mr. Giuliani would be widely expected to win a higher percentage of that bloc of voters.

But the poll also underscored a potential vulnerability for Mr. Giuliani: voters were evenly split over whether he had the right disposition to be a senator. Democrats have said they believe voters will reject Mr. Giuliani out of concerns that his iron-fisted style, while perhaps appropriate for a big city executive, will alienate colleagues in the collegial halls of Congress.

"He's too autocratic," said Ellen Smith, 38, a social worker from Westchester County who is not registered in either major party. "When you're Mayor of New York City and you want to make sure people cross the street at the right time, that's one thing. But when you're a senator dealing with a whole state and lots of issues, you have to be more flexible."

The poll comes at a low point in the Mayor's job-approval rating, which has been hurt in the city by concerns about police brutality and race relations. Conversely, Mrs. Clinton is basking in high ratings that stem in part from voter sympathy for her stoic handling of the Monica Lewinsky affair and the President's impeachment trial.

Mrs. Clinton has also probably benefited from her husband's 75 percent job-approval rating in the state, which is down just slightly from his all-time high of 78 percent last October. And because she has never run for office before, Mrs. Clinton has yet to endure the level of campaign stress and scrutiny from the news media that can cause a candidate's approval ratings to drop.

The Times/CBS News poll was conducted by telephone March 8 through Sunday and surveyed 1,469 registered voters across the state. The margin of sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points.

Though Mrs. Clinton's aides say she is far from a decision, she has been studying the race with extraordinary care, having met with or telephoned scores of state Democratic leaders and county chairmen.

Representative Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester, has said she would probably enter the race if Mrs. Clinton decided not to run. Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican, has said he may run whether or not Mr. Giuliani becomes a candidate.

Other recent public opinion polls have produced a wide range of results for a Clinton-Giuliani contest, indicating that voters have not thought much yet about the race or its potential candidates. On one end of the scale, a poll by Zogby International released this week showed Mr. Giuliani leading by 11 points; at the other end, a Quinnipiac College poll conducted last month had Mrs. Clinton ahead by 18 points.

According to the Times/CBS News poll, 52 percent of all state voters had a favorable opinion of Mrs. Clinton, while 22 percent had an unfavorable opinion and 26 percent were undecided or did not know enough about her to offer a viewpoint.

New Yorkers were more evenly divided in their views of Mr. Giuliani: 34 percent had a favorable opinion of the Mayor — down from 43 percent last October — 28 percent had an unfavorable opinion, and 38 percent were undecided or did not know enough about him to formulate an opinion.

In follow-up interviews, people with favorable opinions of Mrs. Clinton often praised the way she coped with her husband's ordeals last year, while those with favorable opinions of Mr. Giuliani almost invariably credited him with reducing crime in the city.

"What she's endured with her husband, the philanderer, has endeared her to a lot of people," said Thomas Phelan, 50, a Suffolk County Republican who likes Mrs. Clinton. "She has toughness."

The poll showed Mrs. Clinton drawing the vast majority of her support from core Democratic groups: black and Hispanic voters, liberals and New York City voters. Mr. Giuliani is strongest in the suburbs and among white Catholic voters, according to the poll.

The difference between the two was starkest among voters who are members of minorities: 89 percent of black New Yorkers and 78 percent of Hispanic voters said they would support Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Giuliani. White Catholics favored the Mayor by 52 percent to 37 percent.

In New York City, where Democratic statewide candidates have historically needed about 70 percent of the vote to win, voters favored Mrs. Clinton by 66 percent to 25 percent. In the suburbs, 49 percent of all voters said they would vote for Mr. Giuliani, against 38 percent for Mrs. Clinton. The two almost evenly split the upstate region.

The poll showed that Mrs. Clinton has stronger support among women, with 50 percent saying they would vote for the First Lady, compared with 36 percent for the Mayor. Men were almost evenly split between the two: 46 percent favored Mrs. Clinton to 43 percent for the Mayor.

The poll suggested that a Giuliani-Clinton race would be a fiercely partisan affair. Roughly 7 in 10 Democrats said they would support Mrs. Clinton, and 2 in 10 would favor Mr. Giuliani. Republicans divided in almost identical ratios in supporting Mr. Giuliani.

In a clear indication of how close the race might be, independent voters — often a barometer of which candidate is ahead — were evenly split between the two politicians, with 41 percent saying they would vote for each.

Slightly more people said they thought Mrs. Clinton would be an effective senator, with 61 percent saying she would be good at getting things done for the state, and 54 percent saying the same of Mr. Giuliani. Half of all voters said Mrs. Clinton had the right experience to be a senator, while 56 percent said they thought Mr. Giuliani did.

Asked if Mrs. Clinton cares about the needs and problems of "people like yourself," 63 percent answered yes; 42 percent answered yes for the Mayor.

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted March 8 to 14 with 1,859 adults throughout the state. Of those, 1,469 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges across the state. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region of the state, race, Hispanic origin, sex, age, and education.

In addition, the question about voting preference if the year 2000 election for United States Senate were being held today is based on "usual voters." Usual voters are those who say they voted in 1998 or 1996, further weighted so that those who reside in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

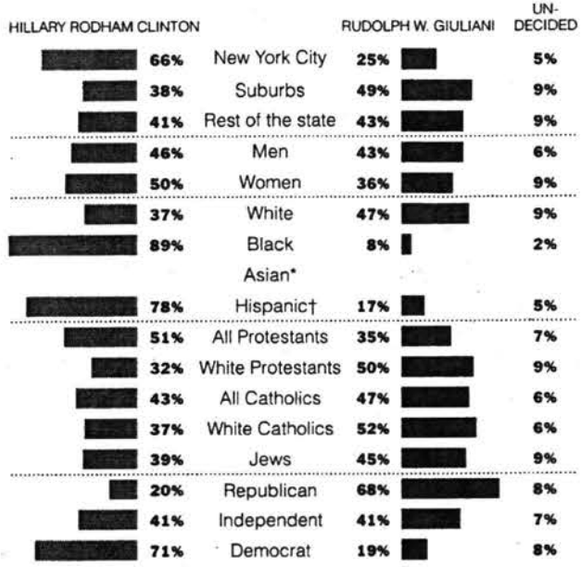
In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups, the potential sampling error is larger.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for instance, can lead to somewhat varying results.

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Early Preferences for Senate

If the 2000 election for United States Senate were being held today, would you vote for:



Based on interviews with 1,270 registered voters who voted in 1996 or 1998 conducted throughout New York State by telephone March 8 to 14. Numbers may not add up to 100 percent because those who said they would not vote or would vote for another candidate are not shown.

*Not enough in survey to break out separately. †May be of any race.

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HEADLINE: Who Leads, and by How Much, Varies From Survey to Survey

BYLINE: By MARJORIE CONNELLY

BODY:

Although the election is 20 months away, and neither candidate has formally declared an intention to run for United States Senate, several polling organizations have asked voters in New York State about their preference if Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani were paired in the contest. Their results have varied.

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll showed Mrs. Clinton leading by 9 percentage points over Mr. Giuliani. But in the poll conducted by Zogby International with 708 likely voters during the same period, Mr. Giuliani was ahead by 11 points. Earlier this month, the Marist College Poll of 702 registered voters showed Mrs. Clinton ahead by 5 percentage points.

Two polls conducted last month also showed Mrs. Clinton leading Mr. Giuliani. In the Quinnipiac College Poll of 1,270 registered voters, Mrs. Clinton was ahead by 18 points. A poll of 819 adults conducted for Time and CNN by Yankelovich Partners showed Mrs. Clinton leading by 9 points.

There can be a variety of reasons for differences in polls, including how the questions are worded, the order in which the questions are asked, the timing of the poll, how the sample of respondents is drawn and how the responses are adjusted.

The Times/CBS News poll was based on registered voters who voted in the 1996 Presidential election or in the election for United States Senate last year, adjusted to reflect the 1996 voter turnout in New York City, the suburban counties around the city and the rest of the state.

Other organizations base their results on different types of respondents. Zogby International's likely voters, for example, are registered voters who voted last year, have some party identification and said they were likely to vote in November 2000. The percentages are also adjusted to reflect usual turnout in New York City, and turnout by race and by religion based on previous voting patterns.

On the other hand, the results from the Time/CNN poll are based on all adults, whether or not they said they were registered to vote.

Both the Marist Poll and the Quinnipiac Poll are based on registered voters with adjustments to take into account the traditionally lower voter turnout in

New York City.

The margin of sampling error of these polls was three or four percentage points in either direction.

GRAPHIC: Chart: RECENT POLLS: A Potential Senate Race"

The New York Times/CBS News Poll
March 8-14

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 39%
HILLARY CLINTON: 48%

Zogby New York Poll
March 10-12

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 48%
HILLARY CLINTON: 37%

Marist College Poll
Feb. 28 - March 1

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 46%
HILLARY CLINTON: 50%

Time/CNN Poll
Yankelovich Partners
Feb. 17-18
RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 43%
HILLARY CLINTON: 52%

Quinnipiac College Poll
Feb. 16-22
RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 36%
HILLARY CLINTON: 54%

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 18, 1999

Dems wonder if Sen. Hillary wants to stay in White House — as prez

SUDDENLY, a lot of Democratic insiders are starting to ask each other if Hillary Rodham Clinton wants to run for New York senator as a stepping stone to the presidency.

Otherwise, they ask, why on earth would Mrs. Clinton want to risk a tough New York campaign to become senator — a job that's a big step down from First Lady in perks, prestige and raw power?

The First Lady's closest allies don't say no when asked if she has Oval Office dreams — instead they play it cute.

"I don't rule anything out in politics," said the First Lady's pal Harold Ickes, the ex-White House deputy chief who's the prime driving force behind her Senate explorations.

Ickes said Mrs. Clinton has never raised the idea of running for president with him — but he left the door wide open, remarking: "In this business, it's one step at a time."



Asked about a Hillary-for-president scenario, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Marsha Berry, said: "She's never indicated that to me."

In any case, Oval Office ambitions don't seem anything new for Hillary Clinton, who once mulled running to replace her husband as Arkansas governor when he got bored with the job.

Betsey Wright, Bill Clinton's Arkansas chief of staff, touched off a flap in 1994 when The New Yorker magazine reported she'd said: "There are a great many people talking very seriously about [Hillary] succeeding him" as president and called it "a very viable plan of action."

Wright howled she'd been misquoted — but The New Yorker stood by its story, written more than a year before Monica Lewinsky was a gleam in Bill Clinton's eye and Sexgate boosted Mrs. Clinton's popularity.

The Hillary scenario now making the rounds says her White House ambitions are why Mrs. Clinton can't wait for 2004 when she could run for Senate in her home state of Illinois where her Chicago Cub loyalties would be an asset, not a worry.

"The only way she can run for president in 2004 is to run for the Senate now," says a Democratic activist. "Otherwise, if Al Gore loses in 2000, she's just an ex-First Lady in 2004."

After all, polls now show Gore trailing GOP front-runner George W. Bush by nearly 20 points. Sure, polls change, but it's obviously a distinct possibility that Gore could be a loser, leaving the Democratic field wide open in 2004.

And, so the scenario goes, Mrs. Clinton can't risk letting another Dem run in 2004 and win — because then the next opening wouldn't be until 2112 when she'd be 65 and there'd be a lot more competition from rising star women in the Democratic party.

Sound nutty? Well, consider all the weird twists and turns that Sexgate has taken over the past year. Would this be any weirder?

■

There's another scenario making Democratic rounds: That Mrs. Clinton is floating her name for senator because she really wants to be Al Gore's running mate next year.

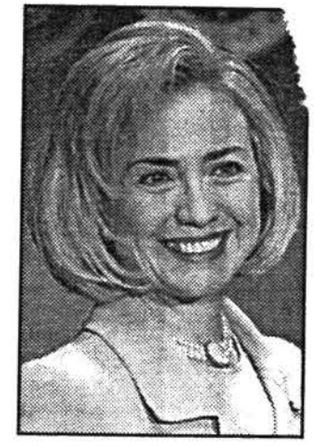
Not exactly what Gore needs as he tries to cut himself away from Bill Clinton's apron strings, perhaps. But could he say no if Mrs. Clinton and her allies — and his boss, her husband — pushed for it? What if the liberals who'll dominate the 2000 convention try to draft her?

"Obviously we think she is a tremendous First Lady but it would be very presumptuous and premature for us to engage in such hypothetical speculation," said Gore spokesman Chris Lehane.

One reason Mrs. Clinton's name comes up: The Dems are short of qualified women for veep. What will they do if Bush is the GOP nominee and taps Elizabeth Dole as his running mate?

Or suppose Bush manages to persuade his dad's old pal, Colin Powell, to be his running mate? Could Gore, if he's the Dem nominee, tap another white male as his veep?

Prez meets with Irish leaders / Page 18



HILLARY CLINTON
Pals don't rule it out.

The list of Dem women who could be veep is minuscule. New Hampshire's popular Gov. Jeanne Shaheen, arguably Mrs. Clinton, and then?

Forget the talk about Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.). Her husband's real-estate dealings kept Walter Mondale from tapping her in 1984, she has been a defender/apologist for China and she's known as the exact opposite of a team player.

Indeed, the list of high-profile Dem women is so short that some talk about Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend for veep. As it happens, she's a close Gore friend.

The Washington Times, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1999

The Hillary chorus in performance

That Hillary Clinton should generate excitement as a potential Senate candidate in New York is so obvious to most people that it requires no explanation.

She has star power, that is clear. Her very name causes big donors in Manhattan to swoon. But based on what? Her liberalism? Every Democrat in New York is a liberal, and most have clearer records than she.

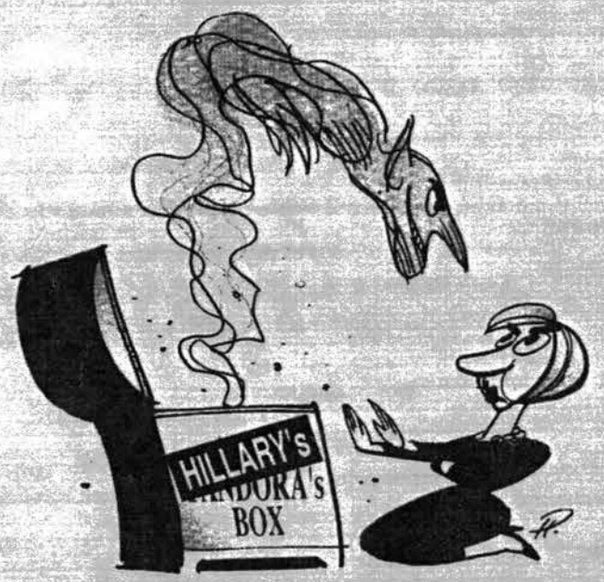
Mrs. Clinton is best known for her Rube Goldberg health reform plan, which was defeated and arguably led to the worst electoral disaster for the Democratic Party in 50 years. Still, among liberals, it was a valiant cause. And great honor goes to the soldier who stumbles while holding the standard aloft. But as to most of the rest of the liberal agenda, the first lady has not been heard from. Did she support the welfare reform bill of 1996 that so many liberals opposed and her husband signed? Does she support the death penalty as he does? Would she support racial and sexual preferences? Does she agree with Al Gore that the next great challenge for our time is traffic control?

Since Mrs. Clinton's policy views are more presumed than known, her appeal must lie elsewhere. She is more loved, it seems, for what she has endured than for what she has accomplished. In that sense, she is America's Diana.

It is a measure of the pathetic state of official feminism that their chief heroine is now the woman scorned. Health care notwithstanding, Hillary Clinton's most important and visible role in her partnership with Bill Clinton has been to play the wronged but loyal wife. Whenever his despicable, reckless and utterly compulsive use and abuse of women has gotten him into political trouble, the lovely and articulate Hillary steps forward to say, in effect, "If it's OK with me, it should be OK with you." If the point of feminism was to destroy the traditional family, this may be a great stealth strategy.

But the public pose was one of a loving couple. If Mrs. Clinton had not appeared on the "Today Show" in January 1998 to say that the Monica Lewinsky story was a tissue of lies concocted by a right-wing cabal, who knows what trajectory the scandal might have assumed? When it became indisputable that the story was true (The Dress), Bill Clinton faced impeachment, but Hillary's reputation suffered no diminution for her contribution to the cover-up.

Though each new chapter of their relationship is analyzed the way Kremlinologists once studied the May Day seating chart on Lenin's tomb, it is impossible and, in fact, not terribly interesting to guess at what goes on between the two Clintons in private. There have been reports — some perhaps correct — of gothic scenes in the private quarters.



On the other hand, these reports of private torment may be disinformation designed to help us forget that Hillary is Bill Clinton's chief apologist and co-conspirator. Surely Paula Jones and Juanita Broaddrick and who knows how many others must believe Hillary Clinton climbed to the first ladyship by stepping on their heads.

So why in the world does this compromised figure set the pulses of liberal New Yorkers racing? How, exactly, does Hillary fulfill feminist fantasies? Or has Bill Clinton's ascendancy confounded all of the familiar categories? All the women who truly were his victims — Paula Jones, Kathleen Willey, Juanita Broaddrick — have been disdained and dismissed not just by Bill Clinton but by most leading feminists. And yet the wife who served as enabler and apologist is hailed for her "courage" and "fortitude."

The Hillary canonization marks the sure slide into drawing all the wrong conclusions from the crisis of the past year. Rather than resent every aide (George Stephanopolous very much included), pundit and wife who helped sell this defective product to the electorate in 1992, we seem determined to conclude all over again that character doesn't matter. Mrs. Clinton stood by and stood for one of the worst men ever to sit in the White House. A smidgen of honesty from her at any of several key moments could have spared the nation much pain. And the proper reward for this is a Senate seat?

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1999

Sinking Hillary

New Yorkers apparently like Hillary Rodham Clinton better as a wronged wife than as a political candidate.

Ever since Mrs. Clinton announced her interest in seeking a U.S. Senate seat from New York, her poll numbers have been plummeting.

The latest evidence comes in the form of a Zogby International poll that shows New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican, besting Mrs. Clinton by more than 11 percentage points in a Senate matchup.

The poll of 709 likely voters, taken last week, found the mayor favored, 48.4 percent to 36.9 percent.

"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," pollster John Zogby told the New York Post.