

Slip in a poll greets Mrs. Clinton in New York

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senate run by her.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AFP PHOTO

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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

By SIDNEY ZION

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

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

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

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

There is a difference here be-

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

Politically ambitious

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

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

Imagine a Democrat who



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

trol and immigration.

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

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

Uphill battle

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

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

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

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

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



AP photo

President Clinton leads Hillary Rodham Clinton down the steps of the Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington on Sunday. The first lady still has not announced whether she would run for the Senate.

GOP 'relishing' idea of Clinton

First lady likely to face nasty N.Y. race for Senate

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's reputation for toughness and political smarts would be put to a full test if she decides to run for a Senate seat from New York, politicians in both parties warned her Sunday.

Former GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, a potential rival for the seat, said Republicans "are actually relishing the battle."

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive to seek the Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view," Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition."

With the impeachment over and Congress not yet back in full gear, the possibility of a Clinton-Giuliani race in New York dominated the Sunday news programs. The topic is the cover story for Time and Newsweek this week.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch, a Democrat, predicted that Mrs. Clinton would win if she runs for the seat being vacated by four-term Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat. But "it'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk," he said on CBS' "Face the Nation."

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close. A Time/CNN poll of New York residents put Clinton, an Illinois native, ahead of Giuliani 52 percent to 43 percent, but Giuliani said, on ABC's "This Week," in the end "we are looking at a 2 or 3 percent race."

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. Time magazine reported that Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), who is urging Clinton to run, had discussed her candidacy with President Clinton

'Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view.'

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani

and that he was enthusiastic about her running. Publicly, the president has said only that she would make a good senator, and that he would support whatever decision she makes.

Weighing against a run is New York's notoriety for expensive, no-holds-barred, negative politicking. House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) said that even as a person familiar with tough Chicago politics, "I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics."

Former New York Rep. Susan Molinari, a Republican, said her gut feeling was that the first lady won't enter the race. "This is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into," she said on CNN. Giuliani "is going to be an extremely formidable candidate and will beat her."

Geraldine Ferraro, in Time, recalled how she twice lost bids for a New York Senate seat, "and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family."

Ferraro said she hopes Clinton would run, but another Democrat, former White House aide George Stephanopoulos, writing in Newsweek, advised otherwise. "Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back," he wrote. "Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure?"

Giuliani said he had no intention of attacking Clinton over the impeachment of her husband or accusing her of being a carpetbagger who doesn't live in New York.

But, when asked on ABC about the first lady's statements last year that she favored an independent Palestinian state, he noted that he agreed with the official White House position that the status of Palestinian-controlled lands are to be negotiated. "Mrs. Clinton is out there much more heavily favoring the Palestinians," he said.

Koch said most American Jews are for a Palestinian state. "For Giuliani to raise that [issue] shows you how low a blow he's willing to strike," the former mayor said.

One Democrat who expressed enthusiasm for Clinton's candidacy was New York Rep. Nita Lowey, whose own decision on whether to enter the senatorial race has been put on hold as a result of the first lady's possible entry. "Hillary Clinton is in a very special class of her own," she said on CNN and Fox.

D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last November after a nasty campaign against then-Democratic Rep. Charles Schumer, said Republicans aren't afraid of a Clinton candidacy and are "actually relishing the battle."

In addition to Giuliani, he said, New York moderate Reps. Jack Quinn and Rick Lazio would be strong contenders. Asked on Fox if he would consider running, D'Amato said it was "very tempting." He said it would be a race that those who enjoy politics "kind of salivate over."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's choice

To run or not to run? That is the question facing Hamlet-like Hillary Clinton: Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous New Yorkers in a race for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's soon-to-be-vacated Senate seat or take up arms against some other sea of troubles when she leaves the White House.

Politicos up and down the Hudson pant at the thought of a race between Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the consummate pragmatic problem solver, versus Hillary, the idealistic, liberal Democrat who is more associated with what might have been.

Hillary Clinton is of a transitional generation of women. She is where she is because of her husband, but she longs for a role of her own, which she should have. She burst on the national consciousness by saying she was not some Tammy Wynette character, standing by her man, but ended up adored for being exactly that.

The co-presidency, the "two for the price of one" that Hillary may have envisioned, was never on. There can never be a co-presidency. Her stewardship over health care reform was an unmitigated disaster — but she learned a great deal about

politics and the art of the possible from that defeat. No one doubts that Hillary Clinton is razor-smart, strikingly articulate, with a strong vision of her own about where America ought to go — a vision that is a bit to the left of the one her husband has put into practice.

To run in New York will not be easy. All the old unanswered questions about the propriety of the Rose Law Firm and cattle futures will be regurgitated. In Gotham there will be questions about her support for a Palestinian state. In addition, she has never before run for public office — but then, Moynihan had little elective experience and Robert Kennedy none before he ran for the Senate in New York.

'Twould be an enterprise of great pith and moment, a run for the Senate, and a worthy challenge to one who has, by necessity, had to hold her opinions and her politics back. So, unlike our columnist on the opposite page, we say it is an opportunity for Hillary Clinton that may not come again, and given the realities of politics, she should declare her candidacy soon rather than lose the name of action.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Dear Hillary: If D.C. is the frying pan, N.Y. is the fire

ELLEN GOODMAN

Am I the only one in my homeroom class who thinks that Hillary would have to be nuts to run for the Senate?

My fellow media majors are all salivating at the prospect of what they have collectively dubbed "The Battle of Titans." They actually want to see first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wrestle Mayor Rudy Giuliani for the same seat.

Doesn't anyone else remember what happened to the original Titans? The giant children of Uranus and Gaea set out to rule heaven and ended up overthrown by Zeus and his family in a disaster of, well, Titanic proportions.

Ever since Hillary acknowledged, as a kind of thank-you note to her supporters, that she was giving the race "careful thought," I've had a feeling that HRC was being set up as a gladiatrix. She's being urged into the coliseum for the amusement of the masses. Or at least the mass media.

She doesn't get to choose between the lady and the tiger. She gets the possibility of being the senator from New York and the certainty of being mauled within an inch of her life.

I am not in the advice biz, and, as "Dear Abby" demurred this week, "the most unwelcome advice is that which is unsolicited." I don't know what makes HRC keep ticking or what internal muscle lets her hold her chin up. If I were HRC, I would have spent the last year in bed — and not Bill's bed.

Yes, there are attractions in an Empire State campaign — chief among them finding a legitimate reason for being a Metroliner away from Washington.

The transformation from wronged wife to front-runner would be good for the soul. After years as the

freebie in a two-for-the-price-of-one package, it would be a relief to run on her own. Instead of being psychoanalyzed by Vanity Fair — "a long-suffering, lamp-throwing wife and her straying husband" — she could have her position papers scrutinized by policy wonks.

Add to that the delicious prospect of watching Bill do a thousand hours of community service as a political spouse. If she won, he'd have to work to pay off the family debt while she went to the Capitol. (Memo to the Prez: See those brackets around your net worth? That's means debit.)

I have no doubt, after last fall's performance, that Hillary has the name recognition and the skills in fund-raising and crowd-pleasing. But New York? Now?

Dear Hillary: If Washington is the frying pan, New York is the fire. If Ken Starr is the frying pan, Rudy Giuliani is the fire. Those folks who are urging you to run, aren't they the same cheerleaders who waved their pompoms for Geraldine "Head-handed-to-her" Ferraro?

New York isn't a village, it's Bosnia. "Giuliani," says Ed Koch, the formidable former mayor of the Big Apple, "will run the most ruthless, vile, loathsome, defamatory campaign he's capable of." There will be some gnome at every stop with a Monica mask and a Whitewater map.

New Yorkers have a way of cutting newcomers — with or without carpetbags — down to size. Did you check the New York Post editorial last week that warned: "No cozy sequesterations of the sort that ac-



DEAN ROHRER ILLUSTRATION

crue to all first ladies. No more Matt Lauer softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does."

Only in New York would they think she's had a "cozy" old time in D.C. As Koch says, "I wouldn't suggest this to someone who didn't have steel in their spine."

Well, nobody doubts Hillary's mettle. But by the fall of 2000, the first lady's stardust may have faded in the country's exhausted desire to end the entire Clinton melodrama.

But there's another, less calculating reason for passing this up. HRC is at one of those moments when the right question is not what the New York Democratic Party wants. It is: What do you want to do with the rest of your life?

For decades, Hillary Clinton has been interested in both the politics of nuts and bolts and the politics of meaning. She's a Methodist and a pragmatist, a big thinker and a strategist, the woman who can inspire a UN conference and complain about a right-wing conspiracy. Which way now?

Even if she runs and wins, has Hillary given up the chance for a world stage to worry about the potholes in Queens? Or has she chosen a powerful seat at the table of policy-makers? Eleanor Roosevelt, where are you?

Anyway you look at it, this is not the time to run. The motto of the Hillary Fan Club has always been, "You go, girl." How about: "You go slow, girl."

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

White House in a New York state of mind

First lady talks politics with senator; president urges delay

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton met yesterday with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at the White House to discuss a possible Senate bid by the first lady, a few hours before her husband cautioned that the momentum building around her potential run for Moynihan's seat in 2000 may be "a little premature."

In their 90-minute meeting, Moynihan, a New York Democrat who will retire next year, brought to the White House a synopsis of his four Senate races, including statistics reflecting the unpredictability of New York voters.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Political godfather: Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan spent 90 minutes with the prospective candidate.

But even as the first lady and a top political adviser explore the idea of a Senate run with campaign consultants and national labor leaders, President Clinton sounded a cautionary note yesterday.

At a news conference,

Clinton pledged his support for the first lady, "just as she's helped me for the last 20-plus years." But he warned against stoking the campaign fires too vigorously, too soon.

"I think some time needs to be taken here," Clinton said. "I also think that even in a presidential race, it's hard to keep a kettle of water boiling for almost two years. It's a little premature, and I would like to see her take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument and decide exactly what you think is right to do."

The first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the meeting with Moynihan was purely exploratory.

"She wants to talk to people who have ideas and thoughts about it, and certainly Moynihan is one of them," Berry said. "She is a methodical person, and she will want to [See Senate, 4A]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady talks politics with New York senator

[Senate, from Page 1A]

look at all the different factors in making a decision like this."

Moynihan, who won the largest statewide victory in New York history in 1988 and is something of a godfather in New York politics, is an outspoken supporter of the first lady. On NBC's "Meet the Press" last Sunday, the four-term senator said he hoped that she would bring that "magnificent young, bright, able Illinois/Arkansas enthusiasm to New York, which probably could use a little."

Hillary Clinton said this week that she was giving "careful thought" to the race and would announce her decision later this year. But New York Democrats are urging her to decide by April so that another candidate can get an early start on fund raising should she decide against running. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City is expected to run hard for the seat for the Republicans and has already started raising money.

On CNN's "Inside Politics" yesterday, Giuliani sounded eager for a Senate race against a first lady — which would be a first in American history.

"I think probably one of the things that pitches you a little bit more toward doing a thing like this is it would be a great challenge," Giuliani said. "You would be creating new ground. This has

never happened before."

As pressure rises on Hillary Clinton to make a decision, Harold Ickes, her political adviser and a veteran of New York politics, floated the idea of the first lady's candidacy to several consultants who have had success in that state's bruising campaigns.

David Doak, a media consultant in David N. Dinkins' two New York City mayoral races, said he made clear to Ickes this week that he would want to sign on should the first lady run.

"I doubt there's anybody more suited to that kind of rough-and-tumble politics than her," said Doak, a campaign adviser with Doak, Carrier & O'Donnell and a friend of Hillary Clinton's for more than 20 years. Also, Doak said, the first lady can attract the money necessary in that state's hugely expensive campaigns.

"She brings an unbelievable ability to raise financial backing," he said.

Ickes attended the AFL-CIO's executive council meeting in Miami this week, talking with labor leaders about the first lady's prospects in a Senate campaign in New York.

Next week, Hillary Clinton will reportedly meet with several labor leaders, including AFL-CIO President John Sweeney. She is also expected at several New York appearances in coming months and



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Decision to make: Hillary Rodham Clinton is coming under pressure to announce her political intentions by April.

is planning to meet next week with Sen. Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, who heads the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

For now, the first lady's possible candidacy is the talk of New York politics. Longtime New York political consultants say that should she decide not to run, Giuliani's position will be even stronger for her having tested the idea and then withdrawn.

"It's not going to be a cakewalk if it's Rudy Giuliani; it's not going to be an easy time — he is a very, very good candidate — he may be abrasive, but he's good," said David Garth, a veteran adviser who worked on Giuliani's first victorious mayoral campaign. "Obviously, if she doesn't run, she's helped Rudy immensely — the obvious reason being that he must have driven her out."

Across the nation

FROM TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

First lady, Moynihan discuss running for his seat in Senate

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton met with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan on Friday about whether she should run for his New York Senate seat.

Afterward, Moynihan said they discussed New York voting patterns and demographics in Senate and presidential campaigns. "They're more complex than you might think," said the senator, who has said he won't seek a fifth term in 2000.

Moynihan said the numbers "look very good for her but New York is a big demographic problem." Asked if it were more likely now that Clinton would run, he said, "She's very much involved in that decision." He said he did not give her advice but said, "Of course I'd support her."

"It's a listening meeting, an opportunity to explore thoughts," said Marsha Berry, Clinton's press secretary, before the meeting.

President Clinton said Friday that he will "be strongly supportive of whatever decision the first lady makes" and was encouraging her to "take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument."

Hillary Clinton has met previously with Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth, Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), Senate Democratic campaign committee Chairman Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, and a few female senators, including Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.). She is to meet next week with AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's greatest liability as candidate is her husband

JOHN ELLIS

It is impossible to overstate the humiliation Hillary Rodham Clinton has endured this past year. No one in her position has ever experienced anything quite like it. There were days when simply maintaining her composure seemed to require every ounce of her will. And it never ends. Yesterday, her husband was credibly accused of rape in The Wall Street Journal.

So it should come as no surprise that when Mrs. Clinton looks north toward New York, she sees greener pastures. What began as a daydream has become a serious consideration, holding out the promise of a new and perhaps better life. And on a number of levels, it makes sense. New York is the place you go when there's no place else called home.

She would be a formidable candidate for the United States Senate. She is intelligent, disciplined, hard-working, and tough. She's also a bit of a crackpot, but New York is nondiscriminatory in this regard. It frequently nominates crackpots for high office and occasionally elects them. It is understood that you have to be a little crazy to live there.

Mrs. Clinton has other assets. They include 100 percent name recognition and the ability to raise all the money she could ever need in a matter of months.

In addition, she would have the executive branch of the federal government at her beck and call. In addition to that, the Democratic nomination would be hers the day she announced, which may be the most important asset of all.

It is a thousand times easier to wage a coherent general election campaign if one's march to the nomination is

unimpeded. Chat show experts say that this moment is as high as her kite can fly, that the process, the press, and the pressure of the campaign would gradually diminish her. Not necessarily. The fact is that *any* Democrat with no primary opposition and \$25 million in the bank would be a 50-50 bet to win the Moynihan Senate seat. In a two-way general election race, Hillary Clinton would always be in the hunt, never out of it. In a three-way race, she would be even more formidable. New York's demographics have shifted since the 1980s, as any GOP pollster will attest. It is again a Democratic state.

She would, however, face competent and compelling opposition in the general election. New York City's May-

How can she stand up to the tough questions she will face?

or Rudolph Giuliani has done what many thought was impossible; by sheer doggedness and determination he has reversed the city's civic fortunes. New York is livable again. It is clean again. It is safe again. Walking down the city's streets, one can actually feel Giuliani's accomplishment, and it is considerable.

Historically, Democrats win statewide elections in New York by racking up huge margins in the city, splitting the suburbs, and holding on for dear life upstate. Giuliani changes that formula; he would at least break even in the city. As a result, Mrs. Clinton would have to spend most of her time outside of Manhattan — on Long Island, in Westchester, and in the counties bisected by

the New York State Thruway. The campaign would be what professional golfers call a "grind." And she would be competing with an opponent at the top of his game.

But her real opponent would be her apparently ceaseless humiliation.

Yesterday's story in The Wall Street Journal alleges that in 1978, her husband raped a woman named Juanita Broadrick in a Little Rock hotel room.

According to sources at NBC News, where I used to work, four contemporaneous witnesses and reams of supporting detail support Mrs. Broadrick's story. Lawyers for President Clinton have to date refused all comment on these new allegations.

How much more of this can Mrs. Clinton endure? What does she say when some hostile reporter from the New York Post asks her to explain her position on tougher sentencing laws for rapists? How does she explain her complicity in all the coverups of her husband's extramarital activities? How can she champion women's rights when her husband is widely believed (based on substantial and credible evidence) to be a sexual predator? Hypocrisy is part and parcel of politics. But hypocrisy on this scale is untenable. And unlike normal hypocrisy ("So good to see you!"), this kind of hypocrisy sears the soul.

Mrs. Clinton will find solace in New York if she goes there. After the initial flurry of interest, no one will bother her, just as no one bothered Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. But she won't find solace there if she runs for the Senate. Her humiliation will continue unabated. Which is why people who know her believe that, in the end, she will forgo the race. One hopes, for her sake, that they're right.

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — You can hear it in the voice of every local politico and columnist who brings up the subject — a tremble of excitement, a wavelet of giddiness, the palpable thrill that comes with the hope or dread of witnessing history.

Hillary Rodham Clinton versus Rudolph W. Giuliani, for the title of US senator from New York: The notion of such a fight, once the puffery of daydreams, has suddenly taken on the hard edge of possibility.

Polls, furthermore, show Mrs. Clinton leading the mayor, 51-42. But these are early polls. Election Day 2000 is still 18 months away. The question that many are starting to contemplate — not least Giuliani and Clinton, neither of whom has yet declared can-



AP PHOTO

The Clintons conferring yesterday during a program on Social Security.

didacy — is what kind of campaign would be involved and whether she would really win.

Some are skeptical of the flushed optimism displayed by many Democrats, eager to send one of their own to fill the seat of their senior senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who announced last fall he would not

HILLARY, Page A21

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

■ HILLARY

Continued from Page A1

run for another term.

Joseph Mercurio, a leading Republican consultant, said yesterday: "She could become the Geraldine Ferraro of the next Senate race." Ferraro, the TV personality and former vice presidential candidate, was thought to be a shoo-in when she entered last fall's Senate race — and then lost the primary, to Charles E. Schumer, by 25 points.

Mercurio predicted that, like Ferraro, Mrs. Clinton could start out "very big in the polls, partly because of fame. Then she's fleshed out on issues; she has no set of accomplishments you can point to, and so she starts to slide."

Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, which took the survey showing Mrs. Clinton beating the mayor, said, "It's probably true" that her ratings now are as high as they will get.

"Her negatives are plenty," Carroll said. She will have to walk "a difficult tightrope" if her husband — who would still be president during the campaign — took a position unpopular with many New Yorkers. And there is her widely quoted statement of favoring a Palestinian state, which would alienate many Jewish voters.

John Faso, a Republican state assemblyman, said Mrs. Clinton's own bag of scandals will be fair game — her involvement in Whitewater and the suspiciously quick fortune she once made in trading cattle futures.

Finally, there is the carpetbag issue. "Why should we elect someone who's never lived in New York?" Faso asked.

The New York Observer, a weekly paper far friendlier to Mrs. Clinton, raised the same point in yesterday's issue: "What does she know about Utica and White Plains and the F train?"

On the other hand, even her critics acknowledge that Mrs. Clinton would come to the race with many strengths.

Foremost is her fame and popularity. President Clinton enjoys very high ratings all over the state and his wife seems, if anything, even more admired. Last fall, when she campaigned for Schumer in his successful race against the incumbent Republican senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato, her speeches were big hits at corporate luncheons and union rallies alike.

On Monday, Moynihan said she'd be welcome and she'd win.

She would have the strong support of women, without — at least so it seems in New York — alienating many men. The Quinnipiac Poll shows her leading Giuliani among both genders.

She would have the overwhelm-

ing support of minorities, who might turn out at the voting booths in greater numbers than usual.

Some Democrats also reject the idea that Mrs. Clinton would be hurt by being from out of state. "What did Bobby Kennedy know about New York?" former New York Mayor Edward I. Koch asked rhetorically. Kennedy won the state's Senate seat in 1964 without living here. "That's not an issue."

Finally, the polls show her creaming Giuliani in New York City — 64 to 31 — and at least doing well elsewhere, tying him upstate and trailing by 5 points in the suburbs.

Giuliani's own popularity may be heading south. A citywide Quinnipiac poll released yesterday shows the mayor's positive ratings declining from 60 percent last November to 49 percent last week. His negative ratings, over the same period, have gone from 33 percent to 47 percent.

Carroll speculated that the mayor's handling of the Amadou Diallo shooting — in which four policemen fired 41 bullets at an unarmed African immigrant in his own Bronx doorway — may be partly responsible for the decline. But he added, "It's not just Diallo. It's his whole fortress attitude toward governing."

John Podhoretz, the conservative editorial-page editor of the New York Post, said Tuesday night, at a panel on mayoral politics sponsored by The New Yorker magazine, that Giuliani might not even run for Senate if Mrs. Clinton entered the race. Asked why, he replied, "Because I don't see any way that she doesn't win — to my regret."

However, a Republican with access to the mayor said yesterday: "If Hillary runs, Rudy will be more inclined to run. He will relish Hillary Clinton. She's unproven, she's never run for office. Bring her on!"

The Republican, who spoke in condition of anonymity, said Giuliani would see the contest as a "philosophical" battle, which he enjoys confronting.

Also, the source said, "By betting her, he would be one of the leading, if not one of the top two or three, Republicans in the country."

Another Republican, who also asked not to be identified, dismissed this as "tough talk" and expressed doubts that the mayor would run any race that he had a serious chance of losing.

The mayor, for some time, has been courting Texas Governor George W. Bush, a leading prospect for the Republican presidential nomination, and many have speculated he might prefer being his vice president or a Cabinet officer. One might prefer to wait until George Pataki gets tired of being New York governor and run for that job. One could even wait till 2005 — four years after his second and, by law, final

consecutive term as mayor expires. By sitting out four years, he could run for mayor again.

Everyone, of whatever stripe, agrees that if Giuliani runs and Mrs. Clinton does not, then Giuliani probably cannot be beat. Similarly, if

Mrs. Clinton runs and Giuliani does not, then she probably cannot be beat. This may be another reason why the politically interested — eager for drama, if nothing else — are hoping that both join up for what would be a battle of titans.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady leaves open Senate door

Clinton takes positive step
by not saying 'no' outright

By Lisa Anderson

TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Creating the most delicious political anticipation here since former Gov. Mario Cuomo dithered over a run for the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton has Democrats drooling and Republicans reeling over the question: Will she run for the U.S. Senate from New York?

As rumors reached a frenzy Tuesday, the first lady addressed the issue in a two-sen-



Hillary Rodham Clinton again spurs speculation.

tence statement, saying she would give "careful thought" to making a bid for the seat to be vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Promising to announce a decision this year, she said she was gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running."

It wasn't much, but it was more than enough to keep the campaign fires burning.

Whether they see her as a carpetbagging outsider or an avenging crusader who can hold Moynihan's seat against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the probable GOP candidate, everyone seems to have something to say about it.

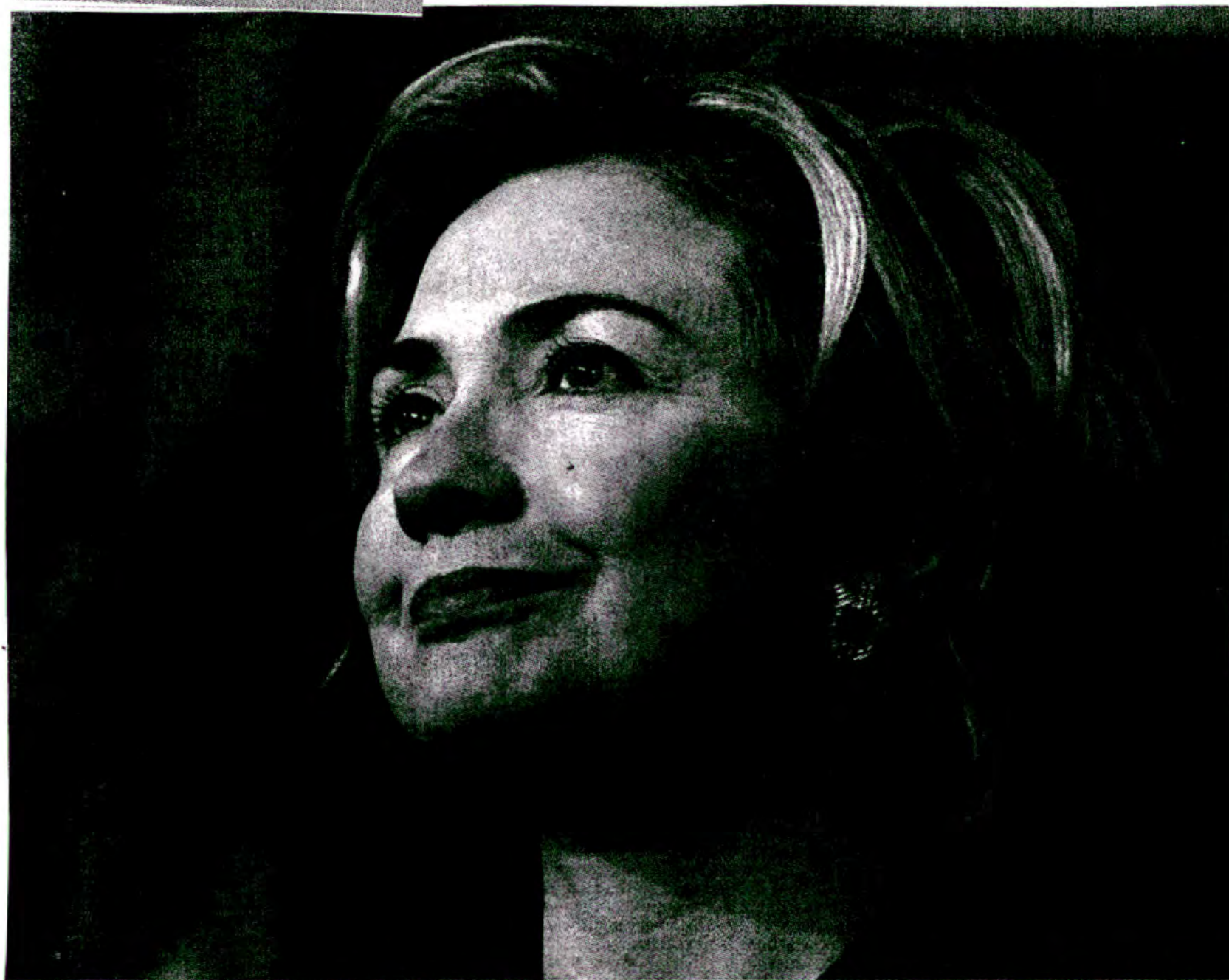
President Clinton himself fanned the speculative sparks Monday during his visit to Mexico. His wife, he said, would make a

SEE FIRST LADY, BACK PAGE

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, February 17, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Tribune photo by Pete Souza

Hillary Rodham Clinton attends an announcement Tuesday for Central American disaster relief at the Old Executive Office Building in Washington.

First lady looking beyond White House

Amid rising speculation, a poll indicates New York voters would favor Mrs. Clinton over Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"terrific" senator, but the decision to run is up to her.

In an effort to persuade her, U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, a veteran Manhattan Democrat, dangled the assurance that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would be unopposed in a Democratic primary. And should she run in 2000, Moynihan himself predicted, "She'd win."

Not so fast, cautioned former Democratic Mayor Ed Koch.

"I think she would win, but she should understand it's not a cakewalk, that Giuliani and the Republicans will use every loathsome opportunity to throw mud at her," said Koch, echoing the concerns of many of Mrs. Clinton's friends and supporters.

David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic consultant from Chicago, is one of them. "From the standpoint of New York Democrats, she's a splendid candidate. . . . As someone who really likes and admires and knows her, I hope she will not do it," he said. "Do you want to put yourself through the mixmaster of New York politics with the ultimate attack dog on the other side? I don't think that is an elevating experience."

Axelrod said he thought she would win, "because I see her on a different level than Giuliani. It would be like a match between a champion and a club fighter. But

club fighters also hit below the belt and you have to be prepared for bruises."

New Yorkers are duly mesmerized—and divided—over the prospect of the political equivalent of Clash of the Titans, an almost inevitably bare-knuckled battle between the charismatic, liberal, out-of-stater Mrs. Clinton, and the pugnacious, starchily conservative, home-grown Giuliani, the man who tamed New York City.

"I think she would be the perfect person to replace Mr. Moynihan because she's a lady, she has charisma and I admire her," said Jorge Delgado, a taxi driver. "She can count on my vote."

Not so for Joe Russo, a dry cleaner. "I'd vote for Rudy, because he's from here and I like the job he's doing. I'd like to have somebody right here, from the state itself. They seem to know more about what's going on around here."

If Mrs. Clinton does enter the race, it would be the first time a current first lady has run for elective office, but it hardly would be the first time an out-of-stater has made a bid for a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

Most notable was former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who moved from Washington, D.C., and barely had his bags unpacked in New York when he was elected to

the Senate in 1964. In 1970, Republican James Buckley, a recent transplant from Connecticut, was elected to the seat vacated by Kennedy, who was assassinated while running for president in 1968.

Like Kennedy's candidacy, Mrs. Clinton's would come at a time when New York Democrats desperately need it. The party's most likely other contender for Moynihan's seat is Rep. Nita Lowey, who has represented the Westchester County suburbs since 1988 but registers virtually no name recognition in the state.

Speculation also has risen that Mrs. Clinton, a native of Park Ridge, Ill., might make a run for the U.S. Senate in Illinois in 2004, when Republican Peter Fitzgerald's seat comes up. Axelrod favors that idea.

"With all due respect to Illinois, a Senate seat from New York is a hotter political ticket than a Senate seat from Illinois," said Jay Severin, a GOP consultant.

Particularly if you are, as Bobby Kennedy was, looking for yet higher office. "This is a stepping stone to the presidency. I have absolutely no doubt that this is in her mind," said Severin, who considers Mrs. Clinton "Colin Powell in a skirt."

No question that New York is a big, highly visible and accommodating stage. It has no residency

requirement beyond an address in the state by Election Day. Even a hotel suite will do, though Mrs. Clinton might raise awkward questions by moving out of the White House before her husband does.

While the carpetbagger tag may rankle some voters, for others, many of them newcomers themselves, it matters little. "She doesn't need to be from New York," said Delgado, an immigrant. "She knows very well the New York people and she understands our needs."

Moreover, as Delgado pointed out, Giuliani may be popular, but he has alienated a significant number of New York City residents, ranging from taxi drivers and street peddlers to many in the minority community.

Mrs. Clinton is well known, respected and popular in the state. Her many visits were credited with helping Democrat Charles Schumer defeat longtime GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November. Sharing her husband's strength with minority voters, her greatest challenge may be reaching out to Jewish voters, some of whom were offended by her stated support for a Palestinian state.

Nonetheless, early opinion polls generally have been encouraging for her. In the most recent Marist poll, released Jan. 26, Mrs. Clinton beat Giuliani handily, 53 percent to

42 percent, among all registered voters. She did particularly well in New York City, upstate New York and among women voters. Her softest spot seemed to be among suburban voters.

Although Republicans hold the statehouse, Democrats hold a sizable advantage in registered voters. President Clinton carried the state overwhelmingly in 1992 and 1996.

Said Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center: "There are three things you should know: Hillary Clinton has enormous appeal because New York has never elected a woman to a statewide office except as lieutenant governor. She'd get the women's vote. Secondly, she would have no difficulty raising money, because she could draw upon a national pool of donors. And in a presidential year, the Democratic turnout is usually higher here by at least a million votes. That would also be to her advantage."

But as Axelrod said, there remain two threshold questions the first lady must answer: "Does she want to go the electoral route and, if she does, when and where is it best to pursue it? Is New York the right place and is 2000 the right time?"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

the Senate in New York

If First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton were to run for U.S. senator from New York, she would have to fulfill these constitutional requirements:

- Be 30 years of age.
- Be a U.S. citizen for 9 years.
- Live in the state where she is running.

The New York Board of Elections interprets the residency requirement as living in the state for any period of time—even just one day—up to the day of the election.

The state process

■ Mrs. Clinton must be nominated by her party or collect 15,000 signatures from registered Democrats. To be nominated, state Democratic Party rules say a candidate must receive 25 percent of delegates' votes at the party convention in May 2000.

■ If a Democratic opponent emerges, a primary election is held in September. The winner goes on the November ballot.

State voters

Number of registered New York voters by party as of 1998:

Democrat	4,997,773 (46.5%)
Republican	3,114,832 (29.0%)
Unaffiliated	2,164,121 (20.1%)
Other parties	464,062 (4.3%)

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not total 100

The strength of the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1996

- Won 52 out of 62 New York counties.
- Won 60 percent of the overall vote in the state.

Hillary Clinton ponders N.Y. race

She promises to give 'careful thought' to bid for Moynihan's seat

Would be 1st race for office

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton sent speculation about her bid for the Senate into overdrive yesterday with a formal acknowledgment that she would give "careful thought" to pursuing the New York seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

President Clinton stoked the issue Monday when he told reporters in Mexico that his wife would make a "great" senator.

The first lady took her cue yesterday, releasing a three-sentence statement that she was "deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate."

She added, "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

The Democratic nomination appears to be hers for the taking. Empire State Democrats vying to succeed Moynihan, a Democrat first elected in 1976, have all but said they would step aside to give the first lady a clear path to the nomination. After that, she almost certainly would face a difficult race against a well-financed Republican, possibly New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

But Democrats are clearly enlivened by the prospect of snagging a candidate of the stature of the first lady. The idea of a Clinton run was floated last month by New

But Democrats are clearly enlivened by the prospect of snagging a candidate of the stature of the first lady. The idea of a Clinton run was floated last month by New Jersey Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and a strong Clinton supporter, who reiterated his backing for her yesterday.

The offhand suggestion quickly took hold. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, an influential New York Democrat, started a recruitment push, and Moynihan on Sunday spoke of her "magnificent, young, bright, able Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm."

"It would [See Clinton, 4A]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady vows to give 'careful thought' to bid

[Clinton, from Page 1A]

certainly be a thrilling experience, and we are all hoping she will decide this is a very good choice for her," said Judith Hope, the New York state Democratic Party chairwoman.

But the first lady faces any number of challenges that could keep her from the race. She has never held elective office, and New York would be a brutal place to

start her career in electoral politics. The tabloid press appears to be salivating at the prospect of a Clinton-Giuliani race, just two years after the bloody campaign of 1998, in which Democratic Rep. Charles E. Schumer fought tooth and nail with Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato and ultimately defeated the famed "Senator Pothole."

New York newspapers are gearing up to sift through all the scandals of the Clinton presidency that touched the first lady, including the Whitewater land deal, the firings in the White House travel office and the FBI personnel files controversy.

"No more ... softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does," promised the *New York Post* in an editorial yesterday. "When she drops a prickly pear, like suggesting a Palestinian state, she won't be able to hide in the White House while others haul out the damage-control team."

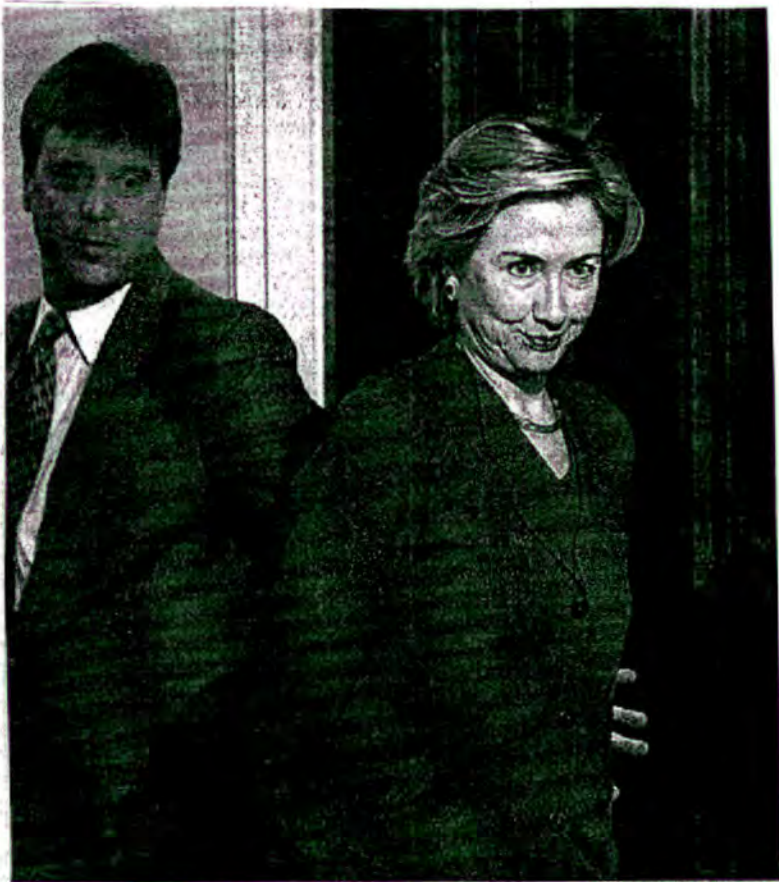
She will almost certainly be painted as a carpetbagger with no real ties to a state that has famously looked after its own interests. Moynihan's seat is no stranger to outsiders, however. It was once held by Robert F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Connecticut's James Buckley.

"Over 50 percent of New Yorkers were born someplace else. We are the melting pot," Hope insisted. "We pride ourselves for welcoming people of talent who are willing to work hard."

Moreover, the Clintons face daunting financial challenges. Next week, the president's legal trust is expected to disclose the magnitude of the family's legal debts, which are likely to be in the millions of dollars. And Hillary Clinton has long been the family's main breadwinner.

"The rumor is that she is really and truly tempted [to run] but that she realizes it would be a crazy thing to do," said a Democratic pollster, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "The Clintons are just about the poorest people in America, outside some majorly leveraged real estate developers."

And it is not clear whether the first lady would want the job, once she seriously considered what it entails. After the cloistered world of the White House, she would find



AGENCE FRANCE-PRES

Speculation: Hillary Rodham Clinton prepares to announce a relief program for hurricane victims in Central America and the Caribbean.

herself a junior senator, probably in the minority party, attending tedious committee meetings, confronting a press corps with far more access to her, and dealing with the mundane tasks of fund raising and constituent service.

"I think she would find it frustrating," said a longtime friend. "She has many other opportunities to be effective in a way that gives her more flexibility. A chamber runs on its own schedule. She has many other things she can do outside that arena, given her command over her own life and schedule."

The friend said Clinton currently enjoys a kind of power not found in the Senate.

"You have that bully pulpit which commands attention," the friend said. "You have to like the legislature and all the compromises and coalition-building — and a part of her does. But another part of her had experience in the executive branch, where you're more in charge."

For now, at least, the first lady is being greeted only by hosannas from the Democratic Party. Democrats such as Rep. Nita M. Lowey have been waiting for years for Moynihan's retirement and an opportunity to run. In the past month, Lowey has visited Syracuse, Newburgh, Albany and Buffalo.

Yet her chief of staff, Howard Wolfson, said Lowey would gladly step aside if Clinton decided to run.

"If she runs, [Lowey] will support her enthusiastically," Wolfson said.

The first lady may be pleading for time to make her decision, but she does not have long. Democratic hopefuls have been practically frozen in their tracks by the speculation about her run, not wanting to raise and spend campaign cash if they will have to step aside. Meanwhile, Republicans are running hard.

Still, the first lady appears to be enjoying the attention and playing it for all it's worth.

Yesterday, a platoon of reporters showed up to hear her announce a \$956 million relief package for Central American and Caribbean nations clobbered last year by hurricanes Mitch and Georges — an event they probably would not have covered normally.

When the event ended, a reporter shouted out the question that most of the journalists came to ask: When will you make your decision about the Senate bid?

She simply smiled and waved as she left the stage.

The question was, after all, welcome respite from the Monica Lewinsky-related issues that have dogged the first lady for more than a year.

"People should respect the important professional decision Hillary Rodham Clinton has to make," Torricelli cautioned.

"I hope her friends will give her advice and encouragement, but also hope they will give her consideration and time."

Sun staff writer Ellen Gerner contributed to this article.

Her statement

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year.

"In the meantime, I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for many years."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FAX DATE: 3/11/99TO: Laura Handman

FAX #:

FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT

202-887-6726

PAGES: _____

FAX DATE: 3/11/99TO: Melanne, Patti Solis, Marcia
Berry

FAX #:

FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT

202-887-6726

PAGES: 2

AROUND THE ISLAND

Ickes Plays Key Role In Hillary's Decision

ON POLITICS



Rick Brand

English and Klein to head its Washington office. Ickes, who has become a key if informal player in what he calls the "HRC exploratory effort," has in recent weeks supplied the first lady with a list of more than 200 names of high-powered New York state Democrats and party allies with whom she needs to consult before announcing a decision.

The names range from party leaders such as Suffolk's Dominick Baranello and Erie County's Steve Pigeon, to lesser-known but just as powerful union leaders such as Senay Hall, who heads Local 100, the city's transit-workers union.

"Even though there is a huge outpouring from Democrats around the state saying, 'Run, run, run, you're our savior,'" said Ickes, "if Hillary was to make this decision to run in Washington tomorrow without talking to the top 200... there would be a cry of how presumptuous can she be."

By making the calls, the steady political veteran says, the first lady will create a "political backfire" to avoid a backlash that could result from her status as an outsider. "Whether she says yes or whether she says no," said Ickes, "she has to go through this consultation period... so people understand she has in fact reached out and talked to them."

Few are better equipped to help Clinton navigate New York's choppy political waters than Ickes, the son of a New Deal cabinet secretary and a long-time veteran of New York's bare-knuckles political wars. Ickes started his career with Long Island's charismatic anti-war Congressman Allard Lowenstein, later managed the New York presidential campaign of Eugene McCarthy, the lieutenant governor's race of Basil Patterson, the borough president's run of Robert Wagner III, and others.

"Harold is one of the smartest political strategists in the country," said Judith Hope, state Democratic chairwoman. "And anybody would be fortunate to have him on their team, especially anyone looking to build a career in New York State."

In addition to his link to the Mineola law firm, Ickes also runs his own consulting business with former aide Janice Enright. They count among

their clients some of New York's most powerful forces, including the United Federation of Teachers and the New York City Council.

Until last year, Ickes was a central administration figure as a troubleshooter and a campaign-finance strategist. He still carries the scars of several unfinished congressional and independent council probes into perjury allegations and fund-raising practices. He was unceremoniously dumped in November, 1996, after four years in the Clinton White House after an internal power struggle. However, he remained to oversee the 1997 inauguration and was called back in by Hillary Clinton last year for damage control during the impeachment brouhaha.

Ickes declined to give his own view on whether she should enter the race, saying that is a "very, very personal decision."

"I don't see my role as urging her to run or not to run," he said, "but to do everything I can to help her make her decision." Toward that end, Ickes is also trying to provide Clinton with information on critical local issues and the nuances of New York politics, laden with potential land mines.

"She knows what ISTEA (the Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act, pronounced "iced tea") is," said Ickes, referring to the program that provides billions of dollars for mass transit. "She knows you don't drink it, but she's not conversant with all the details even though it is the lifeblood for many constituencies" in New York, namely, unions.

His advice is also based on pragmatism. "The basic question is, Does she want to be United States senator?" he said, noting the job doesn't only involve "high-blown speeches," but also "the proper amount of pot-hole work."

Even if elected, Clinton would have to establish a presence throughout the state, he said. "She is going to have to spend every single week-end early on... coming back here going out to Queens or Brooklyn, upstate or the suburbs," he said.

Ickes also said the race would be tough. Unlike last year's Senate battle in which Rep. Chuck Schumer defeated Sen. Alfonse D'Amato with a lopsided New York City vote, Ickes said Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would come out of the city with far better numbers because of his personal popularity. He said Clinton would have to draw voters not normally involved in politics, particularly large numbers of women. "The real fight will be in the suburbs," he predicted.

Ickes' own ties to Long Island came through the late Jack English, a former Nassau Democratic leader, Kennedy confidant and founder of the law firm that bears his name.

During his 14 years with the firm, Ickes said he learned a lesson from English that could be applied to his ups and downs with the Clinton administration. "Jack had a long-term view of politics," he said. "Jack understood that your adversary of today could be your ally tomorrow. The way to handle your political affairs is to be a stout opponent, but never a bitter enemy."

Former Clinton White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes.

their clients some of New York's most powerful forces, including the United Federation of Teachers and the New York City Council.

Until last year, Ickes was a central administration figure as a troubleshooter and a campaign-finance strategist. He still carries the scars of several unfinished congressional and independent council probes into perjury allegations and fund-raising practices. He was unceremoniously dumped in November, 1996, after four years in the Clinton White House after an internal power struggle. However, he remained to oversee the 1997 inauguration and was called back in by Hillary Clinton last year for damage control during the impeachment brouhaha.

Ickes declined to give his own view on whether she should enter the race, saying that is a "very, very personal decision."

"I don't see my role as urging her to run or not to run," he said, "but to do everything I can to help her make her decision." Toward that end, Ickes is also trying to provide Clinton with information on critical local issues and the nuances of New York politics, laden with potential land mines.

"She knows what ISTEA (the Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act, pronounced "iced tea") is," said Ickes, referring to the program that provides billions of dollars for mass transit. "She knows you don't drink it, but she's not conversant with all the details even though it is the lifeblood for many constituencies" in New York, namely, unions.

His advice is also based on pragmatism. "The basic question is, Does she want to be United States senator?" he said, noting the job doesn't only involve "high-blown speeches," but also "the proper amount of pot-hole work."

Even if elected, Clinton would have to establish a presence throughout the state, he said. "She is going to have to spend every single week-end early on... coming back here going out to Queens or Brooklyn, upstate or the suburbs," he said.

Ickes also said the race would be tough. Unlike last year's Senate battle in which Rep. Chuck Schumer defeated Sen. Alfonse D'Amato with a lopsided New York City vote, Ickes said Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would come out of the city with far better numbers because of his personal popularity. He said Clinton would have to draw voters not normally involved in politics, particularly large numbers of women. "The real fight will be in the suburbs," he predicted.

Ickes' own ties to Long Island came through the late Jack English, a former Nassau Democratic leader, Kennedy confidant and founder of the law firm that bears his name.

During his 14 years with the firm, Ickes said he learned a lesson from English that could be applied to his ups and downs with the Clinton administration. "Jack had a long-term view of politics," he said. "Jack understood that your adversary of today could be your ally tomorrow. The way to handle your political affairs is to be a stout opponent, but never a bitter enemy."

Former Clinton White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes.

Former Clinton White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes.

Wanted:

Early in Joe place Steve Sa chairman, form Yevoli was conal

But all that Assemb. Thom started making the job, though nounced his ca telling people h asking for con

Some erstwhi are now learni they say, Yevoli ing ability or th county chairma

Acknowledgin fair, Yevoli rep been elected to to the Oyster times if he had acknowledged th ask for money could ask for fu

The jockeying both recently charge growing lumber company is reversed on : have to step asid

Gulotta

The controven Blakeman (R-Wo ostensibly to tal and explain the ecutive Tom Gul mend the county

Nassau Repub dello did not have time, sources sai reports that Blak Gulotta and com who got the coun

One thing led Mondello called ers into a meetin told them he wa the backbiting. S koman as well as

Gulotta decline have his spokem statement that e pointing, or asses was called to en effort on the part

Blakeman did r ment, and Monde been very vocal i gether to solve county faces. Fir blame is countery

Schulte I

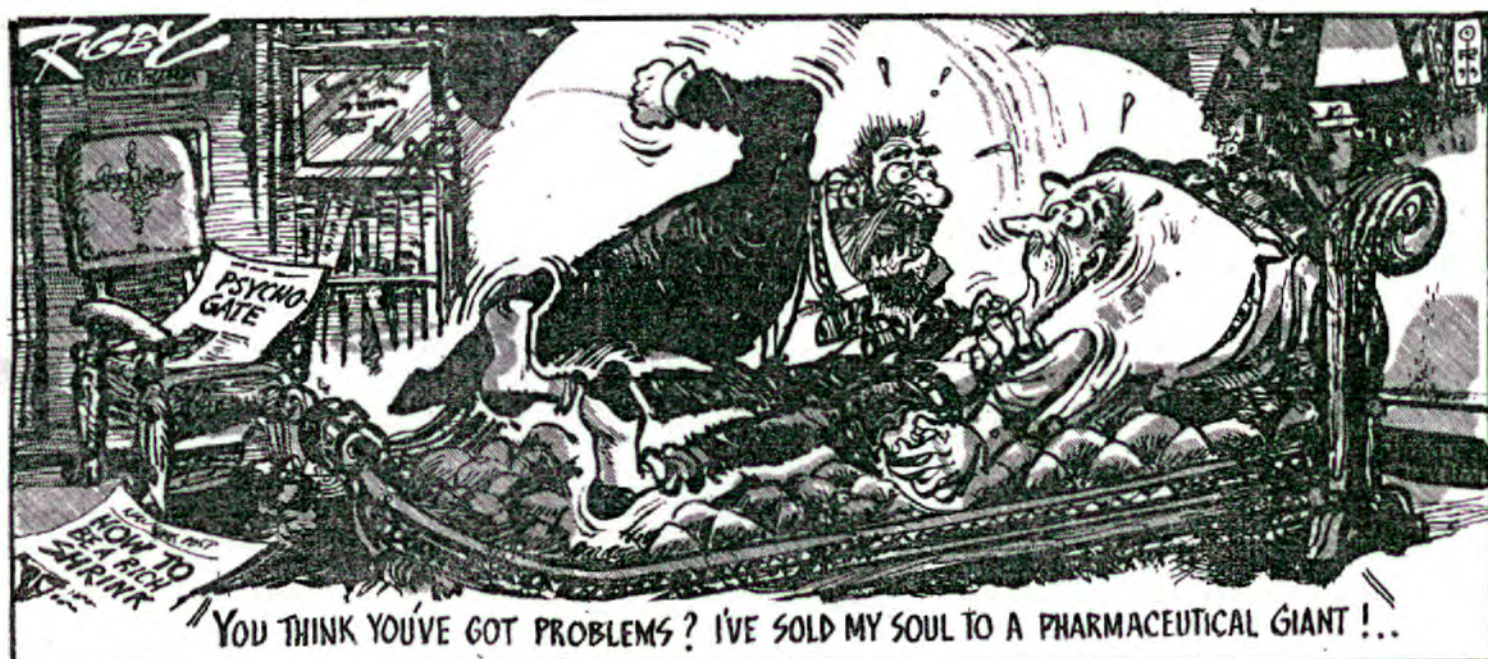
Beneva Schulte Carolyn McCarth campaign, is leav woman's office to in what up to no Republican public

The 32-year-old pact communicat strategic communi by Ed Gillespie, w retory for Rep. Ri connected to the la former National R

By Irving Long

OSTOPINION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



YOU THINK YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS? I'VE SOLD MY SOUL TO A PHARMACEUTICAL GIANT!...

Hillary's Numbers Head South

HILLARY for Senate? It's a lot less likely after a Feb. 26 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll showing that her national favorability has dropped from 63 percent to 53 percent since speculation about her candidacy began. The cruel irony is that while America loves Hillary as First Lady, standing unflappably by her man, the



DICK MORRIS

Newsweek and your ratings drop, something is wrong.

Hillary would make a wonderful senator. She is a lifelong advocate for women and children and is happiest in that role. But she should launch her candidacy only after she has put some distance between herself and her husband's administration. Her best bet is to run in Illinois, where she grew up, in 2004 against the highly vulnerable, newly elected, right-wing Sen. Peter Fitzgerald.

The Fox News Poll shows the growing popularity of another political wife — Elizabeth Dole. She not only runs ahead of Vice President Al Gore by 51-36, she's closing in on Texas Gov. George W. Bush.

It would be a serious blunder to count out Liddy Dole. In a general election, her candidacy would appeal to women and close the gender gap on which Democrats depend. In the GOP primary, she

doesn't even muster a majority of the vote against a very weak field.

Gore needs to come out from Clinton's shadow. In that shade no candidacy can grow. While the president's job-approval is flourishing, his personal popularity continues to fall (this week it dropped to a new low of 40 percent).

Of course Gore can't dump on Clinton,

Vote Share of Potential Democratic Candidates

Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Democrats
Al Gore	35%	48%
Bill Bradley	18	14
John Kerry	11	9
Jessie Jackson	10	13

but he should distinguish himself by returning to his original theme of the environment and global climate changes. Recent weird weather throughout the world makes his gloomy predictions seem more appropriate than they have ever been. By talking about his old passion, he will develop a welcome animation and remind voters of his life before Clinton.

In 1968, Nixon harnessed each day's crime headlines to make law and order the basis of his national agenda. In 2000, Gore must use the fires in Florida, the mudslides in California, the floods in Texas, and the droughts in the Midwest to show Americans the pressing necessity of action in the face of global warming. Global climate is changing. If the consequences of this shift are as dire as predicted, the environment will become the issue of the next decade. With the millennium, voters are in a mood to think in planetary terms and Gore could be just the man to make the issue work.

Is it not a sad commentary on our politics that the three main contenders are only able to run because they rode their father's or husband's reputation into power? Gore's father was a senator as, of course, was Liddy's husband. Bush's dad was president and his grandfather was a senator. Can't we have a president who made it on his own like Clinton, Reagan and Carter did? We need a candidate who has no direct family connection

Vote Share of Potential Republican Candidates

Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Repub's
George W. Bush	32%	47%
Elizabeth Dole	23	23
Steve Forbes	5	7
Dan Quayle	5	6
Rudy Guiliani	6	3
Lamar Alexander	4	2
Gary Bauer	1	1

would run to the right of Bush — always a good place to be in the Republican field. With her sterling record at the Red Cross, she could win. Elizabeth Dole could well be the first woman president.

On the Democratic side, Gore is clearly hurting. The lack of enthusiasm for him

closer she gets to an actual candidacy, the more her popularity fades.

Her sudden rise in voter approval and equally sudden drop is chronicled in the Fox News polling since the November election (see table).

As impeachment gathered momentum, awe at Hillary's grace under pressure moved her popularity to heights it had not seen since she first burst on our national consciousness. Just as Jackie Kennedy's dignity and poise after her husband's assassination moved the nation, Hillary's calm, self-possessed bearing during what must have been weeks of excruciating embarrassment impressed us all. Her favorability rating moved from 54 percent on Nov. 13 to a high of 63 percent on Jan. 29.

But as talk of her Senate candidacy has increased, she has come across as just another politician. The very discussion about her using her popularity to get elected has taken the sheen off her image and sent her ratings back down to earth. In the past four weeks, she has skidded 10 points back to her more typical favorability rating of 53 percent.

While the talk of her running for the Senate has acclimated people to the idea of her separate political career, it has diminished the very popularity which made the concept of Senator Clinton attractive in the first place. This shows the volatility of her image, while her



Hillary's Numbers Head South

ARY for Senate? It's a lot less likely after a Feb. 26 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll showing that her national favorability has fallen from 63 percent to 53 percent speculation about her candidacy. The cruel irony is that while she loves Hillary as First Lady, she is unflappably by her man, the

Opinion of Hillary Clinton

	Favorable	Unfavorable
3	54%	39%
8	62	32
8	60	33
9	63	31
3	59	34
6	53	39

she gets to an actual candidacy, her popularity fades. A sudden rise in voter approval and a sudden drop is chronicled in the news polling since the November 1 (see table).

Speachment gathered momentum, Hillary's grace under pressure her popularity to heights it had not since she first burst on our national consciousness. Just as Jackie Kennedy's dignity and poise after her husband's assassination moved the nation, Hillary's calm, self-possessed bearing what must have been weeks of cruciating embarrassment imprinted on us all. Her favorability rating fell from 54 percent on Nov. 13 to a 63 percent on Jan. 29.

As talk of her Senate candidacy increased, she has come across as another politician. The very discussion of her using her popularity to get elected has taken the sheen off her and sent her ratings back down. In the past four weeks, she has lost 10 points back to her more typical favorability rating of 53 percent.

As the talk of her running for the Senate has acclimated people to the idea of a separate political career, it has dimmed the very popularity which made the concept of Senator Clinton attractive in the first place. This shows the fragility of her image, while her husband is president. When you get to the point where the cover of Time and Newsweek



DICK MORRIS

Newsweek and your ratings drop, something is wrong.

Hillary would make a wonderful senator. She is a lifelong advocate for women and children and is happiest in that role. But she should launch her candidacy only after she has put some distance between herself and her husband's administration. Her best bet is to run in Illinois, where she grew up, in 2004 against the highly vulnerable, newly elected, right-wing Sen. Peter Fitzgerald.

The Fox News Poll shows the growing popularity of another political wife — Elizabeth Dole. She not only runs ahead of Vice President Al Gore by 51-36, she's closing in on Texas Gov. George W. Bush.

It would be a serious blunder to count out Liddy Dole. In a general election, her candidacy would appeal to women and close the gender gap on which Democrats depend. In the GOP primary, she

Vote Share of Potential Republican Candidates		
Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Repub's
George W. Bush	32%	47%
Elizabeth Dole	23	23
Steve Forbes	5	7
Dan Quayle	5	6
Rudy Giuliani	6	3
Lamar Alexander	4	2
Gary Bauer	1	1

would run to the right of Bush — always a good place to be in the Republican field. With her sterling record at the Red Cross, she could win. Elizabeth Dole could well be the first woman president.

On the Democratic side, Gore is clearly hurting. The lack of enthusiasm for him even among Democrats is palpable. While he still runs in first place, he

doesn't even muster a majority of the vote against a very weak field.

Gore needs to come out from Clinton's shadow. In that shade no candidacy can grow. While the president's job-approval is flourishing, his personal popularity continues to fall (this week it dropped to a new low of 40 percent).

Of course Gore can't dump on Clinton,

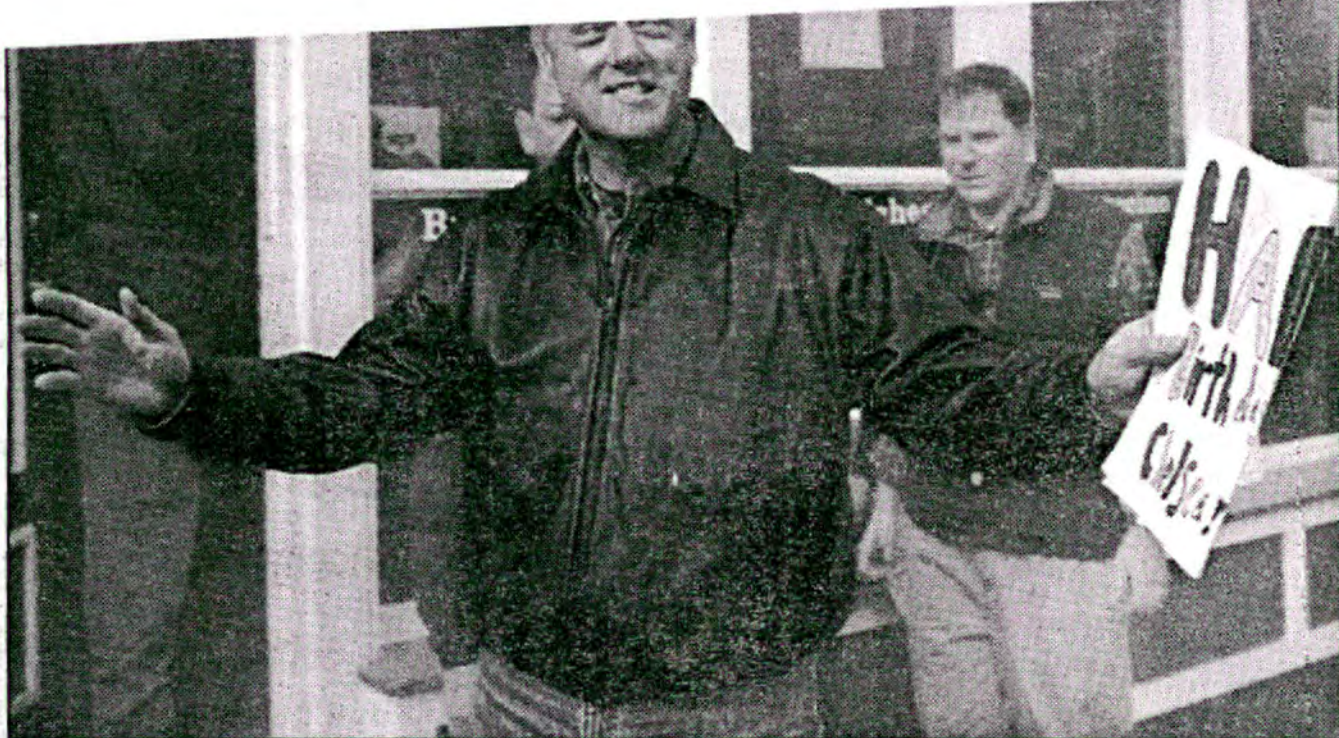
Vote Share of Potential Democratic Candidates

Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Democrats
Al Gore	35%	48%
Bill Bradley	18	14
John Kerry	11	9
Jessie Jackson	10	13

but he should distinguish himself by returning to his original theme of the environment and global climate changes. Recent weird weather throughout the world makes his gloomy predictions seem more appropriate than they have ever been. By talking about his old passion, he will develop a welcome animation and remind voters of his life before Clinton.

In 1968, Nixon harnessed each day's crime headlines to make law and order the basis of his national agenda. In 2000, Gore must use the fires in Florida, the mudslides in California, the floods in Texas, and the droughts in the Midwest to show Americans the pressing necessity of action in the face of global warming. Global climate is changing. If the consequences of this shift are as dire as predicted, the environment will become the issue of the next decade. With the millennium, voters are in a mood to think in planetary terms and Gore could be just the man to make the issue work.

Is it not a sad commentary on our politics that the three main contenders are only able to run because they rode their father's or husband's reputation into power? Gore's father was a senator as, of course, was Liddy's husband. Bush's dad was president and his grandfather was a senator. Can't we have a president who made it on his own like Clinton, Reagan and Carter did? We need a candidate who vindicates fully Winston Churchill's dictum that a man should be made man who worships his Creator.



WHAT A CARD: President Clinton shows off a birthday card given to him for daughter Chelsea on the street in Park City, Utah yesterday. Reuter

First Lady plays second fiddle on school arts funding: Rudy

By DAVID SEIFMAN
and DEBORAH ORIN

First Lady Hillary Clinton visits a Queens public school tomorrow to highlight her support of arts education — but Mayor Giuliani said his administration has beaten her to the punch.

During a stop at IS 25 in Flushing, Mrs. Clinton will join NBC-TV anchor Jane Pauley and NYU president emeritus John Brademas to single out School District 25 for its model arts curriculum.

The First Lady, who's weighing a run for the U.S. Senate here next year, is honorary chair-

woman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, which Brademas chairs.

The committee is releasing a report tomorrow extolling the virtues of arts education — which is what Giuliani said he's been doing since 1997.

The mayor may run for the same Senate seat Mrs. Clinton is eyeing.

"I assume she's endorsing [the city's] Project Arts, which is the leading program in the country for restoring arts education in the schools," Giuliani told reporters. "It's something I announced in my State of the City speech two years ago."

Giuliani earmarked \$25 million for arts education when he ran for re-election in 1997. The allocation has grown to \$75 million this year, providing enough funds for art and music programs in each school district for the first time since the fiscal crisis of the 1970s.

An aide to the First Lady said her visit to New York, which includes a speech before the Women's Leadership Forum of the Democratic National Committee, isn't intended to score political points against the mayor.

"She's not taking credit for anything," the aide said. "She's highlighting

model districts."

But Giuliani noted that none of the money being spent here on arts classes comes from Washington.

"Maybe the First Lady will come with a check from the federal government and they'll contribute something so we can continue to enhance arts education in the schools," he said.

In an odd bit of timing, Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani will be trading places tomorrow. While she's in New York, he'll be in Washington testifying before the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

Representing the city will be Deputy Mayor Ninf Segarra, who's certain to point out the mayor's role in restoring arts programs.

"Either there's political naivete or political genius at work here," said one mayoral aide, puzzled that Mrs. Clinton had zeroed in on an issue where "everyone agrees Giuliani deserves credit."

Mrs. Clinton's speech at the DNC Women's Leadership Forum is a sellout at \$150 a head — and the Democrats say they already have a 300-person waiting list.

First Family cuts short ski trip

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

President Clinton and wife Hillary yesterday abruptly cut short their Utah ski vacation with daughter Chelsea a day early — but White House aides insist there's nothing amiss.

"It's just because they realized they both have a very heavy schedule this week and next week and wanted to get back," said White House deputy press secretary Amy Weiss.

"Chelsea was always going back to college [Stanford University] today and they decided to go, too."

The mini-vacation celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday.

But the switch in plans was so hasty that White House aides scrambled unsuccessfully for a plane to bring reporters back to Washington with Clinton. The press charter won't leave until today.

Clinton surfaced briefly in Park City, Utah, where he tried to buy \$62.66 worth of books with a just-expired American Express card and then paid cash.

As Clinton returns to Washington, he faces more questions about why he has refused to personally answer Juanita Broadrick's explosive charge that he raped her in 1978.

The president goes to a Newark fund raiser for Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) tomorrow. Mrs. Clinton, a potential 2000 New York Senate candidate, will be in New York tomorrow and Thursday.

Hillary's numbers go south / Dick Morris: Page 27

PHOTOCOPY

[The Washington Post]

Style

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999



BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST (ABOVE); FILE PHOTO/RY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST (BELOW)

A holding pattern: Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), at a subcommittee hearing, says she'll probably run for the Senate if Hillary Rodham Clinton, below, doesn't.

LADY IN WAITING

New York Rep. Nita Lowey, Ready to Run if the First Lady Doesn't

By KEVIN MERIDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

All the action is taking place around her and in spite of her. She is what they call in the newspaper business "B-matter," relegated to the 12th paragraph of the main story. As in: "On the Democratic side, Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester has said she probably will run if Mrs. Clinton does not."

Waiting for Hillary, it's called.

The network talk shows can't get enough of Lowey, but all they really want to talk about is whether *Hillary* will be New York's junior senator. They treat Lowey like a political analyst, asking her about

Hillary's position on a Palestinian state. Whatever.

Like she's Mary Matalin or somebody.

Lowey's congressional colleagues—indeed, Democrats everywhere—are no better. They have worked their collective saliva into a mighty river of drool. *Please run, Hillary, we're beggin' ya, please.* They have guaranteed the first lady she won't have a dollop of primary opposition next year. What about an actual home in the Apple? No problem. Rep. Charlie Rangel (D-N.Y.) says at least one good Democrat is offering a Park Avenue condo so the Arkansan who lives in Washington can establish residency in New York.

See LOWEY, C8, Col. 1



Rep. Nita Lowey on Standby

LOWEY, From C1

And what of Lowey, the Clinton administration loyalist who's represented parts of Westchester County, Queens and the Bronx for 10 years?

She's the "backup" candidate, says Rangel.

Thanks, Charlie.
"If Hillary doesn't run and if Nita does, we will all rally around Nita," explains Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.), who quickly adds: "Obviously, Hillary is a more glamorous, well-known candidate. But that's the nature of politics."

In other words, Lowey is the community playhouse and Hillary Clinton is Broadway. Thanks, Jerry. But hey, Lowey knows how to go with the bit. On Capitol Hill the other day, as a meeting between the New York delegation and Gov. George Pataki was breaking up, Democratic Rep. Jose Serrano turned to Lowey.

"Hey, how come your picture is not on the cover of Time?"

To which Lowey replied: "I'm just the understudy."

Waiting for Hillary.
Not that waiting for Hillary is a sedentary sport.

Last week, Lowey spent 25 hours phoning prospective donors. She attended a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee fund-raiser to make more donor contacts. A couple of weeks ago she met with potential big-money backers in Los Angeles. She had nearly \$850,000 in her congressional campaign chest as of the first of the year. But to demonstrate political strength for a Senate race, her goal is to get to \$1.6 million by June 30, which means raising roughly \$133,000 a month. So far, say Lowey confidants, that target is

being met.

Then there is the matter of moving around the state and building support among Democratic constituencies. Just in case. Last week, she addressed a Democratic club in Manhattan. The previous week she attended a dinner of black and Hispanic state legislators in Albany, spoke to AFL-CIO political directors in Miami Beach and keynoted a luncheon of Democratic activists in Buffalo. Last month she trekked to Syracuse and Newburgh and has upcoming trips to Watertown, Rochester and other areas of the state.

"I'm doing what I have to do to prepare," she says.

When Lowey came to visit the first lady at the White House residence last week, a meeting she asked for, the two greeted each other with kisses. "We've always had a very warm relationship," says Lowey, whose office photo collage displays four pictures of her and Mrs. Clinton together. "Sitting around the table talking to Hillary Clinton about an issue is like talking to a friend."

Except this meeting was not about public school construction or any number of other issues they both care about. This was about brass political calculations. Harold Ickes, who is advising Clinton in her exploration, was there. And he is advising her to take her time. Orange juice and cookies were served. The first lady thanked Lowey for her graciousness, said she had been splendid in her numerous TV appearances. She asked Lowey about the concerns of people in her district. Lowey updated her on how she was preparing for a Senate campaign, should the first lady opt out. The first lady made it clear she was

pursuing the race seriously, but encouraged Lowey to move forward with her own considerations. And so on. They chatted for an hour and 15 minutes. The number one priority, they both agreed, was ensuring that Democrats keep the seat Pat Moynihan is vacating. They agreed to talk again soon.

"I have great respect and affection for congresswoman Nita Lowey and have worked with her over the years," says the first lady through her spokeswoman Marsha Berry. "She's a leader on issues affecting families, such as education. I have been in her district and know how well she has represented her constituents. I appreciate greatly her understanding of my need to consider carefully the possibility of a Senate race in New York."

But when will she decide?

The short answer: no time soon. Lowey's people say they are not expecting the first lady's decision before June. The problem is that Lowey has publicly said she will make a decision herself in early spring. And yet she is emphatic that there are no circumstances under which she will run if Hillary runs.

"So we'll have to be in touch and hopefully our schedules will coincide," says Lowey.

What if they don't?
"I think it's too early to face that. I respect her decision-making process. I think she needs the time. It's a major decision in her life."

She is being so generous. But it's certainly an awkward process.

"Every day that goes by, Hillary Clinton is making it harder for any other Democrat to raise money," says Maurice Carroll, director of the polling institute at Connecticut's Quinnipiac College, which has been conducting early surveys on the race. "If it goes on and on, that cheapens the nomination. It doesn't mean the next person can't win, but it makes that person look like second choice, damaged goods."

If that next person is Lowey, she has a huge hill to climb. Recent polling by Carroll's institute shows that only 14 percent of voters said they were very likely or somewhat likely to vote for Lowey if she were the Democrats' Senate candidate; 63



Across the aisle: Lowey with, from left, New York Republican Reps. Rick Lazio, John Sweeney and Sherwood Boehlert.

percent said they haven't heard enough to make a judgment.

"It means nobody knows who the hell she is," explains Carroll.

Charles Schumer, New York's newly elected Democratic senator, was in a similar bind when he began his '98 campaign from a comfortable seat in the House. He had low statewide name recognition and a celebrity Democratic primary opponent in Geraldine Ferraro.

"As long as Nita's getting around the state, she's not hurt," says Schumer. "She won't be the understudy anymore if Hillary decides not to run."

And if Hillary decides not to run, says former Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), who knows both women well, "The first person to do a fund-raiser for Nita Lowey, I predict at this very minute, will be Hillary Clinton."

"Sure, there might be an immediate letdown," says Rep. Serrano, "but then you move back to the mode of winning back Congress and keeping the White House, and you build excitement all over again."

"I don't know if the discussion would be at this level if Hillary were not a factor. And I'm one of those people asking Hillary to run. Even though people are ignoring Nita right now, they're still aware that

she's there."

Studying the Understudy

Lowey, a former PTA president, goes about her rounds in the House with a kind of girlish energy. She is 61, with four grandchildren. On one recent day, she left a TV studio and openly fretted about her makeup. She bumped into a young aide returning from the cafeteria with a roll and a drink disguised as a meal. "Is that all you're having for lunch?" she admonished.

When she passes her colleagues in the halls or down in the Capitol's subway, they offer new greetings.

Rep. Howard Coble (R-N.C.): "Senator, how are you doing?"

Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-N.Y.): "Hey, senator."

It's a collegial courtesy. And it feels good.

Certainly, Lowey must be tired of all the drat-Hillary hubbub.

"No, not really. . . . If she runs, she will be enthusiastically supported by New Yorkers. And if I run, I have a solid record of accomplishment."

But so far there is not much talk about who Lowey is. She has been a champion of increased funding for breast cancer research (her mother died from the disease in 1981), fought for tougher drunk-driving laws, is a former chair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and is perhaps the most prominent abortion rights advocate in Congress.

She straddles the ground between traditional Democratic liberalism and more centrist politics, leaning left most of the time. She did support the Clinton administration's welfare reform plan and backed NAFTA, even though nearly half of her political action committee donations were from labor interests. During the 1994 dog days of the administration, Lowey was a regular TV defender of the Clintons, who were getting plastered over Whitewater and the health care reform disaster.

And now, she can't get heard at all.

This is something Rep. Rick Lazio understands. Lazio (R-N.Y.) is in a similar predicament. He is considering running for the Republican Senate nomination, but all the media buzz is about how it's New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani's to lose. If he wants it, Everyone expects a Giuliani-Clinton matchup. That's the hype. As if no other prospects matter.

"Actually, it's less frustrating than many might imagine," says Lazio. "Being out of the bright lights gives you the freedom and time to move around and ask questions and listen to people and not feel the need to give knee-jerk answers. You have time to think through issues."

Which is exactly what Lowey is trying to do.

To get to Congress in the first place, she had to defeat two-term incumbent Republican Rep. Joseph DioGuardi in 1988. He referred to her as "Bella Abzug without the hat." She knows something about long odds.

"No one thought I had a prayer," Lowey recalls.

She acknowledges that the longer Hillary Clinton waits, the tougher the road ahead. "Sure, sure," says Lowey. "But I feel confident if Mrs. Clinton doesn't run, she will do whatever she can to help me in any way."

USA TODAY · TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999

MOB SCENE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's two-day trip to New York beginning Wednesday is attracting unprecedented attention in light of speculation she might run for a Senate seat from New York in 2000. A \$150-a-plate luncheon is sold out, and for the first time, there's a waiting list with at least 300 names, said Democratic National Committee spokeswoman Melissa Bonney Ratcliff.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Change of Scenery Just Up the Coast

Democrats were buzzing yesterday about what **PRESIDENT CLINTON** said about one coast during a dinner party on the other.

The dinner, on Friday, was given by **ELI BROAD**, the billionaire chairman of Sun America, the Los Angeles insurer. Some Democrats quoted the President as saying he expects to live in New York after he leaves the White House, whether or not **HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON** runs for the Senate.

"We had some chitchat that went, 'For 22 years she's lived where I wanted to live, and now I owe it to her, so if she wanted to live in New York or run for the Senate, I'd do it,'" said another Democrat who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "It was all very vague. He clearly indicated that he doesn't know what she wants to do and that she hasn't made up her mind."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

LOS ANGELES TIMES

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999 / NA / East ★



MORNING BRIEFING

She Has to Learn: No Bleacher Bums in the Bronx Zoo

Will Hillary Rodham Clinton run for the U.S. Senate in New York? If she does, columnist Deborah Orin of the New York Post thinks her love of baseball's Chicago Cubs could be her undoing.

"Just imagine the potential TV ads matching [New York Mayor Rudolph] Giuliani in his Yankees' cap against Mrs. Clinton in her Cubs' cap and asking who can be trusted to fight for New York," Orin noted.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

March 02, 1999; Tuesday 02:36 Eastern Time

SECTION: Washington - general news

LENGTH: 552 words

HEADLINE: Few First Lady's Have Sought Office

BYLINE: DEB RIECHMANN

AP-First-Lady-Politicians ,0586

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the fifth presidential wife mentioned as a candidate for political office, but if she makes a bid for the Senate she'll be the only first lady to actually run.

In the 1920s there were calls to draft President Warren Harding's widow, Florence, for governor of Ohio and President Woodrow Wilson's widow, Edith, for vice president.

Some Democrats wanted Eleanor Roosevelt to be the party's vice presidential nominee in 1948. In 1976, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, then a book editor in New York, briefly flirted with running for a Senate seat.

These four first ladies urged to run after they left the White House declined the overtures.

"I believe there were attempts to draft those women by considering them Mrs. Warren Harding or Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. I think they were being drafted as a bridge to their husbands' memory, a symbol of their husbands' legacy," said Carl Sferrazza Anthony, a historian of first ladies.

It's different with Mrs. Clinton, who is considering a bid for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, he says. Mrs. Clinton is spending two days in New York City on Wednesday and Thursday, perhaps to test her chances.

"The difference with Hillary is that she is recognized and respected as a political figure in her own right," Anthony said. "She would not be there representing her husband. She would be there representing her own political sensibilities."

The political lineage of presidents runs deeper with sons.

Sons of several presidents went on to be congressmen, senators even presidents themselves. On the state level, President Bush's son George W. Bush is governor of Texas and is considering a bid for the GOP presidential nomination in 2000. Another son, Jeb, is governor of Florida.

So far, Mrs. Clinton has said little about the "Draft Hillary" campaign. She says only that she's giving it "careful thought," yet she's getting plenty of political advice.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch says "Run." Former New York congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro advises Mrs. Clinton to wait, run later for a Senate seat from Illinois and then be the Democrats' presidential candidate in 2008. Former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo wants to see her run, but also suggests she could duck elective office and still be a political force. "Be Eleanor Roosevelt," he advised.

Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Clinton were born in different centuries, yet have much in common, says Myra Gutin, a historian of first ladies at Rider University in New Jersey. "Both are politically minded. Both are widely respected, but also greatly criticized," Ms. Gutin said.

Mrs. Clinton, the only first lady to chair a presidential commission, was criticized for the secrecy in which her Task Force on Health Reform operated. Mrs. Roosevelt was the only first lady to hold a government position in her husband's administration. She resigned as assistant director of civilian defense after coming under fire.

After she left the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt, revered for her work on social issues, was appointed U.S. delegate to the newly formed United Nations. Then in 1948, she squelched an attempt to draft her as Harry Truman's running mate, preferring to stay at the United Nations and continue her role as a Democratic Party elder.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 02, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Meg Greenfield

The First Qualification

When Vice President Al Gore moved to make his year-2000 candidacy for the White House official some weeks ago, a question arose among a group of friends having dinner one night as to why he had chosen to announce so early. Easy, replied the political wise heads present; he needed to corner the money. I noted that the verb was "to corner," not "to raise." Didn't Gore already have a huge financial advantage over any prospective competitors? The sum theoretically required for a credible presidential primary campaign has risen from roughly \$20 million to \$22.5 million since 1995-96. Gore is said already to be amassing \$35 million, and maybe \$15 million more. And that's not even counting the presumed benefits of millions more in "soft money" to come. What does he need so much for?

Nothing, comes the immediate reply. He needs only to trap the money, to commandeer it, to get it and thus keep it out of the hands of anyone else who fancies running against him in the primaries. He needs to starve them out. And don't go getting all indignant about the tactic, one is told.

It has become standard campaign practice. If you're in a position to do it, you do.

Shortly thereafter came the burst of euphoria about Hillary Rodham Clinton's chances, if she decides to run, in the coming New York Senate campaign, her potential for scaring off and/or wiping out any primary competition and of prevailing against Mayor Giuliani in the general election as well. Like Vice President Gore, the first lady has both some big liabilities and some formidable assets as a candidate. But whenever I have heard either of their candidacies being discussed in recent weeks, neither their potential strengths nor weaknesses as holders of the offices they may run for has been the primary consideration. Such concerns come in about fifth. The first qualification cited is their awesome ability to raise money. It would render Mrs. Clinton's candidacy invincible in a face-off with other contenders, one is told, and ditto Vice President Gore.

This is something relatively new in its extremity. I don't mean that campaign concern to the point of obsession with raising money is new.

That's been around forever. I mean the oil-spill-like seeping out of the money mania until it reaches a dimension that engulfs all else, renders all else secondary—a kind of busted tanker or Torrey Canyon effect.

**It's no longer
whether candidates
are fit to hold office.
It's their ability to
raise money.**

There are a lot of explanations for this. Defenders of the "reformed" fund-raising order, created in the aftermath of Watergate, will point out, in the course of arguing, how shamelessly crooked things were in the old days. This is true, and it is also true that a few things are cleaner now. But by and large, the party functionaries and legislators who undertook the revisions of fund-raising

practice made a total hash of it. And then, as if that weren't enough, they began working earnestly to figure out ways to game their own handiwork, to take advantage of the defective system they had created and, as needed, to add a few more defects that could be exploited year by year.

The system never was pretty. But it has become a lot less so in recent years. You almost never hear of a candidate's being selected because of positions anymore. Descriptions of the prospective president's or senator's or representative's or governor's leanings, ideas and record tend to be sketchy and vague. The candidate is "a moderate." The candidate is a devotee of the "middle way." But these are definitions that leave out everything of substance, in the hope of producing an irresistible, one-size-fits-all candidacy. And in addition to the candidate's ability to raise money, you hear a great deal about what the candidate's polls show.

With luck you will have got yourself a prodigious fund-provider (either the candidate's own money or that of lavish contributors) and a sure winner. The rest will take care of

itself. Because these two indispensable qualities come most reliably with celebrities and very, very rich people, you will likely end up with more of both as officeholders, as is already happening.

I don't have anything against very, very rich people or celebrities, but I do have something against the way they are being routinely used by both Republicans and Democrats to rig our politics. And the same goes for what is innocently known as "spin." The reason it is felt necessary to raise so much political money a couple of years before an election or convention or primary is that this much time is required to buy the professional spin and let the spinners do their work and let their fabricated message sink in. It takes this much time to achieve the parroting outcome—in which millions of people are suddenly saying more or less the same thing at the same time and honestly believing it to be an original thought of their own. A new reality will have been created. It will be almost impossible to break through or challenge as to facts, or even to work around.

Now these, I admit with embar-

assment, are pretty paranoid thoughts. But I do think we have let ourselves get boxed into a political order that does less and less for people, that rewards the greediest and pettiest of the politicians' instincts and invariably seeks to punish the ones who try to take an independent stand or think for themselves or otherwise fight back. The obscene amounts of campaign funds sloshing through the nation's political arteries have not seemed to trouble people very much. What do those that provided the funds want? What did they get, and who gave it to them? How much of these transactions was camouflaged? More paranoia, I suppose.

But if there are good answers to the questions, shouldn't we have them? The only question that doesn't need answering, as far as I can see, is this: What does the candidate intend to do if elected with the help of all this money? That's easy—on Day One of the new term, start raising more money for the next campaign.

© 1999, Newsweek Inc.

Reprinted by permission; all rights reserved

thority or to the electorate." Critics also say special prosecutors have a dangerous lack of perspective. "When you give a person an unlimited budget and time and only one case, they can't weigh competing resources to determine what is important," Cole says. "They can't judge it by other cases. Their universe is that case."

That's the way subjects of such investigations feel. For nearly a decade, Deborah Gore Dean was enmeshed in the nation's longest-running independent counsel investigation. Dean was one of several subjects of a probe into whether Ronald Reagan's housing secretary, Samuel Pierce Jr., steered contracts to GOP insiders. Dean, his assistant, appealed her conviction of various offenses but is still fearful of prosecutors' power. "An independent counsel can do anything," she says. "Their power of investigation and money are limitless. If you have 40 attorneys, they'll get 60."

Yet many back it. Despite its flaws, many Americans appear to favor the law: 61 percent in a recent *Los Angeles Times* survey, for example, said the measure should be renewed.

Defenders of the law say prosecutors need that kind of firepower to go after high government officials. John Barrett, a professor at St. John's University in New York who worked on the Iran-Contra probe, says the independent counsel statute should be reformed—not scrapped. Investigations of powerful government officials are, by their very nature, "complicated, divisive, and politicized by outsiders," he notes, and would be even if the Justice Department conducted them.

One reform supported by some legal experts is a provision allowing the attorney general to appoint an outside prosecutor if the president, vice president, or attorney general were the subject of an investigation. Another proposal is to have the Justice Department conduct investigations of cabinet members, unless the individual in question had close ties to the president.

Samuel Dash, who was chief counsel for the Senate Whitewater Committee and who quit in protest as Starr's ethics adviser, favors keeping the law alive but eliminating the final report and changing the law to, among other things, make it tougher for counsels to expand their probes. In a recent *New York Times* op-ed piece, Dash predicted that even if the law dies, Congress will revive it sometime down the road. The reason: Without the law, Dash says, it would be impossible to investigate the president or all his men—and women. ■

Becoming Sen. Clinton is harder than it looks

The first lady is calculating the price



Will she take Manhattan? And Utica, too?

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

At first, it looked like a no-brainer. The fabulously popular first lady would parachute into the New York Senate race, be handed the nomination, and roll to victory in November 2000—thus winning a new perch from which to promote her causes and establishing a political identity all her own.

Not so fast. Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York friends are telling her privately that the situation is a lot messier than it appeared a few weeks ago, when party activists began urging her to run for the seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "It wouldn't be a shoo-in, by any means," one of her informal advisers tells *U.S. News*.

For one thing, her enemies would try to revive her image as a polarizing figure and emphasize painful controversies from the past, including her husband's affairs, her long-ago investments in Arkansas, and her role in the failed health-care overhaul early in the Clinton administration. "Does she want to go through that trial by fire?"

asks a friend. "Only she can decide that."

Then there are the more orthodox questions. Clinton could face hostility from some Jewish voters for supporting the eventual creation of an independent Palestinian state. Friends admit she isn't familiar with what one calls "the issue landscape of New York," such as crime-fighting in New York City (a favorite theme of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who could emerge as her leading Republican opponent). And Republicans are already labeling her a carpetbagger. "She has no business thinking that she can come here and represent the people of New York," says Robert Davis, chairman of the Erie County Republican Party.

Bills to pay. More fundamentally, Clinton wonders whether she would enjoy the often confining and tedious life of a senator, and whether she would have even a modicum of privacy. She also worries that Senate rules would limit her earning power to help pay the family's steep legal bills.

The pluses: Clinton's allies say she could build on strong support from women and blacks, and expand her base to include most suburban swing voters. Today, she leads Giuliani by about 10 percentage points in hypothetical matchups and could raise millions of dollars in short order. What's more, it would be a snap to establish residency in New York: Renting an apartment by Election Day would do.

Clinton's statement last week that she would make up her mind by year's end was designed to ease growing pressure to get her into the race. Confidants say she actually plans to announce her decision much sooner, probably by the end of April. And a handful of New York pals, including Democratic activists Harold Ickes and Susan Thomases, are moving fast to assess her chances.

What gives her particular pause is the likelihood that any campaign would be all about her, not the issues, and 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. ■

With John Marks in New York



Political Roundup

Signs Point To Late Decision By Hillary In N.Y. Race

■ SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER, D-N.Y., late last week said that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton could take until June to make up her mind about running for the Senate from New York. And former Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato**, R-N.Y., whom Schumer defeated last fall, suggested that if Clinton is set to run, she could announce as late as September, *Newsday* reported.

All of which points to a decision later, rather than sooner, for the first lady — who has been at the center of a speculative political swirl over the 2000 race for the New York seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**.

Schumer's newfound advice that Clinton weigh her decision carefully contrasts with his earlier call that she make a quick decision. Schumer — who was among several New York politicians whom the first lady invited last week to the White House for consultation — said afterward that Clinton did not appear close to a decision.

While Schumer acknowledged that he had initially called on Clinton to decide by spring, he said last Thursday: "Spring could mean

[waiting] till June 20. It's not productive to put a time frame on it."

And D'Amato said the longer Clinton delays her decision, the more likely it is that she will run.

"If she's going to run, she can wait until September," D'Amato said. "Money is not a problem for her, bringing the entire party apparatus behind her is no problem. And she doesn't encounter the withering kind of inspection and questions that would take place as soon as she announces by the media."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

March 01, 1999; Monday 17:38 Eastern Time

SECTION: Washington - general news

LENGTH: 415 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton To Appear at NY Event

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton's much-ballyhooed but still undecided consideration of a Senate candidacy has New York donors clamoring to get into her sold-out fund-raiser for the Democratic National Committee.

With Mrs. Clinton scheduled to appear at Wednesday's \$150-per-plate luncheon at The Plaza Hotel in Manhattan, for the first time in its fund-raising history, the DNC is taking names 300 of them for a waiting list, said party spokeswoman Melissa Bonney Ratcliff.

Meantime, the queue of donors may well seem small beside the news media lining up to cover the first lady's two-day trip. "A mob scene" is how one White House press aide forecast it after fielding inquiries from everybody from the city's tabloids to German television to a Greek newspaper.

"Never before" has the DNC seen such a donor boom, Ratcliff said Monday.

"Because of absolutely unbelievable interest in this event, we've already expanded the room to fit 900 and still, we're turning people away," she said. "They're calling and asking to be put on a waiting list. We never do waiting lists."

The prospective guest tally stood at just 500 when the luncheon was scheduled three months ago, before prominent Democrats and New Yorkers began a "draft Mrs. Clinton" drive to see her replace retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the state's 2000 Senate race.

Last week, Republicans announced their own drive to cash in on the buzz surrounding the first lady. The National Republican Senatorial Committee launched a nationwide telemarketing campaign using the sheer possibility of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy to stoke Republican donors.

Mrs. Clinton, while in New York on Wednesday, plans a morning speech on arts education at Intermediate School 25 in Queens, the DNC luncheon and a private dinner at the home of Wall Street tycoon Roger Altman, who was deputy treasury secretary during President Clinton's first term. On Thursday, she is to speak at the United Nations on the upcoming International Women's Day before visiting another city school to spotlight a new HBO documentary on women in sports.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton's most likely Republican opponent in any 2000 Senate bid, was invited by the city school district to appear with Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday morning, but he will not be there. Instead, the mayor will be in Washington to testify to the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee on reinventing government, a spokeswoman said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 01, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

March 1, 1999, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 561 words

HEADLINE: First lady heads to NYC while mayor goes to Washington

BYLINE: By MICHAEL BLOOD, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

After asking supporters to stop speculating in public about her possible run for U.S. Senate in New York in 2000, Hillary Rodham Clinton this week visits the home turf of her potential rival, Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

On Wednesday, the first lady plans to visit a Queens school to release a national study on arts education - a day when Giuliani is scheduled to appear before a congressional committee in Washington, D.C.

Mayoral aides suggested Monday that the first lady was trying to associate herself with successful programs initiated by Giuliani, and accused the Clinton administration of failing to provide funding for much-in-demand arts classes.

"If she wants to come and showcase the fine work the mayor has done in bringing back these programs, God bless her," said Cristyne Lategano, Giuliani's communications director. "There hasn't been a dime of federal money for the arts programs."

Considering her flirtation with the Senate race, could politics be part of Mrs. Clinton's visit?

"I can't remember the last time she was in a school in New York, do you?" the mayoral spokeswoman said.

"I assume she's endorsing Project Arts," Giuliani told reporters, referring to the city program that has restored arts classes to hundreds of public schools, which were slashed during the financial crisis of the 1970s. "Maybe the first lady will come with a check from the federal government, and they can contribute something so we can continue to enhance arts education."

"A lot of odd things happen in politics," the mayor added.

Mrs. Clinton has been consulting with advisers about whether to make the Senate run in New York, a state that has never elected a woman senator. Last week she met in the White House family quarters with New York Sen. Charles Schumer, New York Rep. Nita Lowey and New Jersey Sen. Robert Torricelli. As chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Torricelli is leading the charge to draft Mrs. Clinton for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

President Clinton has said he will "be strongly supportive of whatever decision she makes," and predicted, "She'd be great if she did it."

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the first lady's visit was not connected with the Senate race, and she was unaware of any plan to have Mrs. Clinton meet with political advisers during the two-day visit.

"This was a commitment she made long before any of this really started," Berry said.

Mrs. Clinton is expected to be followed by a throng of reporters throughout the visit, which includes an appearance at a sold-out Democratic fund-raiser at the Plaza Hotel.

Giuliani has been raising money for a possible Senate bid, and was in Florida on Sunday to boost his bankroll. Republicans in the state tout him as the strongest likely candidate, but recent polls have found Mrs. Clinton holds an edge over the mayor in a hypothetical match-up.

On her visit Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton will release a report by a presidential council highlighting arts education in dozens of states. She also plans to attend the fund-raiser, and on Thursday will speak at a forum on women's issues at the United Nations and visit a school in Manhattan, her aides said.

Aides to the mayor and first lady said it did not appear that Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton would see each other during her visit.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Nation

New York's Palestinian State

By JAMES DAO

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON said last year that a Palestinian state was "very important" to Middle East peace, and it seemed like a monumental political gaffe. Many Jewish groups reacted with alarm. And her husband's Administration, which has never endorsed the idea, swiftly disowned her comments.

Now, after 10 months, Mrs. Clinton's words are back on the front pages of New York City's Jewish newspapers, thanks to the First Lady's announcement that she is thinking about running for the Senate from the Empire State next year.

One of her potential Republican rivals, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has stoked the controversy, asserting that Mrs. Clinton's remarks were "a very big mistake." And analysts are already predicting that the First Lady's position on Palestinian statehood will hurt her among Jewish voters, about 12 percent of the state's electorate.

But it's not necessarily so. A Palestinian state is not the same hot-button issue it was 10, or even 5 years ago, when endorsing the concept was akin in some peoples' minds to endorsing terrorism, many political analysts and Jewish leaders say.

"The Palestinian state is no longer the taboo subject it once was," said Thomas Smerling, Washington director of the Israel Policy Forum, an American Jewish group that supports the peace process. "At a time when you have a Likud Prime Minister negotiating with the Chairman of the P.L.O. over the size of an eventual Palestinian entity, the idea of a Palestinian state no longer seems as alarming as it once did."

Many Jewish leaders say that since Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization

recognized each other's legitimacy in 1993, a growing number of Jews in America and Israel have come to accept that some sort of Palestinian state will be the likely outcome of a negotiated peace process.

Several polls of American Jews conducted over the past three years support that notion. A 1998 poll commissioned by the Middle East Quarterly found that 64 percent of American Jews supported the statement, "The Palestinians should have their own country."

But even if most American Jews believe a Palestinian state is desirable, or inevitable, Mrs. Clinton's statement could still cause her grief in a New York campaign. Many Jews were troubled not so much by the wording of Mrs. Clinton's remarks as by their timing. From Washington, she spoke up in the middle of sensitive peace talks between Israel and Palestinians. To many, weighing in at that moment seemed a crass attempt to push the talks toward a conclusion favoring the Palestinians.

"Many Jews viewed her statement as supporting a unilateral declaration of statehood by the Palestinians, or at least granting Arafat a license to do it," said Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, referring to Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader.

But Mr. Foxman also acknowledged that "the overwhelming number of Jews would be supportive" of a Palestinian state if it were the result of a negotiated settlement. "It's Israel's peace," he said.

IN a sign that she is serious about becoming a candidate, Mrs. Clinton has been trying to repair any damage from her remarks. Meeting with rabbis last week in Washington, she said she supported both the peace process and a Palestinian state. "They are not mutually exclusive of one another," her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry,

said.

After the meeting, Rabbi Jay Kornsgold of New Jersey told the newspaper Jewish Week, "This may impress a lot of Jews in New York."

IF supporting a Palestinian state is no longer the third rail of Jewish-American politics, what might Mr. Giuliani or other Republicans gain from keeping the issue alive?

A significant number of Jews continue to oppose a Palestinian state. But they tend to be conservatives who vote Republican anyway. It is more likely that Mr. Giuliani was using the Palestinian issue as a symbol for broader themes, political analysts said.

Raising questions about Mrs. Clinton's remarks is a way of raising doubts about her support for Israel, said Kieran Mahoney, a Republican consultant from New York. It also is another way of labeling her a liberal ideologue, said Ester Fuchs, a political science professor at Barnard College.

"Supporting a Palestinian state used to be the peacenik position, an extreme left-wing position," she said. "And that's what Giuliani has to do: Paint his opponent into a left-wing corner."

Mr. Giuliani says he has simply taken the same position as the President, who is very popular among Jews. But in helping to keep the issue alive, he risks a backlash, some analysts contend. Last year, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato accused Charles E. Schumer, who is Jewish, of missing votes on important Jewish issues. Mr. D'Amato lost the race and saw his share of the Jewish vote decline from past elections.

"I'm not sure the Mayor has the pulse of American Jewish opinion on this issue," said Seymour D. Reich, a past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and a supporter of the peace process.



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Suha Arafat, wife of Yasir Arafat, in Gaza last year.

SUNDAY

FEBRUARY 28, 1999

Sen. Clinton? What Is She Thinking?

By William Schneider

WASHINGTON

Hillary for Senate? Why in the world would she want to do that? It would mean abandoning herself to the tender mercies of the New York press corps. Think: Don Imus, the New York Post, the Wall Street Journal editorial page. And for what? Six more years in Washington. Quite likely, in the minority party. With strict limits on her earning ability. And Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) in charge of her schedule. Who needs it?

The conventional wisdom in Washington is, "Nah. She'll never do it." That's the same conventional wisdom that said her husband was finished a week after the Monica S. Lewinsky story broke in January 1998. The same conventional wisdom that said the Republicans would pick up seats in Congress last November. The same conventional wisdom that said impeachment was dead after the Democrats made unexpected gains in that election.

Still, the first lady says she's giving it serious consideration. What could she be thinking about?

She could be thinking about the Clinton legacy. After all, it's her legacy, too. In 1992, her husband promised a kind of co-presidency: "two leaders dedicated to America's future for the price of one."

Back in Arkansas, wags used to talk about "the governors Clinton." In fact, Hillary considered running for governor herself in 1990. When polls showed she might lose, however, Bill Clinton ran for a fifth term and won, after promising Arkansas voters he would finish his term and not run for any other office.

Now he's made a mess of their legacy, and she has to clean it up. It's what women all say: If you want to get something done, don't rely on a man.

Wait a minute. Isn't Al Gore supposed to be the one who continues the Clinton legacy? Yes, but GOP front-runners George W. Bush and Elizabeth Dole are both leading Gore in the polls right now. Gore might lose. Then what would happen to the Clinton legacy?



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton.

It would depend on Congress, where Democrats are fighting to regain their majority, the majority they lost in 1994 because of Clinton. Senate Democrats are desperate to hold on to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat, which could go Republican if New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani enters the race, as expected.

The first lady is now 18 points ahead of Giuliani in New York polls, but don't kid yourself. It would be a tough race, as Moynihan himself is reported to have told Hillary Rodham Clinton last week. She would have some explaining to do about her health-care plan. And her overnight success in Wall Street trading. And Travelgate. And Filegate. And the mysterious disappearance and reappearance of Whitewater billing records. And this comment she made last year: "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

At her 1994 Whitewater press conference, Clinton said, "I've always believed in a zone of privacy, and . . . after resisting for a long time, I feel I've been 'rezoned.'" Maybe for Washington, but New York is the twilight zone of politics.

It's not even certain that Giuliani would be her opponent. The mayor has never been on good terms with other Republicans, especially after he endorsed Democrat Mario M. Cuomo for governor in 1994. But he knows how to seize the moment. There he was in Washington last week, staging a lovefest with GOP congressional leaders. "This would be a national race," GOP senatorial campaign chairman Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said Wednesday. "It's generated an enormous amount of interest in Republican base voters and contributors across the country."

Beating Clinton would instantly turn Giuliani into a national Republican hero. But former New York Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato has not ruled out running for the GOP nomination. He and Giuliani have never been allies, and D'Amato might win a GOP primary. Can you imagine a Senate race between Clinton and D'Amato? It's what they call in professional wrestling, a "steel-cage death match."

Gore's people are not too thrilled at the prospect of seeing Hillary Clinton run. The

Please see CLINTON, M3

William Schneider, a contributing editor to Opinion, is a political analyst for CNN.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton

Continued from M1

resources and attention of the White House would be split between two campaigns. They would compete for Democratic money and talent. And for control of the Democratic message. Meanwhile, Democratic candidates everywhere would be deprived of the party's strongest campaign asset: the first lady, speaking and raising money for other Democrats.

It's not hard to find reasons why Clinton shouldn't do it. But there she is, talking to New York Democratic leaders and political operatives. It's certainly creating a frenzy in the press. Finally, something to talk about after Monica! A lot of Democrats are thrilled by the prospect of having Clinton in the Senate. It's a political-revenge fantasy for constituencies that feel disempowered.

Like the Northeast, a region that has been losing power to the Sunbelt for decades, New York's gone from 45 electoral votes in 1960 to just 33 in 2000. As the Northeast has lost power, it has become more Democratic, at least in national politics.

The question is whether New Yorkers will vote on local issues or national issues. Polls show that New Yorkers rate Clinton better than Giuliani on national issues like health care, education and taxes. They say she'd know more about how to get things done in Washington and they'd be prouder to have her as their senator. Giuliani is rated better on crime, a local issue. Not surprisingly, voters say he

knows and cares more about New York.

For New Yorkers to elect Clinton would be to make a statement about New York's national political values. Even if it means electing someone who has never lived in New York. "So what if she doesn't know a cannoli from a knish?" New York voters would say. "She says what we think about national issues." This is a Senate election, remember, and New Yorkers have never been reluctant to claim they know how to run the country.

Her election would also be the revenge of the cities, which have been losing power to the suburbs. So what if Giuliani is the twice-elected mayor of New York City? Outside New York City, Giuliani wins. But Clinton beats the mayor by better than 2 to 1 in his own city. Won't New York City rally to its mayor? Not necessarily. Giuliani's job ratings have dropped in the last few months, as police brutality has become a growing concern.

It would be the revenge of women as well. The first lady gets a double boost from women, who identify with both her and her husband for different reasons. They feel she's the victim of his bad behavior. He's the victim of unscrupulous attacks by his enemies. Male New Yorkers give Giuliani the edge. Women prefer Clinton by a huge margin.

It would also be the revenge of Democrats for all the harsh partisan abuse they feel they've suffered. No one can rally the party faithful like Clinton. New York Democrats go 3 to 1 for her, while Giuliani carries independents and Republicans.

It's the revenge of liberals, who may have found a new hero in Clinton. Liber-

als have always felt closer to her than to her husband. What better way of putting a liberal stamp on the Clinton legacy than to put Hillary Clinton in the Senate? Better even than electing Gore. Gore leads Gov. George W. Bush by 9 points in New York—half Clinton's margin. And Bush is a Texan! There are a lot of liberals in New York, and for them, it's the Hillary Clinton side of the Clinton legacy they want to preserve, not the Gore side.

Last week, a guy who knows New York had some advice for the first lady. Never mind the Senate, Cuomo said. How about the national ticket? He thought Hillary Clinton would make a good vice presidential candidate for the Democrats. There's the ticket! Democrats could just turn their campaign buttons upside down: Clinton-Gore in 1996, Gore-Clinton in 2000.

Actually, both parties have a strong incentive to put a woman on the ticket. Republicans because the GOP is hurting badly with women voters. Democrats because they need to make it clear that Bill Clinton's locker-room antics are a thing of the past. No one ever runs for vice president, of course. Dole has her eye on the top spot. No problem. The Constitution originally said you had to run for president in order to become vice president. It worked for George Bush in 1980.

Gore-Clinton versus Bush-Dole—haven't we seen this picture before? No, this is a remake, with female costars. If that happens in 2000, you know what's around the corner: Hillary Clinton versus Elizabeth Dole for president. The only problem is, where are they going to find decent men to be their running mates? □

2 of 2

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HENRY PAYNE

Razing the village to save it



In an impeachment ordeal rich in irony, the most notable is Hillary Rodham Clinton's emergence as a political winner — a distinction that has her positioned as a favorite in the next New York Senate race.

But though the Senate ultimately acquitted her husband, the impeachment couldn't have happened without sexual harassment laws and Whitewater land deals nurtured by the first lady.

As the scandal deepened, the president and first lady found themselves attacking the very liberal principles — women's rights, the independent counsel act — that they had worked to establish. Now, as the nation picks through the smoldering wreckage of Sexgate, it is clear Mrs. Clinton and her allies had to destroy their village in order to save it.

During the 1992 presidential campaign, Mrs. Clinton stood arm-in-arm with Anita Hill before an overflow crowd at the American Bar Association convention in San Francisco and issued a battle cry for women to rise up against harassment in the workplace. With her explosive charges of harassment before Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, Miss Hill had "transformed consciousness and changed history," Mrs. Clinton declared. "All women are in Anita Hill's debt. We must never again be shy in raising our voices against harassment."

Paula Jones was not shy and two years later raised her voice against Mrs. Clinton's own husband.

Mrs. Jones even went Anita Hill one better: She brought a credible case to federal court. Mrs. Jones' charges were far more typical of workplace harassment. As a lowly secretary, she was a clear subordinate to Mr. Clinton and could credibly claim — unlike Anita Hill, a Yale law school grad — that she had to succumb to her boss' wishes or face career consequences.

Mrs. Jones, rather than being seen, like Anita Hill, as a victim by

Mr. Clinton's liberal allies, was ridiculed as trailer park trash. Rather than embrace Mrs. Jones' suit, feminists fled from her cause. Given the choice between a woman's rights and a fellow liberal Democrat, they chose Mr. Clinton. But the Jones case ground on, propelled by federal harassment guidelines promulgated by Mr. Clinton's own administration (and, ironically, now given credibility by some Republicans whose support of the guidelines before the Jones case had been tepid at best).

Still, the Jones case was but a puddle of gasoline. It never would have ignited into an impeachment inferno if Democrats had not provided the match — the Office of Independent Counsel.

A product of Watergate, the independent counsel law was a deeply partisan measure. A majority of Republicans had never backed a law they felt was a blank check for prosecutorial overzealousness. Even as suspicions of Mr. Clinton's Whitewater skeletons spread in 1994, House Republicans voted 100-77 against reauthorization of the Independent Counsel Act. But with Mr. Clinton's support and a 239-5 Democratic vote in favor, the act survived.

Four years later, Kenneth Starr, a prosecutor appointed under the Clinton-backed law, used his vast powers to probe the Clintons' financial past.

Contrary to press accounts, Mr. Starr was drawn to the Jones case by its parallels to the case of Mrs. Clinton's corrupt ex-law partner, Webster Hubbell, who had plea-bargained with Mr. Starr and his prosecutors and then failed to cooperate. Mr. Starr believed Mr. Hubbell had been bought off and that the same might have happened with Monica Lewinsky.

Mr. Starr stated in his report that Clinton friend Vernon Jordan was helping Miss Lewinsky find a job, just as he had "helped Mr. Hubbell obtain lucrative consulting contracts while he was a potential witness

and/or subject in the OIC's ongoing investigation. The OIC also possessed evidence that the president and the first lady knew and approved of the Hubbell-focused assistance. Against this background, the OIC considered the January 1998 allegations that (1) Miss Lewinsky was prepared to lie in order to benefit the president, and (2) Vernon Jordan was assisting Miss Lewinsky in the Jones litigation."

Cornered, the Clintons declared war on their party's own independent counsel creation.

But perhaps the most profound legacy the Clintons will leave to America's workplace culture is the assertion that boss/employee sex is a "private matter."

For years a central goal of the women's movement was workplace equality. Women should advance because of what they could accomplish in the office — not the bedroom. As it happens, this notion of civil rights also squared nicely with good management practice, and in most publicly held corporations today, it is a firing offense to have sexual relations with an underling.

Even if the relationship is purely consensual, the potential for an executive's abuse of his balance of power was demonstrated in the Clinton case. As detailed in testimony by the Clintons' close aide, Sidney Blumenthal, the president was fully prepared to smear the underling Miss Lewinsky as a mentally-unstable "stalker." After all, who would people believe — the CEO of the United States or a star-struck intern?

Now that the Democratic Party — and its foremost feminist voice, Hillary Rodham Clinton — have declared that an executive's use of an intern for oral sex is a "private matter," the hard-won victories of liberalism in the American workplace seem very hollow indeed.

Henry Payne is a staff writer and editorial cartoonist for Scripps Howard News Service.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Is Hillary too smart to run for the Senate?

A month or so ago, a person who claims to be a confidant of Hillary Rodham Clinton told me that, barring something unforeseen, she would run for the seat being vacated in 2000 by the retiring Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. He characterized the situation as "a done deal."

The person who told me this is a serious person of accomplishment—you might recognize his name. There is no reason to believe he does not believe the things he says.

So why is it that I'm having trouble wrapping my mind around the idea?

Perhaps part of it is simple jealousy of the people of New York. It would have been nice to continue the illusion that the Clintons are still primarily Arkansians. It is nothing more than the ruffling of parochial feathers perhaps, but one wonders if we shouldn't feel a little bereft at the thought of Hillary representing New Yorkers in the upper house. No doubt the lax residency requirement and the prevailing Eastern attitudes—not to mention the legacy of Robert Kennedy—are attractive to Hillary. Still, Arkansians are allowed to feel a little sad at her defection.

Still I'm afraid I just don't see Mrs. Clinton as a candidate. And while I know that there's polling data that suggests she has a considerable advantage over Rudolf Giuliani, the mayor of New York who is regarded as the likely Republican candidate for Moynihan's seat. Her name recognition is naturally quite high; New York Democrats are excited about the possibility of her making the campaign. Money oughtn't be a problem.

Yet I am not convinced. It takes a certain kind of person to pull the trigger on such an undertaking—one neither either a kind of willful obliviousness to reality or a certain masochism. And while Bill Clinton seems to be the kind of person who must continually risk his dignity for a chance to experience the rapture of mass adulation, Mrs. Clinton has always seemed less dreamy and more self-protective than her husband. She has always seemed more secure in her particular gifts and talents. She is not—one would guess—the kind of person who can habitually place herself on display. She neither needs nor craves the beaming mob.

One could point to biographical instances that contravene this opinion; Hillary Clinton has at times become a very public figure. But one never understood that she relished the attention—she did what she did in service of policy or to preserve her husband's fragile candidacy or tipsy presidency. Whatever one thinks of her politics, it is difficult to fault her performance as a team player. She has comported herself with grace and poise through what may have been the most public humiliation any political wife has ever had to en-

**Philip
Martin**



sure. She has an uncanny ability to separate her personal ambitions and emotions from the practical policy goals to which she has dedicated herself. One mightn't like Hillary Clinton, but one has to give her credit.

For the record, I like her. For the record, it is possible to like someone without agreeing with their politics. Yet Hillary Clinton is pretty good on the issues—I prefer what I perceive to be her more aggressively progressive agenda to her husband's pop centrality. Bill Clinton is a moderate's moderate; the kind of amiable, electable chap that our democracy tends to produce. He has his good points—he has a heart and tender impulses—but his convictions are suspect and always subject to pragmatic political sublimation. Clinton is very very good at being elected; he can talk to almost anyone for a few minutes and leave that person believing he is in concurrence with them on all substantive issues.

Hillary Clinton is another kind of animal. Over the years John Brummett has astutely pointed out

She has been even more the target for invective and demonization.

her lack of political acumen; she does seem afflicted by a certain political tone deafness. In Arkansas she rubbed some people the wrong way by—at first—insisting on retaining her maiden name.

Similarly, she has made a point of championing causes that were never as popular as they were worthy. The fact is some people are opposed to reforming health care, enacting child welfare provisions and bettering education simply because to do such things necessarily requires the expenditure of tax money. Some people simply do not want their paychecks docked, others have a philosophical problem with the "Big Government" of which such programs are considered emblematic.

As Arkansas' first lady Hillary Clinton alienated many members of the state's teacher's union by insisting on the need for a teacher competency test. She made what some people construed as a slur on country singer Tammy Wynette during

using else about not wanting to stay at home and bake cookies, seemed to change her hairstyle weekly and after Clinton's political enemies started harping on a prospective "co-presidency" she was rather unceremoniously reduced to smiling and waving at her husband's side.

After the election she was assigned the task of health care reform; she headed the task force that wrote the failed, overreaching legislation. And even though there is some metaphorical truth to her statements about "vast right wing conspiracies," it wasn't a particularly politic thing to say. There are times that her political interests could be best served by remaining quiet.

While Hillary Clinton has never seemed particularly fearful of failure, unlike her husband she has never seemed to require the approbation of anonymous crowds. She might make a great senator; it is certain she would make an odd one.

Speculation is what columns like this one are about, so it probably does no harm to speculate what will happen after Bill Clinton leaves office. I don't think that a divorce is likely, though there is certainly good cause; I prefer to believe that regardless of all the garbage there exists a deep, abiding bond between these two people and that they are genuine partners. Marriages can be strange compacts and I don't think any of us really have any clue as to the sticky secrets of other people. All we can really do is wish them well and pray they come to some mutually satisfactory arrangement—we know more than we should have known, we ought to step back sheepishly, tipping our hat, mumbling our apologies.

Yet if Hillary Clinton seeks political office on her own she must find a way to affect at least a psychic break from her husband's administration. She has been even more the target for invective and demonization than her husband—there seem to be at least as many Hillary haters working the Internet and the talk programs as there are overly energetic critics of her husband. And there are legitimate questions too—some wonder about her role in the Whitewater land deal, the White House travel office fiasco and the misuse of FBI files.

Hillary Clinton might have nothing to apologize for, but some explanations are due. She has a right to run for office, some exciting credentials and an arresting mind. She is intellectually capable and her record of public service is impressive. She is exactly the sort of person who ought to run for public office.

And she is exactly the sort of person who does not need to. Why would anyone who has gone through what Hillary Clinton has gone through in the past eight years offer herself for mere use? I don't think she will. She's too smart.

Arkansas Democrat -
Gazette 2/28/99

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Schumer: Hillary's got a lot of options

By VINCENT MORRIS
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Once Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves the White House, the "world would be her oyster," says Sen. Charles Schumer, with many opportunities for the First Lady besides running for a Senate seat.

"She could write books. She could go speak. She could become president of a university," said Schumer, who met with the First Lady on Wednesday.

"She has lots of options."

Hoping to buy Clinton time to make up her mind about whether to run for senator in New York, Schumer recalled how he spent months pondering whether to leave his safe House seat.

"It would be bad for her, bad for New York and bad for America . . . for her to make a decision . . . in the next couple of weeks," Schumer told reporters in his Senate office yesterday.

Schumer used the occasion to spell out nine legislative goals for the next Congress, a package of expensive but popular ideas that are bound to encounter opposition from Republicans.

The single biggest proposal calls for allowing families to deduct the full cost of a college education from their income taxes.

Currently, joint filers can deduct up to \$1,500 in tax credits for the first two years of college. The new plan, co-sponsored by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, would cost \$30 billion over five years and could be paid for out of the federal budget surplus, Schumer said.

Besides making college more affordable, Schumer introduced bills to encourage people to become teachers, to make pensions portable from job to job, to force credit-card companies to be more open about their interest charges and to offer a \$2,000 tax credit to first-time home buyers in parts of the South Bronx, Harlem and some upstate cities.

Schumer also said he's encouraging the Democratic leadership to pick more fights with the GOP this year, especially on issues like campaign-finance reform, which many Republicans oppose.

"We can force a vote often, not just once but until the campaign-finance bill passes," Schumer said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

DAILY NEWS

—online edition—

HOME

NEWS & VIEWS

Beyond the City

Headlines Index

Last 6 Days

Search/Archives

QUICK SEARCH

GO

CLICK HERE

CYBERPOSIUM

Harvard Business School High Tech & New Media Club

JOIN THE ONLINE DEBATE



Beyond the City

Hil Good for Israel: Chuck

By TIMOTHY J. BURGER

Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Defending Hillary Rodham Clinton over her call last year for a Palestinian state, Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) yesterday insisted the First Lady "would be a powerful and strong voice for Israel."

Schumer said President Clinton has run "the most pro-Israel administration since I've become an elected official." He said he was confident the First Lady "would persuade a large majority of Jewish voters that she would be a forceful and strong advocate for Israel."

The First Lady set off an uproar in May when she said, "I think it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

The White House disowned the remark, and Schumer was critical at the time, saying it did "not set the peace process forward." An aide said he still holds that view.

He said that if Clinton runs, she'll "have to explain fully her position on . . . the Middle East, including the Palestinian state."

A White House source said the First Lady has no "plans to say anything new on that."

Original Publication Date: 02/26/1999

Related Stories

Hil Is GOP Fund-Raisers' Target (02/24/1999)

No Red Carpet for Hillary, Says Pataki (02/23/1999)

Al Shows Gusto for Bout With 1st Lady (02/22/1999)

Inside Hillary's Dream Campaign (02/21/1999)

Quick Reference Menu

GO

citysearch.com

Event Finder.

anything!

Feb

26

go

1 of 2

2/26/99 1:00 PM

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK The Jewish Week

SERVING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GREATER NEW YORK / \$1.00 / FEBRUARY 26, 1999 / 10 ADAR 5759

Hillary Modifies Statehood Sta

*Palestinian issue
should be left
to two sides,
first lady says in
meeting with rabbis.*

ERIC J. GREENBERG
STAFF WRITER

Hillary Rodham Clinton, meeting at the White House this week with 25 rabbis, appeared to back away from her previous support for a Palestinian state, reportedly saying the issue should be left to Israel and the Palestinians.

But Clinton's Communications Director Marsha Berry, after consulting with the first lady, told The Jewish Week that Clinton's "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remains unchanged.

The remarks come as Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is turning up the heat on Clinton on the Palestinian statehood issue. They are being



About face? Local rabbis say first lady's comments this week may be intended to impress N.Y. Jewish voters. RNS/Reuters

touted as potential opponents in the 2000 New York Senate race.

The issue arose Monday afternoon in a private White House meeting with a new national group of rabbis (see story, page 10.). Clinton was asked to clarify her controversial statement of last May favoring
Continued on page 17

Hillary Modifies Palestinian Stance

Continued from page 1

a Palestinian state, and according to Rabbi Marc Schneier, who attended the White House gathering, she replied: "It is up to the parties to negotiate final status."

"She made her position very, very clear to all the rabbis," said Rabbi Schneier, who was in the capital to launch his new organization, the North American Board of Rabbis, an interdenominational group.

Clinton in the spring had outraged some Jewish groups and caught the administration off guard when she said: "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state, to be a state that is responsible for its citizens' well-being, a state that has responsibility for providing education and health care and economic opportunity to its citizens."

The White House responded by distancing itself from her remarks, and Clinton since that time has not elaborated. U.S. policy has been to remain neutral on the issue of a Palestinian state and not prejudice the outcome of any final-status issues between Israel and the Palestinians.

But Berry, in providing the first lady's most detailed explanation of her views on the issue, told *The Jewish Week* on Monday that Clinton's response to the rabbis does not contradict her earlier position.

"All along she supported the administration's position, but she had a personal position regarding what the long-term interest in the region is," Berry said in a telephone interview. "They're not mutually exclusive of one another."

Berry added: "She has not changed her



personal position regarding what she said last year. At the same time she supports the peace process."

But some rabbis at the meeting said they believed Clinton did reshape her position, perhaps to mollify her audience and the Jewish voters in New York.

"She spoke ... in terms agreeable to the ears that wanted to hear that — that she meant the parties will ultimately decide," said Rabbi Albert Gabbai, an Orthodox rabbi from Philadelphia. "I'm not born yesterday. One has to read between the lines that she has political

ambitions for the future."

New Jersey Conservative Rabbi Jay Kornsgold said he was "very pleased" she clarified her position.

"Let's face it, she knew who she was meeting with and she must have anticipated the questions," he said. "She seemed genuine. I can't say for sure whether she's doing this

Hillary Rodham Clinton supports her husband's Middle East policy, but has a "personal position" on Palestinian statehood, her spokeswoman says.

because she may run for the Senate and that this may impress a lot of Jews in New York."

But Henry Siegman, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, the influential foreign policy institute in the U.S., argued that Clinton's dual positions are not in opposition at all.

"Obviously she is talking within an entirely new political context," said Siegman, director of the council's U.S. Middle East Project. "In principle and in theory, there is no contradiction. The best possible outcome is for there to be a Palestinian state that is recognized only through direct negotiations between the parties."

Siegman called it unfortunate that "certain

portions of the Jewish community in New York" become agitated at the thought of a Palestinian state, "even though a vast majority of the Israeli public, including the hawkish [Foreign Minister Ariel] Sharon has accepted the inevitability of that development."

"The fact that a statement like that by Hillary [last May] should evoke hysterical reaction in some quarters indicates how far behind certain portions of the American Jewish community are of the actual realities accepted by Israelis."

But Siegman said the minority view is extremely vocal and they "create the impression that the political climate in New York embraces the most retrogressive position in order to win votes."

Of the mayor's recent attacks concerning Clinton's position on Palestinian statehood, Siegman said Giuliani "has pandered to those primitive sensibilities in the Jewish community and has offered no enlightenment or leadership on this issue."

Brooklyn Assemblyman Dov Hikind, a Democrat who has supported Republican candidates, said there would be a mass defection of Jewish voters from the Democratic Party should Clinton run for Senate because of her support for a Palestinian state and "her love affair with Yasir Arafat." □

By DOUGLAS M. BLOOMFIELD

It's not exactly part of her campaign strategy, but if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the Senate in New York next year, the campaign could provide a significant sounding board for the issues that divide the Jewish community-Israel and the peace process, public vs. private schools and church-state separation.

Historically, candidates in New York—which has the largest number of Jewish voters outside of Israel—have tried to finesse divisions among the Jews, trying to be all things to all people. For example, it's not unusual to see American politicians trying to appear more hawkish on Israeli security than Israeli leaders.

But this time there is a potential candidate of immense popularity who does not toe the hawkish line. Rodham Clinton is again coming under savage attack from right-wing Jews for comments she made last May about Palestinian statehood, and Republican politicians are enthusiastically joining the fray.

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential GOP senatorial candidate, has accused her of "siding with the Palestinians against the Israelis." Much the same was said by Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY), the chairman of the GOP Senate Campaign Committee, who sees the first lady as a boon to his efforts to raise Jewish money for Republican candidates next year.

The head of a pro-Israel political action committee in New York which gives to both parties said, "The screamers in our community will make a lot of noise, but 85 percent of the Jews will be fine with Hillary."

Prof. Amos Perlmutter of American University said, "Since the Jewish leaders are still in a ghetto in New York and a bunch of cowards, they're going to vote for her even though she's called for a Palestinian state."

Rodham Clinton insists, publicly and privately, that her position is the same as the administration's, that it is up to the parties themselves to negotiate the issue of Palestinian statehood. She also has said that the late Yitzhak Rabin lamented to her and her husband about the difficulties of negotiating with the Palestinians because, unlike the Syrians and Jordanians, there is no entity to deal with and hold accountable, and Rodham Clinton feels she was reflecting that view.

What she did say, in a May 8, 1998, satellite interview with Israeli and Palestinian youths was, "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state, and for it to be a state that is responsible for its citizens' well-being...a state that has to accept the responsibility of governing."

Administration officials said she

Will She or Won't She?

The hawks are circling, but Hillary for Senate would win the votes of most Jews

was expressing her personal views and denied she was staking out any new policy ground. Many Israelis and Palestinians, for their own reasons, were convinced that she was revealing the secret inner thinking of her husband and his government.

Even the broadest interpretation of what she said does not constitute an endorsement of a unilateral declaration.

However, the Clinton administration, with the support of moderate Arab states and the Europeans, has apparently convinced Arafat to drop that threat because it could interfere with the Israeli elections 13 days later and do serious damage to the peace process. But the issue is bound to come up after a new Israeli government is in place, which should be by the middle of June.

If Rodham Clinton decides to run for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan—and it is far from certain that she will—the statehood issue will be one of the most contentious, with risks for both sides.

While her opponents are very vocal and well organized, the truth is they are a minority. Most American Jews, like most Israelis, accept Palestinian statehood in some form as inevitable, and sooner rather than later. That is something the hawks here and in Israel would like to stifle, but even Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and some of his cabinet ministers have spoken of accepting a state with limited sovereignty.

That issue, however, could be moot well before the November 2000 election, because it is very possible that the Palestinian state will be established by then. But even without that, there will be other issues that divide Jewish voters, and Rodham Clinton's candidacy could ignite lively debate on those as well.

Divisions within the Jewish community are more pronounced in New York than elsewhere—by sheer weight of numbers and because of the size and influence of the Orthodox population—and the impact of the Jewish vote is immense.

There is strong support in some circles, particularly among the Orthodox, for vouchers and other forms of taxpayer support for private schools. Among the other issues which divide Jewish liberals and conservatives are abortion rights, homosexual rights and charitable choice, which permits religious institutions to use federal funds for health and social services with fewer governmental restrictions.

"The right-wing Jews may go after her" on these issues, said a friend of the first lady, but "the rest of the Jews love her" and she'd have no trouble winning, not only the Jewish vote, but the election.

All the polls say the same thing,

but her candidacy is still a novelty. While Rodham Clinton is an experienced politician and a highly skilled, veteran campaigner—which was evident in last year's New York Senate race, where she is credited with having played an invaluable role in Chuck Schumer's stunning victory over Alfonse D'Amato (who says he might run next year if she does)—she would face a very different political challenge running on her own in the overheated environment of New York politics.

"She's tough, especially after what she's just been through, and I'd be surprised [if] there's much they could do that would upset her," said her friend.

But there are some very compelling reasons that suggest that she will not run for the Moynihan

seat next year.

As a popular former first lady, she will not need the Senate as a platform from which to express her views. She will be free to do that on the world stage with fewer inhibitions, and free to devote time to the causes she cares most about while earning some of the big bucks she and her husband need to pay off legal bills accumulated in the course of the plethora of GOP-led investigations they endured.

Rodham Clinton is at the peak of her popularity and, after her husband, she is the Democratic Party's most popular draw and most effective fundraiser. Party leaders fear running for the Senate will take her away from the more urgent task of cross-country raising money and campaigning for the presidential ticket and other candidates at all levels.

"Not having her out on the campaign trail, especially for Al Gore, would be a huge loss, a huge loss," said a White House official.

Besides, if she still has the Senate bug after that, there's always 2004, when freshman GOP Sen. Peter Fitzgerald comes up for re-election in her native Illinois.



'Since the Jewish leaders are still in a ghetto in New York and a bunch of cowards, they're going to vote for her...'

ration of Palestinian statehood; she has repeatedly insisted it is something to be mutually agreed upon. Nonetheless, her critics feared her comments would encourage Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat to carry out his oft-repeated threat to unilaterally announce establishment of a state on May 4, the original deadline for concluding negotiations on final-status issues under the Oslo Accords.

Long Island
Jewish World
2/26/99

FORWARD

Newspaper
Available by mail
@ \$39.95 a year,
\$49.95 outside N.Y. area
Subscriptions 1-800-849-1825

\$1.00

Published at New York City

February 26, 1999

WWW.FORWARD.COM

© 1999, Forward Newspaper, L.L.C.

Hillary Softens Her Stance on Palestinian State, Rabbis Say, As Gore Woos Jews by Backing Hate Crimes Laws, Abortion

*First Lady, Eyeing Senate Race,
Mixes Messages on a Hot Issue*

'It Sounds Like She's a Clinton,' Republican Says

By IRA STOLL

FORWARD STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is backing away from her advocacy of a Palestinian-Arab state, rabbis who met with her here this week say.

The meeting between the first lady and a group of high-powered rabbis from New York and other cities adds to the intrigue surrounding whether Mrs. Clinton will decide to run in 2000 for the seat being vacated by New York's Senator Moynihan. The subtleties of Mrs. Clinton's position on the question of a Palestinian

state are such, though, that after a spokeswoman for the first lady got through explaining, Republicans were attacking Mrs. Clinton not only for siding against Israel, but for flip-flopping about the matter.

Although Mrs. Clinton's critics acknowledge that many Israelis favor a Palestinian-Arab state, they say the issue is what role the first lady should be playing in the midst of delicate negotiations. The mixed messages emanating from the White House on the issue are a sign that Mrs. Clinton still has some work to do before she dives into the rough-and-tumble of a New York campaign. Never mind the New York politics of the matter,

Please turn to Page 2

Hillary Reassures Rabbis on Palestinian State

Continued from Page 1

others say — the first lady's statements are particularly important as the May 4, 1999, deadline approaches for completion of final status talks under the Oslo accords. Israeli and American officials have been trying to prevent Mr. Arafat from unilaterally declaring statehood on May 4, saying that such a declaration could lead to war.

"I asked her about the Palestinian state, and she clarified her position by saying that it is up to the parties to negotiate a final settlement," said the president of the New York Board of Rabbis and of the newly formed North American Boards of Rabbis, Rabbi Marc Schneier.

The vice president of the North American Boards of Rabbis, Rabbi Ronald Brown, said he entered the White House meeting "concerned" about Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian-Arab state. After the first lady's remarks, he said, "I was pleased that that was the direction she was going." Rabbi Brown is the leader of Temple Beth Am of Merrick, Long Island.

A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, Marsha Berry, told the Forward, however, that the first lady has not changed her position. "She hasn't changed her personal position. ... She has said it all along," Ms. Berry said. "She supports the Oslo process. It's not anything different. It wasn't anything different from her point of view."

Mrs. Clinton's opinion on the question of statehood for the Palestinian Arabs has been the subject of attention ever since May 6, 1998,

when she told a group of Israeli and Arab youth, "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state.... I think that it is very important for the Palestinian people. But I also think it's very important for the broader goal of peace in the Middle East."

At the time, the statement was widely condemned, even by those supportive of the Clinton administration and the Oslo process. The president of the American Jewish Committee at the time, Robert Rifkind, said in a statement at the time that he was "surprised and concerned" at the comments. The New York City comptroller, Alan Hevesi, a Democrat, said, "Why should the Palestinians negotiate in good faith if the first lady hands them what they want without requiring the Palestinians to meet their obligations made in prior written agreements?"

Asked if Mrs. Clinton's statement of May 6, 1998, was still operative, Ms. Berry said, "Yes."

Some Labor Party figures such as Shimon Peres have endorsed a Palestinian state, and Prime Minister Netanyahu of the Likud Party has spoken of a self-governing entity emerging in the areas of the West Bank and Gaza that are controlled by Mr. Arafat. They are speaking of something less than full, unfettered statehood — they would restrict a Palestinian-Arab state from inviting in Iraqi armies or from obtaining certain weapons. And the Israeli position — and that of the American government — is that statehood for the Palestinian

Arabs is a matter for negotiation, not American predetermination.

Republicans pounced on the flap, saying it was evidence that Mrs. Clinton shared some of her husband's worst qualities.

"Will the real Hillary Clinton please stand up?" said the executive director of one Republican group, the National Jewish Coalition, Matthew Brooks. He called her encouragement of a Palestinian Arab state "dangerous."

The executive director of Mayor Giuliani's new political action committee, Solutions America, Bruce Teitelbaum, said, "Her public position on this has not changed. She believes there should be a Palestinian state.... You have to proceed on the assumption that her thinking on the matter has not changed, and if it has, I think she would articulate the change." Mr. Giuliani, who may run for Senate as a Republican, has attacked Mrs. Clinton for favoring a Palestinian-Arab state.

The vice chairman of another Republican group, the Young Jewish Leadership Pac, questioned the dichotomy between Mrs. Clinton's personal view, as expressed in May of last year, and the official Clinton administration position, as expressed by the State Department and, apparently, to the group of rabbis. "If she runs for Senate, is she running personally, or officially?" he asked. "It sounds like she's a Clinton."

The rabbis were in Washington for the founding convention of the North American Boards of Rabbis, a group that intends to encourage interaction between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist rabbis.

In addition to Rabbi Schneier, who is Orthodox, and Rabbi Brown, who is Reform, the group elected a corresponding secretary, Rabbi Stanley Davids of Atlanta, Ga., who is Reform; a recording secre-

tary, Rabbi Lionel Moses of Montreal, Canada, who is Conservative, and a treasurer, Rabbi Dannel Schwartz of Detroit, Mich., who is Reform.

The group's executive vice president, Rabbi Jay Rosenbaum, said he hoped the North American Boards of Rabbis would "be a source of good, of showing the world our capacity to work together and treat each other with civility and respect and appreciation, regardless of what stream of Judaism we come from." Rabbi Rosenbaum is also the leader of the Union Reform Temple in Freeport, Long Island.

The Washington meeting drew representatives from boards of rabbis of more than 25 cities — despite the across-the-board opposition to the new organization from leaders of the denominations.

The meeting between Mrs. Clinton and the rabbis was arranged by Rep. Gary Ackerman, a Democrat from New York, according to both Ms. Berry and a spokesman for Mr. Ackerman. Mr. Ackerman did not attend the meeting.

Mrs. Clinton also met quietly this week with Mr. Moynihan's wife, Liz.

Hillary's Getting Cold in the Hot Seat

By MITCHELL L. MOSS

Contrary to the polls, pundits and popular opinion, Hillary Rodham Clinton is not a sure bet to get elected to the Senate from New York in 2000. In fact, there is no more dangerous place in politics than the position she now holds as the front-runner for an election that will not take place for another 20 months. While the first lady looks like a savior to Democratic Party leaders eager to keep Senator Moynihan's seat in Democratic hands, there is no reason to believe that Mrs. Clinton has what it takes to win the votes of New Yorkers.

According to the latest Marist Institute poll, Mrs. Clinton has about a 10% lead over New York City Mayor Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate. Any Republican who can carry New York City, or capture about 45% of the vote in such a Democratic stronghold, should win statewide, since suburban and upstate voters are predominantly Republican, and they account for about two-thirds of the total state electorate. Mr. Giuliani's strength among Jews and white Catholics in the five boroughs and the surrounding suburbs, as well as his capacity to raise the \$20 million needed for a statewide race, has already pushed potential Democratic challengers such as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and environmental lawyer Robert Kennedy Jr. to the sidelines. With a paucity of well-funded candidates ready to run against Mr. Giuliani, Democratic leaders are falling over themselves in their efforts to persuade the first lady to run for the Senate.

Mrs. Clinton's fans believe she has the strength and intellect to go one-on-one with a mayor who thrives on ridiculing his opponents and even his predecessors. In addition, New York feminists believe that they have a "sure winner" on hand. After years of watching women win senatorial and gubernatorial posts in other states, perhaps New York can finally join California, Maine, Washington, Texas and Maryland in sending a woman to the Senate.

Of course, there are liabilities to a Clinton candidacy that have nothing to do with presidential scandal woes. No one could do more to unite the state's fractious Republicans sects than Mrs. Clinton. The prospect will compel the Conservative Party to quietly go along with the Republican nominee, even if Mr. Giuliani ran on both the Republican and Liberal lines. Furthermore, the Independence Party, which provided Charles Schumer with approximately 200,000 votes in his victorious 1998 Senate bid, might also support Mr. Giuliani. And though a card-carrying liberal like Mrs. Clinton would certainly energize New York City voters, her ideological credentials would also have the opposite effect of mobilizing upstate Republicans, who stayed home in 1998, to vote against such a Democratic icon in 2000.



WHITE HOUSE

Unlike her husband, she can't count on the Jewish vote.

World events may also tint Mrs. Clinton's candidacy. By autumn of 2000, there will certainly be a Palestinian entity of some kind on the West Bank, though likely not a Palestinian state. As a result, Mrs. Clinton's public support of a Palestinian state, though an albatross now, might be less of a burden by next year's election. Yet Mrs. Clinton cannot count on the Jewish vote. Unlike her husband, who has a visceral attachment to Jews and the state of Israel, Mrs. Clinton may get trumped by Mr. Giuliani, a Roman-Catholic who wins two-

thirds of the Jewish vote in mayoralty elections. The mayor has a record — on taxes, welfare and crime — that resonates well with suburban and outer-borough Jews, and he has emerged as the protector of the fervently Orthodox, while also spending more time with Ramaz parents than many of the school's faculty do.

Even among white Catholic voters, the dominant voting block in the state, it's hard to know how a white Protestant like Mrs. Clinton would play. Admittedly, many voters empathize with the pain Mrs. Clinton has absorbed as a loyal spouse, but once she becomes a candidate, Mrs. Clinton's role as a "victim" will be superseded by a new identity: as a protagonist in a contest for the Senate. Mrs. Clinton's credentials as a partner in the Little Rock-based Rose law firm, as chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund, as first lady of Arkansas and of America can be political liabilities in a heated campaign.

Ironically, Republicans across the country are in the camp most enthusiastic about Mrs. Clinton's candidacy. For them, the real prize in 2000 is control of the House of Representatives, which the Democrats are in striking distance of winning. With Mrs. Clinton running in New York, she will not be able to campaign for Democrats in other states and will be forced to raise money for herself rather than for Democratic candidates elsewhere. Most importantly, she will not have sufficient time to devote to defeating the Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who tried to convict her husband.

Mrs. Clinton's biggest challenge is not her ideology but the cultural geography of New York state. The Clintons have never had to campaign hard in New York state. Largely because of Harold Ickes' organizational savvy, President Clinton had New York locked up before the 1992 presidential primary. New York was not a contested state in the 1992 or 1996 presidential campaigns. The Clintons treat New York City as a fund-raising venue, as a place to wine and dine wealthy donors who prefer to spend the night in Bedford rather than in the Lincoln Bedroom.

As a result, Mrs. Clinton doesn't know her way around. There are no "Cliff Notes" to explain that New York is largely a rural state that borders Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Canada. It is not easy to understand the intense upstate hostilities involving Native Americans; the difference between Eastern Parkway and Ocean Parkway and that the town of North Hempstead is twice as large as the city of Albany, the state capital. Manhattan is not New York state; there are 61 other counties, each with their own political land mines and "hot spots" that cannot be quickly mastered, even for a seasoned pro like the first lady.

Mr. Moss is the Henry Hart Rice professor of urban policy and planning at New York University.



MAYOR'S PHOTO UNIT

Forward 2/26/99

AL D'AMATO

Good for the Jews & Israel



CHUCK SCHUMER

Good for Hillary & the P.L.O.



Photo by Suliaman Sebra

"Well, I think that it will be in the long-term interest of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

-Hillary Clinton, New York Times - May 7, 1998

October 1998 Ad in Jewish Pages + NY Post

PM-NY--Mrs. Clinton New York, Bjt,0563

Democrats: Hillary may not decide until summer or fall

Eds: Moving on state news and political wires

By MARC HUMBERT= AP Political Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) A decision by Hillary Rodham Clinton on running for the Senate seat from New York probably won't come until this summer, and may even have to wait until the fall, according to some well-connected Democrats.

"It's going to be a slow process," one Democrat, who has spoken regularly to Mrs. Clinton and requested anonymity, said Thursday.

Meanwhile, one of the state's top Democrats who is advising Mrs. Clinton about her possible Senate campaign says he thinks, in part because of her lengthy deliberations, that she will run.

"I think she wants to do it ... My prediction as of this time would be that she's running," state Comptroller H. Carl McCall told Albany's WAMC-FM radio in an interview broadcast Wednesday night.

"This is somebody who has had to be No. 2. She has had to be the supporting actress in this whole drama with her husband," McCall added.

"Now, she can be out front. She can be on her own. I think that's what is ultimately driving her."

One adviser to a prominent New York Democrat who has met with Mrs. Clinton in recent days said, on condition of anonymity, that "the decision may not come until the summer or even the fall. Those are the vibes we are getting."

Another well-connected New York Democrat, also requesting that he not be identified, said the expectation was that the first lady wouldn't make a decision until this summer, at the earliest, about running for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While the politicians played guessing games, an answer from Mrs. Clinton did not appear imminent. Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady is still "far away" from any decision.

All Mrs. Clinton has said is that her decision will come "later this year."

Newly elected New York Sen. Charles Schumer, a fellow Democrat who met with Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday, said he had advised her "to take some time" before making her decision. He refused Thursday to discuss a possible timetable for a decision.

While McCall professed no inside knowledge about the first lady's plans, he said her series of meetings with New York Democrats and others about the race, and her apparent decision not to act quickly, led him to conclude she would run.

"You only delay the decision when you're going to do it," the veteran New York politician said. "If you're not going to do it, you say so up front, like I did."

McCall is one of several prominent New York Democrats who decided not to run for the Senate seat.

The comptroller said he will meet next week with Mrs. Clinton to discuss her possible entry into the race. She met last week with Moynihan and on Wednesday with Schumer and U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester County, a potential Senate candidate if Mrs. Clinton doesn't run.

While McCall and other Democrats have said Lowey's candidacy could be hurt if Mrs. Clinton drags out the decision process and then doesn't run, the New York congresswoman said she isn't worried about that. Lowey has been traveling around the state and says her fund raising is going well.

McCall said that if the first lady does enter the race, and faces New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican, "it'll be a rough, nasty campaign, but she survives."

Giuliani is also considering running for the Senate seat.

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 02/26/99 at 00:36EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 02/26/99 at 13:56EST ****

PHOTOCOPY
SERVATION



NEW YORK POST

NEWS



UNDECIDED HILLARY WORTH THE WAIT TO ME, \$AYS RUDY

By Tom Topousis, Vincent Morris and Robert Hardt Jr.

Mayor Giuliani yesterday said the rampant talk of First Lady Hillary Clinton running for Senate in New York has given his own fund-raising a major boost - by as much as 30 percent.

"She has helped our fund-raising a great deal, so from my point of view, the longer she takes, the better - whichever way she decides," Giuliani said in an interview with MSNBC.

Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton each spent much of the day privately meeting with their party leaders in Washington about the prospects of running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

Before huddling with Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell, who heads the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Giuliani estimated the hype over the First Lady has given him a 25 to 30 percent increase in his fund-raising efforts.

"There's a lot of national interest. It's received an unprecedented amount of attention so it has expanded our fund-raising schedule [and] capacity," the mayor said.

The Post reported earlier this month that Giuliani was so unhappy with having only \$607,000 in his campaign accounts on Jan. 1 that he fired two veteran fund-raisers.

Following his meeting with McConnell, Giuliani said he has five or six offers from congressmen to visit their districts to raise money.

"We were talking about how you could take advantage of the next couple of weeks and use it to increase fund-raising with the speculation out there that Hillary Clinton might run," Giuliani said.

Giuliani is holding a private fund-raiser during a visit to Miami Sunday at the home of a supporter, The Post learned.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton held meetings with Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) in the White House to talk about her own possible candidacy.

"I'm keeping the specifics of our meeting between she and I," Schumer said.

The Jewish Week reports today that Mrs. Clinton held a private meeting with 25 rabbis in the White House on Monday where she addressed her controversial remarks last year advocating a Palestinian state.

It quoted the rabbis as saying she agreed with the administration position that Israel and the Palestinians have to negotiate statehood themselves. But her spokesman later said the First Lady's "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remains unchanged.

While Mrs. Clinton remained mum about a Senate race, Giuliani inched closer to declaring his intentions.

"I'm thinking very seriously about running for the Senate. I'm giving it a lot of thought and organizing," he told MSNBC.

MORE NEWS

Copyright (c) 1998, N.Y.P. Holdings, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part in any form or medium without express written permission of the New York Post is prohibited.

Movers, Shakers
Give Advice to Hil

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday hosted another gaggle of politicians, advisers and labor officials at the White House to pick their brains about what it would take to run for a New York Senate seat.

The steady stream included Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and Harold Ickes, a former aide to President Clinton who is the First Lady's key adviser on the potential race.

The First Lady indicated "this is all happening too quickly for her," and said she "needs time, so we're going to slow it down for her," one participant told the Daily News.

Schumer and Torricelli promised to talk to party activists and urge them to give Clinton time to decide.

"This is the most important professional decision she will make, and it would be unfair to her, to New York and to the country for her to make a rush decision in a frenzied atmosphere," Schumer said.

But Torricelli, who has all but sent a moving van to the White House, vowed to work "as hard as possible" as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee to recruit the First Lady to run.

Lowey, who has said she will not run for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan if Hillary Clinton seeks it, added, "We agreed that the top priority is keeping Sen. Moynihan's seat Democratic."

Earlier this week, the First Lady met with other New Yorkers,

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

including Andrew Cuomo and Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth. She also spoke with political organizers in New York and top party operatives in Washington, aides said.

Mayor Giuliani — her would-be GOP opponent in a dream race — tackled the subject while in Washington yesterday.

"She excites a lot of interest, a lot of emotion," which would bring money pouring into her campaign coffers, Giuliani said, but her lightning-rod status "also makes it a lot easier to raise money" for Republicans, too.

One lightning-rod issue has been her past support for a Palestinian state.

N.Y. Jewish Week is reporting in today's edition that she appeared to back away from her controversial stance in meeting with 25 rabbis at the White House on Tuesday.

She reportedly told the group that the issue should be left to Israel and the Palestinians to decide. Her spokeswoman Marsha Berry told the paper that her "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remained unchanged.

But several rabbis said they thought she had reshaped her position.

"She spoke . . . in terms agreeable to the ears that wanted to hear that — that she meant the parties will ultimately decide," said Orthodox Rabbi Albert Gabbai of Philadelphia.

With Thomas M. DeFrank,
Timothy J. Burger, Richard Sisk and Joel Siegel

Original Publication Date: 02/25/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'Awesome' Hillary polls pol pals on Senate bid

Reported by Gregg Birnbaum and Fredric U. Dicker in Albany, Robert Hardt Jr. in New York and Vincent Morris in Washington. Written by Birnbaum.



WHAT'S SHE THINKING? Hillary and Bill Clinton confer at a White House ceremony yesterday. AP

ALBANY — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday burned up the phone lines to New York supporters of her possible Senate candidacy, as a new poll showed her lead over Mayor Giuliani breaking wide open.

Clinton, who had an 18-point lead over Giuliani in a poll released yesterday, talked on the phone with Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan), who is pushing her to run, said Silver spokeswoman Patricia Lynch.

Clinton and Silver discussed "issues and the political landscape" and made plans to speak again, Lynch said, refusing to discuss more details

of the conversation.

The First Lady plans this week to call Democratic members of the New York congressional delegation about the race, a source told The Post.

Sen. Charles Schumer is heading to the White House today to meet with the First Lady, but would not say what they planned to discuss.

The Senate poll by Quinnipiac College in Hamden, Conn., found voters favoring the First Lady over the mayor by 54 to 36 per-

cent, more than double her lead in a Quinnipiac poll three weeks earlier.

"These numbers are awesome," said poll director Maurice Carroll.

Giuliani said he was not concerned about the poll, which found Clinton with sky-high backing from women and city residents.

"I think this is an issue of the difference of being a celebrity that is outside of politics and a celebrity that's inside of politics," Giuliani said.

Hil is GOP fund-raisers' target

By **TIMOTHY J. BURGER**

Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republicans are gearing up to turn First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton into their newest fund-raising poster child.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee already is "developing a fund-raising script for telemarketing," said spokesman Stuart Roy. "I think that we'll have a script, probably this week."

Roy said the possibility that Clinton will run for retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan's seat is galvanizing GOP voters and donors.

And because she ultimately may opt out of the race to replace the New York Democrat, Roy added, the GOP wants to "strike while the iron is hot."

Meanwhile, a Clinton insider insisted that she is serious about the U.S. Senate contest. "She wants to do it," this ally told the Daily News.

Clinton has even tacked on an extra day to her New York trip next week. But spokes-

woman Marsha Berry shot down speculation that Clinton will announce her intentions at a March 3 appearance at the Democratic Women's Leadership Forum.

The First Lady, however, will continue reaching out to top New York Democrats, meeting today at the White House with Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.). Yesterday, she called Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) to talk about the state's "political landscape," an aide said.

A Quinnipiac College Poll released yesterday says she would beat Mayor Giuliani, 54% to 36%, doubling her statewide lead over Giuliani to 18 points in the last four weeks.

Giuliani yesterday argued that the poll reflects "the difference between being a celebrity who is outside of politics and a celebrity who's inside politics."

With Tracey Tully,
Frank Lombardi
and Kenneth R. Bazinet

RUDY vs. HILLARY FOR U.S. SENATE



MAYOR GIULIANI

FEB. 3
42%

YESTERDAY
36%



HILLARY CLINTON

FEB. 3
51%

YESTERDAY
54%

Quinnipiac College surveyed New York State residents who said they are registered voters. The Feb. 3 poll had 1,191 respondents and the Feb. 23 poll had 1,270 respondents. Both polls had a margin of error of plus or minus 2.8 percentage points.

JIM WILLIS DAILY NEWS

The Hill

LARGEST
CIRCULATION
OF ANY
CAPITOL HILL
PUBLICATION

Vol. 6, No. 8

Price \$2.50

The Capitol Newspaper



Wednesday, February 24, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary, Liddy could face legal, ethical obstacles

By Robert Schlesinger

Unprecedented legal and ethical questions could create unforeseen obstacles for the much-talked-about political aspirations of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth "Liddy" Dole.

Clinton's possible Senate candidacy and Dole's expected presidential candidacy have captivated Washington and triggered endless speculation on talk shows and in news magazines. But campaign experts warn of myriad problems that could plague both campaigns.

"It is uncharted; that's the bottom line," said ethics watchdog Charles Lewis of the Center for Public

Integrity. "This country has never been in this situation before, so there are going to be potential ethical situations that have never before been encountered."

Such situations would arise from seemingly mundane issues like travel or the nature of the "job" of first spouse.

"Is the first lady going to take the shuttle to New York while she runs for Senate?" Lewis asked rhetorically.

William Canfield, a Republican election lawyer with Williams & Jensen, suggested Mrs. Clinton could run her own shuttle.

"The Secret Service would indicate that as a matter of security, they would have to provide escorts to

her and provide transportation consistent with their responsibilities to provide security to the first family, and that the obligation would certainly take precedent over whatever rules and regulations the FEC [Federal Election Commission] has with regards to candidate travel," he said.

Would Hillary Clinton's campaign have to pay the cost of a campaign trip?

"The question becomes whether certain trips are political versus official," said Mark Braden, a GOP election lawyer with Baker & Hostetler. "Those are always a bit of a pain and given the fact that she will be using

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Hillary, Liddy races could face obstacles

■ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

government travel and not running for president brings it under some different commission regulations ... than the traditional situation where the president is running for reelection."

The general rule, according to Braden and other election experts, is that, if both campaigning and official duties occur on a trip, the campaign has to pick up the whole tab, minus the cost of any persons required by law or security reasons to go along, like Secret Service agents.

C. Boyden Gray, White House counsel under President George Bush, noted that in a presidential election, at a certain point

of time several months before the election, all travel is presumed to be politically related and treated as such.

The question then arises of how those costs are calculated.

"Every time the president, the incumbent, runs [for reelection], we always get questions about costs," said FEC spokesman Ian Stirton, who pointed out that the campaigns "obviously don't reimburse the cost of running Air Force One," but rather the cost of a first-class ticket.

"The amazing thing is the government does end up getting reimbursed at far less than the cost" of the travel, noted one campaign finance expert.

FEC guidelines do specify that "a candidate who uses government conveyance or accommodations for travel which is campaign-related" must reimburse the government at "the rate for comparable commercial conveyance or accommodation."

The bottom line, Stirton said, is that no one knows the answer yet. "Some of the questions, of course, would have to be answered by the commission," he said.

Other questions arising include fundraising.

While most election experts agree that Mrs. Clinton could raise cash in the personal residence of the White House, she could not do it in the rest of the building.

Ethics experts like Lewis and campaign finance reformers could raise questions about why donors are giving. "You're going to draw money to you because of your celebrity and your position and the perception of power," he said.

Canfield put it more bluntly.

"Some percentage of potential contributors would want to curry favor with her not so much because she's the next senator from New York but because she's the spouse of the president," he said.

Even after election to the Senate, Mrs. Clinton could create unprecedented situations: Would she retain her Secret Service protection? Senators running for president have had Secret Service protection, but never for longer than a few months.

Asked if a senator having full-time Secret Service protection would be unprecedented, Senate Historian Richard Baker said, "It surely would. I always hate to say that, but it would."

Elizabeth Dole would also face a unique situation in a successful post-election environment, and not just figuring out the title of the first spouse, former Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.).

The former senator is currently special counsel at the high-powered lobbying and law firm of Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand. While he does not directly lobby for them, he is registered as a foreign agent with the Department of Justice.

"The spouse of the president has never been a lawyer-lobbyist or been working for a major law firm in Washington," Lewis said. "The presumption is that upon her assuming power, Jan. 20, 2001, he would resign from the Verner, Liipfert law firm and do what other first spouses have done."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Gray, the former White House counsel now with Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, noted that, when Samuel Skinner became Bush's chief of staff, "Mrs. Skinner had to cut back rather dramatically in the work she could do in her law firm."

"There are problems there, no question," Gray said. "... They're workable, but you have to attend to them."

Ron Shaiko, associate professor of government at American University and an expert on lobbying, noted that there are no legal requirements.

"Certainly there'd be a potential conflict of interest where he would be providing strategic assistance, as he puts it, for a client with business in front of the federal government," Shaiko said. "My guess is he would try to finesse the situation by describing himself not as a lobbyist but as a lawyer with client and that he's not looking to defend causes before the government. Whether that's true or not is a different story."

Jan Baran, a GOP election lawyer at Wiley, Rein & Fielding, noted the decision will be more political than legal.

"The income of the spouse would be reportable, so a working first person would have their income divulged on the president's personal financial disclosure report, and that would presumably raise potential conflict issues," he said, noting that all clients paying more than \$5,000 in fees would be listed on the report. "That would disclose what kind of lobbying is being done, potentially, and that would be a source of public debate and speculation, the type of speculation I think that most political families try to avoid."

The Hill

MARTIN TOLCHIN, Publisher and Editor in Chief

Hillary, get the lead out

Mixed emotions. That sums up the view of New York Democrats over Hillary Clinton's deliberations on whether to seek the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

The first lady fueled speculation by saying that she was "gratified by the large number of people" who have urged her to make the race. "Until now, I have not been able to do so," she said, "but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

While she deliberates, the New York Democrats' Senate race is on hold, with money and resources unavailable to other contenders, as *The Hill's* Robert Schlesinger noted in the Feb. 3 edition. Ms. Clinton should get the lead out, and make her decision promptly.

New York Democrats think that the worldly, articulate, socially committed first lady would make a superb candidate. Indeed, the nomination is hers for the asking. But some think that she is merely toying with them and has no real desire to make the race. Her top priority after vacating the White House, they believe, will be to find a line of work that will fill the family's coffers.

These skeptics also question whether she has the stamina to endure a bruising election campaign. The New York media does not observe the Marquis of Queensberry rules. Nor do New York politicians.

Ms. Clinton's entire career will be grist for the political mills. Does she really want a rehash of Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, and her role at the Rose Law Firm? Does she want to defend her role as her husband's enabler, not to mention all the statements she's made on Whitewater, including those that led New York Times columnist William Safire to declare her "a congenital liar?"

If elected, she would be a Senate freshman, one of 100, a role that many ex-governors find frustrating, let alone the former co-occupant of the White House. She is guaranteed to be a media darling, but her clout inside the institution would be minimal.

Of course, a Hillary Senate campaign would signify that she had bigger fish to fry. Her monumental ambition surely would lead her to contemplate a race for the White House. That could lead to some interesting ramifications.

Bill Clinton for first spouse.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Editorial

A slightly open letter to Hillary Clinton

By WILBERT A. TATUM

Publisher Emeritus & Chairman of the Board

We are sure there is no question in your mind that Blacks and whites in this city love you – indeed adore you – because you represent the big sister that many of us never had and the political genius that we have not had in this city and state in years and years. You are soft and warm and tough and mean. Indeed, you promote what any one of us in his or her own mind has wanted to happen in this city. And it might as well be in the Senate here in New York or the presidency of the United States. Except for your fondness and attachment to Vice Pres. Al Gore, we cannot believe that you could possibly be disloyal enough to go up against him, although we wish you would. We do believe that with the open door that you have gotten from the Democratic Party in New York State and from Black and white people all over the state, you can win the Senate seat in New York, and it does not matter who runs. Al D'Amato may be smart enough to run again; if that is the case and Giuliani decides to run as well, the walk to the United States Senate should be a cakewalk for you. And there is enough death-wishing in the Democratic Party for them to create a scenario that would allow you to win. You have not yet answered the call for your candidacy, and we agree it is too early for you to do so. All we wish to do is to let you know that we of the Black community stand foursquare behind you, and the victory for you will be all the sweeter if your opponent is Giuliani, who has no business going anywhere in America.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1963-1992

GERALD M. BOYD, Deputy Managing Editor
JOHN M. GEDDES, Deputy Managing Editor

Assistant Managing Editors
SOMA GOLDEN BEHR JACK ROSENTHAL
CAROLYN LEE ALLAN M. SIEGAL

HOWELL RAINES, Editorial Page Editor
PHILIP M. BOFFEY, Deputy Editorial Page Editor

JANET L. ROBINSON, President, General Manager
DANIEL H. COHEN, Senior V.P., Advertising
RICHARD H. GILMAN, Senior V.P., Operations
SCOTT H. HECKIN-CANEDY, V.P., Planning
MARC Z. KRAMER, V.P., Labor Relations
DENNIS L. STERN, V.P., Human Resources
JAMES L. TERRILL, V.P., Chief Financial Officer
DAVID A. THURM, V.P., Production
MICHAEL G. WILLIAMS, V.P., Chief Information Officer
MARTIN A. NISENHOLTZ, President, Electronic Media

The Hillary Boomlet

There is something familiar about the Hillarymania that has overtaken the media. By virtue of her announcement that she is officially thinking about whether to run for the Senate from New York, Mrs. Clinton has gotten herself on the cover of both Time and Newsweek. She was the obsession of almost all the talking heads in Washington on Sunday and probably half the Saturday night dinner parties in New York City.

It was February 1993 all over again, when the First Lady became chairwoman of the Clinton Administration's task force on health care. Mrs. Clinton made the cover of Newsweek then, was reported to be a better newsstand attraction than Princess Diana, and made a much-discussed call on Senate leaders that left everyone burbling dutifully about her intelligence and knowledge of policy. "She's sharp, she's on the ball and I can't tell you what a real pleasure it is . . . to be able to sit there and talk about your concerns with her and call her Hillary," reported Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio.

The health care plan's ignominious end, Travelgate, Filegate and other first-term disasters made it apparent that mixing the roles of First Lady and Administration strategist/lightning rod was not easy. For many people, the idea of Hillary Clinton for Senate is attractive just because it could allow her to untangle herself from the political side of her marriage and compete for a power base that is all her own.

Many women might ante up a campaign contribution just in the hopes of seeing Mrs. Clinton sworn in on the day that her husband becomes unemployed. She has spent her adult life mainly in the role of supportive wife — albeit in a very modern version of that part. If the President announces that it is now Hillary's turn to shine, and his to take on

the jobs of campaign cheerleader and family breadwinner, even many of the couple's critics would agree it is about time.

At this early stage in the political season, our only interest is in encouraging races that will be competitive and enlightening for the voters. Any race involving so well known, knowledgeable and polarizing a figure as Mrs. Clinton would fill those requirements. But if she does decide to run, she will be giving up some of the insulation and deference that go with being a resident of the White House. Her policy speeches will have to become more focused, her relations with the press more open. Her adversarial attitude toward the media might be understandable for a First Lady whose marriage has been under such intense and embarrassing scrutiny, but as a Senate candidate she would be expected to be available, and to answer the questions put to her.

The New York media may sometimes get more credit for feistiness than they deserve, but competitive elections in New York are exhausting, high-pressure affairs in which relatively minor mistakes can flare into crises for untested candidates. That was part of the message delivered by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in his weekend attack on Mrs. Clinton's endorsement of Palestinian statehood. The Mayor was saying, with typical subtlety: We'd love to have you play tennis with us. Here's how hard we hit the ball — when we're warming up.

Hillary Clinton is, at this stage, the potential candidate that Geraldine Ferraro wanted to be — a celebrity-icon so powerful that her entrance into the race would unleash a flood of campaign contributions and a respectful retreat by other potential Democratic candidates. Mrs. Clinton can learn from Ms. Ferraro's errors. These days, nobody captures an open Senate seat in New York simply by showing up. At least, no one has done it yet.

2/23/99

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Carpetbagger, 1964

By Ronnie Eldridge

I was excited when Robert Kennedy came to New York to run for the Senate in 1964. I thought he was smart, young, compassionate — and new.

Today, as people speculate on whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York, we're hearing many myths about Robert Kennedy's campaign 35 years ago. One is that he took New York by acclamation. That was hard-

Ronnie Eldridge, a member of the New York City Council, was a Democratic district leader during Robert Kennedy's Senate campaign.

ly the case. In the beginning he was disliked more passionately than any candidate I can recall.

In 1964, the reform movement in the Democratic Party was quite strong in Manhattan. There was a great rivalry between the East and West Sides. East Siders were more conservative and interested in procedural reform. West Siders were impetuous and liberal. Members of both camps were wary of Kennedy because he seemed too close to old-time party bosses like Carmine De Sapio, the Tammany leader.

At the time, the state party was in sad shape. The county leaders controlled the nominating conventions, and there were no statewide primaries. All the top elected officials in the

state were Republicans. John English, the dynamic Nassau County leader who helped John Kennedy in 1960, tried to persuade Robert Ken-

New York wasn't exactly swept away by R.F.K.

nedy to run for the seat against the incumbent, Senator Kenneth Keating, a moderate Republican. But at first Kennedy resisted. There was a

chance he would be the running mate of President Lyndon Johnson, who was a shoo-in for re-election. In June 1964, the leading Democratic Senate candidate was still Samuel Stratton, a member of the House of Representatives from upstate.

Finally in August, Kennedy decided to run. More and more of us on the West Side were thrilled, because we thought his candidacy would bring aggressive leadership to a dull and unimaginative party. But not many people I knew agreed with us.

The many reform Democrats on the East Side were still suspicious of Kennedy and opposed his candidacy. They thought he was ruthless and unprincipled. And they knew that if he was elected, Mayor Robert Wagner would be displaced as the head of the state party. Kennedy was called a carpetbagger. He was attacked as the candidate of the bosses. The New York Times and The Herald Tribune both suggested he run elsewhere.

Then, in late August, a few days before the nominating convention, Mayor Wagner announced he would support Kennedy. But Sam Stratton said he was still a candidate, and many reform Democrats supported him.

The night before the convention, Kennedy met with the reform delegates in a large, beautiful apartment in the Beresford at 81st Street and Central Park West. I remember walking into the foyer and seeing a large painting of President Kennedy. Some of us wondered what Robert Kennedy would think.

When Kennedy arrived, he was very shy. He looked down at the floor. He spoke briefly, and in a quiet voice. He spoke about his brother. It was a polite but unfriendly group. Everyone was a little uncomfortable, and not many people changed their minds. Kennedy had the West Side reformers on his side, and us alone.

But the next day he got the nomination, thanks to party bosses like Charles Buckley in the Bronx and Peter Crotty in Buffalo, whom we opposed. The East Side Democrats were not impressed. Afterward, when the Kennedys had a lavish reception for the delegates at the McAlpin Hotel on West 34th Street, they had to invite strangers off the street to fill the place. A Democrats for Keating committee was formed.

The campaign was difficult but the Johnson landslide helped. Even though Kennedy got two million fewer votes in New York than Johnson did, he received 55 percent of the tally. Some people continued to dislike him. But he went on to become the best senator I've ever seen. □

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Pataki to HRC: Back Off

New York Gov. **George E. Pataki** (R) on the possibility of first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**—raised in Illinois, long-time resident of Arkansas—running for the Senate from New York:

"My opinion is that there are 18 million hard-working New Yorkers. I think we can find a New Yorker who can do the job for us."

Meanwhile, one of Clinton's strongest supporters, Sen.

Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), sought to damp down the media frenzy. "Mrs. Clinton and all the people around her would like this all to cool down a little bit She needs a little time to think about this," Schumer said.

Staff writer William Booth contributed to this report.

USA TODAY · TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1999 · 13A

N.Y. SENATE RACE: Gov. George Pataki apparently doesn't think much of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's considering a run for the Senate seat that Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is vacating in 2000. "There are 18 million hard-working New Yorkers. I think we can find a New Yorker who can do the job for us," the Republican governor said. Clinton was born in Illinois and has spent most of her adult life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C.

Written from staff and wire reports

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

Richard Cohen

The Untouchables

Back in 1993, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) coined the phrase "defining deviancy down." Since then, everyone has used it for his own purposes, as I will for mine. I refer to the recent story that back in Arkansas some 20 years ago, Bill Clinton raped a woman named Juanita Broadrick. The story was reported by the Wall Street Journal on Friday, The Washington Post on Saturday and, by Sunday, had sunk without a trace. It is one thing to define deviancy down. It's another thing to obliterate it entirely.

This, apparently, is what Bill Clinton has managed to do. I am not, mind you, passing judgment on the veracity of the rape charge, although Broadrick's story has many compelling details and was sound enough to the editors of two important newspapers. I am simply observing that there is something about the Clintons—both the president and Hillary Rodham Clinton—that is more than merely unprecedented or controversial. None of the rules of political gravity apply to them. They just float above everything.

Take the rape charge. It is that—get it? I feel I have to emphasize it: The president of the United States is accused of raping a woman back when he was attorney general of Arkansas. An account of this alleged rape ran on Page 1 of The Washington Post. Get it? Page One! *The Washington Post!* Do you want to know what happened next? Nothing.

No. That's not entirely true. Both Newsweek and Time ran cover stories on Hillary Clinton and whether she would run for the Senate from New York state. Time's main piece never reported the rape charge, although a separate article did, and Newsweek

gave it only a glancing mention. As for the Sunday talks, it seemed they all did Hillary and the Senate race. Was the purported rape mentioned? Not that I can tell from the morning papers. The matter apparently never comes up. It is, as I

None of the rules
of political gravity
apply to the
Clintons. They just
float above
everything.

suggested before, staggering.

Here is a president who has been like no other. If I told you three years ago—even two years ago—that the president was having sex in the Oval Office with a young intern, you would not have believed me. In fact, I would not have believed it myself. The rumors, I thought, were the work of his worst enemies—crazies, mentally unstable. And yet, look where we are now.

If I told you that the woman had kept a sex-stained dress, you would have called me deranged, a perverted pundit. No one does that. Indeed, when I first heard of the dress, I rejected it as the body does someone else's organ, and then, after reports of it initially faded, I thought I must have dreamed it. But then it came back—and so did reports about Yasser Arafat kept waiting, and chats with congressmen while Clinton was . . . You can look any of this up. But you could not make any of this up.

On a given day, I feel sorry for William Bennett, the indignantly affluent moralist. He finds just about everything immoral, and yet, poor man, he must live in a society that finds nothing immoral. How can it be, he must wonder, that with every outrage, Clinton rises higher and higher in the polls? The rape charge ought to put Clinton about where Roosevelt was for ending the Great Depression and beating the Axis powers. Hello? Any other victims out there?

With the Clintons, the preposterous becomes pedestrian. Now Mrs. Clinton seems about to run for the Senate from New York, a state where she has never lived and where the entire Democratic Party, in the style of the Gambino family, has told other candidates to forget about running. The job's been filled. At first reports of this, I scoffed—until a Clinton intimate upbraided me and said a Senate race was under active consideration.

How could this be? The first lady will still be the first lady. How will she campaign? Where will she live? Will she and her husband, the alleged rapist, campaign together? If she wins, will Tipper Gore sink into a depression? I mean, imagine waiting eight years to become first lady and the former first lady not only doesn't leave town but becomes a senator from the Empire State—the former first lady, the current senator, the someday president. A White House in exile. Where would you rather go for dinner?

The Clintons play by no rules. They have vanquished outrage. They are compulsively compelling, an entertainment, an addiction and—about this no one will argue—the peddlers of false bromides. It takes more than a village. It takeschutzpah.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary hits Apple's core in April

Who knows whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will have made up her mind about running for the Senate by April 19, but she has a big date in the Big Apple that day.

The first lady will be a presenter at the Matrix Awards, prestigious prizes for women in communications. If she has any announcement, she'll have a great forum, with VIPs including Katie Couric, to whom she'll present the broadcasting award; Meryl Streep, receiving an award from director Mike Nichols; and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo (not running for the Senate).

Oh, yes: Add Donna Hanover, whose hubby, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, is the other half of the potential Senate race that has political talk shows salivating. The photo to get at the Waldorf event: Hillary and Donna together.

If you believe New Jersey

Sen. Bob Torricelli, Mrs. Clinton also could be apartment-shopping. He said Sunday on *Meet the Press* that the Clintons have decided to move to New York post-White House. That was news to the Clintons' staff, who said Monday no such announcement has been made.



Jeannie Williams

News & Views

This column appears Tuesday through Friday

FLASHES: *Saving Private Ryan* went over the \$200 million mark this weekend, becoming the biggest money-maker yet for 4-year-old DreamWorks. Steven Spielberg and star Tom Hanks will have nice paydays with their deals, and of course Paramount gets

about half the bounty. ... Jennifer Aniston's character, Rachel, on *Friends* gets a job designing for Polo Ralph Lauren, reports *Women's Wear Daily*.

VIPS: Robin Williams is a popular presenter. He'll be seen on the Screen Actors Guild Awards show March 7

(airing on TNT), as well as on the Academy Awards March 21. Williams returned from boosting *Patch Adams* in Tokyo to see his movie zip past the \$100 million mark.

This comes in the face of many critical thumbs down on the red-nosed doc tale. *The New Yorker's* David Denby went so far as to say the "most brilliant standup comic of his generation" has become a "heartwarming faker ... funneling counterculture mush through New Age mush."

But audiences seem to care as little for critics as Clinton fans do for the media. They love Robin — just as they do Kevin in *Message in a Bottle* and Mel in *Payback*, neither critical faves.

Now in new manager Michael Ovit's corner, Williams has *Jakob the Liar* due in October (another feel-good Holocaust story). In March, he plays a robot in *Bicentennial Man* with director Chris Columbus.

More SAG presenters: Tom Hanks, Jack Nicholson, Kim Basinger, David Duchovny, Angelina Jolie, Noah Wyle, Matthew Perry, Matt LeBlanc, John Forsythe, Helen Hunt and Jaclyn Smith.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Will Hillary double-cross Al?

As expected, the potential candidacy of Hillary Clinton for the Senate in New York dominated both political news and the talk shows over the weekend, and Hillary made the covers of both *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Never has a political campaign that may never come to pass generated such hype.

An interesting new angle was injected into the hullabaloo over the weekend when several talk show guests speculated that Hillary wouldn't run for the Senate unless she intends to run for president somewhere down the line.

Nobody suggested that she would double-cross Al Gore and run for president this year, although she might run if Gore stumbles in the early primaries. Democrats have cause for concern about a Gore candidacy. Polls show him losing to either George W. Bush or Elizabeth Dole if the election were held now.

The same polls indicated that Hillary would beat her most likely opponent, New York Gov. George Pataki.

Pataki got a lot of exposure, and he said essentially the same thing each time he was interviewed: He would look forward to a race against Hillary because he likes a good fight.

Hillary, of course, did not volunteer for the talk shows. She is spending most of her time closeted with advisers. With one of those, New York Sen. Pat Moynihan, she studied New York election trends.

Strangely, the least enthusiastic Democrat was Bill Clinton. He said he would support her in whatever she wants to do but that it is too early to be talking about a candidacy now.

His comments about Hillary's future were made deadpan.

The idea of Bill as Mr. Hillary Clinton is a little mind-boggling.

An ugly little rumor floated around Washington at week's end, namely that Hillary is flirting with the New York Senate

John R. Starr



race to take the media's minds off impeachment. The rumor doesn't have the ring of truth, but if it were true, the ploy has been wildly successful.

I was surprised by the number of folks who treated the latest sexual charge against Clinton as the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The allegation that he raped a woman when he was Arkansas attorney general also lacks the ring of truth.

The so-called experts seemed to take it as a foregone conclusion that Judge Susan Webber Wright will hold Clinton in contempt of court for lying in his deposition in the Paula Jones case. At last report, she seemed to be waiting for someone to ask her to do it. She can do it on her own if no one asks.

A failure to communicate

Longtime friends Gene and Mary Culpepper spent most of their adult lives in Texas, then retired a few years ago to Arkadelphia, where Mary has relatives.

Mary has strong political views, and when the Senate failed to convict Clinton, she started flying her American flag upside down. Asked why, she said, "Flying the flag upside down is a signal of distress, and I think the country is in distress."

All went well until an Arkadelphia lawyer put a note on the Culpeppers' door chastising them for showing disrespect for the flag. He put his phone number on the note.

Mary called and gave him an earful for his slur on her patriotism. Somewhere in the conversation, she said she might talk to me about the incident.

The lawyer, hearing the word Starr, seems to have thought she was talking about Kenneth Starr.

"I don't care if he does investigate me," he said.

Mary was puzzled by the fellow's conduct.

"After all, I didn't burn the flag," she said.

A dangerous document

The most dangerous document alive in America today is the Doctrine of Political Correctness, which demands that people lose their jobs or be otherwise punished for offending some minority group or another.

No apology is strong enough to expiate this sin. If the minority group rises up in protest, the miscreant's First Amendment rights are abrogated, and punishment follows.

It's bad enough when an actual racial slur, however unintentional, is involved. The Doctrine of Political Correctness will get you even if you intended to praise the minority group in question.

It will also punish you if no slur is involved, but somebody thinks there was. David Howard, director of constituent services for Washington's mayor, said he would be niggardly with his budget. Two of his minority employees were offended, even though niggardly, which means miserly, has no connection to the word nigger. Howard resigned.

Mayor Anthony Williams said he did the right thing.

This story turns out well. There was a backlash and Howard was rehired. When common sense took hold, hardly anybody thought he should lose his job because his ignorant employees did not know the meaning of niggardly.

John R. Starr is the former managing editor of the Democrat-Gazette.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FEB 23 '99 09:26 FR SKIP RUTHERFORD

TO MARSHA BERRY

P.06/06

February 23, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 569 words

HEADLINE: Senate rival goes for Hillary's jugular

BYLINE: Damian Whitworth

BODY:

Giuliani attacks Mrs Clinton for her views on Palestine state, writes Damian Whitworth.

HILLARY CLINTON'S most likely opponent in a race for the Senate has given a warning of the rough reception awaiting her in New York by indicating that he would put her views on a Palestinian state at the heart of a ferocious campaign.

After the impeachment trial, with President Clinton's political position secure but the end of his term of office in sight, excitement over his wife's possible public career has reached fever pitch with both Time and Newsweek putting her on their covers this week. But Rudolph Giuliani, the Mayor of New York, has jumped quickly to position himself for the fight, denouncing Mrs Clinton's public comment that Palestinians should have their own state as "a very big mistake". He added: "If she's the candidate, obviously it would be an issue and it would be one that people would have to explore."

Mrs Clinton caused a furore last year when she said it was in the "long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state". This departed from the White House line that statehood is a matter for Israelis and Palestinians to work out. Mr Clinton's spokesman had to say he did not share his wife's view and she ignored questions on the subject when she visited Israel, Gaza and the West Bank in December. "By one of the most influential people in the Clinton Administration saying 'Palestinian state', in essence you have given that away without being able to shape it, and you basically side with the Palestinians against the Israelis," Mr Giuliani said.

Such sharp criticism before either side has even declared its candidature suggests that the man who cleaned up the streets of Manhattan is relishing the chance of getting his hands dirty if Mrs Clinton steps on his turf. Ed Koch, the former New York Mayor, said it "shows you how low a blow he is willing to strike".

Mr Giuliani has yet to commit himself to running for the seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the veteran Democrat, but is tipped to be the Republican candidate. While Mrs Clinton's supporters claim that she would be unbeatable, Mr Giuliani said he would be more likely to run if she did. "It would be the most focused-on race in the country," he said.

He said the result would be close, dismissing a Time/CNN poll that suggested that Mrs Clinton was favoured by 52 per cent to his 43 per cent. The poll also indicated that 43 per cent of respondents agreed with Mrs Clinton's views on a Palestinian state, 24 per cent disagreed and 32 were unsure. Of the large Jewish population in New York, half disagreed with her view.

Nevertheless, Mrs Clinton will be heartened that 62 per cent of those Jewish voters opposing her view said it would not be enough in itself to make them vote against her. Mrs Clinton said last week that she was seriously considering running but a final decision was months away.

Mr Clinton has said he thinks she would be a "terrific" senator, but has warned her to take time to think about it. She would face fierce treatment from the New York press as well as her political opponents. There is also a feeling that much of her popularity can be put down to sympathy over the ordeal of her husband's unfaithfulness. Senior Republicans believe that, despite her high ratings, she is a polarising force, loved and loathed in equal measure.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 23, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Rivals Discuss A Senate Bid By First Lady

Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's reputation for toughness and political smarts will be put to a full test if she decides to run for a New York Senate seat, politicians from both parties said yesterday.

Former senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), a potential rival for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), said Republicans "are actually relishing the battle."

New York's mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive to seek the Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing, from my point of view," Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition."

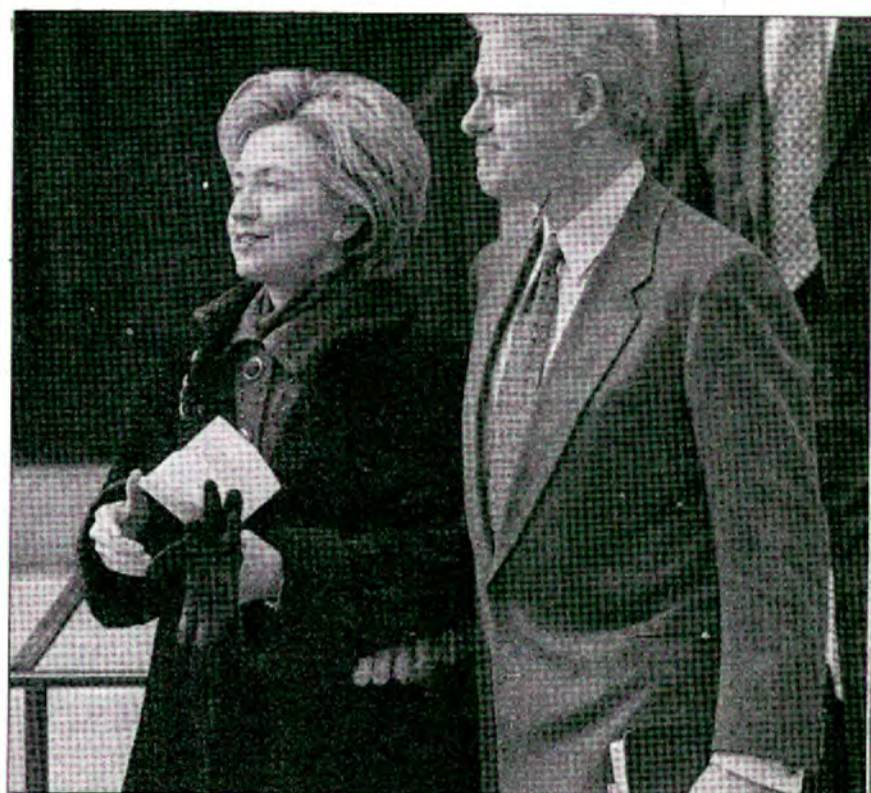
With the impeachment over and Congress not yet back in full gear, the possibility of a Clinton-Giuliani race in New York was a major topic on yesterday's television talk shows and is the cover story for Time and Newsweek this week.

Former New York mayor Ed Koch (D) predicted that Clinton would win, but on CBS's "Face the Nation" said: "It'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk."

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close.

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. President Clinton has said his wife would make a good senator and he would support whatever decision she makes.

Weighing against a run is New York's notoriety for expensive, no-holds-barred negative politicking. House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R), like Hillary Clinton a native of



BY JAMAL WILSON—REUTERS

The first couple leave services at Foundry United Methodist Church in Northwest.

Illinois, said that even as a person familiar with tough Chicago politics, "I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics."

Giuliani said he had no intention of attacking Hillary Clinton over her husband's impeachment, which he opposed, or accusing her of being a carpetbagger who doesn't live in New York.

But when asked on ABC about the first lady's statements last year that she favored an independent Palestinian state, he said he agreed with the White House position that the status of Palestinian-controlled lands are to be negotiated. "Mrs. Clinton is out there much more heavily favoring the Palestinians," he said.

One Democrat who expressed enthusiasm for Clinton's candidacy was Rep. Nita M. Lowey (N.Y.), whose decision on whether to enter the senatorial race has been put on hold because of the first lady's possible entry. "Hillary Clinton is in a very special class of her own," Lowey said on CNN and Fox.

D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last November to Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), said Republicans aren't afraid of a Clinton candidacy and are "actually relishing the battle."

Asked on Fox whether he would consider running, D'Amato said it was "very tempting." He said it would be a race that those who enjoy politics "kind of salivate over."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Report

A16 YNE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

The New York Times

Giuliani Basks in Media Glare on Mrs. Clinton, Potential Candidate

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 — Sounding very much like a candidate for the Senate in 2000, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani used interviews on three local and national television news programs today to criticize Hillary Rodham Clinton and to tout his own potential as New York's next junior Senator.

Dismissing Democratic suggestions that he would skip the race if Mrs. Clinton jumped in, Mr. Giuliani said he would relish running as an underdog against the First Lady and combatively asserted that he would be more likely to declare his candidacy if she declares hers first.

"I think quite honestly there probably will be more of an inclination to do it if she were to decide to run," Mr. Giuliani said on "Late Edition" on CNN. "It would be the most focused-on race in the country."

Mr. Giuliani, a Republican, also reiterated his sharp criticism of Mrs. Clinton for saying last year that creating a Palestinian state was "very important for the broader goal of peace in the Middle East."

"By one of the most influential people in the Clinton Administration saying 'Palestinian state,' in essence you have given that away without being able to shape it and you basically side with the Palestinians against the Israelis," Mr. Giuliani

said on "Sunday Edition" on WCBS-TV in New York. He called Mrs. Clinton's comment "a very big mistake."

Asked if her statement would be fair game for her opponent in a Senate campaign, Mr. Giuliani replied, "If she's the candidate, obviously it would be an issue and it would be one that people would have to explore."

But Mr. Giuliani said that if he ran against Mrs. Clinton, a former resident of Illinois and Arkansas, he would not attack her for never having lived in New York State.

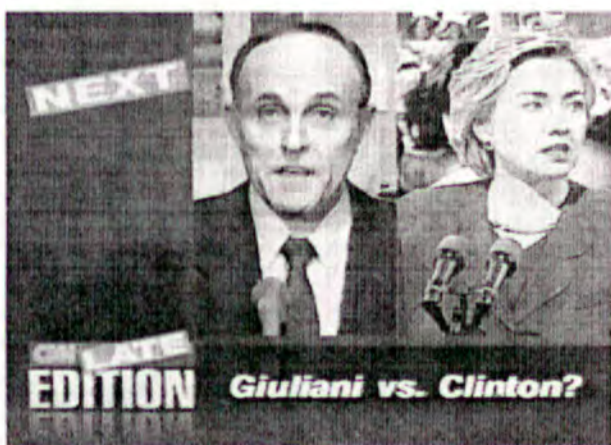
Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani have said they have not decided whether to run for the seat now held by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who plans to retire at the end of next year.

But the Mayor, in his television appearances today, was exceptionally forceful in his attacks on Mrs. Clinton and unusually candid in musing about why he would be the Republicans' strongest candidate.

"I've been in three races for mayor of New York City, and two of them, before I got re-elected, I was behind by substantial margins," he said on "This Week" on ABC News. Being an underdog, he added, "kind of gives you the impetus to go on."

"If anything," he said, "it challenges you even more."

If he runs, Mr. Giuliani could face



A television ad for an interview with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

a primary contest with Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican. On the Democratic side, Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester has said she probably will run if Mrs. Clinton does not.

The news media's attention to Mrs. Clinton's potential Senate candidacy rose to fever pitch today as the story was featured on five national television news programs as well

as on the covers of this week's issues of Newsweek and Time magazines.

Virtually every politician appearing on one of the Sunday talk programs in Washington had a view on Mrs. Clinton for Senate. On "Fox News Sunday," the House Speaker, Dennis Hastert, an Illinois Republican, warned that even Chicago politics could not compare to the toughness of New York campaigns.

In Post-Monica World, 'Hillary for Senate?' Has to Do

By CARYN JAMES

"Seven Sundays ago you started all this," Tim Russert told Senator Robert G. Torricelli on NBC's "Meet the Press" yesterday, alluding to the Democratic Senator's comment on an earlier program that he would like Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for the Senate from New York.

"I was just making small talk," Mr. Torricelli answered. "You made it into a national issue."

This may sound like throat clearing, a cloying yet harmless way to ease into an interview: Mr. Russert promotes his own program and Mr. Torricelli banters back with flattery. But the New Jersey Senator had a point. Since President Clinton's impeachment trial ended (was it only 10 days ago?) television has been filled with small talk that has become big talk about a possible Hillary Clinton-for-Senate campaign. There could not be a more dramatic example of how 24-hour news, with its obsessive focus on a single story, can shape politics.

The possibility of a Hillary Clinton campaign would have been a story even in the pre-cable era, but it would not have turned into such a gigantic snowball, quickly filling the post-impeachment void. It was a media-made event that fed on itself, kept alive by strategic comments wafting from the White House.

In the past week, speculation about Mrs. Clinton's future dominated broadcast and cable programs, from CNBC's "Hardball with Chris Matthews" to CNN's "Crossfire," from NBC's "Today" to ABC's "Nightline" and a half-dozen MSNBC chat shows.

The possible campaign has been so thoroughly scrutinized that it is only a slight exaggeration to say Mrs. Clinton doesn't need to do her own research. She can turn on television and see the polls that show her beating Mayor

Rudolph W. Giuliani. She can hear Democrats predict she would win, and Republicans call her a "carpetbagger," a word that probably hasn't been uttered so much in one week since Reconstruction. The issues were treated with the sophistication of a horse race. Will she run? Will she win?

Because Mrs. Clinton herself has been mum, the speculation can go anywhere, fueled by tantalizing hints. A spokeswoman's comment that Mrs. Clinton would give "careful consideration" to running set off a frenzy. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose announcement that he would not run for re-election opened the floodgates to this speculation, met Mrs. Clinton at the White House for a lunch and strategy session on Friday; the meeting was

It doesn't take much to keep the heads talking.

well publicized, his arrival and departure well photographed. As the week went on, the chatter turned to whether Mrs. Clinton's public indecision was cynically calculated to deflect attention from the impeachment.

But the story has been good for Mrs. Clinton's possible opponents, too. At times the coverage seemed to be All-Rudy-All-the-Time: on Thursday the Mayor appeared on "Crossfire," on Friday on "Today" and CNN's "Inside Politics," and yesterday on ABC's "This Week" and CNN's "Late Edition." He got to talk about the city and solidify his position as the likely Republican candidate.

Nita M. Lowey, the Democratic Congresswoman who has said she might run but only if

Mrs. Clinton doesn't, was on "Fox News Sunday" and "Late Edition" yesterday, graciously saying she respected Mrs. Clinton's timetable. And why shouldn't Ms. Lowey be gracious? Now she is on a national stage positioned as the Hillary Clinton understudy.

Though the Clinton-for-Senate barrage suggests that one wall-to-wall story will always be with us, in some ways the past week merely hints at what television news will be like post-Monica. For a full year, journalists from Dan Rather to Matt Drudge have been following the same story. There may be a fork ahead where the high and the low roads diverge.

Minor differences have already emerged. When they weren't discussing Mrs. Clinton, the cable shows, particularly on MSNBC, returned to their fallback position, hashing over the JonBenet Ramsey murder. That conversation was spurred by the publication of "Perfect Murder, Perfect Town," a massive book by Lawrence Sanders (an NBC consultant).

The Sunday talk shows covered more substantive issues. On "Meet the Press," a panel of governors discussed Social Security, taxes and education. ABC's "This Week" was defiantly non-glitz as it introduced a new regular segment, "On the Campaign Trail." In a taped interview, George Will, never their most dynamic commentator, talked to John Sweeney, president of the A.F.-C.I.O. The pabulum questions and non-answers about the need to save Social Security provided the kind of drone that will send even serious viewers fleeing.

But if those shows feel too proud of their high-minded stances, it is worth noting that only CNN's "Late Edition" devoted a segment to the Kosovo talks, in a live interview with Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. Kosovo may be the most dangerous and immediate issue at hand, but it is even less sexy than the 2000 election. More telling, none of the Sunday talk shows resisted "Will Hillary Run?"

The Mayor relishes a chance to gain a national audience.

"I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics," Mr. Hastert said.

On "Late Edition" on CNN, Susan Molinari, the former Congresswoman from Staten Island, ventured a guess that Mrs. Clinton would not run because "this is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into after getting through a very difficult time in their personal and professional lives."

And on "Face the Nation" on CBS, former Mayor Edward I. Koch predicted Mrs. Clinton would win if she ran and said it was "ridiculous" of Mr. Giuliani to attack her position on a Palestinian state, contending that most Israeli and American Jews support the idea.

"For Giuliani to raise that shows you how low a blow he's willing to strike," Mr. Koch said.

Senator Mitch McConnell, the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which raises funds for Republican Senate candidates, said on "Meet the Press" on NBC that Republicans would relish having Mrs. Clinton run in New York. "There's been a lot of talk about how much money the First Lady would raise," Mr. McConnell said. "She'd raise it for both sides. I can't think of anything that would energize our base not only in New York but across the country as a campaign by the First Lady."

Mr. McConnell added that it would be fair for Republicans in a Senate race to raise every scandal that has plagued the Clinton White House over the last six years.

But appearing on the same program, Senator Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said, "If their campaign against Hillary Rodham Clinton is to simply be an extension of the Starr investigation, they're going to take a sizable Hillary lead and make it into a rout."

Mr. Torricelli said he considered it unlikely that Mrs. Clinton would run for the New Jersey Senate seat that Frank R. Lautenberg plans to relinquish next year because both Mrs. Clinton and her husband "had decided some time ago to live in New York City when they left the White House."

Neither of the Clintons has said publicly where they plan to settle after the President completes his term at the end of next year.

On the same program, Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey said she would "seriously" look at the New Jersey Senate seat.

"But I love the job I've got," she said, noting that running for the Senate in 2000 would require ending her final term as Governor "a year short."

Style

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

Media Notes

A Lot Of Non-Sen.?

How 'Hillary vs. Rudy' Went From Hypothetical to Hype

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

Privately, at least, many journalists don't really believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate in New York.

This is, after all, a first lady so uncomfortable with reporters that she banned them from her plane on domestic trips during her husband's first term. To think of her going toe to toe with the tabloids, or visiting Poughkeepsie and Syracuse, or patiently answering questions about Whitewater or her husband's philandering, is to stretch the imagination.

But no one wants to spoil the fun, so the press has gone wild. "Hillary vs. Rudy" (meaning New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who's eyeing a run) is being touted as the media's dream matchup. Time and Newsweek join the party with big cover stories today.

"Not since Colin Powell's book tour in 1995 has so much hype surrounded a candidacy that is likely never to be announced," writes John Fund of the Wall Street Journal.

It's like a fantasy baseball league, and everyone wants to play. Cable shows that had gorged them-

See MEDIA NOTES, C7, Col. 1

The Hying Of Hillary

MEDIA NOTES, From C1

selves on Monica Lewinsky are suddenly buzzing about Senator Hillary. "I think that everyone is enjoying keeping this story line going," George Stephanopoulos said on ABC. CNN's Wolf Blitzer said "some serious people out there" want her to be Vice President Gore's running mate in 2000. Weekly Standard Editor Bill Kristol said that if she wins, "she will be a genuine presidential possibility in 2004 or 2008."

"Run, Hillary, Run!" says the New Republic. MSNBC posed the question: "Hillary's Run: Senator Clinton—or President Clinton, the Sequel?" AID'Amato kicked around the idea on "Nightline." On "This Week" yesterday, Giuliani was shadowboxing, responding to issues that the first lady might use against him. On "Meet the Press," Sens. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) and Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) debated the controversies that Hillary Clinton would face. New York Times columnist William Safire wondered whether she was "peaking too soon"—a first for someone who has not spoken a word about her ephemeral candidacy.

The trial balloon was first floated Jan. 3, when Tim Russert said on "Meet the Press": "Here's a little mini-bombshell. Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey... told me before the program that if he had to guess, he believes that Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the United States Senate seat from New York."

The balloon gained altitude as the first lady's office refused to shoot it down, as President Clinton said "she would be terrific in the Senate," and finally as Hillary Clinton said she was considering a Senate candidacy.

Some journalists have changed their view of the Hillary boomlet. "There's definitely an element of Monica withdrawal," said Evan Thomas, Newsweek's assistant managing editor, "but I think it is serious. At first I thought it was just hype, but there's a 50-50 chance she's going to do it. A Hillary-Giuliani race would be one of the great political happenings."

That is, if it happens. The notion that the first lady would move out of the White House, and give up a chance to make millions in the private sector, to live on a schedule set by Trent Lott still evokes widespread skepticism in the press corps. But hey, impeachment's over. The Jon-Benet Ramsey story can only be recycled so many times. The first lady has clearly done the media a favor by keeping the door open to more breathless speculation about her future.

If she does run, however, the adulatory coverage could turn into the usual hostile media inquisition within minutes.



developer, says he was merely trying to demonstrate how quickly the media will pick up a bogus story. Shortly after Sparks posted the phony account to several Net discussion groups, it was reported by the conservative American Family Radio, which soon retracted the story. Carville had his attorney contact Sparks, but has made no decision on legal action.

"We thought someone would bite immediately, as someone did," said Sparks, who runs a satiric Web site called Fat City News. "There's this insatiable, loony desire to run with anything, any time, no matter how outrageous. We could have put out a story that Ken Starr committed suicide and people would have run with it."

But what about the feelings of Carville and his wife, Mary Matalin? "It was refuted within a few hours," Sparks said. "Everyone knows he's not a wife-beater. He came out looking better in the whole thing. It shows how desperate his opponents are. Our whole point is to parody the process."



PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

CAPITAL ROUNDUP**N.Y. Senate race
not until 2000, but
theories abound**

The prospect that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might seek a Senate seat from New York in 2000 has poli-



By Susan Walsh, AP

Clinton: Consider-
ing a Senate run

ticians and pundits concentrating on a race that hasn't even taken shape. The topic dominated the Sunday news shows and it is the cover story in this week's *Time* and *Newsweek*.

No one has formally declared for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., but there's no shortage of possible candidates.

Republican Al D'Amato, who lost his Senate seat in the November election, said he misses political life and is seriously considering entering the race. He told Fox News it's the kind of race that people who enjoy politics "salivate over" and Republicans are "relishing the battle."

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive for seeking the

Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing, from my point of view," Giuliani told CNN's *Late Edition*.



By David Karp, AP

Giuliani: Possible
GOP candidate

Former
New York

mayor Ed Koch, a Democrat, predicted that Clinton would win, but "it'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk," he told CBS' *Face the Nation*.

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close. A Time/CNN Poll of New York residents put Clinton ahead of Giuliani 52% to 43%, but Giuliani told ABC's *This Week* the race would be decided by no more than 3 percentage points.

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. *Time* quoted Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., who is urging Clinton to run, as saying he had discussed her candidacy with President Clinton and "he was more excited than I've ever seen him about anything." Publicly, the president has said only that his wife would make a good senator, and that he would support whatever decision she makes.

Former New York representative Susan Molinari, a Republican, predicted the first lady won't enter the race. "This is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into," Molinari said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS & POLICY

New York GOP Welcomes Hillary Clinton Senate Race

By JEANNE CUMMINGS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—After absorbing the initial shock that Hillary Rodham Clinton is considering launching a Senate campaign on their turf, New York Republicans are concluding that there may be as much in it for them as there is for the Democrats.

"The prospect of Hillary Clinton running in New York is exciting," says Guy Molinari, Staten Island Borough president and former GOP congressman. "I think it would energize the Republican Party and the money would just flow in."

Republican House Rep. Peter King sees the same silver lining: "It gives us the advantage of sending out appeals saying, 'We have to protect the nation from Hillary. We need all the money, all the resources, all the shock troops.'"

But it isn't just the money that is beginning to put some bounce back into the step of Empire State Republicans. Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would give New Yorkers a chance to stage yet another race that captures the nation's attention, even during a presidential campaign year. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is already considered a likely candidate, but the prospect of squaring off with Mrs. Clinton prompted former New York Sen. Alphonse D'Amato yesterday to say he is also considering a run. And an almost gleeful National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell said on NBC's Meet the Press: "This would be a fascinating campaign and I hope it comes off."

Republicans outside of New York see benefits, too. At the top of the list is knowing that Mrs. Clinton, one of the Democrat's most popular draws and an avid campaigner, won't be coming to their states to rally activists and raise money.

Talk of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy took on added momentum last week when President Clinton offered a whole-hearted endorsement of the idea during an appearance in Mexico. "I think she would be terrific in the Senate," he said.

The frenzied news coverage that followed those remarks prompted the first lady to issue a statement aimed at lowering expectations. She is "seriously considering" running, Mrs. Clinton said, but a final decision is months in the offing. Her husband also tried to dampen the fire he had fueled. At a White House news conference Friday, he said: "My advice has been to take some time, get some rest, listen to people... and decide exactly what you think is right to do." And, showing a bit of his own political instinct, Mr. Clinton

warned that with the 2000 election so far away, any candidate must guard against peaking too early. "It is hard to keep a kettle of water boiling for almost two years."

Those who have spoken to the first lady say she is very serious about the idea of launching a race, and she has been sounding out professional campaign advisers and fund-raisers about a possible run. On Friday, she met with New York Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose retirement is creating the opening for Mrs. Clinton. Democratic Senatorial Committee Chairman Robert Torricelli, the New Jersey senator who was among the first to launch the draft-Hillary campaign, rated the chances of a Clinton candidacy as "very good." And Barbara Handman, vice president of the liberal People for the American Way, already called the White House to offer to work on the campaign. If there is one.

Speculation by the news media about her decision may increase pressure on Mrs. Clinton to declare her intentions sooner, rather than later. But there are

practical reasons for a quick resolution of the matter as well. Simply put, a New York Senate race can cost about the same as a presidential primary—between \$15 million and \$20 million. While fund-raising experts say the first lady could easily amass such a sum, most candidates would have to start raising money today to be ready by 2000. Thus, a late decision by Mrs. Clinton to bow out could badly damage the party's chances of holding the seat.

"If this issue drags on, it makes it more difficult for everyone to mobilize sooner and develop the war chest you need to run a Senate campaign," says Alan Patricof, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton and co-chairman of Patricof & Co. Ventures Inc. in New York.

Mrs. Clinton's consideration of a Senate bid puzzles some observers, including close allies. "Why would she want to be a junior senator in a Capitol building that just tried to impeach her husband?" says Neel Lattimore, a former spokesman for Mrs. Clinton. Nonetheless, he says he'd volunteer for the campaign.

But Mandy Grunwald, a media adviser to both the Clinton-Gore campaign and Mr. Moynihan, says Mrs. Clinton's decision will be based on "where she can make the biggest difference in advocating the issues that she cares about. If that's the way you think of things, the U.S. Senate is not a bad choice."



Rudolph Giuliani

Mrs. Torricelli is making the same pitch. "The White House is a good place to talk about issues," he says. "The Senate is a chance to write her own legislation."

But Mrs. Clinton's lack of a legislative record is one of the weaknesses Republicans hope to exploit. "Let's face it," says New York City Councilman Tom Ognibene, "she has high name recognition and there

is a lot of sympathy for her. Initially, there will be a groundswell of support. But in the long run, people will begin to focus on the issues."

When that happens, Republicans believe, Mr. Giuliani, who has not officially declared his own candidacy, will be able to make a compelling case for his candidacy by pointing to his record of reducing crime and welfare rolls and his handling of the city budget, which now has a surplus.

Meanwhile, Republicans are already gearing up to remind voters about Mrs. Clinton's role as author of the administration's failed health-care reform proposal.

"Rudy Giuliani has got a wonderful story to tell and I would argue that Hillary Clinton's last foray into public policy was a disaster," says Scott Armstrong, head of Syracuse-based Armstrong Communications and a former political adviser to New York Gov. George Pataki.

Still, there are dangers for the Republicans in a Clinton candidacy.

For example, Mr. Pataki is among those who is urging the party to put impeachment behind it quickly so it won't haunt GOP candidates in the 2000 elections. But Mrs. Clinton would serve as a constant reminder of the GOP effort to oust her husband. And the potential harm

from a revival of the bitter and divisive issue may go beyond the Senate race. It could help drive Democratic voters to the polls in several key House races where moderate New York Republicans are fighting for their political survival after breaking ranks with their constituents and voting to impeach the president.

In addition, Mrs. Clinton may be able to draw support from moderate Republicans, including women voters who have yet to see New York elect a statewide female candidate who is not part of a ticket.

Take the case of Larry Rockefeller, a leading New York Republican and environmental lawyer. He organized a GOP movement urging the Senate to drop the impeachment trial and move on to other issues. But when Mr. Rockefeller tried to deliver the 3,500 signatures of like-minded Republicans to the Republican National Committee in Washington earlier this month, he was locked out.

"I think she could attract Republican support from those of us fed up by impeachment and [the] right wing's hold on our party," says Mr. Rockefeller.

And what of Mr. Giuliani, who supports abortion and gay rights and opposed impeachment? "I wish he could run in some other state," Mr. Rockefeller laments, "against a right winger."

GOP Governors Reflect Party's Divisions

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—As Republicans in the nation's capital struggle to shake off their postimpeachment blues, this week's visit by the GOP's highflying governors should come as a tonic.

But as the annual winter meeting of the National Governors' Association gets under way, these popular chief executives seem almost as divided on how Congress should deal with President Clinton as their Washington counterparts are.

Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin wants GOP lawmakers to "go on the offense" on taxes, health care, trade and Social Security, to craft solutions that "show you're Republicans," and then "put 'em on the president's desk and let him veto 'em." If that happens, adds feisty Gov. John Engler of Michigan, "we take those issues to the people" in the 2000 elections.

Searching for a Road Map

But Gov. Edward Schafer of North Dakota says it is time for "the politics of performance," in which lawmakers produce legislation drawing on both parties' ideas and "get it done." Adds Gov. John Rowland of Connecticut: "The public is desperate to see results from this Republican-controlled Congress."

These divergent messages reflect a simple reality. Though they are dominant figures in their own states, GOP governors, like congressional Republicans, are divided by geography, philosophy and political style. As a result, their visit won't likely provide a clear road map for a party in need of a strategy for governing with a Democratic president while preserving its

narrow House and Senate majorities.

Consider the issue of taxes. A Republican Governors Association official says about two-thirds of GOP state executives favor the 10% income-tax cut pushed by some party leaders here. But the rest, echoing congressional moderates, favor a

Republican governors are expected to offer only a general call for tax reduction, with no endorsement of a specific proposal.

package of smaller, targeted tax cuts more likely to win Mr. Clinton's approval.

That is why Republican governors are expected to offer only a general call for tax reduction this week, and not endorse a specific proposal. They also are divided over publicly funded vouchers for private-school tuition. Most back the quest for vouchers, but some, including Mr. Rowland, prefer to drop it in search of consensus on education legislation.

Keeping Alive Abortion Issue

"Let's get on to something new," he says. Mirroring his Northeastern GOP colleagues, he also wants Republicans to play down the conservative social agenda on issues such as trying to outlaw "partial-birth" abortions.

But Gov. Frank Keating, from conservative Oklahoma, favors a renewed drive

against the practice he likens to infanticide. At the same time, Mr. Keating sees room for compromise on a "patients' bill of rights," including a limited right to sue health-maintenance organizations, an issue that held up the legislation in the last Congress. Gov. Thompson says Congress should "pass it without the right to sue and let [Mr. Clinton] veto it."

Meanwhile, Gov. Mike Leavitt of Utah suggests a different approach altogether to crafting the GOP agenda: emphasize issues keyed to major state responsibilities such as education instead of "a congressional agenda... about small symbols" on which Mr. Clinton holds the upper hand. At the moment, he reasons, "there's not much of an environment for Congress to do much" anyway.

The variety of GOP voices makes it difficult to project a national agenda until the party picks a presidential nominee next spring. The current front-runner, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, had little advice for Republican lawmakers as he held quiet 2000 planning meetings and collected kudos from gubernatorial colleagues. "I want them to give the states as much freedom as possible," was all Mr. Bush would say about the Republican Congress, allowing that he is "warming to the task" of a presidential run.

Democratic governors, for their part, enjoy the advantage of an overriding party message. They rallied over the weekend behind Mr. Clinton's plan to condition federal education aid on national performance standards, and they chided the GOP for criticizing it as an intrusion on state prerogatives and flexibility.



Hillary Clinton

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

The big tease

Is **Hillary Rodham Clinton** going to run for the Senate from New York or not? Despite the chatter that she's just "considering it," insiders say the first lady is drooling over the prospect of replacing retiring Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**. Sure, they say, she can raise the money and probably win, but there are election-law questions about how she could be an active candidate hosting fund-raisers while also acting as first lady. And there's a curveball some are tossing around: She might run for governor in Arkansas in 2002. "Whatever she wants," says her husband.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Republicans warn Hillary would face bruising N.Y. fight

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton won't have a cakewalk if she runs for the Senate in New York in 2000, despite early polls showing her well in the lead.

Republicans say Mrs. Clinton would have a tough fight against New York's Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in the race to replace retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. And former GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato says he's weighing a possible comeback, if Mrs. Clinton decides to run.

"It's certainly very tempting when one looks at it," Mr. D'Amato said yesterday on "Fox News Sunday."

"I always loved the battles. I love battling for New York and its fair share, and ... taking on that kind of race is something that those of us who have enjoyed politics and political life kind of salivate over," said Mr. D'Amato, who lost his Senate seat to Democrat Charles E. Schumer in November.

Despite early polls that show Mrs. Clinton 9 percentage points ahead of Mr. Giuliani in a Senate matchup, Republicans generally seem to be salivating at the prospect of running against Mrs. Clinton.

"I can't think of anything that would energize our base, not only in New York but across the country, as a campaign by the first lady, who, unlike the president, actually seems to really believe in things," Sen. Mitch McConnell, Kentucky Republican and Senatorial Campaign Committee chairman, said yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"I mean, this is a traditional liberal. ... This is a person who's advocated giving children the right to

sue their parents, who's been the principal architect of what many of us felt was a socialized medicine plan for America back in 1994, who's advocated the creation of a Palestinian state, who supported the president's position that we ought to raise taxes on Social Security in 1993," Mr. McConnell said.

"It'll be a contest of issues, and her beliefs, I think, would be very much in play. This is a campaign that I hope comes off," he added.

Mr. D'Amato said Mrs. Clinton would be facing a "formidable Republican" if she decides to seek Mr. Moynihan's seat. But he said her main "problem" would be media scrutiny of ethics issues, including her involvement in the Whitewater scandal.

Mrs. Clinton's flirtation with the New York Senate race is the subject of this week's cover story for both Time and Newsweek magazines.

Mr. Giuliani, who appeared on several talk shows yesterday, said he has not decided whether to enter the race. But he said the prospect of Mrs. Clinton as a Democratic opponent could help him make up his mind.

"I think quite honestly there probably would be more of an inclination to do it if she were to decide to run," Mr. Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition" program. "It would be the most-focused-on race in the country."

On ABC's "This Week," the New York mayor predicted a Senate race between him and Mrs. Clinton would be much closer than polls suggest.

"It would be a 2 to 3 percent race," he said.

Mrs. Clinton would have to establish residency in New York before she could run for office there. She previously has lived in Illinois and Arkansas.



AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton's possible Senate run in New York is featured in this week's Time.

Mr. D'Amato was asked yesterday whether he would raise the carpetbagger issue against her if he becomes a Senate candidate.

"No, it doesn't cut in New York," he said on CBS' "Face the Nation," mentioning former Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley. Mr. Kennedy was a Massachusetts native, while Mr. Buckley was from Connecticut.

Meanwhile, Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a liberal Democrat and lifelong New York resident, is having to put off deciding whether she will run for Mr. Moynihan's seat until the first lady makes up her mind.

Interviewed yesterday on Fox and CNN's "Late Edition," Mrs. Lowey said she respects Mrs. Clinton's right "to take her time" to make a decision about running.

"If she decides to run, I will support her enthusiastically, as will Democrats in New York and in the party," Mrs. Lowey said on Fox.

Mrs. Lowey, who is Jewish, did not answer directly when asked whether she believes Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian state will hurt her with Jewish voters in New York. But former New York Mayor Ed Koch, who is also Jewish and who appeared on CBS, said: "I'm for a Palestinian state. Lots of Jews are. They are entitled to it."

House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois Republican, said on Fox he's "not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their noses in New York politics."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Remembering Hillary

It suddenly dawned on us why first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is contemplating a run for the U.S. Senate.

To make a name for herself. Seriously. So future generations will know who she was.

This realization came about after we opened a letter from Dorothy Welsh of Avon Lake, Ohio.

"I am a mother of four children, ages 9 to 2 years of age," Mrs. Welsh begins. "I was reading a book to my seven-year-old daughter on Great American Heroines. The book is old, but I am finding that those are the best ones to read to my children.

"I was reading to her a short chapter on Dolley Madison. I asked her if she knew what the title 'First Lady' meant? She didn't, so I explained the title and the functions of the first lady's job. I then asked her if she knew who our current first lady is?

"She didn't miss a beat and answered Monica Lewinsky. Unfortunately, she was serious."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lewinsky speaks

After months of waiting for the go-ahead from Kenneth W. Starr, Barbara Walters taped her interview with Monica Lewinsky at a tightly guarded television studio in New York City on Saturday, the Associated Press reports.

Officially, the network had nothing to say about it, but an ABC executive speaking on the condition of anonymity confirmed the interview was done over the weekend, said AP television writer David Bauder.

Miss Walters and ABC News President David Westin scheduled a news conference for today to talk about the interview expected to air over 90 minutes in prime time on March 3 — the final day of a television "sweeps" period used to set local advertising rates.

The date remained tentative. The network might decide to broadcast the interview sooner, the executive said.

Miss Walters is expected to talk today about how ABC worked within restrictions placed on the interview by Mr. Starr, the independent counsel who investigated President Clinton and his relationship with the one-time White House intern.

Shrewd operator

From the earliest days of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, the news media fell for the White House spin that presidential secretary Betty Currie was some sort of paragon of truth and an innocent bystander in the affair, writes Kate O'Beirne in the March 8 issue of *National Review*.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, Mrs. Currie was

Bill Clinton's sexual enabler, and there is convincing evidence that she lied repeatedly under oath, Mrs. O'Beirne said.

"Currie had worked on the Ferraro and Dukakis campaigns, in addition to being part of Clinton's Little Rock 'War Room,' but she was consistently painted as 'non-partisan,'" Mrs. O'Beirne observed.

"One ex-boss, however has a different assessment. When Republican Tom Pauken took over as director of a federal agency in 1981, he inherited Currie as his secretary. He recalls that she was part of a 'bureaucratic infrastructure of those who wanted to run the agency the way they wanted it run, regardless of the director.' She was 'not a naive lady,' Pauken explains, and though 'she and her allies worked hard to get people to call me to keep her on,' he transferred the 'shrewd operator' to a different office, concluding that she was a 'very manipulative personality.'"

Daley's lead

Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, winding up 10 years in office, appears certain of re-election tomorrow, a victory that would put him in power longer than any other of the city's mayors except his late father.

His opponent in the election, four-term Democratic Rep. Bobby L. Rush, trailed badly in polls after a campaign during which he portrayed Chicago, with 2.7 million people the country's third largest city, as one divided by privilege and money, Reuters news agency reports.

A recent Chicago Tribune poll found that 65 percent of likely voters favored Mr. Daley, 56, and

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

78 percent approved of the way he has run City Hall.

Mr. Rush, 52, a Georgia-born former Black Panther party official, had only 13 percent support in the survey, with 20 percent undecided.

Message to Hillary

New York's Republican Gov. George E. Pataki has a message for Hillary Rodham Clinton as she mulls a run for the U.S. Senate in his state: New York doesn't need her.

"She's thinking about moving to New York to straighten things out. Well, let me say with all due respect, we don't need liberal Democrats moving from Washington to the states to straighten out the states," Mr. Pataki said Saturday at a gathering of Missouri Republicans in Springfield. "We need Republicans from Missouri and New York and across the country moving to Washington to straighten it out."

Bush prepares

Texas Gov. George W. Bush, who is considering a run for the Republican presidential nomination next year, has begun assembling a team to raise contributions for the bid, the Dallas Morning News said Saturday.

The newspaper quoted unnamed sources as saying the popular Texas governor and his advisers also had begun talking directly with scores of contributors who might help fund the estimated \$20 million cost of a primary race.

The Morning News quoted "people familiar with the planning" as saying a veteran Republican fund-raiser in Dallas had taken leave from her job to assist in hiring a national fund-raising director and financial team if Mr. Bush decides to run.

GOP pledge

Impeachment behind them, Republican congressional leaders

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

DAILY NEWS
— online edition

 **Print Free Coupons.**

Print Real Coupons
From Your Computer.
coolsavings.com

HOME

NEWS & VIEWS
Beyond the City

Headlines Index

Last 6 Days

Search/Archives

QUICK SEARCH

GO

 **Beyond the City**

Hil & Bill Eying Apple as Home

Senator's revelation adds to speculation on quest for Moynihan seat

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

The President and his wife plan to move to New York when their lease runs out at the White House, according to the New Jersey senator pushing Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for Senate.

Sen. Robert Torricelli turned up the heat in the 2000 Senate sweepstakes yesterday when he asserted three times on NBC's "Meet the Press" that the Clintons would quit Washington for the Big Apple.

"Apparently the President and the First Lady had decided some time ago to live in New York City when they left the White House," he said.

Asked why the First Lady would choose to run in New York for a seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Moynihan instead of setting her eyes on the New Jersey seat of retiring Sen. Frank Lautenberg, Torricelli said:

"Hillary and the President are free to move anywhere they would like to move. I'm sure we'd love to have them as residents of New Jersey, but they've chosen to move to New York, apparently, and that opens the question of the Senate seat in New York."

Administration officials were surprised by Torricelli's claim. "They've made no announcement as to where they're going to live. They love New York, but beyond that, I cannot give you any insight," said Marsha Berry, the First Lady's spokeswoman.

Torricelli, the chairman of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, could not be reached yesterday to expand on his comments.



Gibson AP
The First Couple leave a Washington church after services yesterday.

It was on "Meet the Press" seven weeks earlier that he publicly launched the draft Hillary movement.

Since then, Clinton has engaged in a study of what it would take to win in New York, including a private lunch last Friday with Moynihan.

She is expected to have a factfinding talk this week with Torricelli. Among others the First Lady will consult are Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) — for whom she helped raise millions in his hard-fought victory last year against Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato — and Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, whose decision against running helped hype Hillary's candidacy.

Since the First Lady's name surfaced, pundits have had a field day predicting a title bout between Clinton and the would-be GOP front-runner, Mayor Giuliani.

Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said a run by the First Lady "would be exciting and energizing for the Republicans not only in New York — but across the country."

Clinton, he said, has taken controversial positions that would galvanize Republicans against her.

"I mean, this is a person who's advocated giving children the right to sue their parents, who's been the principal architect of what many of us felt was a socialized medicine plan for America back in 1994, who's advocated the creation of a Palestinian state, who's supported the President's position that we ought to raise taxes on Social Security in 1993," McConnell said.

Original Publication Date: 02/22/1999

Related Stories

- [E. Side Condo Likely for Clintons, Say Experts](#) (02/22/1999)
- [New Yorkers Nix Rudy in Poll](#) (02/22/1999)
- [Al Shows Gusto for Bout With 1st Lady](#) (02/22/1999)
- [Inside Hillary's Dream Campaign](#) (02/21/1999)

Quick Reference Menu



citysearch.com Event Finder.

anything!

Feb

22

go



Democrats court first lady for N.Y. Senate seat

BY ANDREA HARTER
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

The official word from Hillary Rodham Clinton's office is that the first lady is giving serious thought to moving to New York to run for the seat from which U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is retiring.

No one knows what her thought processes are or what she be-

lieves she may gain or lose by running or accepting the invitations many Democrats have laid in front of her.

She met Friday for 75 minutes with the retiring Moynihan at the White House in the private residence. They "had a very nice lunch," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's press secretary.

Berry wouldn't say what the outcome was, adding that the first lady isn't giving interviews on the subject. Neither is Moynihan, who until Friday had not discussed the option with the first lady, his aides said.

Berry did, however, confirm that Hillary Clinton has asked for a meeting with U.S. Sen. Robert

Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat who's in charge of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee. Part of Torricelli's job is recruiting candidates. That meeting could take place this week, Berry said.

Those looking for signals may draw inferences from the first lady's action to set up key meetings.

Still, no one can say for sure if she'll accept the invitation key New York Democrats have offered her.

Meanwhile the clock is ticking. Moynihan announced his retirement four months ago, even though he still has two years left in his term. His staff believes it will

See **FIRST LADY**, Page 12A

First lady

• Continued from Page 1A

take a candidate — other than perhaps Hillary Clinton — the entire two years to raise enough money to run a campaign. It could cost as much as \$20 million.

Before the first lady's name surfaced, New York Democrats were looking to U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey to make a run for the job. Lowey has been testing the waters, and the state party said that in the absence of the first lady, they would throw enthusiastic support behind Lowey. Lowey is an ally of the president and would not push for the seat if Hillary Clinton wants it, her staff said last week.

The Democratic National Committee is expecting a candidate to declare before spring, which shortens Mrs. Clinton's thinking time to about six weeks. There's no rush to buy a house though, as New York's requirements are lax: A candidate need only be a resident by election day.

Committee Chairman Roy Romer said in a telephone interview that he "is neutral" on whether she should run, adding that the first lady still has ample opportunity to declare her intentions.

"She's already got a very important job. I don't know anyone more informed on the issues, but obviously there is a lot to consider. I haven't talked to her about it, but I will sometime in the future," Romer said.

Torricelli has talked to her and to others, too.

When the first lady acknowledged Torricelli had asked her to run, the senator issued a statement: "I admit to encouraging her candidacy, but I recognize the many dimensions of her decision and believe Mrs. Clinton should be given ample time to make her own judgment."

Torricelli, who was traveling on the West Coast, did not want to elaborate, aides said.

Speculation that she would run was fueled by Torricelli's off-camera remark to a moderator on NBC's *Meet the Press* on Jan. 3. After a commercial break, one of the reporters broadcast what he called a "mini bombshell," saying Torricelli believed Clinton would

run that started people talking. The reports were kept low.

out to gauge if the money was there to back Hillary for Senate. The answer: It was," said the contributor, who has given more than \$200,000 to Democratic causes during the last 10 years.

Democrats in Arkansas would support her, too, said Glen Hooks, Arkansas' party chairman, after a state party fund-raising meeting last week.

"I'm sure, in fact I'm positive that if she runs, Arkansas money will flow to New York," Hooks said.

New York's Hitzik said Hollywood has often chipped in for New York campaigns, "but we'd consider it pretty rare to get money from Arkansas."

Judith Hope, New York party chairman, talked with the first lady by phone last week to gauge her interest, Hitzik said, but the official invitation to join came two weeks ago from New York Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver at the LeCirque dinner.

"She said she would consider it once the impeachment was over," Silver said.

Silver took that as a good sign. Wheels began turning; people began talking.

Ten days later, the impeachment ordeal was finished. Less than 12 hours after the president had been acquitted, an aide confirmed Hillary Clinton was thinking about running.

It's been a week since then, and momentum has continued to build.

"Her name is magic here," Silver said in a telephone interview. "I told her that, too. She talks about the issues that are of concern to New York-

ers — which, of course, are concerns to other parts of the world, too."

Clinton friend and adviser, attorney Jim Blair, who spent last week in New York on what he called "other business," said he wasn't there to officially drum up support for the first lady.

"But am I surveying cab drivers to see if they'll support her? Of course I am," Blair said. Blair, who is leaving his post as Tyson Foods Inc.'s general counsel at the end of the year, will not discount that he plays a lead part in the Clintons' plans.

"She will try and make a decision in a reasonable amount of time," said Blair, who called the Clintons after the Senate acquit-

came up again on Feb. 2, at a

Democratic National Committee fund-raiser in New York.

That night, about 55 couples joined the Clintons at the post-LeCirque 2000 for dinner. The dress code was business attire. Tickets were \$10,000 each.

President Clinton warmed up the crowd, thanking them for their support during a Senate trial that could have removed him from office. One contributor said the event had all the markings of a trial balloon for the first lady.

Before dessert was served, the president coyly hinted the first lady was eyeing Moynihan's seat.

"The president said he'd be the man who followed Hillary to New York," (and) that got everybody going fast," said Matthew Hitzik, a New York Democratic Party spokesman.

One deep-pockets contributor, who asked that his name not be printed, said table talk quickly turned to money and who could be counted on for support.

"You could tell it was more than just dinner with the president — how often can you say that — but quickly the excitement grew as we realized feelers were

"You could tell it was more than just dinner with the president — how often can you say that — but quickly the excitement grew as we realized feelers were out to gauge if the money was there to back Hillary for Senate. The answer: It was."

— Democratic contributor

ted the president. "I would think it would be in a very few months."

That Hillary Clinton is thinking about running has upped the ante for both parties.

The Democrats said they want someone of international reputation to take over the seat.

"Historically, that seat has been our international senator's seat. New York is made up of so many cultures and peoples that it fits to have someone with international stature there," Silver said. Moynihan, who has served four terms, is a former ambassador to India and in 1976 was president of the U.N. Security Council. Robert Kennedy won that Senate seat in 1964.

The first lady's international presence may be a draw for New

Yorkers, but it could dissuade her from jumping into the race.

"The biggest question I think she has to face is: Can she be a candidate for Senate and the first lady at the same time?" says Neel Lattimore, who served as her press secretary for five years.

"At some point, a close examination of the rules will come into play. Everything we did leading up to election day, whether the president went to a nursing home or political rally, it had to be considered a political trip paid for with political funds," Lattimore explained.

"That complicates things immensely here. Can she go to England for a meeting (as first lady) and still be a Senate candidate? Who pays for that? It's a very

weird situation."

The first lady does not receive a salary, but Hillary Clinton has shaped the job into a position akin to ambassador. She travels extensively abroad to promote her views on human rights, especially for women and children.

Lattimore, now a consultant with the Washington, D.C., public relations firm BSMG Worldwide, has no doubt his old boss would cinch the race. He says he'd quit his job tomorrow to work for her again, if she asked him to.

"The wonderful thing about this is that people really want her; it sends a message. Mrs. Clinton is thinking about it because she still believes in the institution of public service."

Hillary Clinton is no political novice. She has never run for public office, but her political acumen had been hailed and criticized across a wide spectrum. Her husband's profession of faith in her abilities has been unflagging.

But where the president fits into a senatorial campaign is still up for debate.

Last Monday in Merida, Mexico, the president said his wife would be a "terrific" senator from New York. "She'd be great if she did it." Vice President Gore echoed similar comments on Friday after addressing the AFL-CIO's executive meeting in Florida.

The Republicans think otherwise.

If she runs, "it would give our party a chance to show what a boondoggle Hillary Clinton's health care program was," said Republican National Party spokesman Tim Fitzpatrick. "We have yet to get any official word from the White House, but when we do, we would swiftly act to put any political ambitions she might have to rest."

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, an odds-on favorite as a Republican challenger for Moynihan's job, kept mum about running against Hillary Clinton at first. By the end of last week, his aides were saying he'd run for sure, if she did.

Fitzpatrick said there were plenty of committed conservatives who would donate money to beat Hillary Clinton in New York. He said that during the first month of the year, the Republican National Committee received \$4 million in small-dollar contributions, which he says is proof that money will flow to support Republicans.

This early in the game, no accounts at the Federal Election Commission have been established for "Clinton for Senate" race.

However, on Jan. 12, a grassroots support group — the People for American Leadership — filed a statement of organization for the "Hillary Rodham Clinton for President" campaign, noting that a Washington, D.C., account at Crestar Bank had been opened.

Organizer Thomas B. McMullen Jr. said Friday he has no connection with Mrs. Clinton, only that he's a fan.

McMullen, a Washington area management consultant, said he set up the Political Action Committee after hearing Mrs. Clinton speak at a rally in Seneca Falls, N.Y. He says he collected about 400 signatures and forwarded them to Mrs. Clinton.

"She doesn't even know me," McMullen said. "But I represent a group of people who believe in her. I have decided to back off of the presidency push until the Senate idea develops. Any money we collect will go that cause if that's what she chooses to pursue."

Money is also a consideration on another front.

A senator's salary is \$138,000 per year. It is considered a full-time job. The Clintons owe more than \$4 million in legal fees stemming from the Whitewater, Paula Jones and Lewinsky proceedings.

Until they moved to Washington, Hillary Clinton consistently outearned her husband. She was a partner at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock. Most of the time they lived here, he was the governor.

While he draws \$200,000 a year as president, he never made more than \$35,000 a year as governor.

Hillary for governor—of Arkansas

This is an open letter to Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first lady of the country and former first lady of the state, on the hot topic of her personal political future.

Dear Hillary:

I see that your favorability ratings have shot to the stratosphere and that you are a celebrity icon all of a sudden. I hope you'll accept my grudging congratulations. Sometimes grudging congratulations are the best kind. It just goes to show that you should have let people know years ago about the indignities you regularly endured from that philandering husband of yours.

Isn't it interesting that people don't rally around you because you're smart or able or committed to women's issues or to public policy or because you can offer a thousand-pointed plan for reinventing the health care industry? Isn't it interesting that people love you only when you're outed as a victim of a bad boy's unfaithfulness?

I suspect your plight carries a kind of universal familiarity. I figure people are more comfortable feeling sorry for someone than admiring someone's brains. I think that in a strange way Bill has managed to soften your image.

I know it's mildly ironic that you're getting credit for standing by your man when you and I both know that what you actually did was refuse to give religious-right fanatics the satisfaction of concurring in their judgment about the bad boy's morality, or lack thereof. If there's one thing you despise even more than your own philandering husband's juvenile stupidity, it's the moralizing claptrap of Falwell and Robertson and Kenny Starr and the rest of that anti-abortion, anti-gay, anti-woman bunch.

I told people that you were maddest at



John
Brummett

Your Boy Bill for getting caught. But now that he has survived, I suspect you're glad he got caught. Both of you managed to play rope-a-dope with the rabid right wing and you've become so popular that you probably could be elected to the U.S. Senate from New York.

Which brings me to why I'm writing.

It says in *U.S. News and World Report* that in addition to the prospect that you might run for the U.S. Senate in New York in 2000, there exists the possibility that you might run for governor of Arkansas in 2002.

Let me tell you something: You don't want to run for office in the Big Apple amid all those tabloids. They'll destroy you, and maybe get after Chelsea on the side. Need I remind you that the *New York Post* already went after her?

Let me tell you something else: You don't really care about beating Rudy Giuliani; as Republicans go, he's a dadblamed liberal, even if he is part of the D'Amato clique.

And let me tell you one other thing: You do not want to go from top of the world to freshman Democrat in the U.S. Senate, getting your marching orders from some guy like Tom Daschle.

But governor of Arkansas—now that's another cut of cloth altogether.

Our media? We're pussycats. You tamed old John Robert years ago, and could again. Our main tabloid is run by old friends of

yours, the Brantleys. I don't like you a bit, but the fact of business is that if it came down to you and Mike Huckabee, you'd look a darned sight better than you've ever looked to me before.

You ought to get a load of this Huckabee. He's got ethical blind spots even larger than yours. He's pushing anti-abortion bills left and right, and he's got that zany Fay Boozman in the same job you and Bill gave Joyceelyn. And another thing Huckabee and his wife have tackied up the Governor's Mansion like you wouldn't believe. They conduct all their social functions under a tent in the back yard with loud space heaters that drown out the chamber music. At least you had the good grace to let the Mansion Commission run the place while you went out and made rain for the Rose Law Firm.

And as you know, governor is a job from which you actually run things. As a control freak, that should entice you.

We've got problems down here, and not just with Huckabee. With term limits, extremely conservative Republicans from Northwest Arkansas are invading Little Rock like fruit flies. The Democrats are in disarray with you and Bill gone and Jim Guy in all that mess. We've got this new think tank run by some guy out of the Galo Institute.

So here's the thing: Come back and run for governor. You already know your way around the residence, and your momma still lives here.

I'll come out for or against you, whichever you think best.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette 2/21/99

EDITORIALS

Sen. Carpetbagger

In a way, one could say that Hillary Rodham Clinton has already won with her maybe-bid for the Senate. She has already won her objective. That is, to give herself something to talk about other than her husband's little faux pas. For a year Monica Lewinsky has dominated Mrs. Clinton's life. And now Mrs. Clinton has managed to do something about it. No longer is the first question — spoken or unspoken — "How can you stay with that lout?"

"Will she or won't she run for the Senate?" has supplanted: "Will she or won't she clobber Slick Willie with a lamp?" What a relief that must be for the long-suffering Mrs. Clinton.

And for her Big Lug as well. The vast cable diaspora, what with its hundreds of gaping mouths to fill — every last one of them starving for some pap to replace Clinton in Crisis — glommed onto the Senator Hillary story like hyenas supping on a carcass. Most of the discussion centered on what a formidable candidate she would be. Admittedly, Mrs. Clinton's popularity is extraordinary. Indeed, for her public approval to go much higher she would probably have to roll around with a White House intern.

But the electorate's opinion of the first lady is by no means a settled thing. People seem to like Mrs. Clinton in inverse proportion to her role as a politico and policy wonk. After leading the charge for socialized medicine as a sort of copresident, she was loathed and reviled. After leading the charge to save the Big Lug's bacon as a sort of codependent, she was pitied and admired. That admiration can't be counted on when she becomes a politician in her own right.

A child of the Chicago suburbs, educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut, a resident of Arkansas and then most recently the District of Columbia, Mrs. Clinton hasn't had much New York

experience. (Going to see "Les Mis" doesn't count). But New Yorkers love carpetbaggers! So say the many gaping cable mouths, every last one of whom point to the success of Robert Kennedy, an outsider who won a New York Senate seat in 1964. But as much as the Clintons would like to imagine that they have created Camelot II, there could well be a slight difference between the public esteem graced on the crusading brother of an assassinated president and that granted to the humiliated wife of a disgraced president.

But the oddest thing about the discussion of Mrs. Clinton's possible run for the Senate is that most of the comment on her strength as a candidate has ignored the likely Republican opponent. GOP candidates regularly do well in upstate New York, while Democrats dominate New York City. The challenge for Republicans seeking statewide office in New York is to squeak out just enough votes in the Apple to add to the upstate base. Rudy Giuliani defies that model. For all the left has done to vilify him as a cheerleader for police brutality, the Republican mayor of NYC remains remarkably popular across the political spectrum. Nor is his popularity based on being a wronged spouse — he is admired for having made the city a great place to live for the first time in decades.

If Mrs. Clinton were to run, she would almost certainly face Mr. Giuliani. The choice for New Yorkers would be stark: Vote for a fellow New Yorker who has directly improved the quality of their lives, or cast their ballots for an out-of-state opportunist who advocates the very sort of liberal-left policies that got New York City into such trouble in the first place. If New Yorkers can't figure that one out, they will deserve the representation they get.



KUP'S COLUMN

Irv Kupcinet

Hillary Rodham Clinton lunched recently with former Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and, as expected, the possibility of the first lady's running for senator from New York came up. Moseley-Braun didn't hesitate: "Go for it," she exclaimed. Others have been telling Clinton that "we have many states, but there's only one New York" and her popularity there is sky-high. But Clinton is well aware of the problems—including raising millions of dollars for a campaign, putting a staff together and facing a possible runoff.

A POSSIBLE REPUBLICAN opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has been invited to speak here by GOP leader Lee Daniels at the Adler Planetarium on March 15.

■ The polls are in her favor, but Hillary Rodham Clinton could wind up in a bruising battle if she runs for the Senate. And if she won, it might be a huge step down, Sun-Times Washington Bureau Chief Lynn Sweet writes.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the Democratic National Convention at the United Center on Aug. 27, 1996.

New York Dems woo first lady

Hillary Rodham Clinton is contemplating running for the Senate from New York, which is to say she is thinking about subjecting herself to daily abuse for a job that some say would be a demotion.

"There is no question, if she ran she would win," said Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y.), who represents the upstate Rochester area.

"She has many of the qualities that New Yorkers appreciate," said Matthew Hiltzik, deputy executive director of the New York State Democratic Committee. "She is smart, tough and compassionate and would make a great U.S. senator."

"I find it hard to believe it will happen," said New York pollster John Zogby. "It is a huge step down to be a freshman senator after you have been first lady. It is unbecoming."

It's clear why New York state Democrats are pushing Clinton to run in 2000. They have no other top-tier candidates. It's less obvious why Clinton would want to start commuting from the White House to New York to make her debut in electoral politics after enduring such a tumultuous year, what with the revelation of her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky and his impeachment.

All the scandal stories would be resurrected by the aggressive New York press corps: White-water and her lost billing records, the White House travel office and the FBI files on Republicans.

Clinton provoked an uproar last year when she said, "I think it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state," which would be an issue in heavily Jewish New York.

Clinton is thin-skinned and, for all her exposure, has not had a press conference in five years. Interviewers allowed to talk to her usually get access because their print or broadcast reports are considered likely to be friendly.

Moreover, now she is regarded as an "international icon for women," said former press secretary Lisa Caputo. She could walk into a top job at a foundation or a university in 2000 and make money on the side as a speaker, to help pay the multimillion-dollar legal bills that she and her husband have run up. Why would the first lady want to be merely one of 100 and possibly get knocked off the pedestal she is on?

A friend, Benny Horowitz, offered a clue. "It's an example of her



Hillary Rodham Clinton
Giving 'careful thought'

being wanted for herself, and I think that's great," said Ebeling, who grew up with Clinton in northwest suburban Park Ridge.

The story began last year with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) announcing that he would not run for a fifth term.

Once some of the bigger New York names declined to run—Andrew Cuomo, the secretary of housing and urban development and son of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, and state

■ **Hillary, come home;**
Leslie Baldacci column,
Page 37.

Comptroller Carl McCall—Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) started pushing for Clinton. Democrats are promising her the nomination without a major primary opponent.

In Mexico last weekend, her husband fed the speculation when he said, "I think she would be terrific in the Senate."

On Tuesday, Clinton, who never has lived in New York, made her interest official. "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year," she said in a statement.

That same day, Clinton called New York state Democratic Chairman Judith Hope "to express her interest in the race and that she is considering making the race," Hiltzik said.

If Hillary says she will give careful thought to something, that

means she will," Ebeling said. "She will consider all levels, personal and political."

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the most likely Republican candidate for the Senate seat.

A Clinton-Giuliani contest would shape up as "the battle of the titans," said Stuart Roy, a spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. "It will be the hottest Senate race in 2000."

A poll released Thursday by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., makes Clinton look good.

In a head-to-head battle with Giuliani, Clinton scored 49 percent to the mayor's 38.1 percent, with 12.9 percent undecided. Clinton outpaced Giuliani among women 51.5 percent to 36.1 percent.

Asked if Clinton should run, 56 percent said yes, 36.7 percent said no, and 7.2 percent were undecided. Will she run? The poll found 64.4 percent guessing she will. And 46.4 percent cared that Clinton is not from New York, compared with 53.6 percent who didn't mind very much or at all about Clinton carpetbaggering.

The telephone survey of 502 registered voters throughout New York state had a margin of error of 4.5 percentage points.

Still, pollster Zogby said Clinton "would have to fight like hell" if matched against Giuliani.

Clinton plans to be in New York on March 3 to speak at a women's Democratic lunch. The \$150-a-ticket fund-raiser is sold out.

Running for the Senate from Illinois, where Clinton has a natural base and would have an easier race, is out of the question in the short term: One senator, Richard Durbin, is a Democrat, and the other, Republican Peter Fitzgerald, just started his six-year term.

Gov. Ryan is a Republican, and in 2002, Clinton could run for governor, said Chicago-based political consultant David Axelrod. As governor, "she could do things that are real and point to things she has accomplished," Axelrod said.

While New York Democrats hunger for Clinton, they also want her to make up her mind as soon as possible. Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.) already has started organizing but would defer to the first lady, as would Slaughter, who also is thinking about running.

Decide, Slaughter said—"the sooner the better."

■ Forget New York—if the first lady ever runs for the Senate, she should be doing it from Illinois.

Hillary, come home

In the post-acquittal languor, the possibility that Hillary Rodham Clinton might run for the U.S. Senate as a New Yorker has seized the imaginations of future-looking political junkies.

The scenario has her leaving the White House for New York City to seek the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan after 24 years. Juiciest, her opponent likely would be the popular Republican New York mayor, Rudolph Giuliani—or, on a long shot, recently deposed GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, should he attempt a comeback.

As politics go, it doesn't get much better than Clinton vs. Giuliani, a race between two intensely intelligent, articulate, staunchly partisan polar opposites. The debates would be more bruising than the World Wrestling Federation.

But the truth is, you cannot hear Clinton's flat-as-the-prairie voice without realizing that she has no business running for office there.

If she decides to launch her own political career, she'd do best to

come home to Illinois, where just about any office she'd seek, from alderman to governor, congresswoman or senator, would be hers for the asking.

The Park Ridge native loves Chicago. She has friends here, and deep-pocketed campaign contributors.

Now seems like the time for her to make her move, while her popularity is sky-high. She'd have to wait if she wanted to become a senator from Illinois.

It would be unseemly for her to knock out Sen. Dick Durbin in 2002. He's been a faithful supporter of her husband. Politically, Mrs. Clinton and Durbin are cut from the same cloth.

She could do it, though, she could beat him.

Durbin defeated Al Salvi to claim the retiring Paul Simon's Senate seat in 1996. He's known for his anti-tobacco victories—including the smoking ban on commercial airlines—and work on behalf of the elderly and consumers, and increasing funding for health and nutrition programs for women

■ A look at Clinton's Senate prospects; Page 6.

and children.

In other words, exactly the sort of issues that interest Hillary Clinton. Clinton, who is as charismatic as Durbin is generic, could whip him without breaking a sweat. But it would be extremely bad form.

So if the U.S. Senate is what she wants, newcomer Peter Fitzgerald is a perfect target. But he's not up for re-election for six years.

Too bad. If the race were on now, she could have a field day with the conservative who spent nearly \$12 million of his own money to narrowly defeat Carol Moseley-Braun last fall.

Quiz: Who was the key player who nearly saved Moseley-Braun's neck at the last minute? Hillary Rodham Clinton, the same person who campaigned so effectively for other Democrats who found themselves in tight spots last fall.

She later regretted that she'd not done more, sooner, to help Moseley-Braun. It was not conceived of her to think that she single-handedly could have made a difference in the race. She could have.

Come to think of it, there you



JOSE LUIS MAGANA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton has the friends, financial support and charisma to be elected to almost any office she chooses back home.

have one more reason why it would be gratifying for Clinton to mosey on home and wait to pick off Fitzgerald.

Those who criticize Clinton for setting her sights too high for her first elective office sell short her national perspective and political know-how. She has played key roles in her husband's political victories, and in the end was key to his very survival.

Whatever dirt is going to come out on her already has been unearthed. She survived that, too.

Illinois is plenty comfortable with two Democratic senators, and nobody's going to forget Hillary Rodham Clinton. Her husband thinks she'd be a terrific senator. I do, too—from Illinois.

E-mail: lbaldacci@aol.com.

Nigel Wade
Editor in Chief

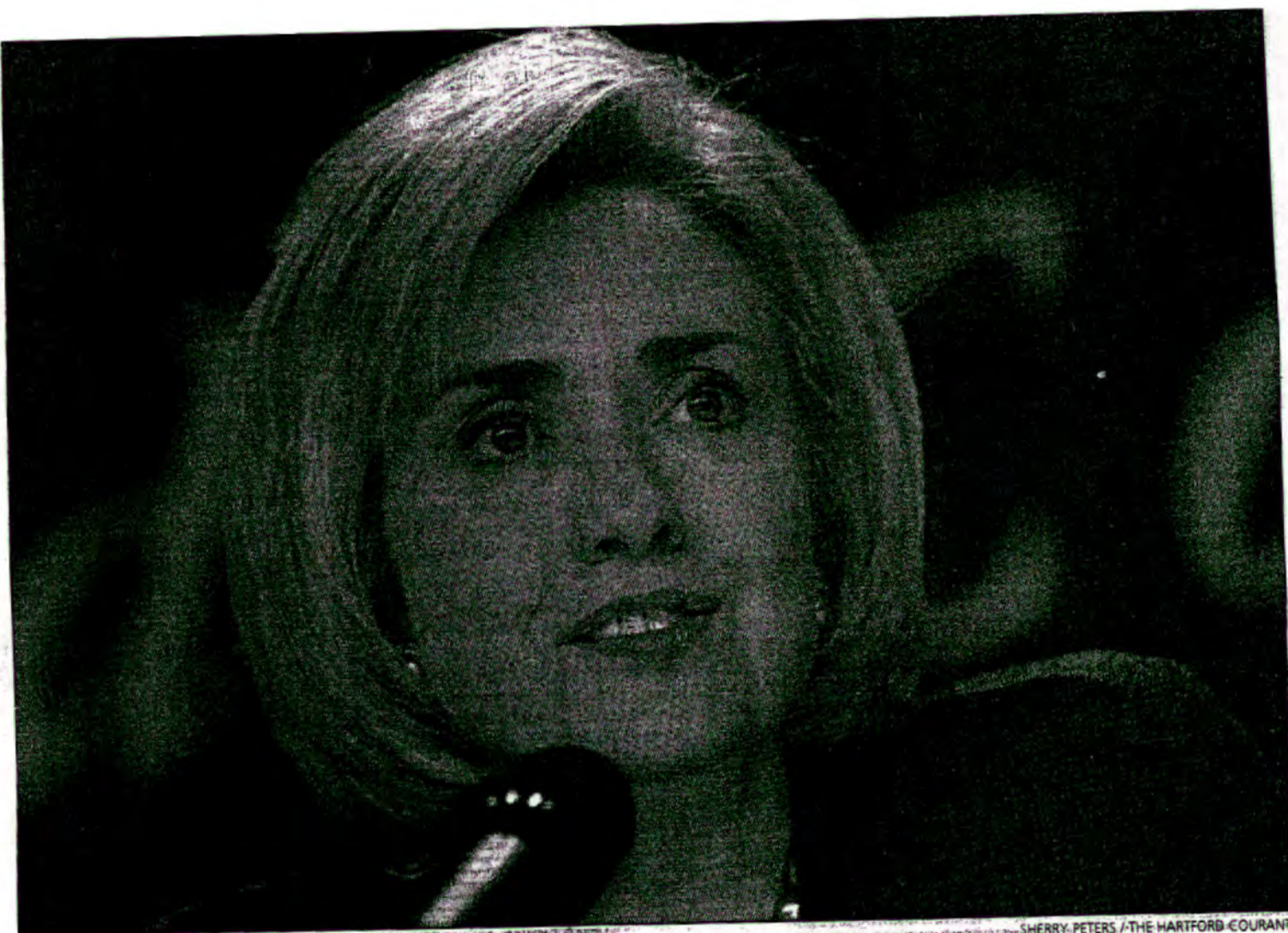
Larry Green
Executive Editor

Steve Huntley
Editorial Page Editor

Joycelyn Winnecke
Executive News Editor

Chicago Sun-Times 2/19/99

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



SHERRY PETERS / THE HARTFORD COURANT

FIRST LADY. Hillary Rodham Clinton has emerged from her husband's impeachment trial unscathed and beloved. Talk of a possible Senate run in 2000 hints at a remarkable career on the horizon. Here she speaks at Trinity College in Hartford in January 1998.

HER TURN

Amid Talk Of A Senate Run, Hillary Clinton's Star Rises

By **DAVID LIGHTMAN**
Courant Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — As President Clinton prepares to leave the national political stage in January 2001, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, now 51, may be just arriving.

The talk about a possible run for the New York U.S. Senate seat being vacated in two years by the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat, has escalated from the status of gossip in January to an undenied rumor in these post-impeachment trial days.

On Monday, Clinton gave his wife her biggest endorsement yet for the 2000 New York race, saying first lady Hillary Rodham

Clinton would be "great if she did it."

The president told reporters in Merida, Mexico, where he is meeting with Mexico's president, that "I think she would be terrific in the Senate," according to an Associated Press report from that city.

That doesn't mean the first lady is ready to run. That, said her husband, is "a decision that she'll have to make."

The president's comments gave a new boost to speculation that has been building for weeks and, to most political experts, makes a lot of sense. To Clinton fans, it's a way of not only maintaining the president's voice in Washington, but polishing a badly tarnished legacy.

If elected to the Senate, Hillary Clinton would take office about two weeks before her husband is scheduled to finish his term. Officially, her office is staying out of the trial balloon.

"What she wants to do in the next two years is concentrate on making the most out of what she can do as first lady," said Clinton communications director Marsha E. Berry.

But the intelligentsia, whose gossip and money can ultimately boost or deflate these candidates, are high on Hillary — for some ironic reasons. She is all that Democrats love about her husband, but without those nagging character flaws.

Please see **HILLARY**, Page A9

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton May Soon Take Her Turn

Continued from Page 1

"You know where she stands on issues. She's a strong, progressive voice," said Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, D-N.J., chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

There's none of Bill's fudging with words or positions — no one calls her "Slick Hillary" — and certainly none of Bill's impeachment baggage.

And perhaps most encouraging, she has emerged from the impeachment ordeal as one of its few heroes. A Gallup poll conducted after Friday's acquittal vote found 55 percent of those surveyed nationwide saw her as one of the story's winners.

There are, though, two obstacles as tall as the World Trade Center towers.

She's never lived in New York; to serve the state, she must reside there when elected. And she may be more effective after 2001 not as a junior senator, probably in the minority party, but on her own as a latter-day Eleanor Roosevelt.

"I think all this talk is very flattering, but I'd be surprised if it occurred," said Lisa Caputo, former Clinton press secretary. "I see her in a much broader role with an international platform, perhaps something at the United Nations."

New York

The Moynihan seat is the closest thing American politics has to a national Senate seat.

It got that label in 1964, when Robert F. Kennedy, of the Massachusetts Kennedys, won his bid. Six years later, Republican James L. Buckley, of the Connecticut Buckleys, won a term. And in 1976 Moynihan, a New Yorker better known as a Harvard professor, Washington-based adviser to presidents and President Ford's U.N. ambassador, won as a Democrat.

Two elements combine to give outsiders a better shot at that New York seat.

"It's a city that's used to people coming and going. It's an international city," said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. It's the home of the U.N., the financial markets, the publishing industry. It's a place where people revel in the idea that they are at the center of the world.

Having a senator of special stature helps feed that image.

The second element unique to New York politicians is their role as important national political figures. This is the state of Franklin Roosevelt and Nelson Rockefeller, of Mario Cuomo and Jacob Javits.

Hillary Clinton would snugly fit the New York image. "New York loves star quality, and she has it," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in New York.

Democrats

New York Democrats love Hillary Clinton most of all.

They love how she is arguably the first first lady to actually be in charge of significant White House policies.

"She's tremendously respected, particularly for the way she injects herself into issues," said Ellen Malcolm, president of EMILY's List, a Democratic fund-raising group that helps women candidates.

The president put her in charge of health care reform in 1994, and although that effort backfired and even embarrassed the White House, the first lady has continued to stump for the cause.

She is also known as a fierce lobbyist for more aid and programs for children and the less fortunate, frequently visiting the Capitol to caucus with Democrats and push her agenda.

Pollsters suggested another reason for Hillary Clinton's appeal: She has stood by her husband.

When news of Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky surfaced a year ago, the first lady went on national television to blame the gossip on a right-wing conspiracy. When her husband admitted the relationship in August, she did not criticize him publicly, and never has.

On the morning of the Dec. 19 impeachment vote, Hillary Clinton met privately with Democratic House members.

"She insisted, 'He will not resign,'" recalled Barbara B. Kennelly, then a Connecticut congresswoman. "Her strength was incredible."

The affectionate, emotion-charged Hillary Clinton style was a welcome jolt for the Democrats. For years, her demeanor was criticized, even by some cohorts, as too calculating. Now, her passion has gained praise, a sense she has mastered her emotions in an authentic, even productive way.

"People just love her for the way she is," said Sen. Charles H. Schumer, D-N.Y.

Can She Win?

Yes.

Miringoff pointed out that Clinton begins with the three things any prospective candidate needs most: name recognition, popularity and an ability to raise money.

She could quickly become a New Yorker by establishing residence in the state sometime next year — there has been talk of the Clintons

settling in East Hampton, a Long Island summer vacation spot.

That kind of instant residency may not wound her, Miringoff said, because Clinton is not identified in the public mind as tied to a specific location. She grew up in suburban Chicago, attended college in Massachusetts and law school in Connecticut, lived in Washington and Little Rock as an adult, and speaks with no readily discernible accent.

"Hillary is one of those people who isn't from anywhere. She's from TV," he said.

On the other hand, New York, like anywhere, can at times be a very parochial place. Until this year, its junior senator was Alfonse M. D'Amato, called "Senator Pot-hole" for his attention to the most excruciating details of New York life.

Any prospective Clinton candidacy got a boost recently when Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, the son of the former New York governor and son-in-law of Robert Kennedy, said last month he will not enter the race.

But a number of U.S. representatives — including three Democratic women — and civil rights activist Al Sharpton also are weighing the

race, and, most frightening to a Clinton candidacy, the Republican nominee could be New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Then there's the ultimate question: Does Clinton have the stomach for a campaign in one of the nation's roughest political mudpits?

"No one right now knows better than Hillary Clinton the kind of personal toll campaigns take, and for that matter, that public political life takes," Caputo said.

And yet no one, not even the first lady's office, can categorically rule out the race. It's too tempting, too plausible.

Perhaps most intriguing, it can maintain — some would say re-establish — the Clinton name as a respectable presence in Washington.

"She and I both would like to continue to be useful in public affairs when we leave office," the president said Monday.

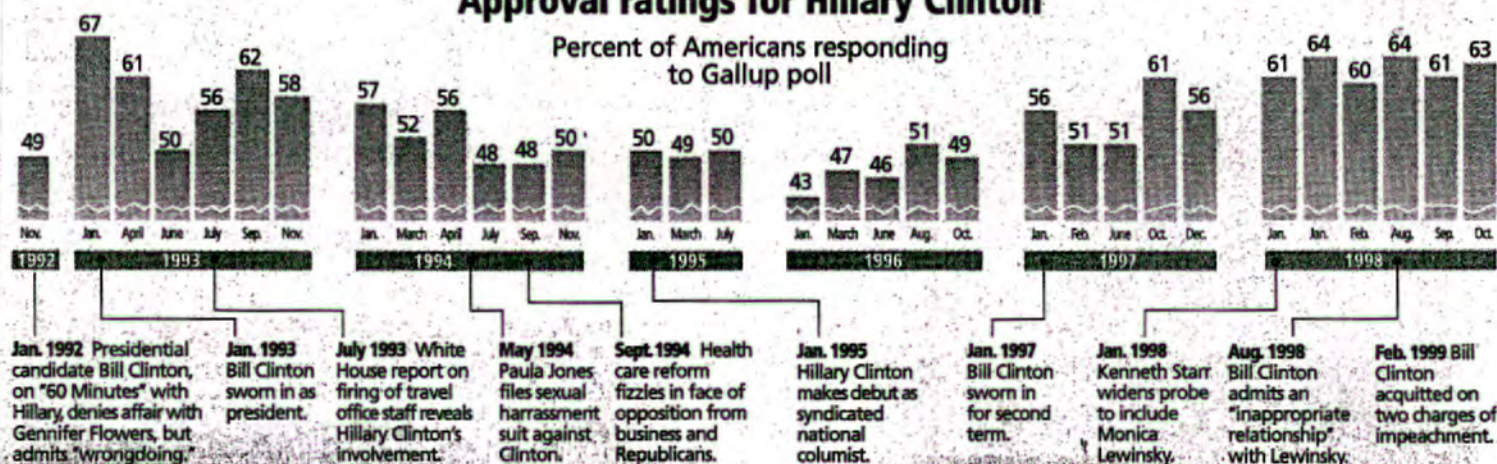
And most appealing, perhaps, is that the first lady seems to be everything her husband both is and is not.

"She's smart and she has all the right values," said Washington consultant Maria Romash. "She's got all the right stuff in her heart and her head."

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Approval ratings for Hillary Clinton

Percent of Americans responding to Gallup poll



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Current Address: 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20500
Prospective Address: Somewhere in New York

EDUCATION

1969: Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. Graduated with high honors. Class president and multiple winner on televised "College Bowl" trivia competition. The college's first student commencement speaker.

1973: Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Served on the board of editors of the Yale Review of Law and Social Action. Canned salmon in Alaska during summer vacation.

EXPERIENCE

January 1993-present: First lady, Washington, D.C. Redefined role of a working mother and marriage as perhaps the most controversial and proactive first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt. Traveled to China, Africa and around the world as a goodwill ambassador. Tripped up by various scandals, including Travelgate and Whitewater.

1995-present: Author, *It Takes a Village* (1996), and *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy* (1998), and syndicated columnist, "Talking it Over."

1993-94: Policy Wonk, Washington, D.C. Appointed head of Task Force on National Health Care Reform. Attempted to revamp health care and medical insurance in America.

1980-present: Mother, Chelsea Victoria Clinton, well-adjusted, well-rounded daughter who attends Stanford University and recent subject of a puff piece by People magazine. Delivered via Caesarean section.

1977-92: Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Ark. Specialized in commercial litigation and trademark law. Legal firm embroiled in the Whitewater real estate banking mess.

1983-84: Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, education committee that set public school standards with competency testing for public schools and teachers.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HRC Clips

Regarding Potential
New York Senate Bid



Tuesday, February 16 -
Friday, February 19, 1999

Hillary Clinton's Popularity at Record Levels

Standing by her man through a year of investigation and impeachment may have made Hillary Rodham Clinton more popular than ever.

In a Washington Post poll conducted after the end of the Senate trial last weekend, 63 percent of Americans expressed a favorable opinion of the first lady, compared with 52 percent in a Post-ABC News poll taken before the scandal became public in January 1998.

Hillary Clinton's strongest supporters continue to be groups friendly to the Democratic Party: African Americans give her an amazing 97 percent favorable rating and 81 percent of self-identified liberals view her favorably.

But the first lady also has gained ground in some unexpected quarters, particularly among southern men. In January 1998, 50 percent of southern men said they had an unfavorable view of her, while 40 percent had a favorable view. In last weekend's poll, 59 percent of southern men expressed positive feelings about the first lady, and 34 percent said they felt unfavorably toward her.

And she has gained ground among another constituency with more traditional values: older women. Now, 74 percent say they have a favorable impression of Hillary Clinton, a 19 percentage-point increase from her January 1998 rating among this group.

Her favorable ratings during the scandal were not only her highest ever, they also mark the first time the first lady consistently outpolled her husband on this measure since the start of their tenure in the White House.

—Ceci Connolly and Claudia Deane

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES **NEW YORK** FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999

Hillary Clinton's Political Adviser Tests Water on Senate Run

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped up her efforts yesterday to consider running for the United States Senate from New York as her political adviser contacted a wide range of union leaders and campaign consultants.

Mrs. Clinton is to discuss her possible race at the White House today with Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, who is retiring from the seat in 2000. Next week, Mrs. Clinton is expected to meet with John Sweeney, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and other labor leaders, and is planning several trips to New York over the next few months.

Harold Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's politi-

cal adviser and a veteran of New York politics, has discussed Mrs. Clinton's potential race with the campaign consultant David Doak, of Doak, Carrier & O'Donnell, who is an old friend of Mrs. Clinton's and who was the media adviser in David Dinkins's two New York City mayoral campaigns.

Mr. Ickes also talked this week to the campaign consultant Bill Carrick of Morris, Carrick & Guma. Mr. Carrick has worked for Senator Dianne Feinstein of California and is a partner of Hank Morris, who was the media consultant last year in Charles E. Schumer's successful United States Senate campaign in

New York.

Mr. Ickes also spoke this week about Mrs. Clinton's potential campaign to Sandra Feldman, the president of the American Federation of Teachers.

"I'd certainly be delighted to see her run for the Senate in New York," Ms. Feldman said yesterday.

"I believe the teachers would be very happy," she said. "She knows education. She has been a good friend for many years. I think there would be a lot of enthusiasm for her."

Mr. Ickes is to return to Washington late today and expects to begin calling county leaders in New York

State on Mrs. Clinton's behalf next week.

Mrs. Clinton said on Tuesday that she was giving "careful thought" to a Senate race and would make up her mind "later this year" — a timetable that irked many New York Democrats because it makes it difficult for other candidates to raise the \$10 million to \$20 million needed for the race.

But Mrs. Clinton's advisers said she needed the time.

"She doesn't want to drag this out, and she wants to come to a decision as quickly as possible," said one adviser. "But she doesn't want to be stampeded."

May decision is possible

Hillary Clinton 'very interested' in Senate run

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton has told friends she is "very interested" in a possible Senate candidacy in New York and already has begun consulting key Democrats and studying state issues.

She expects to reach a decision by mid-May, they say.

Advisers close to the first lady say she is approaching the issue with the same methodical precision that has marked her professional life as a lawyer. Clinton is addressing a series of fundamental questions about whether she wants to undergo the rigors of a campaign and then fulfill the requirements of life as a senator.

Friends who have spoken with her describe her as "very serious" about considering the race, although they say it's entirely possible she will decide in the end not to enter it. "I think it's getting very serious consideration," says Sen. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J., head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Being a senator would mean spending many weekends meeting with constituents, one adviser notes. It also would involve working not only on her favored topics of education and child care but also on such unfamiliar issues as funding formulas for transportation projects.

For advice, she has planned private meetings at the White House with New York's newly elected Sen. Charles Schumer and retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose seat will be up for grabs in 2000.

Harold Ickes, a former deputy White House chief of staff and New York Democratic activist, is taking soundings. He discussed the race Wednesday with two of New York's most powerful labor leaders, Sandra Feldman of the American Federation of Teachers and Dennis Rivera of Local 1199, National Health and Human Service Employees.

After the sessions in Miami, where the AFL-CIO is meeting, both labor leaders reportedly were going to call Clinton to urge her to run.

Over the next month or two, advisers say, Clinton plans to work her way through a list of 100 or more key figures on the New York political scene. She either will meet them in person in Washington or New York, or talk to them on the phone.

"If you know anything about Hillary, you know she is very systematic, she is very thorough," says Mandy Grunwald, a Democratic consultant close to the first lady. "She will understand every aspect of the job before she makes a decision."



By Kevin Lamarque, Reuters

New campaign? Friends say Hillary Clinton is approaching idea methodically.

The voters' view

The Marist Institute for Public Opinion at Marist College got these responses Tuesday in a statewide poll in New York about the prospective Senate candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Should she run?

Yes **56%**
No **37%**

Will she run?

Yes **64%**
No **17%**

How concerned are you that she's not from New York State?

A great deal **25%**
Somewhat **21%**
Not very much **14%**
Not at all **40%**

Who would you support?

Hillary Rodham Clinton **49%**
New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani **38%**

Source: Marist Institute for Public Opinion at Marist College (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.) survey of 502 registered voters. Margin of error ± 4.5 percentage points. Note: "No opinion" responses not shown.

By Jerry Mosamak, USA TODAY

However, her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, notes that the first lady has commitments for travel and speeches that will consume much of her time over the next month or so. Plans include a trip to New York March 3-4, one with President Clinton to Central America March 8-11 and a trip on her own to North Africa in late March. Her itinerary is expected to include Egypt and Morocco.

A poll released Thursday by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion found that the New York electorate is expecting her candidacy. Most say she should run, most believe she will, and most profess little concern that she has never lived in the state.

In a head-to-head matchup with

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, a possible Republican candidate, Hillary Clinton led by 11 points. Rep. Nita Lowey, a Democrat who is considering the Senate race if Clinton does not run, trailed Giuliani 28% to 52%.

Friends say the questions Hillary Clinton is considering deal with:

► The state. Running for the Senate from a state where she has never lived isn't seen as a big problem, advisers say. But campaigning for the seat and then serving in the Senate would involve a commitment to establish residency and spend time in the state — not only with glamorous friends in Manhattan but also in outer boroughs and upstate outposts.

► The job description. Hillary Clinton long has spoken out about issues such as education and the rights of girls around the world. But being senator also would involve work on what advisers call "the pothole issues." She is weighing whether the seat as a senator — junior senator in what is now the minority party — would be as appealing a forum as other options, such as heading a foundation.

► The money. Senators are paid \$136,700 a year, and ethics rules restrict sharply outside income. As senator, Clinton could receive royalties from the book she is expected to write after leaving the White House. But she and her husband will face millions of dollars in legal expenses, and the costs of living well in New York are high. Money isn't the dominant factor, but it is a factor in her thinking, friends say.

► Al Gore's campaign. Both Hillary Clinton and her husband have made it clear they want to help elect Vice President Gore to the White House in 2000, in part to confirm and continue the Clinton legacy. She has been expected to be one of Gore's chief surrogate campaigners, especially among women and liberal groups. But that's a role she couldn't fill if she were running for office.

► Conflicts. She probably would end up taking some political positions at odds with those of her husband.

No matter who runs, or where, Politics Inc. wins

NEW YORK — In his farewell address as president in early 1961, Dwight Eisenhower warned of the "military-industrial complex." Amplifying his concerns at a news conference, the president complained about the widespread belief "that the only thing this country is engaged in is weaponry and missiles."

Thirty-eight years later, it is time to sound the alarm about the "political-industrial complex." To update Ike, it now appears that the only thing this country is engaged in is campaigns and politics.

Less than a week after the Senate impeachment vote, the media are in a tizzy over whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York. More TV time has been lavished on breathless speculations about her intentions than was devoted to the death of King Hussein.

So what if Daniel Patrick Moynihan, still has 22 months in office? So what if the filing deadline for the Democratic Senate nomination is not

until the middle of next year? Restive reporters and political junkies have created the orthodoxy that Hillary must make up her mind in a New York minute.

Why the crazed rush? The first lady certainly doesn't need a lengthy campaign to garner name recognition. Nor would fund-raising be the laborious chore for Hillary that it would be for any other female candidate who has never held elective office.

Sure, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani would be a formidable GOP candidate for the Moynihan seat if he decides he'd rather twirl his nightstick in the Senate. But panic-stricken Democrats are reacting as if it's Hillary or the abyss. If she doesn't run, backup candidates such as Rep. Nita Lowey need to begin raising the \$15 million to \$20 million mandated for a race.



Politics
By Walter Shapiro

Whether or not the first lady throws her headband into the ring, the New York Senate race will be modeled on last year's scorched-earth contest in which dogged fund-raiser Chuck Schumer dethroned pork-and-patronage king Al D'Amato. Schumer and D'Amato spent more than \$40 million, burning up the airwaves with vitriolic attack ads that made Howard Stern seem dignified in comparison.

Who benefits from these vicious marathon campaigns in which rival candidates are routinely portrayed as liars, cheats and spendthrifts? Not the voters who signal their disgust by staying home in record numbers. Not



the political fund-raisers who cringe at having to constantly put the bite on friends and business associates. And not most candidates whose dreams of public service extend beyond smearing their opponent.

The sad truth is that American politics has become a billion-dollar industry run for the benefit of the campaign consultants in both parties. These backroom handlers are the ones who decree that only negative campaigns work; that there is no such thing as too much TV advertising; and that only losers worry about the cost.

In most statewide campaigns, hired-gun consultants not only receive monthly retainers but also

share in the bounty of ad-placement fees that can run as high as 15% of the TV buy. A Hillary vs. Rudy grudge match could easily cost more than \$60 million, which means that the strategists, pollsters and ad men on both sides would make roughly \$10 million from this single race.

The 2000 presidential race is the most insidious example of politics only a consultant could love.

With almost all the primaries now shoehorned into a few weeks in March 2000, candidates must declare early to have a chance of raising the \$20 million to \$30 million needed to be competitive in those early contests.

Adding to the frenzy is a ratings-obsessed media always rushing to get a head start on the next dramatic story line. Reporters (myself soon included) are flocking to Iowa and New Hampshire to get the first addictive whiffs of the 2000 campaign. If the candidates are in motion, the media scrum will never be far behind.

As a New Yorker, I'm obligated to opine on the Hillary-for-Senate boomlet. Even though I do not question her talents, I fervently hope she declines to run. My concern is not with the carpetbagger question but with a campaign that will be nonstop carpet-bombing.

No matter what issues she stresses, the race would inevitably become another referendum on Bill Clinton and his conduct. For all of the first lady's popularity as a long-suffering wife, I am weary of the nonstop scrutiny of the state of the Clinton marriage. Silly me, but I'm more concerned with the state of the union.

In the years ahead, Hillary will never lack a public forum. There is no need for her and for us to endure a pug-ugly, 18-month Senate race to have her voice heard in Washington.

Walter Shapiro's column appears Wednesdays and Fridays. Past columns on USA TODAY Online at www.usatoday.com

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

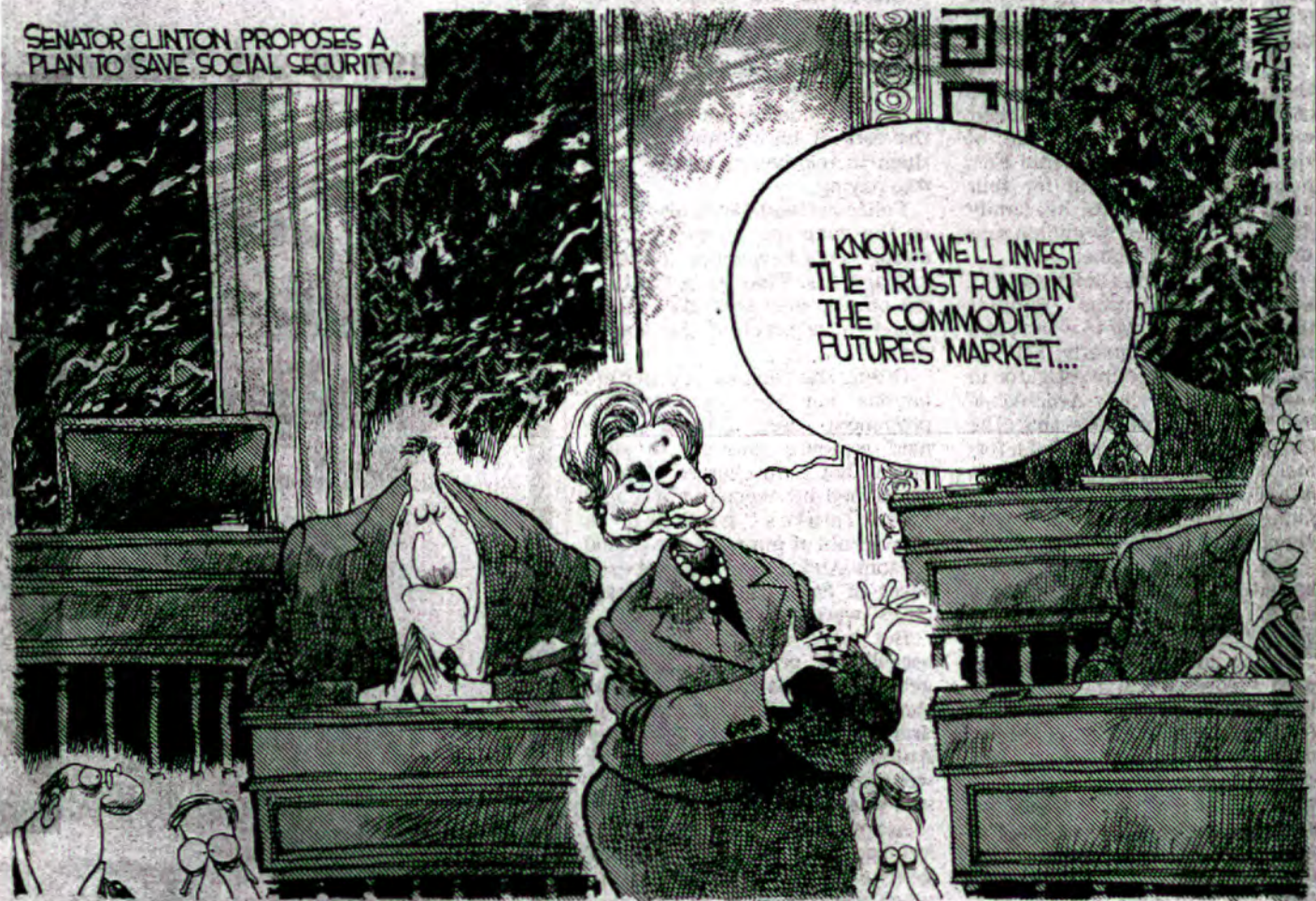
A16

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999/NA

23
LOS ANGELES TIMES

MICHAEL RAMIREZ

SENATOR CLINTON PROPOSES A
PLAN TO SAVE SOCIAL SECURITY...



14A • FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999 • USA TODAY

Fascinating futures for Bill and Hillary

Now that President Clinton is pretty sure to complete his second term in the White House rather than the big house, pundits turned this week to what Bill and Hillary will do after Jan. 20, 2001.

He'll be 54 then. She 53. It's a sure bet neither will just fade away. And a pretty good bet they'll go their separate ways.

For 24 years, since he first was elected to the Arkansas legislature, Bill has been in the public spotlight. For 23 years, since she married him, Hillary has been in his often-shady shadow.

The fields in which we'll most likely find them two years hence:

► Hillary — politics.

► Bill — show biz.

President Pinocchio is an unusually gifted pretender or actor. As one of his Democratic supporters, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska put it, "(He) is an unusually good liar."

What better stage for him to continue his play-acting than Hollywood?

With or without his saxophone in hand, he can get supporting roles to multiply his \$150,000 annual presidential pension. Divorce in hand, he can openly seduce — or be seduced by — sexy starlets. That will help him forget the many, mostly Plain Jane, Monicas of his former life.



Plain Talk

By Al Neuharth
USA TODAY FOUNDER

Politician Hillary will have the best of both worlds. His name and her own White House fame will keep Clinton-administration admirers behind her. His shame will get her some sympathetic support from Clinton haters after she dumps him.

Conventional wisdom this week has Hillary running next year for a U.S. Senate seat from New York State. Probably. Or possibly even as vice presidential running mate to Al Gore.

Either would be viewed by her as a stepping stone. With 20 or more years left for her own political career, Hillary's goal has to be a return to the White House as the first female president.

She might make it, sans a "first man." Unless Elizabeth Dole beats her to it, hubby Bob in hand.

FEEDBACK

Other views on the First Couple

"Hillary Clinton has been a strong national voice on child care, quality of education and the needs of our families. Her voice should continue to be heard as we enter the next millennium. The outpouring of support she received from political and business leaders and from the citizens of New York has been stronger than for any candidate in recent memory. I hope she'll seriously consider becoming a candidate."

— Sen. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J.

"Bill: He'll head a think-tank on America's problems. Hollywood is out. He has to repair his image first. Hillary: If she's dumb, a Senate loss in New York in 2000. If she's smart, a Senate win in Illinois in 2004. Them: Will stay together. Hillary is in love, and Bill can change."

— Dick Morris, former presidential adviser and
Fox News Channel contributor

Al Neuharth's column appears on Fridays.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Senator Rodham's Gotham script-tease

All that's left to decide is whether she wants to be "Senator Clinton" or "Senator Rodham."

The polls have spoken, and 64 percent of the voters, as measured by the authoritative Marist Institute, say she'll run.

In modern America, where nothing happens unless someone commissions a poll to verify it, that's all the reality we need.

This will astonish a lot of people, including Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has no intention of running for anything. No one in America has a thinner skin, or more unanswered questions about her ethics, her honesty, or her veracity.

Betsey Wright, who was Gov. Clinton's chief of staff in Little Rock and who as director of the famous Bimbo Patrol during the 1992 campaign had no greater luck than Hillary at keeping the president's pants pulled up at least as far as his hairy knees, calls the very notion that Hillary would run "a stupid idea."

"I can't imagine that in the end she would want to run for elective office and go back and work in Washington. I don't think she is that much of a sadist. I mean, a masochist — that was a really bad slip. I don't want her limited by being in the Senate. I want her back in Arkansas."

Well, even Betsey Wright can't always get what she wants. That won't happen, either. But Miss Betsey knows her Clintons. Hillary might indeed have a future in New York, but on Madison Avenue, where her skills as a marketer and public-relations genius could earn the truckloads of cash she'll need to pay off her husband's lawyers. If she can duplicate her work in the cattle-futures market, where she turned a 10,000-percent profit in a year, she might have a future on Wall Street. Her husband will be busy in Los Angeles, scraping together enough chick money to finance his new life as a boulevardier. (La Cienega Boulevard is not exactly the Champs Elysses, but it's not Rodney Parham Road in Little Rock, either.)

The Hillary-for-senator buzz is as scripted as a 42d Street burlesque show, and we might think Dick Morris was back at the White House if we didn't know Hillary better. Even the Clinton-obsessed who can't get enough of Clinton scandal haven't been able to talk about anything else, at least the New Yorkers, to whom nothing is as fascinating as themselves and all the trivia, which is considerable, about themselves.

Hillary is smart enough to understand that much of her popularity is actually pity. Who among us has not felt a twinge of pity for the most-wronged wife in America, cool and calculating though she may be. People instinctively want to stand when she enters a room, like the mourners rising to their feet when the widow and her children enter the funeral chapel.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

This will end on the day she announces that she's a candidate, and she knows it. All the polls have had to cross their fingers (and toes, if their



Senator Rodham

shoes are loose enough) and say fraudulent things about her. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who ought to reconsider his decision to leave the Senate, calls Hillary a breath of something he describes as "Arkansas-Illinois enthusiasm." There's no such thing, of course. (Poor Arkansas, so far from God, so close to Texas. Arkansas folks, who deserve better, will be an-

swering for Bill Clinton a century hence, and Mr. Moynihan insists Arkansans bear this cross, too.)

New Yorkers love fantasy, and they particularly like to be diddled by stylish politicians. Mario Cuomo played this game for years, always hanging out on the edge of running for president when he knew he never would — in part because he knows that a lot of Americans share Bill Clinton's assessment, expressed in his famous pillow talk with Gennifer Flowers, that Mr. Cuomo was some kind of creature of the mafia. The Hillary-for-senator buzz, as someone remarked the other day, is nothing much about politics but everything about the vanity of New Yorkers.

In the fantasy scenario, Mrs. Clinton — or Mzz Rodham, as she may wish to be known — will dazzle everyone, blacks, unionists, Palestinians, Jews, fallen away Methodists, feminists, maybe even wives of drunks, drug addicts, whoremongers and others of "the co-dependency community" — in sum, the entire village it takes to raise someone else's children.

Some of the polls who jumped in behind the Hillary bandwagon, like dogs pursuing a meat wagon, are beginning to have second thoughts. Rep. Charles Rangel, savvy and knowledgeable in New York politics, no doubt was gritting his teeth, determined to do it for the queen, when he shouted his earlier hosannas. Now he's taking a more measured tack: "I'm certain that before spring she'll have to decide so that other potential candidates will be able to be prepared to enter the race." Translation: "A little play-acting is fine, but the real world is populated by Republicans, one of them named Rudy Giuliani, and we better get on a stick pretty soon."

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of The Times.

14A · FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999 · USA TODAY

Fascinating futures for Bill and Hillary

Now that President Clinton is pretty sure to complete his second term in the White House rather than the big house, pundits turned this week to what Bill and Hillary will do after Jan. 20, 2001.

He'll be 54 then. She 53. It's a sure bet neither will just fade away. And a pretty good bet they'll go their separate ways.

For 24 years, since he first was elected to the Arkansas legislature, Bill has been in the public spotlight. For 23 years, since she married him, Hillary has been in his often-shady shadow.

The fields in which we'll most likely find them two years hence:

► Hillary — politics.

► Bill — show biz.

President Pinocchio is an unusually gifted pretender or actor. As one of his Democratic supporters, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska put it, "(He) is an unusually good liar."

What better stage for him to continue his play-acting than Hollywood?

With or without his saxophone in hand, he can get supporting roles to multiply his \$150,000 annual presidential pension. Divorce in hand, he can openly seduce — or be seduced by — sexy starlets. That will help him forget the many, mostly Plain Jane, Monicas of his former life.



Plain Talk

By Al Neuharth
USA TODAY FOUNDER

Politician Hillary will have the best of both worlds. His name and her own White House fame will keep Clinton-administration admirers behind her. His shame will get her some sympathetic support from Clinton haters after she dumps him.

Conventional wisdom this week has Hillary running next year for a U.S. Senate seat from New York State. Probably. Or possibly even as vice presidential running mate to Al Gore.

Either would be viewed by her as a stepping stone. With 20 or more years left for her own political career, Hillary's goal has to be a return to the White House as the first female president.

She might make it, sans a "first man." Unless Elizabeth Dole beats her to it, hubby Bob in hand.

FEEDBACK

Other views on the First Couple

"Hillary Clinton has been a strong national voice on child care, quality of education and the needs of our families. Her voice should continue to be heard as we enter the next millennium. The outpouring of support she received from political and business leaders and from the citizens of New York has been stronger than for any candidate in recent memory. I hope she'll seriously consider becoming a candidate."

— Sen. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J.

"Bill: He'll head a think-tank on America's problems. Hollywood is out. He has to repair his image first. Hillary: If she's dumb, a Senate loss in New York in 2000. If she's smart, a Senate win in Illinois in 2004. Them: Will stay together. Hillary is in love, and Bill can change."

— Dick Morris, former presidential adviser and Fox News Channel contributor

Al Neuharth's column appears on Fridays.

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999 / PAGE A13

Giuliani savors prospect of race against Hillary

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has brushed aside the hysteria about a prospective Senate bid by Hillary Rodham Clinton and said campaigning against the first lady in New York would be "intriguing."

The racket-busting Republican former prosecutor toyed with the idea openly on CNN's "Crossfire" this week, saying his candidacy against Mrs. Clinton in 2000 "would be a very important race nationally. It would contrast two very different philosophies of governing."

Asked if he would be scared off by Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Giuliani scoffed: "Oh, come on. You know that's not the case."

Even as Mr. Giuliani inches closer to announcing his candidacy for the Senate, his friends, advisers and spokesmen are trying to counteract the momentum building among Democrats and journalists at the prospect of a race between the street-smart mayor and Mrs. Clinton.

The mayor skillfully avoided efforts to pin him down on whether he would make campaign issues of some of Mrs. Clinton's reported roles in "Filegate," "Travelgate" and Whitewater.

Just hours before his television appearance Wednesday night, Mr. Giuliani's spokesman, Cristyne Latagano, firmly denied reports in

see **HILLARY**, page A13

HILLARY

From page A1

New York newspapers that he is considering a challenge to GOP Gov. George E. Pataki. She also dismissed rumors that the mayor has his eye on an attorney general appointment in a George W. Bush administration. As has Mrs. Clinton, the mayor said he will decide on his plans "sometime later this year."

Meanwhile, in a poll conducted by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion and published yesterday, 49 percent of registered voters said they would vote for Mrs. Clinton and 38.1 percent for Mr. Giuliani if the race were held now. However, 46.4 percent of respondents said they had reservations about voting for Mrs. Clinton because she is not a New York resident. The large majority of that group said they would vote for the mayor.

Poll director Lee Miringoff said of Mrs. Clinton, "She's competitive, but has no lock on it."

The widespread euphoria in Democratic circles over Mrs. Clinton has cast the first lady as a sure winner, a candidate whose liberal credentials would resonate among women, blacks, union members and Jewish voters, the latter group comprising one in seven voters in the state.

Sources close to the mayor point to Mr. Giuliani's obvious accomplishments in New York: dramatically lowering the crime rate, reducing the welfare rolls and improving the quality of life. They suggest that if Mrs. Clinton runs, she would for the first time be faced with standing her ground against a hard-nosed opponent and an irascible press corps not given to extending the kid-gloves treatment that she received within the protective aura of the White House.

"The question I wish the press would ask her is, 'If elected, are you going to go to try to socialize one-seventh of the economy again?'" said Rep. Vito J. Fossella, New York Republican, referring to Mrs. Clinton's aborted national health-care initiative.

"Hillary and Rudy are alike in many ways," said one confidant. "You either love 'em or hate 'em. But at least in Rudy's case, they respect him."

While upstate New York is heavily Republican, much has been made of Mrs. Clinton's natural liberal constituency in the city. But



Rudolph W. Giuliani

former Deputy Mayor Randy Mastro, who served with Mr. Giuliani in the U.S. Attorney's Office, emphasized that a Republican is not expected to win the city in a statewide race.

Mr. Mastro pointed out that in 1994, former Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo carried the five boroughs by 70 percent to Mr. Pataki's 28 percent, but still lost the race. In 1997, Mr. Giuliani received 57 percent of the city's vote when he cruised to re-election over Ruth Messinger, the liberal Manhattan borough president.

Certain to be an issue in a Giuliani-Clinton race is the controversy created by Mrs. Clinton's espousal last May of the idea of the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East. Some of the mayor's confidants see this statement as an opportunity for some tantalizing political mischief among Jewish voters, many of whom have supported Mr. Giuliani in the past.

Others, like comedian Jackie Mason, a rabbi and an early supporter of Mr. Giuliani, said Jews do not resent this "lowest remark" because they are pro-Democrat and feel that President Clinton is on their side.

Mr. Mason — who refers to the Clintons as "Bonnie and Clyde" — said in a telephone interview from the Bahamas that Mrs. Clinton would "destroy" the mayor in an election, largely due to the Jewish vote. "She's their glamour and glory, queen of the country. That's how they see her," he said.

Still, for all the furor and fascination, most sources conclude that Mrs. Clinton will not make the run. Said a veteran liberal politico, "She'll come down to earth."

**The
Library**your **Document**➤ find
your words
in document➤ begin new
search

Serious Talk About Race

By Ken Fireman. WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington - Hillary Rodham Clinton is "seriously" considering a New York Senate run, but will not make a decision until she has talked to a large and varied group of people about the prospects and potential pitfalls of such a campaign, an associate of the first lady said yesterday.

"She does not waste other people's time and she certainly doesn't waste her own time," said the associate, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Given that, the fact that she chose to make a statement means she's seriously looking at it. It doesn't mean she will run, but it does mean she is interested enough to look at the ins and outs of it."

Before deciding, the first lady plans to consult with a wide circle of New York political, ethnic and labor leaders about the distinctive nature of the state's political environment and the issues that may dominate next year's Senate campaign, the associate said.

She will also talk to a much smaller group of personal friends and advisers whose primary characteristic is that they are "looking out for Hillary Clinton rather than looking out for the New York Democratic Party," the associate said.

She does not plan to rely heavily on the White House political apparatus that advises her husband. "This would be her race," he said. "She has to do this in her own right, as Hillary qua Hillary."

The associate, who has spoken with many of the New York leaders Clinton plans to contact, said they are universally supportive of the possibility that she would enter the race to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who is retiring.

Nevertheless, he said, several are prepared to offer a blunt assessment of how sharp-edged the campaign could become, especially if New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani decides to run. And that is an assessment Clinton needs to hear before she makes her decision, the associate said.

"She needs to get a candid assessment that this will not be an easy race," he said. "That's the one note of caution, and that's a caution she needs to hear. The subtext of the message is, 'Don't be lulled by what you're hearing now. Gird yourself for a tough race.'"

In addition, the associate said, the first lady needs to understand the fierce nature of New York's media culture. "You can't duck you guys [journalists]," he said. "You can't go into the White House and shut the door and have the press secretary handle the questions. There's going to be a lot of in-your-face press."

But, the associate said, the New Yorkers he has spoken with uniformly believe the first lady would be up to such challenges. "They think of her as a New Yorker, which is really interesting," he said. "They don't think of her as an outsider. They have a sense of her, that she can be a street fighter, and that's their perception of a New Yorker."

Giuliani has not announced his intentions, either. But he did nothing to discourage talk of a Senate candidacy during an appearance on CNN's "Crossfire" program Wednesday night. "I'd be less than candid if I didn't say the idea of a race like this is kind of intriguing," he said. "It would be very important nationally. It would contrast two very different philosophies of governing, and it'd be an interesting race."

Clinton continues to run ahead of Giuliani in early polls. A new survey released yesterday by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion found her leading the mayor by 11 percentage points, with 57 percent of

those polled in favor of her running, 64 percent believing she will make the race and 54 percent saying they were untroubled by the fact that she is not a native New Yorker.

The poll found that Clinton led Giuliani narrowly among men and by a wide margin among women. It showed the first lady held a huge lead among city voters, who normally tend to be Democratic, and broke even with the mayor among upstate voters who are usually crucial to Republican success. Giuliani held a solid lead among suburban voters.

The survey was conducted Tuesday night, just a few hours after Clinton issued a statement confirming she was giving "careful thought" to running for the Senate. It had a margin of error of 4.5 percent.

How meaningful such early polls are is open to question. Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), the chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, predicted yesterday that Clinton's "best day would be the day before she announces." After that, he said, her controversial stands on issues such as support for a Palestinian state and health care overhaul would erode her support.

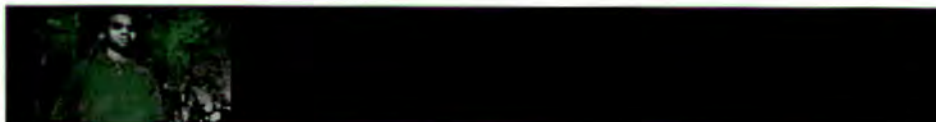
Even the associate of the first lady readily acknowledged that "the day she announces, she probably drops 10 points" in the polls, because from that moment on many voters would scrutinize her more carefully.

The associate said Clinton was aware of pleas from many Democrats to decide quickly so that, if her decision was negative, other candidates would have enough time to raise money and build a campaign organization.

But he said the first lady "is very much a person of the information age. She wants to have as much information as possible. She won't be stampeded into a hasty decision."

Copyright 1999, Newsday Inc.

Serious Talk About Race., 02-19-1999, pp A04.

**NEW YORK POST****NEWS**

POLL: N.Y. LIKES 'SEN. HILLARY'

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Most New Yorkers think First Lady Hillary Clinton should and will run for the U.S. Senate next year, according to a new statewide poll.

A Marist Institute survey found that 64.4 percent of those polled think Mrs. Clinton will try for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan - while 56.1 percent think she should run.

"The idea of her taking this to Broadway is not too farfetched for people," said Marist pollster Lee Miringoff.

The poll found that in a head-to-head matchup with Republican Mayor Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton leads 49 percent to 38.1 percent.

In the latest poll, Clinton leads upstate 43.7 percent to 40.1 percent while Giuliani dominates the First Lady in New York City's suburbs, 49.8 percent to 37.4 percent.

In New York City, Clinton holds a commanding lead, 66.3 percent to 25.8 percent.

MORE NEWS

Copyright (c) 1998, N.Y.P. Holdings, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part in any form or medium without express written permission of the New York Post is prohibited.

**NEW YORK POST****NEWS**

PREZ: NOW IT'S MY TURN TO STAND BY MY WOMAN

By DEBORAH ORIN

MANCHESTER, N.H. - President Clinton yesterday boosted wife Hillary for New York senator and privately told old allies that now it's his turn to promote her career.

"He said that she had supported him for 20 years and he felt he should support her for the next 20 years," recounted Greg Martin, a local official from Keene, N.H., who met privately with Clinton here.

Clinton said the decision is up to his wife, although he'd welcome her running - but stressed that he doesn't want her to decide too quickly and wants to be sure she gets rest first, Martin added.

"He said there was a lot of pressure for her to decide as quickly as possible, but he wants her to take an adequate time to make the decision," he said.

That could spark concern among New York Democrats who are pressing Mrs. Clinton to decide by May so there is time for someone else to run if she's a no-go.

"Clinton said he will actively support her and he'd welcome her to run, but the decision will be Hillary's," added state Rep. Ron Russell of Keene.

Russell was also at the private huddle, one of several Clinton held with longtime backers to reminisce about his 1992 campaign.

They said Clinton ticked off statistics about how well he'd done in New York in his 1996

re-election, noting he even carried Dutchess County, and said his wife is even more popular in the state, they added.

Clinton came back to New Hampshire exactly seven years to the day after he dubbed himself the "Comeback Kid" after finishing second (the late Paul Tsongas won) in the state's 1992 presidential primary.

He got a hero's welcome from rip-roaring Democrats at a \$100,000 fund-raiser - plus this vitriolic front-page welcome in the conservative Manchester Union Leader: "Mr. President, you're a disgrace."

It was a day that showed what a polarizing figure Clinton is - folks love him or hate him.

He kept recalling his pledge to stick with New Hampshire "until the last dog dies" if the state saved him in 1992, when Gennifer Flowers' story of an affair almost killed his campaign - until he falsely denied it.

"If you had listened to the political experts, the dog would have died. But instead you held out a lifeline," Clinton said to laughs and cheers.

MORE NEWS

Copyright (c) 1998, N.Y.P. Holdings, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part in any form or medium without express written permission of the New York Post is prohibited.

PERISCOPE®

NEW YORK

Rudy Weighs the 'Hillary Factor'

RUDY GIULIANI WAS once considered a shoo-in for the Senate in 2000. But Hillary Clinton's flirtation with the race has upset the New York mayor's plans. "Until she makes a decision, he won't make one," says a Republican political strategist. "If she runs, my guess is Rudy won't." The latest Marist poll shows Giuliani 11 points behind Mrs. Clinton in the race to succeed retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "No one but Hillary can beat Giuliani," says a former Moynihan aide. "He doesn't run against people he can't beat."

Another potential hurdle: the mayor's strained relations with the minority community, a situation that intensified this month after cops fired 41 shots at an unarmed African street vendor, killing him as he entered his apartment. Though the incident outraged blacks and liberals, Democratic strategists say it's



Giuliani last week at the funeral of an immigrant killed by cops

unlikely to derail Giuliani's political future: "That's not a vote he could get. It's Hillary's all the way." And, says a Patrolman's Benevolent Association official, the anger is "the flavor of the

month. People will move on."

So what's next, if not the Senate? GOP sources say Giuliani is so unstrung by the "Hillary factor" that he's looking at a bid for governor in 2002.

CONCORDE

Too Much Noise

A NEW TRANSATLANTIC trade war is looming—and its first victim could be the Concorde. The European Commission is in the final stages of passing strict noise-control standards for all civil aircraft. The regs could keep one third of the U.S. fleet, the oldest in the West, out of Europe, and the U.S. aviation industry claims the rules could cost it \$1 billion. The Clinton administration is threatening to retaliate. Already two top Democrats have introduced a bill to ban the noisy Concorde, pride of British and French airlines, from U.S. airspace.



Coming: A battle of the jets?

TERRORISM

On the Run: Bin Laden

WHERE IS OSAMA BIN Laden? Just days after U.S. officials delivered the "bluntest message yet" that Washington believed attacks by bin Laden on U.S. citizens could be imminent and that the Clinton administration would hold Afghanistan "directly responsible" if they occurred, the Saudi terrorist apparently fled his sanctuary in the Taliban's spiritual capital, Kandahar. "Our guest has gone missing," said a Tal-



Held responsible for the U.S. Embassy bombings

iban spokesman. "We did not order him to leave; we do not know where he has gone."

U.S. officials did not immediately confirm whether bin Laden had left the country, but said that at a Feb. 3 meeting, they received the

most positive response so far to U.S. pressure. Washington has offered a \$5 million reward for his capture for masterminding last August's bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. U.S. and Arab intelligence sources said a likely destination

was Somalia, where bin Laden has connections to radical fundamentalists.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Post-Trial Makeover Edition

Like Linda Tripp, the CW is sporting a new look—but it promises never to tape a friend or file an affidavit. The arrows may seem different, but they'll spin just as fast.

PLAYERS	CONVENTIONAL WISDOM
Clinton	Gets off just in time for Valentine's Day! Pizza anyone?
Lott	Handles trial process nicely, then blows it with sour grapes postmortem.
Daschle	Sen. minority leader does impossible: unifies Dems—and without meanness.
Tripp	Blames Lucianne, doesn't even try to apologize to Monica. Time for a new makeover.
Hitchens	Blumenthal "friend" is the Linda Tripp of the left. He could use a makeover, too.
Constitution	Proves able to handle oral sex. Bob Barr. What a bodacious document!

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1999 / PAGE A13

Giuliani savors prospect of race against Hillary

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has brushed aside the hysteria about a prospective Senate bid by Hillary Rodham Clinton and said campaigning against the first lady in New York would be "intriguing."

The racket-busting Republican former prosecutor toyed with the idea openly on CNN's "Crossfire" this week, saying his candidacy against Mrs. Clinton in 2000 "would be a very important race nationally. It would contrast two very different philosophies of governing."

Asked if he would be scared off by Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Giuliani scoffed: "Oh, come on. You know that's not the case."

Even as Mr. Giuliani inches closer to announcing his candidacy for the Senate, his friends, advisers and spokesmen are trying to counteract the momentum building among Democrats and journalists at the prospect of a race between the street-smart mayor and Mrs. Clinton.

The mayor skillfully avoided efforts to pin him down on whether he would make campaign issues of some of Mrs. Clinton's reported roles in "Filegate," "Travelgate" and Whitewater.

Just hours before his television appearance Wednesday night, Mr. Giuliani's spokesman, Cristyne Lategano, firmly denied reports in

see HILLARY, page A13

HILLARY

From page A1

New York newspapers that he is considering a challenge to GOP Gov. George E. Pataki. She also dismissed rumors that the mayor has his eye on an attorney general appointment in a George W. Bush administration. As has Mrs. Clinton, the mayor said he will decide on his plans "sometime later this year."

Meanwhile, in a poll conducted by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion and published yesterday, 49 percent of registered voters said they would vote for Mrs. Clinton and 38.1 percent for Mr. Giuliani if the race were held now. However, 46.4 percent of respondents said they had reservations about voting for Mrs. Clinton because she is not a New York resident. The large majority of that group said they would vote for the mayor.

Poll director Lee Miringoff said of Mrs. Clinton, "She's competitive, but has no lock on it."

The widespread euphoria in Democratic circles over Mrs. Clinton has cast the first lady as a sure winner, a candidate whose liberal credentials would resonate among women, blacks, union members and Jewish voters, the latter group comprising one in seven voters in the state.

Sources close to the mayor point to Mr. Giuliani's obvious accomplishments in New York: dramatically lowering the crime rate, reducing the welfare rolls and improving the quality of life. They suggest that if Mrs. Clinton runs, she would for the first time be faced with standing her ground against a hard-nosed opponent and an irascible press corps not given to extending the kid-gloves treatment that she received within the protective aura of the White House.

"The question I wish the press would ask her is, 'If elected, are you going to going to try to socialize one-seventh of the economy again?'" said Rep. Vito J. Fossella, New York Republican, referring to Mrs. Clinton's aborted national health-care initiative.

"Hillary and Rudy are alike in many ways," said one confidant. "You either love 'em or hate 'em. But at least in Rudy's case, they respect him."

While upstate New York is heavily Republican, much has been made of Mrs. Clinton's natural liberal constituency in the city. But



Rudolph W. Giuliani

former Deputy Mayor Randy Mastro, who served with Mr. Giuliani in the U.S. Attorney's Office, emphasized that a Republican is not expected to win the city in a statewide race.

Mr. Mastro pointed out that in 1994, former Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo carried the five boroughs by 70 percent to Mr. Pataki's 28 percent, but still lost the race. In 1997, Mr. Giuliani received 57 percent of the city's vote when he cruised to re-election over Ruth Messinger, the liberal Manhattan borough president.

Certain to be an issue in a Giuliani-Clinton race is the controversy created by Mrs. Clinton's espousal last May of the idea of the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East. Some of the mayor's confidants see this statement as an opportunity for some tantalizing political mischief among Jewish voters, many of whom have supported Mr. Giuliani in the past.

Others, like comedian Jackie Mason, a rabbi and an early supporter of Mr. Giuliani, said Jews do not resent this "lowest remark" because they are pro-Democrat and feel that President Clinton is on their side.

Mr. Mason — who refers to the Clintons as "Bonnie and Clyde" — said in a telephone interview from the Bahamas that Mrs. Clinton would "destroy" the mayor in an election, largely due to the Jewish vote. "She's their glamour and glory, queen of the country. That's how they see her," he said.

Still, for all the furor and fascination, most sources conclude that Mrs. Clinton will not make the run. Said a veteran liberal politico, "She'll come down to earth."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1999 **

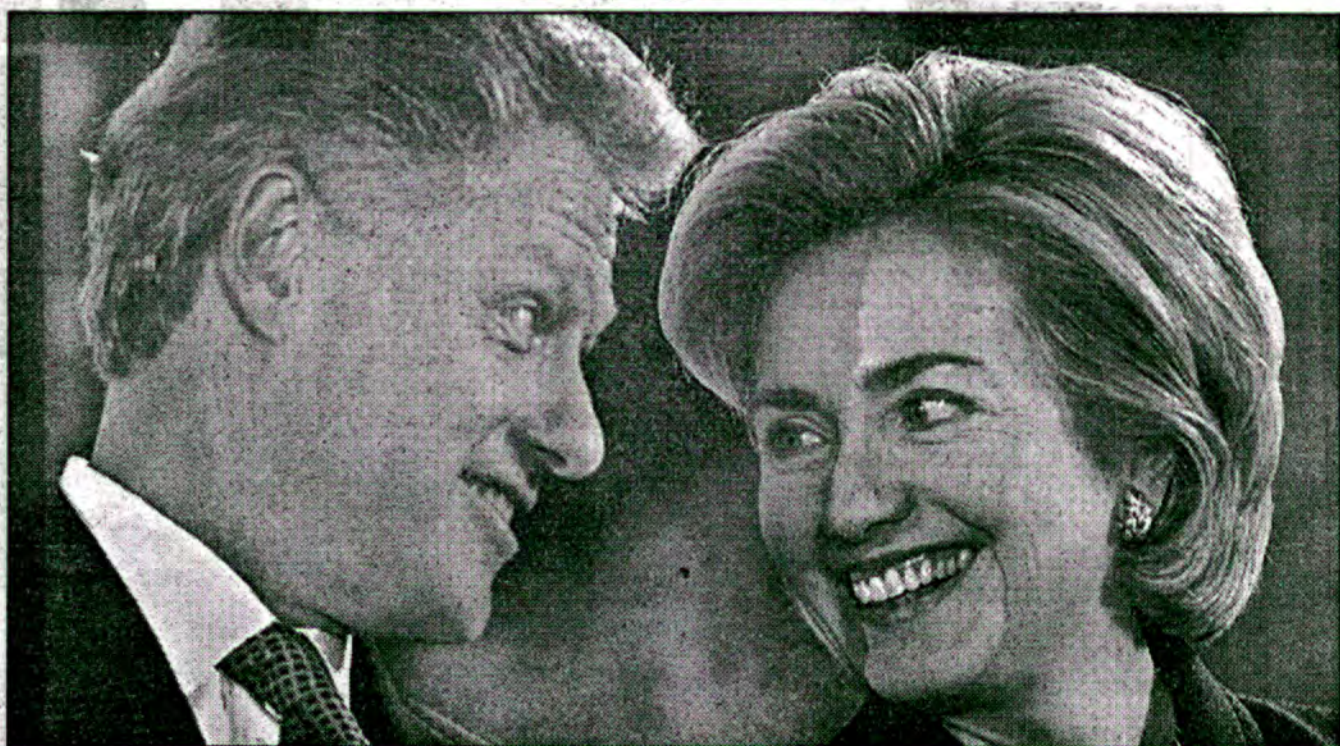


Photo by Barbara Davidson/The Washington Times

Senatorial successor?

President Clinton smiles at first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday after Sen. Charles S. Robb, Virginia Democrat, noted that with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan retiring, New York needs a new senator.

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1999



LOVEY-DOVEY: President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton share a smile at the White House yesterday.

AP

Rudy 'intrigued' by race vs. First Lady

Mayor Giuliani yesterday said for the first time that the prospect of running against First Lady Hillary Clinton for the U.S. Senate is "intriguing."

After several days of saying he wouldn't respond to hypothetical questions about Mrs. Clinton's possible candidacy, Giuliani appeared on CNN's "Crossfire" last night and declared:

"I guess I'd be less than candid if I didn't say the idea of a race like this

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

is kind of intriguing.

"It would be a very important race nationally. It would contrast two very different philosophies of governing, and it'd be an interesting race."

Giuliani still hasn't said if he'll be a candidate in 2000 when Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan retires.

But he argued that he'd be stronger than most other Republicans in such a race.

"There are some advantages I bring to it," he said.

"I run probably better than most Republicans would run in the city of New York. George Pataki won reelection as governor and he got only 33 percent of the vote in the city of New York."

"I've never done worse than
See **HILLARY** on Page 24

Hillary race 'intrigues' Rudy

HILLARY from Page 2

48percent even when I lost," Giuliani added. "So I have a big margin to work with in the city and even beyond that."

Meanwhile, local Democrats yesterday urged Mrs. Clinton to hurry up and decide whether she wants to run.

"The quicker she decides the better I would like it," said City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, the city's top Democrat.

"Fund-raising has to start as quickly as possible."

Mrs. Clinton issued a statement late Tuesday saying she was considering a run and that she would "reach a decision later this year."

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, had no reaction to the call for speedy timing.

Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields, a die-hard Democrat, said the First Lady needs to make up her mind so the party can rally around another candidate if she opts out.

"I believe she would have to make a decision far sooner than the end of the year," Fields said.

"I would say certainly by the spring, April or May."

"It's important that we get a relatively early indication so if she decides to take a pass on the race it's in time for other candi-

dates to emerge," agreed state Senate Minority Leader Marty Connor of Brooklyn.

But State Democratic Party spokesman Matthew Hiltzik said that Mrs. Clinton's fence-sitting isn't a problem.

"Six months from now, we can evaluate again. It's important to recognize we're 21 months out now," he said.

"There's still plenty of time to make that final decision."

Giuliani dismissed questions about when he and Mrs. Clinton should make their announcements.

"She's got to decide what she wants to do, and I'll decide what I want to do and rather than play your game, I'll do it on my own terms," he said.

The mayor also predicted that next year's Senate race will be "very close" because of the balance of power between the two parties in the state.

Also yesterday, Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) said Giuliani might be a good running mate if he is the GOP presidential nominee in 2000.

"He's got a great message. And he's the toughest guy I've run into in a long time," McCain said on CNBC's "Hardball with Chris Matthews."



THUMBING A BRIDE: President Clinton gestures toward the First Lady at the White House yesterday, while a federal judge is contemplating holding the president in contempt.

AP

Liddy clobbers Hillary in run for president: poll

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

By DEBORAH ORIN

Washington Bureau Chief

In the wake of Sexgate, Americans agree more than 2-1 that it's time for a woman president — and Elizabeth Dole whips Hillary Clinton in a woman-to-woman fantasy matchup, a new Post Poll has found.

Dole holds a landslide 16-point lead over the First Lady — Dole would get 53.9 percent to 38.1 percent for Clinton, according to the nationwide Post Poll.

Dole leads Clinton by more than 20 points among the key swing group of independents and she leads among women — who normally tilt Democratic — as well as men.

Dole would lead in every region but the East, where it's a tie, and among all age groups except the youngest voters, ages 18-29, where the women also tie.

The nationwide survey also found that after a year of the Monica mess, voters think a woman president is far less likely than a man to get embroiled in scandal.

"People can be readier to think about a woman president when they see someone who's real, like Elizabeth Dole," pollster John Zogby said.

"The timing is probably just right because Dole personally appears ready to take the plunge. And because without ever having to discuss morals or ethics, she brings something new and different into the political race."

The woman-to-woman fantasy match comes with Dole touted as a top Republican 2000 prospect while Clinton eyes a New York Senate race.

Clinton isn't a presidential hopeful but she was put in the fantasy match as a way of testing Dole's appeal against the nation's most popular Democratic woman.

Voters also were asked which woman they admire more, and Dole won that contest, too, though by a narrower margin — she got 47.7 percent to 39.4 for Clinton.

The Post Poll of 756 likely voters nationwide was conducted by Zogby

International on Feb. 15-17. The error margin is 3.7 percent either way for the total sample and larger for subgroups.

Key findings:

■ In all, 58.1 percent say it's time for a woman president while 23.5 percent disagree. Independents and young voters are most strongly in favor of the idea. There's little difference between men and women or Republicans and Democrats.

■ Some 44.8 percent say a woman president would be less likely to get caught in scandal. Only 5.4 percent think she'd be more likely to get tarnished.

Men, at 7.5 percent, are twice as likely as women to think a woman president would get into a scandal. Democrats (9.6 percent) and younger vot-

ers (15.5) also are more inclined than most to think a woman would wind up in a scandal.

Still, in every group huge majorities think a male president is more likely to get into trouble.

■ President Clinton says he'd love to run for a third term if it weren't barred by the 22nd Amendment — but the poll found most Americans don't want four more years with the man from Hope even though they think he's doing a good job now.

The president would lose to both Republican front-runners — Elizabeth Dole and Texas Gov. George W. Bush — right now in hypothetical matchups.

Dole would beat Bill Clinton by 53.4 to 38.5 percent, while Bush would beat the president by 51.3 to 42.0 percent.

BY THE NUMBERS

■ If Republican Elizabeth Dole (pictured right) ran against Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton for president in 2000, whom would you favor?

	Elizabeth Dole	Hillary Clinton	Unsure
Total	53.9	38.1	8.0
Men	59.2	34.1	6.7
Women	48.9	41.8	9.3
Working women	43.7	45.5	10.8
Homemakers	55.4	37.2	7.4

■ Is the country ready for a woman president?

	Yes	No	Unsure
Total	58.1	23.5	18.4
Men	57.1	24.6	18.3
Women	59.1	22.4	18.5
Working women	65.5	20.0	14.5
Homemakers	51.1	25.4	23.5
Democrats	54.6	30.4	15.0
Republicans	55.9	23.7	20.4
Independents	66.0	13.6	20.4
Age: 18-29	70.6	20.4	9.0
30-49	60.0	20.5	19.5
50-64	53.4	24.2	22.4
65-plus	54.3	28.2	17.5

■ Would a woman president be less likely, more likely or about as likely as a man to get caught in a scandal?

	Less	More	Same	Unsure
Total	44.8	5.4	44.5	5.3
Men	43.4	7.5	44.8	4.3
Women	46.1	3.4	44.1	6.4
Democrats	40.3	9.6	41.0	9.1
Republicans	55.8	2.4	39.4	2.4
Independents	36.4	3.7	56.1	3.8

Source: Post Poll of 756 likely voters nationwide conducted by Zogby International on Feb. 15-17. The error margin is 3 percentage points either way for the total sample and smaller for subgroups.



Judge-ment day means Hillary won't run

SUDDENLY, a new "other woman" is haunting Hillary Rodham Clinton's life — and she helps explain why many political experts think Mrs. Clinton will never run for Senate, no matter how long the Hillary Tease lasts.

The new threat comes from Little Rock federal District Judge Susan Webber Wright, who's hinting she'll hold President Clinton in contempt for fibbing under oath about sex with Monica Lewinsky.

If the judge does that, Mrs. Candidate Clinton can expect reporters in New York's famously tough press corps to ask her such questions as whether, as a lawyer, she thinks her husband should be disbarred. And whether the judge's ruling was right.

"If she runs, she'll have to act like a normal candidate — not like Princess Diana," says a New York Democratic strategist.

Which means she'd have to spell out positions on issues. Imagine the furor if she disagrees with her husband — as she did in calling for a Palestinian state. Or how would she handle questions on a Clinton policy that hurts New Yorkers in the pocket?

Does she really want to spend her whole campaign defending — or rapping — her husband's policies?

Running means the First Lady would have to stop regally waving off all questions. She'll even have to face questions she hates.



For more than a year now, ever since Sexgate erupted, Mrs. Clinton has been sheltered from all tough questions and granted a zone of privacy out of sympathy for her ordeal as the wronged wife.

Even before Sexgate, Mrs. Clinton was far more sheltered from the press than her predecessor, Barbara Bush, who regularly invited White House reporters to lunch and fielded impromptu questions at public events.

Mrs. Clinton has preferred to host gossip columnists or give carefully controlled interviews to friendly columnists who are unlikely to press her on messy issues, such as how she turned \$1,000 into \$100,000 on cattle futures.

All that ends if the president's wife becomes a candidate in her own right. And Wright's contempt threat against her husband is a reminder of what could face her if she runs.

■



Why a Senate bid entices the first lady

■ It would give her a more professional profile, but it could also reopen scandals.

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON — Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) of New York?

At first, the speculation began as idle chatter. The New York Democratic Party began blue-skying about having the first lady run for Senate. Then Sen. Robert Torricelli (D) of New Jersey, chairman of the Senate's campaign committee, began talking it up. He's told Mrs. Clinton (read: begged) that he wants her on the ballot.

Then pollsters discovered that Clinton would have a good shot at winning the seat that's being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Early this month, Quinnipiac College Polling Institute in Hamden, Conn., showed Clinton beating New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (R), who's thinking of running, 51 percent to 42 percent.

Now Clinton has addressed the matter: She's giving it "careful thought," she said in a statement Tuesday, and will make her final decision "later this year."

The timing of her decision could be a bit troublesome to New York Democrats, and to other possible Democratic candidates, who want to get going now raising money and preparing for a bruising battle.

But for Clinton, it's the decision of a lifetime. And it entails

very large pros and cons. On the plus side, a run for the Senate allows her to break loose and become a serious political figure in her own right, not just as the spouse of the president. It also allows her to move beyond the humiliation of the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

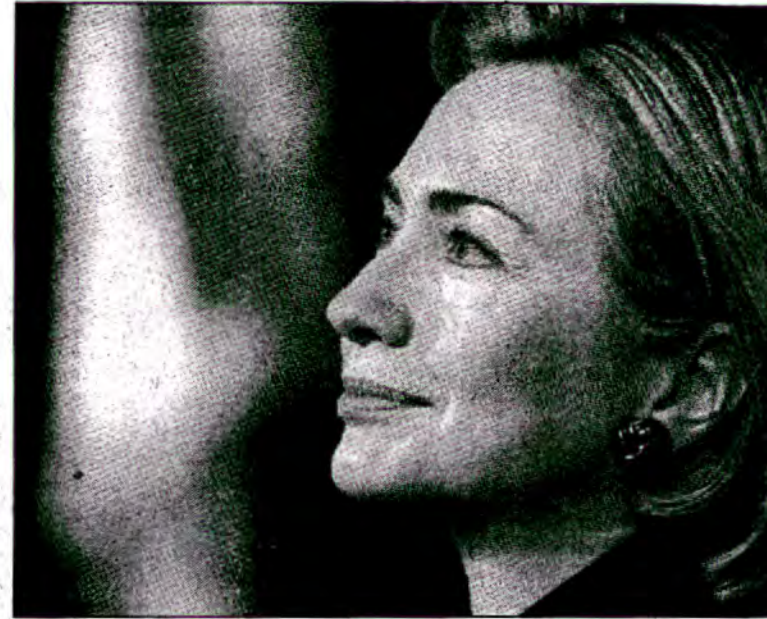
"She's very, very popular right now, but it's not the image she wants," says political analyst Bill Schneider. "She has the image of a victim ... but she wants to be seen as an independent professional woman who has her own career."

As a Senate candidate, she would already have what most political wannabes can only dream of: universal name recognition and awesome fund-raising ability. If she won, she would have a platform from which to push her favorite policy issues, such as helping children.

And as a member of the Senate, she would also be well positioned to run for president. The current president opined early this week that she'd be a "great" senator.

Six more years

On the minus side, Clinton would have to think long and hard about signing up for six more years in Washington after her husband's term expires. She's had a pretty bumpy ride



ANDY NELSON - STAFF

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said this week she is giving 'careful thought' to the idea of running for an open Senate seat in New York. She said she'll decide later this year.

here and is leery of the press. If anything, the New York press corps is tougher than Washington's. All the old scandals would come back — her role in Whitewater, the White House travel office fiasco, the missing legal files — as well as her husband's various misadventures.

A big negative of life in the Senate is that it would limit her ability to make money, an important consideration in light of her and her husband's enormous legal bills (reportedly at more than \$3 million and rising). Senators make \$136,700 a year and are

limited in their outside income.

As a footloose former first lady not tied down to a day job, Clinton would have the world at her feet: She could give highly lucrative speeches, serve on corporate and charitable boards, travel the world, and earn millions on her memoirs.

She would also be largely unavailable to help the Democrats campaign around the country, as the party tries to retake control of the House and Senate and keep the White House. If she were to run, she'd have to spend most of her time in New York until the

election in November 2000.

New York has lax residency rules for officeholders, but New Yorkers wouldn't tolerate a run for the Senate in absentia, analysts say.

If Clinton were to win, she'd be following in the footsteps of two other illustrious last-minute New Yorkers: Sen. Robert Kennedy (D) in 1964 and Sen. James Buckley (R) in 1970.

Timing isn't everything

Some New York political observers pooch-pooch the idea that Clinton has to announce soon if she's going to run at all.

"It makes no sense for her to declare now," says Maureen Connelly, a New York political consultant who works for both parties. "The usual reason you declare early is to raise money. Should she declare, she'd be able to raise the funds in a snap. All this does is give your opponents and detractors time to take potshots at you."

Of course, any delay in a decision not to run puts any other Democratic candidates at a disadvantage. So far, of New York Democrats, Rep. Nita Lowey has made the most serious noises about running.

But Ms. Connelly has little sympathy for the New York state Democratic Party. "She didn't seek them out," she says. "They sought her out."

■ Alexandra Marks in New York contributed to this story.

The Library**your Document**

find
your words
in document

begin new
search

So, Hillary: New York? Why Look for Trouble?

Marie Cocco. Marie Cocco's e-mail address is cocco@newsday.com.

TO: Hillary Rodham Clinton
Re: New York Senate Race

YOU'VE GOT Washington and New York abuzz about your contemplative look at running for Senate in New York next year. On paper, you look pretty good.

You have total name recognition and could raise the cash in a flash. The state Democratic infrastructure has promised you no primary, forsaking its love of fratricidal ritual for a better-than-average chance at keeping Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat in its hands. The brand of left-ish centrism you and your husband have settled on is just right for New York, except in a few Manhattan precincts where even Michael Dukakis was reviled as a damnable pragmatist.

As an added plus, New York may be the only state in the nation where your marriage won't be snickered about. We've seen odder arrangements (see Ed Koch-Bess Myerson, Rudy Giuliani-Donna Hanover Giuliani, Joey and Mary Jo Buttafuoco). It's fair to say nobody will ask you to prove your womanhood or the strength of your marriage by competing in a cookie bake-off.

So it's all systems go. Except for one small question.

What are you, crazy?

Here's the undeniable, on-the-ground, facts about running for office in New York, the tabloid fodder you're not being fed at the Hamptons receptions and Manhattan dinners, where the whispers you hear are that you will have complete financial and political support and therefore haven't a thing to worry about.

- We don't treat celebrities any better than token clerks.

Ask your friend Geraldine Ferraro. She, too, had great name recognition and an emotional well of support among women who respected and admired her for her groundbreaking role as the first female vice-presidential candidate. Only about a year ago, Ferraro heard the whispers you hear now, and she remembers them today: "You've gotta run, you've gotta run. You're the only one who can beat D'Amato. We really need you," Ferraro recalled.

Ferraro is the first to say your candidacy would be different - no money troubles and no primary. Still, her demise in last year's Democratic Senate primary is a lesson: Just being an icon doesn't cut it. Not even when the icon knows how to find her way from Bensonhurst to Bay Shore all on her own. You don't.

Which brings up the next problem.

- You think Washington is insular, parochial, distrustful of outsiders and never did accept you because it looked down its pointy nose at people from Arkansas? So now you want to run in New York?

Yes, the Moynihan seat was held by an outsider before this - by Robert F. Kennedy of Virginia and James Buckley of Connecticut, to be precise. But that was before Ed Koch ruined his career by saying upstaters wore gingham and shopped at Sears, before half of Manhattan rose up in indignation at the idea of Kmart in its midst and before it had to be explained to the national press that the term putzhead was not really an ethnic slur, but just a dumb thing for Al D'Amato to say in the middle of a campaign in which his silly antics were an issue.

In other words, New York politics have gotten more parochial, not less. One slip, just one time when you don't get the difference between

Far Rockaway and East Rockaway, and you could end up like Ed Koch. Which brings up the next problem.

- Ed Koch. And Al Sharpton. And Al D'Amato. And Calvin Butts. And the rest of the cast and crew that goes into producing a typical day in New York politics. Have microphone, will rant.

You've had it with the Washington media culture that has been so unkind to you and your husband. So you're going to trade it for the New York media circus?

Maybe you think the press and the people who use it can't do anything more to you than it's already done. But even in Washington, you've been able to retreat to the safety of scripted events, or get out of town to play before friendlier crowds. And even when the press has bored in on you, it's been done with politeness, with respect for your role as first lady.

In New York, as the Senate candidate, there would be no escape. And let's just say politeness isn't a factor when we're chasing a candidate down into the subway.

It is said you want to stand up on your own, show your brains and your grit and have your day. But you've got nothing left to demonstrate. America already knows you're a class act. You don't need a New York run to prove it.

Copyright 1999, Newsday Inc.

So, Hillary: New York? Why Look for Trouble?., 02-18-1999, pp A41.

The Libraryyour **Document** find
your words
in document  begin new
search

How Would a Run Play in NY?

By Ken Fireman. WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington - Hillary Rodham Clinton would make a formidable Senate contender because of her star power and strong appeal to women voters, but would have to overcome inexperience as a candidate and some past controversies such as support for Palestinian statehood.

That sums up the view of political observers who are measuring the first lady as a potential candidate for a Senate seat from New York with greater seriousness in the wake of her declaration on Tuesday that she was giving "serious thought" to running.

Clinton's appeal to Democrats anxious to hold the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is strong and obvious. "What Hillary would do is unite Democrats, energize the party's base and at the same time provide a magnet for moderate Republican women," said Norman Ornstein, a political analyst with Washington's American Enterprise Institute. "That's a formula for winning in New York."

Clinton continues to test well in early polls when pitted against the strongest potential Republican contender, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. A new survey by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, conducted Tuesday and due to be released today, yielded results similar to a Marist poll two weeks ago showing her running 10 percentage points ahead of Giuliani, according to institute director Lee Miringoff.

The earlier survey showed Clinton trailing Giuliani narrowly among males but beating him soundly among females, Miringoff said. It found that Giuliani led Clinton among suburban voters but trailed her badly in New York City and narrowly upstate, normally a place where Republicans run well.

"She's clearly riding a wave right now," Miringoff said.

A poll conducted at the end of last month by Quinnipiac College revealed similar results. It found Clinton had a 9-point lead over Giuliani among all voters and a 22-point advantage among women. "That's not a gender gap, that's a gender chasm," said the college's polling director, Maurice Carroll.

But favorable early polls, while enticing, don't always spell success, the pollsters noted. Just ask former New York City Mayor Ed Koch, who had a 17-point lead over Mario Cuomo in some polls but still lost the 1982 Democratic gubernatorial primary. Or ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, who held an early double-digit lead over two contenders in last year's Democratic Senate primary but lost badly to Charles Schumer.

As Clinton weighs a possible candidacy over the coming weeks, several observers said, she would be well advised to look past the glittering poll numbers and the flattering comments of supplicant party officials to the potential negatives she would face.

Clinton is virtually certain to be attacked as a "carpetbagger" given her lack of connection to New York, observers said. But history suggests this may not be a major problem; New Yorkers elected Robert Kennedy to the Senate in 1964 and James Buckley in 1970 when neither had lived in the state.

And the legal residency requirement is extremely forgiving, according to Lee Daghljan, spokesman for the State Board of Elections. He said the board has interpreted the law to mean that a senator can establish residency as late as the day of the November general election. How to do that? "If you purchase or rent an apartment and say this is your residence, we take your word for it," Daghljan said.

Of more concern may be convincing voters that there is a solid rationale for her candidacy - answering what Miringoff called the "why New York and why now?" questions. There are also potential conflicts between her role as first lady and that of a contender for political office, as well as her lack of experience as a candidate.

And there is the baggage of past controversies. Some, such as her alleged role in Whitewater and the White House travel office firings, have been well explored but could resurface. Others, such as her statement in May that a Palestinian state is "very important for the broader goal of peace" and would be "in the long-term interests of the Middle East," have not received extensive attention but are certain to draw fire in a campaign.

Some people who know the first lady are said to doubt she will run, for more personal reasons. After eight years in the crossfire of national politics, she may want to spare herself and her family further exposure. And with she and her husband facing substantial legal debts, she may not want to accept the restrictions on outside income that go with a Senate seat.

In her statement, Clinton gave no timetable for announcing a decision beyond "later this year." But Democrats are urging her to decide quickly so other candidates will have time to emerge if her answer is no.

"Along with people encouraging her to run, the same people are encouraging her to make up her mind quickly," said Neel Lattimore, her former press secretary. "I think she will respect that. I think this is a two-month thing."

Copyright 1999, Newsday Inc.

How Would a Run Play in NY?, 02-18-1999, pp A04.

WASHINGTON

N.Y. would be 'monster rumble'

Politics and media are rough there

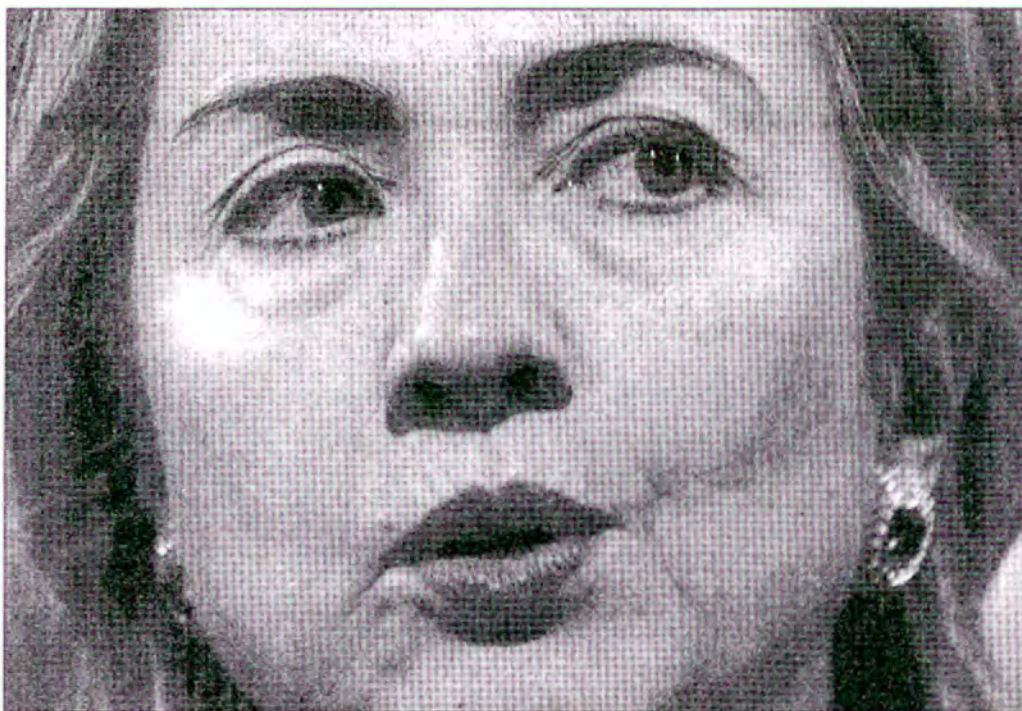
By Susan Page and Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Before a standing-room-only crowd that included dozens of reporters eager to ask about her political plans, Hillary Rodham Clinton announced aid for Hurricane Mitch victims at the White House on Tuesday and then made a beeline for the door.

"Everybody wants to know if you're going to run for the Senate!" one reporter shouted. But the first lady just flashed a smile, waved and left. Hours later, she released a two-sentence statement that she'd give "careful thought to a potential candidacy."

The questions are sure to get tougher — and harder to dodge — if she becomes the first presidential spouse in history to run for office.

In Washington, speculation is swirling over whether she's serious about a bid next year to replace the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Although White House aides initially dismissed the idea as preposterous, her failure to rule it out and her conversations with senators and others have made the



By Kevin Lamarque, Reuters

First lady: She would give 'careful thought to a potential candidacy,' she says in a statement released Tuesday, hours after dodging reporters at a White House announcement for Hurricane Mitch victims.



But the election is nearly two years away, and Giuliani's spokeswoman responded sharply to suggestions that he might be reluctant to take on Hillary Clinton.

"Quite to the contrary," says communications director Cristyne Lategano. "If Mrs. Clinton decides to run, there will be no better unifier of the Republican Party in New York state, and it

"When you run for the Senate, everything is a fair question — every single thing — and anyone who runs for the Senate has to realize that," Schumer told an Albany news conference.

"I'd rather walk on hot coals than face the New York media," says Republican pollster Frank Luntz, who has done polling for Giuliani. "She'll feel

scrutinized to prove that she knew the state. "One misreference to Schenectady and she's in trouble," says Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Poll.

More damaging, says former two-term New York mayor Ed Koch, would be GOP efforts to portray her as "a left-wing radical, a vicious ideologue." The ill-fated health care plan she put forward in 1994 could be an issue. Her support for Palestinian statehood would be controversial in the state's sizable Jewish community, which is divided on the issue.

But Miringoff says some themes that would be devastating in other states won't work well in New York, with its solidly Democratic registration and liberal traditions.

"The liability she has nationally are less so in New York," he says. Republicans "could run 'big liberal, big government, big spender,' but that doesn't necessarily get you enough votes to win in New York."

Meanwhile, Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey is waiting for Clinton's decision before she gets into the race. "Hillary Clinton has a big decision to make, and I respect that decision."

On the Republican side, Rep. Rick Lazio is considering running for the GOP nomination.

Fears that Lowey wouldn't be a strong candidate against Giuliani prompted the original calls for Hillary Clinton to consider the race.

WASHINGTON — Before a standing-room-only crowd that included dozens of reporters eager to ask about her political plans, Hillary Rodham Clinton announced aid for Hurricane Mitch victims at the White House on Tuesday and then made a beeline for the door.

"Everybody wants to know if you're going to run for the Senate!" one reporter shouted. But the first lady just flashed a smile, waved and left. Hours later, she released a two-sentence statement that she'd give "careful thought to a potential candidacy."

The questions are sure to get tougher — and harder to dodge — if she becomes the first presidential spouse in history to run for office.

In Washington, speculation is swirling over whether she's serious about a bid next year to replace the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Although White House aides initially dismissed the idea as preposterous, her failure to rule it out and her conversations with senators and others have made the skeptics a little less certain.

In New York, pollsters and politicians predict she would sweep a Democratic primary but could face a hard-fought general election, especially if New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani was her Republican opponent.

"It would be a monster rumble," says former Republican national chairman Rich Bond, a New York native.

"A battle of the titans," agrees newly elected Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer, warning that she wouldn't be a shoo-in.

"Way too risky," says John Zogby, a New York-based independent pollster. "She'd be absolutely nuts" to run.

In a poll taken Jan. 24, the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion found Hillary Clinton beating Giuliani by 10.5 points, 52.5% to 42%. The sur-



By Kevin Lamarque, Reuters

First lady: She would give 'careful thought to a potential candidacy,' she says in a statement released Tuesday, hours after dodging reporters at a White House announcement for Hurricane Mitch victims.



By David Karp, AP

Giuliani: The mayor is seen as the lead possible Republican rival to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

vey of 513 registered voters has a margin of error of ± 4.5 percentage points.

Giuliani won among men, 51%-46%, but Clinton buried him among women, 58%-34%. She beat him better than 2-to-1 in his own city and led by 8 points upstate. He was ahead by 14 points in the suburbs.

But the election is nearly two years away, and Giuliani's spokeswoman responded sharply to suggestions that he might be reluctant to take on Hillary Clinton.

"Quite to the contrary," says communications director Cristyne Lategano. "If Mrs. Clinton decides to run, there will be no better unifier of the Republican Party in New York state, and it will only increase the chance of the mayor entering the race."

It would be a tough race for both sides, she says. "This is a very tough state and a very large state, and the New York press corps is tough."

New York politics isn't known for its manners, and neither are New York reporters. Belligerent questions, jockeying interest groups, raucous televised debates, tabloid tell-alls and negative ads often mark campaigns. Last year's Senate race turned in part on whether incumbent Al D'Amato had called challenger Schumer a "putzhead," a Yiddish vulgarity.

If she runs, Hillary Clinton should expect questions on everything from her lucrative commodity trades to her *It Takes a Village* child-rearing theories.

"When you run for the Senate, everything is a fair question — every single thing — and anyone who runs for the Senate has to realize that," Schumer told an Albany news conference.

"I'd rather walk on hot coals than face the New York media," says Republican pollster Frank Luntz, who has done polling for Giuliani. "She'll feel like she's walking on hot coals. She'll long for the days of the past year when she faces tabloid journalism in New York."

Not to mention her opponent's ads. Luntz already has some suggestions.

"Do you really want the first lady of Arkansas representing the capital city of the world?" was one idea. Another: "Little Rock Ain't No New York."

Actually, the fact that she's never lived in New York might be the least of her problems. New York law requires only that the candidate be a resident on Election Day. Democrat Robert F. Kennedy in 1964 and Conservative James Buckley in 1970 moved to the state to run for Senate seats. Both won.

But she would have to establish residency while her husband was still living in the White House. She'd also be

put forward in 1994 could be an issue. Her support for Palestinian statehood would be controversial in the state's sizable Jewish community, which is divided on the issue.

But Miringoff says some themes that would be devastating in other states won't work well in New York, with its solidly Democratic registration and liberal traditions.

"The liability she has nationally are less so in New York," he says. Republicans "could run 'big liberal, big government, big spender,' but that doesn't necessarily get you enough votes to win in New York."

Meanwhile, Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey is waiting for Clinton's decision before she gets into the race. "Hillary Clinton has a big decision to make, and I respect that decision."

On the Republican side, Rep. Rick Lazio is considering running for the GOP nomination.

Fears that Lowey wouldn't be a strong candidate against Giuliani prompted the original calls for Hillary Clinton to consider the race.

As she weighs the race — she promises a decision "later this year" — more compelling might be the argument that the Senate seat would be a step down from her current role and the options that might be ahead, such as heading a foundation or acting as an international good-will ambassador.

"I don't think it's the best thing for her," says former New York governor Mario Cuomo, a Democrat. "She's much better off just being the big person in the country without having to worry about what (Senate Democratic leader Tom) Daschle says, without being junior to anybody. And she's desperately going to need to make money, because her family is going to need it."

"If she were my daughter," Cuomo says, "that's what I'd be telling her."



ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Up until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

Hillary Rodham Clinton

First Lady Cautious About a Campaign

Decision on Senate Run 'Later This Year'

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she is "deeply gratified" that so many people have encouraged her to run for Senate in New York but cautioned that she has hardly had time to think about it, announcing that she will "give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

With speculation about her plans racing through political circles at a feverish pace, the first lady's words at once nudged the speculation along and sought to slow it down. The one-paragraph statement her office released yesterday was the first official acknowledgment from her that she takes seriously the idea that she might run for Senate next year.

And a family friend said President Clinton, who Monday said he would support whatever she decided, is in fact enthusiastic. "He's all for it," this friend said.

Associates said Hillary Clinton was concerned at how far ahead the speculation was from her own thinking, with some rumors indicating she would declare a candidacy within days. She has made no decision, one adviser said, and "does not have a timetable" for making one. A friend said that a decision was "months away," and that among the first lady's hesitations was her family's precarious financial situation, with legal debts of several million dollars.

The rush of speculation was itself a reflection of how Hillary Clinton's candidacy would be like

See CLINTON, A8, Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

For First Lady, Atypical Issues To Consider for A Senate Run

CLINTON, From A1

no other. As various advisers and Clinton political associates analyzed her options yesterday, they were not talking about concerns most potential candidates weigh, such as fund-raising potential or name recognition. Instead, they sought to divine her emotional state—something the first lady has always studiously tried to keep walled from public view.

She'd love the job, say some intimates. A seat in the Senate would give her a platform from which to push her favored issues and establish a political independence that, for all her prominence as first lady, she could never have as a presidential spouse. The job, these associates believe, would offer a powerful psychic reward for supporting her husband during the pain he caused in their marriage and a triumph over their common political foes.

She'll never do it, say other advisers who have worked closely over the years with the Clintons. After years of often unpleasant scrutiny during her White House tenure, Hillary Clinton is hardly ready to volunteer for the indignities that go with running for office in New York, with its raucously irreverent political culture and sharp-elbowed media. Besides, they say, becoming the junior senator from New York would as a practical matter be a demotion for a woman who already walks on a world stage.

Most candidates start out yearning for a job and go through a series of nuts-and-bolts decisions about whether it is attainable, said Mandy Grunwald, a political consultant who is close to the first lady. Hillary Clinton, she said, is going through a different and more philosophical rumination: "What does she want to do in life? Where does she make a difference?"

As she searches for an answer, the first lady has been reaching out to longtime friends and advisers. On Friday, she had lunch with Harold Ickes, former White House



Hillary Rodham Clinton arrives for announcement on disaster aid. She waded off a political inquiry.

deputy chief of staff for her husband and a veteran of New York politics. Her office is scheduling meetings with Sens. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who is vacating the seat she might run for, and Robert G. Torricelli (N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

"She's a methodical person," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's press secretary. "She'll be talking with a full spectrum of people."

During the interim, the spotlight is on her with new intensity. An auditorium in the Old Executive Office Building was packed yesterday with reporters not necessarily there to hear her announce U.S. hurricane aid for Central America. She ignored a question about a future candidacy with a wave.

Some Clinton advisers say they believe Hillary Clinton has responded to the interest in a candidacy like much of the political world. She at first considered the idea a lark, then gradually awakened to the possibility it might be more serious.

Associates say she has worried about family finances, but is reassured by the strong performance of a trust fund established to solicit donations, and that her husband's earning capacity is strong. Fiercely protective of her privacy and dignity, the first lady is now persuaded that the rough-and-tumble of New York politics could scarcely be any rougher than what she has been through in Washington. One friend said he considers it now more likely than not that she will run.

Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) who

has encouraged her candidacy, said he has left recent conversations with the first lady in no doubt that she is serious about the possibility.

The first lady has no roots in New York, but the Empire State has over the years been welcoming to nationally known outsiders, including Robert F. Kennedy.

Torricelli added that Hillary Clinton would hardly be the average senator, fighting for clout. "This is someone who will dominate a national debate," he said. "The lease in the White House is up, in January 2001 that platform disappears. This platform can be available... for the rest of her working life."

Her possible candidacy was prompting comments from two other potential candidates: Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.) and New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R).

"If Hillary Clinton announces a run for Senate, that would encourage the mayor to consider his candidacy for the Senate as well," a Giuliani spokeswoman told the Associated Press, adding that her candidacy would be "the singular biggest unifying force in the Republican Party."

"If the first lady runs, I will support her enthusiastically," Lowey said in a statement. "In the meantime, I am moving forward and doing what I need to do to prepare for this race."

Hillary Clinton said she, too, will stay busy in the interim: "I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for many years."

First Lady Gives 'Careful Thought' to Senate Bid

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

As Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday that she was giving "careful thought" to running for the United States Senate from New York, the First Lady's friends and advisers warned her that a race could be brutal and that the easy victory predicted by state party leaders was not at all guaranteed.

The First Lady said that she would reach a decision "later this year" and added that she was "deeply gratified by the large number of people"

who are encouraging her to seek the seat of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in 2000.

New York Democrats worked themselves into a frenzy over her potential candidacy but acknowledged that running for office was far more difficult than thinking about it.

"It will be a nasty fight," said one of Mrs. Clinton's longtime friends and political advisers, speaking of a potential opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. "Everything in Hillary's background will be recycled," continued the adviser, who insisted on anonymity. "She has to think about

whether she is prepared to go through this battering."

Democrats in New York were taken aback yesterday by Mrs. Clinton's statement that she would delay a decision until later in the year. If she waits too long, the delay would paralyze other Democratic candidates who need the time to raise the \$10 million to \$20 million required for the race. "She needs to think and think fast," said Eleanor Holmes Norton, the District of Columbia's delegate to Congress. "That is, unless you want to give the New York Senate seat to Giuliani."

So far, Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester is the only Democrat to say she is seriously considering the race. Mrs. Lowey has repeatedly said that she will not run if the First Lady does.

Major Democratic fund-raisers said yesterday that Mrs. Clinton would have no problem raising money. "She's a revered figure in Democratic circles and she'll have no opposition in the primary," one fundraiser said.

As Mrs. Clinton mulls her decision,

Continued on Page C25

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1999

News Summary

QUOTATION OF THE DAY

“She hasn’t decided to run. I haven’t decided to run. I learned in politics a long time ago that until there is a race everything is speculation.”

MAYOR RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI,
about the possible United
States Senate candidacy of
Hillary Rodham Clinton. [C25]

NEW YORK/REGION C23-25

Hillary Clinton Confirms Interest in Senate Seat

Hillary Rodham Clinton said she was giving “careful thought” to running for the Senate from New York and that she would reach a decision later this year. Friends and advisers warned her that a race could be brutal and that the easy victory predicted by state Democratic leaders was not at all guaranteed.

A1

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

Hillary Thinks, Rudy Waits, Pundits Yearn

New York, at least, has figured out how to fill the post-impeachment political gossip void. Hillary Clinton for Senate!

"She says, 'Charlie, I just want you to know I'm considering this very, very seriously,'" reported Representative Charles Rangel of Manhattan, chief broker of the idea that the First Lady might run for the seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000. "She says that in all kind of different and charming ways."

There are probably a number of states in which party regulars might be offended by the idea of turning over a plum so sweet as a nomination for an open Senate seat to an outsider. But New York Democrats have a different mentality. Mr. Rangel, in fact, was outraged when he heard a rumor that Mrs. Clinton might run in Illinois, a state where she has actually lived.

"I went to her and said: 'You can be Senator from Vermont or Rhode Island or Illinois, but being Senator from New York is different,'" he explained. "Equal isn't always equal."

The idea of running Mrs. Clinton for the Senate while her husband is still in the White House was born of a mixture of great production values and political desperation. Democrats believe that New York City's Republican Mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, is eye-

New York Democrats push a sure cure for post-Monica blues.

ing Mr. Moynihan's seat. To win statewide races, Democrats generally have to roll up huge majorities in New York City and avoid getting beaten too badly in the surrounding suburbs. Mr. Giuliani is the darling of Long Island and Westchester County, and he might be expected to hold on to at least his core constituency in the city's white ethnic neighborhoods.

But the one person better known and perhaps better liked than the fractious Mr. Giuliani is the feisty Mrs. Clinton. The President and First Lady may be controversial in some parts of the country, but in New York their approval ratings are at levels normally reserved for politicians who have won a world war. True, Mrs. Clinton does not live in New York, but then the First Lady, whose voting address is her mother's home in Arkansas, does not seem to specifically live anywhere. "She lives on TV," says one local political consultant. Her endless trips to New York to campaign for Charles Schumer for Senate (and against her old nemesis Alfonse D'Amato) have probably involved more overnight stays than

Connecticut's James Buckley logged when he successfully ran for the Senate here, explaining that his Manhattan office was also his home.

Mr. Rangel proudly announced that the contentious and near-bankrupt New York Democratic Party had "pulled together an offer that the First Lady can't refuse," including a guarantee that the nomination would be hers for the asking, without a primary. Later he explained that the party's power to insure Mrs. Clinton a free ride was based on the theory that "you can always promise no primary to an 800-pound gorilla." So far, everyone seems to agree, including the Democrat regarded as the most likely Senate candidate presently residing within the confines of New York State. "If the First Lady decides to run she'll clear the field," said Representative Nita Lowey of Westchester, demonstrating her own political skills yesterday by conducting an interview via cell phone while walking through airport security.

The idea of a race between Rudolph Giuliani and Hillary Clinton is so tasty that even the first hints of a speculation of a possibility created headlines. Now that Mrs. Clinton is officially considering the idea, political junkies are in a full-blown frenzy. This is the sort of contest that election aficionados live for. It could actually overshadow the Presidential contest. (Which debate would you

listen to, Clinton-Giuliani or Gore-Bush?)

The cable channels that have been thriving on all-Monica formats for the last year could easily divert their talking heads to a discussion of who would have more trouble adjusting to the Senate — the authoritarian Mr. Giuliani or the wife of the man half the senators voted to toss out of office. On the campaign trail, the First Lady might have to face some embarrassing questions about the state of her marriage. But Mr. Giuliani, whose wife declined to say whom she had voted for in the last mayoral election, has pretty much broken the New York press corps of the habit of trying to poke into a politician's private life.

The Mayor, a lifelong New Yorker and the state's best-known resident, is by no means as assured of his party's nomination as Mrs. Clinton would be of hers. Allies of Gov. George Pataki, a Republican, are not necessarily entranced by the idea of having Mr. Giuliani as a candidate, and he might have to run a primary for the nomination, possibly against the moderate but more housebroken Republican from Long Island, Representative Rick Lazio. In fact, the Clinton-Giuliani race that New Yorkers were imagining yesterday could morph very quickly into Lowey vs. Lazio tomorrow. And then what would the cable channels do?

Hillary still considering Senate run

Decision is due later this year on New York seat

By Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she will give "careful thought" to a run next year for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat.

New York is abuzz at the prospect of an unprecedented campaign, a marquee matchup that could pit a sitting first lady against a formidable Republican, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan," Mrs. Clinton said in a statement.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

"In the meantime, I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for many years," Mrs. Clinton said.

After weeks of Hillary as Hamlet, Mrs. Clinton acknowledged her interest in the prospect, four days after President Clinton's acquittal in his Senate impeachment trial, ending a 13-month scandal.

In Mexico Monday, President Clinton said Mrs. Clinton "would be terrific in the Senate" and that he "will support whatever decision she makes enthusiastically."

New York Democrats believe



AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton begs off any questions about her plans to run for the U.S. Senate during an announcement yesterday at the White House.

Mrs. Clinton gives the party its best hope of retaining the seat.

Andrew M. Cuomo, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development and son of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, previously took himself out of the running. Andrew Cuomo is expected to play a key role in Vice President

Al Gore's presidential campaign.

Rep. Nita M. Lowey, New York Democrat, also is considering a run for the seat, but has said she would defer to Mrs. Clinton.

A run by Mrs. Clinton while first lady would raise a host of legal questions, such as whether she could fly to campaign events at

"I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton

taxpayer expense.

Democratic strategists also are skeptical that after traveling the world as first lady, Mrs. Clinton would want to undergo a bruising Senate race for the right to serve in a party that now has only a minority in Congress.

Residency would not be a problem. Under New York law, she need only establish an address there by Election Day.

Some Democrats believe that if Mrs. Clinton pines for the Senate she would be more likely to take on Sen. Peter G. Fitzgerald, Illinois Republican, in her home state in 2004.

Mrs. Clinton has expressed an interest in remaining active in public life after President Clinton's term, much like her idol, Eleanor Roosevelt, who served as the first U.S. delegate to the United Nations.

In Mexico Monday, the president said the first lady "has a lot of other opportunities for public service that will be out there, and she and I both would like to continue to be useful in public affairs when we leave office."

"But it's a decision she'll have to make," Mr. Clinton said. "She'd be great if she did it, but she hasn't had anything like the requisite amount of time to talk to people and to assess it, and I'm sure that everyone will understand and appreciate that."

A spokesman for the New York Republican Party could not be reached for comment.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WILL SHE OR WON'T SHE?

Hillary definite maybe for Senate

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made it official yesterday, issuing a written statement that she's mulling a New York Senate race and will give "careful thought" to whether she'll run in 2000.

Mrs. Clinton set no timetable, except to say she'll make up her mind "later this year" and is gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running."

She added: "In the meantime, I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for many years."

The statement came just a few hours after the First Lady coyly waved off a reporter's question about the Senate race as she unveiled \$1 billion program in U.S. aid for hurricane-ravaged Central America.

Mrs. Clinton's first confirmation that she may run follows a carefully calibrated set of leaks capped by President Clinton's remark Monday that his stand-by-my-man wife would be "terrific" in the Senate.

Meanwhile, Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) warned Mrs. Clinton yesterday that she wouldn't be a shop-in if she runs for Senate — and that she risks questions on old business deals such as Whitewater.

"When you run for the Senate, everything is a fair question — every single thing — and anyone who runs for the Senate has to realize that," Schumer told an Albany news conference.

"I think she would be an

By DEBORAH ORIN and
TOM TOPOUSIS

extremely formidable candidate. I guess she'd have to be the favorite — but favorites don't always win," he added.

Mayor Giuliani — Mrs. Clinton's most likely GOP rival if she runs — refused to say if he agrees Whitewater would be fair game in a campaign to replace retiring Democrat Daniel P. Moynihan.

"I'm not going to address myself to a hypothetical election, as much as you would like me to," Giuliani told a Staten Island news conference as he dodged eight questions on Mrs. Clinton.

Meanwhile, former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley — now challenging Vice President Al Gore for the 2000 Democratic nod for president — said the First Lady would be a "good candidate," but stopped short of urging her to run.

"That's a decision she's going to have to make and the president's going to have to make," Bradley



THINKING IT OVER: Hillary Rodham Clinton finally concedes she's mulling a run for the Senate here. AP

told Post editors and reporters.

"It's a big life decision — and I've learned not to judge other people's life decisions."

Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester) also is eyeing a bid for Moynihan's seat — which once was occupied by Robert F. Kennedy Jr. — but only if Mrs. Clinton doesn't run.

Some New York Demo-

crats, such as Schumer, have voiced concern that if Mrs. Clinton waits until late in 1999 to decide — as her statement hints — it may be too late for another Democrat to get a campaign rolling.

**Why Hillary and
Rudy WON'T run /
Travis: Page 9**



DOROTHY RODHAM

Staying close.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The First Mom-in-law moves into White House

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — President Clinton has told a friendly reporter that his mother-in-law has moved into the White House.

Reminiscing about a 1975 trip to Mexico with Hillary Rodham Clinton and her family, Clinton told CNBC's Geraldo Rivera, "You know, my mother-in-law is living with us now."

When she was first asked about Rivera's report that Dorothy Rodham has moved into the White House, the first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, replied, "That's news to me."

But Berry said later Mrs. Rodham is "just visiting."

"She's going home [to Arkansas] this week," Berry added.

Mrs. Clinton's family has been a staple at the White House in recent weeks. The president played golf just yesterday with her brother, Hugh Rodham, along with his fund-raising pal, Terry McAuliffe.

Mrs. Rodham was among the select few who watched the Super Bowl with the Clintons at Camp David last month, and she spent quiet time with the first family last week after the impeachment trial ended. In an earlier interview, Mrs. Rodham said she does not talk about intimate matters with Hillary.

She was there during a tumultuous time for her daughter.

Mrs. Clinton has faced what friends described as one of the hardest years of her life with Clinton's denial-then-admission of an affair with ex-intern Monica Lewinsky, who is only a few years older than daughter Chelsea.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1999

NEAL TRAVIS NEW YORK

Why Hill and Rudy won't run

AT the risk of being a political party pooper, I have to report that there is virtually no chance of *either* Hillary Rodham Clinton or Rudy Giuliani running for the Senate in 2000, according to their closest advisers.

The prospect of the First Lady being matched against Mayor Rudy for Pat Moynihan's vacant seat has political junkies salivating, but it's not going to happen. My sources say Hillary, post-White House, will be out there promoting her next book — one that's certain to be a huge best seller.

And they say Giuliani has his sights set on Albany, not Washington. He's keeping all options open, but as of now, he favors running for governor in 2002 — whether or not George Pataki seeks a third term. (This may explain the current tension between the two leading GOP figures.) "Rudy wants to do for New York state what he has done for the city," explains one of his confidants.

The Hillary thing has always been wishful thinking on the part of Democratic leaders like

Judith Hope. Hillary herself hasn't discouraged the talk, in part because, as one source puts it, "it takes the heat off Bill right now, to have his wife making the headlines."

When Hillary does take a job, it will be an appointed position, probably with the United Nations. As a Post editorial pointed out yesterday, if she were to run for the Senate, she would be subject to severe scrutiny. (Think Geraldine Ferraro.)

Rudy's no-go decision is more complicated. The factors at work include his antagonism toward Public Advocate Mark Green, who would get a free year as mayor if Giuliani went to the Senate.

There's also the prospect that if a moderate Republican, such as Texas Gov. George W. Bush or Arizona Sen. John McCain, won the White House, Rudy could be tapped as attorney general. But as of now, the most likely scenario is that Hizzoner will finish out his term and then devote a year to full-time campaigning for the governor's mansion.

'What' does this mean for Bill?



NO SCHU-IN: Sen. Charles Schumer, in Albany yesterday, says Hillary isn't a lock. AP

THAT amazing tome, the dictionary according to Bill Clinton, has been dramatically updated by the influence of his wife, the good Hillary.

During the impeachment, we were captivated by Bill questioning the meaning of what "is" is.

The most overused word this week in political circles is the word "if" — as in "if Hillary runs for the Senate."

On Nov. 25, I wrote a column which in part read:

"Long after Bill Clinton goes to Hollywood to become an executive vice president of a studio ... and long after Hillary flees the coop to run for the Senate in New York ..."

I wrote that with a very large tongue thrust in a very hollow cheek. It was a joke, stupid.

Now it has come back to bite me on the rear end.



STEVE DUNLEAVY

Ever since January, the liberal mafia in New York has been beating on the White House door like Gene Krupa, asking her to run.

So now the word of the week is "if."

But the real word should be "what" ... What on earth will Bill do if she runs? Organize the interns for her campaign?

The point is that as an avowed conservative, the joke is on me.

Having a Clinton liberal in the Senate makes me shudder.

See **DUNLEAVY** on Page 18

'What' does Sen. Hillary mean for Bill?

DUNLEAVY from Page 2

Oh, we had the darling old liberal Sen. Pat Moynihan, the charming and amusing gent who brought a lightness to Washington. But he really didn't do much damage.

Leading political consultant George Arzt, who has worked with Hillary before, told me:

"She is a very formidable campaigner. Not only smart, but street smart."

Victor Kovner, a heavyweight Democratic campaigner in New York, said: "It is fair to infer that some consideration is obviously being given to Mrs. Clinton running, both by her and on her behalf. She would be an exciting candidate and I would be very happy to put all my support behind her."

Rep. Charles Rangel (D-Manhattan) already has signaled he has an army behind him to support Hillary's Senate run.

The great former mayor, Ed Koch, told me: "The trouble the Democrats have is that they don't have anyone except Hillary who could beat Giuliani. If she runs, she will win. But she better go into it with her eyes open, because it will be a race so mean that it will shock the country."

Then there are those dreadful liberal polls that claim that in a run against Rudy, the best mayor this city has ever seen, Hillary would win the city 66 to 31 percent, and the state 52 to 42.

I have seen her campaign, and she can set a scene and stage-manage as well as Steven Spielberg.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

There is more bad news for conservatives like me.

If she runs, Hillary will not only have enough campaign money to fill an oil tanker, she will have two other weapons.

One is former Clinton aide Harold Ickes, a political terminator who packs more sharp instruments than a Wilkinson Sword factory.

Two is a very smart politico, New York lawyer Susan Thomases.

Susan, you might recall, drove Sen. Al D'Amato bananas during the Whitewater hearings.

She blithely testified that after the tragic suicide of Vincent Foster, she could not remember the content of 17 telephone calls she had with Hillary or a 5½-hour personal conversation she had with the First Lady.

Of a Hillary-Rudy matchup, D'Amato told me: "Oh, that would be some race."

Some speculate that the "if" word will be settled on March 3 at The Plaza hotel, when Hillary addresses the Women's Forum of the Democratic National Committee.

Of course, if she answers the "if" word to the affirmative, the "what" word — as in, What will Bill do? — will remain a mystery.

Naturally, Bill would be very useful out at JFK — greeting all the Hollywood lefties who would stream into New York to hoist the red flag of courage for Hillary.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1999

POSTOPINION

Why We Love/Hate Hillary

THE possibility that Hillary Clinton will run for Pat Moynihan's Senate seat is something everybody in New York should welcome, for her candidacy would mean that Hillary will have to stand entirely on her own for the first time in her public life.

No longer will she be able to dart in and out of public view, sticking her nose in the management of the nation and then acting like an injured, cookie-baking hausfrau when she gets attacked. She will have to answer the same questions and undergo the same scrutiny for her views as other political figures — ones who achieve their power by putting themselves before the people, not because they were willing to tolerate a husband's manifold infidelities just to remain in proximity to what Benjamin Disraeli called "the greasy pole." Bill Clinton has managed to climb all the way to the top.

Do I sound a little, shall we say, dismissive of the First Lady? You don't like "dismissive"? How about "angry"? How about "disgusted"?

Okay, I admit it. I hate Hillary. No, let me italicize that. I *hate* Hillary.

My view of Hillary is something a sociologist would call a "signifier" — a way of indicating a fundamental fact about me and what I believe. And that's true not only for me. Indeed, if you want a simple test of where somebody is positioned on the ideological spectrum in the 1990s, you need only ask whether he likes or hates Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Hillary Clinton is the lightning rod political figure of this decade, just as Ronald Reagan was the lightning-rod political figure of the 1980s. It is she, far more than her husband, who inspires passion. Nobody interested in politics has a mixed view of her.

People on the leftward side of the political divide seem to love her unreservedly, and the merest whisper of criticism drives them into a near-pathological frenzy. Go ahead. Just try it. Say, "Hillary lied about the cattle futures" or "Hillary lied about the billing records" and see what happens.

Hillary fans go berserk when they



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

hear that talk. They sputter. They foam. It's almost like going into a Polish neighborhood in Chicago and insulting the Pope.

As my own example suggests, people on the rightward side of the political divide hate her with a passion — indeed, they hate her in a way they have never quite hated her husband (except for the crazies who believe Bill Clinton spent his years in Arkansas raping women and killing teen-agers).

Hillary is the more overtly ideological of the two Clintons, with personal political connections almost exclusively with the left wing of the Democratic party.

While right-wingers like me rail at Hillary Clinton for what we take to be her bloodless pursuit of power at any cost and multifarious lies about Whitewater, most people look at her and see . . . the woman who stays with the philandering husband.

While her husband's most important policy initiatives leaned to the right — welfare reform and NAFTA — her disastrous health-care plan was a leftist's dream, an effort to nationalize an entire industry, the work of an unreconstructed statist.

The health-care plan may have almost destroyed the Democratic Party, but it was a sign of Hillary's fealty to leftist ideas, and thus only made her more popular.

And for women of the center-left, particularly women in the media, Hillary is someone they identify with to a comic degree. *Mother Teresa* did not receive the kind of worshipful press Hillary has from columnists like Margaret Carlson and Ellen Goodman, who have sounded no less enthusiastic about her than her

own flack, the egregious Ann Lewis.

Somehow, Hillary Clinton has come to be all things to all career women. She is the successful woman who must juggle family and career, the feminist who would not take her husband's name for the first five years of their marriage but then relented in the face of societal pressure.

She is the intelligent woman who finds herself criticized for her appearance, and rather than being Olympian and indifferent about it, displays her insecurity as most people would in her position — with a constant stream of new hairstyles and new outfits, all of them trumpeted in the women's magazines as indicative of "the new Hillary."

But while her fans in the media and among the glitterati seem to find her a kind of cultural mirror image, that can't possibly explain her popularity in the nation at large. And I do not believe her popularity, which might well propel her into the United States Senate were she to run, is due to the fact that the American people identify with her.

Not at all. Rather, it's because they feel *sorry* for her.

For while right-wingers like me rail at Hillary Clinton for what we take to be her bloodless pursuit of power at any cost and multifarious lies about Whitewater, most people look at her and see . . . the woman who stays with the philandering husband.

The woman who puts the best face on her own humiliation by blaming it on a "right-wing conspiracy." The woman who, in spite of it all, stands by her man.

So it comes full circle. America was introduced to Hillary Clinton on "60 Minutes" when she said she wasn't just Tammy Wynette standing by her man. And America knew exactly what that meant. It meant that's just who Hillary Clinton was.

So maybe, if Hillary Clinton runs for Senate, she won't be a shoo-in. Because maybe the American people (and, by extension, New Yorkers) don't feel as I do about Hillary Clinton because, deep down, what they really feel for her is . . . contempt.



Susan Brady Konig

Forget Hillary, I've got our senator right here

HILLARY Clinton, currently of Washington, formerly of Arkansas by way of Illinois — senator for New York? Maybe we shouldn't rush into this so fast. After all, if we're willing to look outside the state for a representative, that opens things up a bit.

What about Senator Garth Brooks? He's looking for a career change. The country and western warbler is taking some time off from the music biz to try his luck on the diamond with the San Diego Padres. Some, less kind than me, might say he's a bit on in years and overweight for the major leagues — but old and fat are perfect credentials for a United States senator!

And speaking of baseball, if you like carpetbaggers, how about Senator Ricky Henderson? He'll soon be establishing residency in Flushing, at least long enough to get the Mets into the playoffs. And, if we know Ricky, by 2000 he'll be ready to jump to a new gig.

Thanks to Hillary's hubby, a little marital infidelity is no longer a big drawback for a candidate. After all, we want our leaders to be experienced,



Think Shoshanna Lonstein: She's lean, her record's clean, and she's no longer a teen.

right? And who's got more experience than that future bad boy of the U.S. Senate, the Honorable Mick Jagger. He's even got that Clintonian parsing-words thing down pat. It all depends on what your definition of the word "marriage" is, right, Mick?

But maybe the Hillary backers are on to something. Maybe it is time for New York to have a woman in the Senate. But

no need to look any further than our own backyard. I've got a candidate. She's got all of Hillary's good qualities — she's dynamic, photogenic and ready to step out of the shadow of a famous man. And she's right here in New York.

Fellow New Yorkers, I give you Senator Shoshanna. She's lean, her record's clean, and she's no longer a teen — cast your vote for Lonstein!

LOS ANGELES TIMES WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1999



MIKE DOWNEY

Catching Up on All the News That Was Fit to Miss

I went away for a week, didn't look at a TV, didn't pick up a newspaper, didn't turn on a radio. (I consider myself a typical American. Sometimes I just can't stand the media.)

"Did I miss anything?" I asked when I got back.

My boss said, "Plenty."

He told me that President Clinton had been acquitted, which meant that he was still President Clinton.

He told me that the Rev. Jerry Falwell had begun a crusade against Tinky Winky, which I was relieved to learn was the name of a child's toy and not a slang phrase for something else.

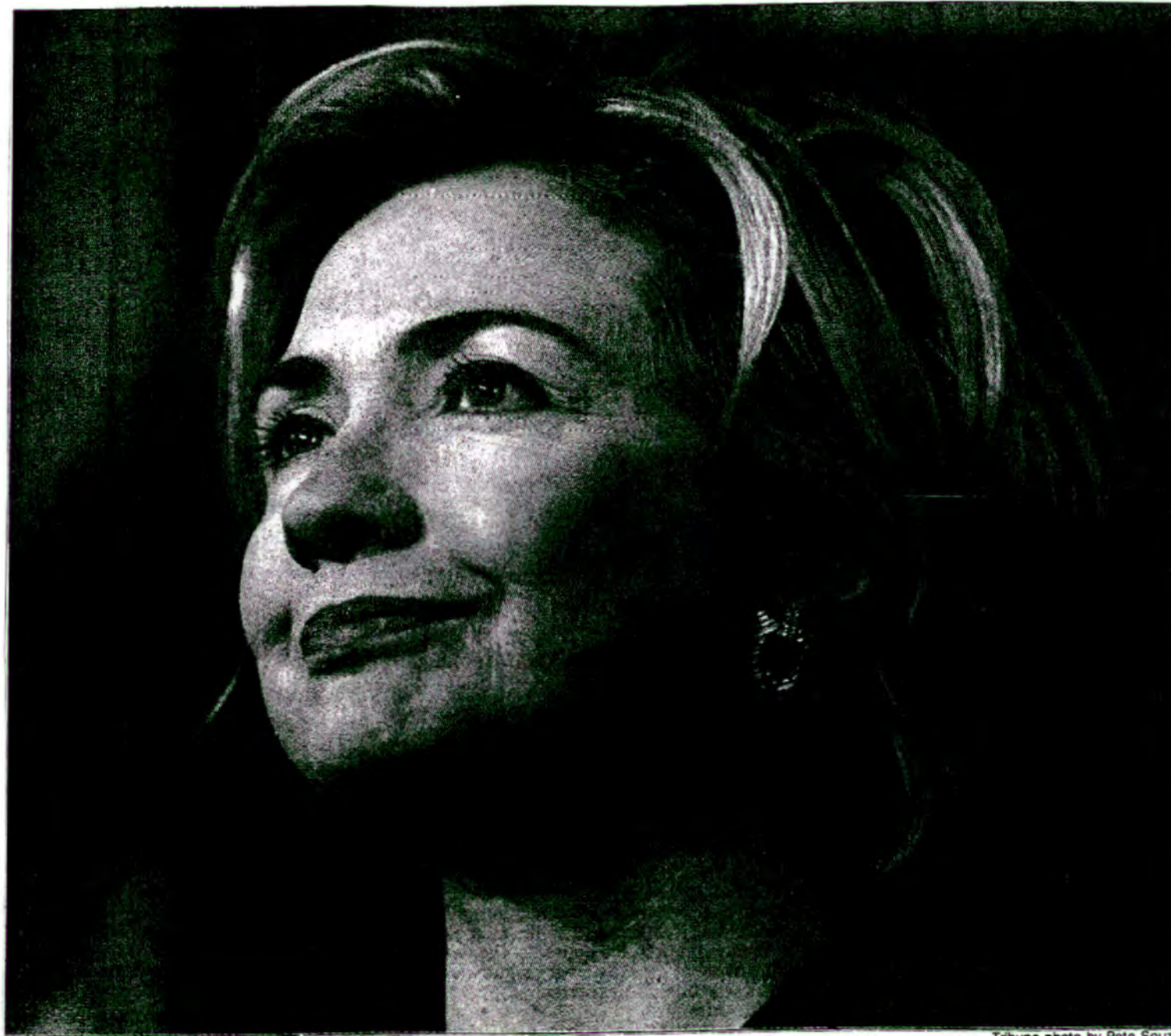
He told me that O.J. Simpson's possessions were sold at auction, including a movie poster for "This Gun for Hire," which I gather was a movie about some OTHER athlete.

And he told me that Hillary Rodham Clinton was still being proposed as a U.S. Senate candidate in New York, which is a state that, given a chance, would probably elect Tinky Winky.

"Is that all?" I asked.

Slow news week.

I said if that's it, I might as well take those items one at a time.



Clinton attends an announcement Tuesday for Central American disaster relief at the Old Executive Office Building in Washington.

Tribune photo by Pete Souza

First lady looking beyond White House

First lady leaves open Senate door

Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, February 17, 1999

Clinton takes positive step
by not saying 'no' outright

By Lisa Anderson
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Creating the most delicious political anticipation here since former Gov. Mario Cuomo dithered over a run for the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton has Democrats drooling and Republicans reeling over the question: Will she run for the U.S. Senate from New York?

As rumors reached a frenzy Tuesday, the first lady addressed the issue in a two-sen-



Hillary Rodham Clinton again spurs speculation.

tence statement, saying she would give "careful thought" to making a bid for the seat to be vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Promising to announce a decision this year, she said she was gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running."

It wasn't much, but it was more than enough to keep the campaign fires burning.

Whether they see her as a carpetbagging outsider or an avenging crusader who can hold Moynihan's seat against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the probable GOP candidate, everyone seems to have something to say about it.

President Clinton himself fanned the speculative sparks Monday during his visit to Mexico. His wife, he said, would make a

SEE FIRST LADY, BACK PAGE

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Amid rising speculation, a poll indicates New York voters would favor Mrs. Clinton over Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"terrific" senator, but the decision to run is up to her.

In an effort to persuade her, U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, a veteran Manhattan Democrat, dangled the assurance that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would be unopposed in a Democratic primary. And should she run in 2000, Moynihan himself predicted, "She'd win."

Not so fast, cautioned former Democratic Mayor Ed Koch.

"I think she would win, but she should understand it's not a cakewalk, that Giuliani and the Republicans will use every loathsome opportunity to throw mud at her," said Koch, echoing the concerns of many of Mrs. Clinton's friends and supporters.

David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic consultant from Chicago, is one of them. "From the standpoint of New York Democrats, she's a splendid candidate. . . . As someone who really likes and admires and knows her, I hope she will not do it," he said. "Do you want to put yourself through the mixmaster of New York politics with the ultimate attack dog on the other side? I don't think that is an elevating experience."

Axelrod said he thought she would win, "because I see her on a different level than Giuliani. It would be like a match between a champion and a club fighter. But

club fighters also hit below the belt and you have to be prepared for bruises."

New Yorkers are duly mesmerized—and divided—over the prospect of the political equivalent of Clash of the Titans, an almost inevitably bare-knuckled battle between the charismatic, liberal, out-of-stater Mrs. Clinton, and the pugnacious, starchily conservative, home-grown Giuliani, the man who tamed New York City.

"I think she would be the perfect person to replace Mr. Moynihan because she's a lady, she has charisma and I admire her," said Jorge Delgado, a taxi driver. "She can count on my vote."

Not so for Joe Russo, a dry cleaner. "I'd vote for Rudy, because he's from here and I like the job he's doing. I'd like to have somebody right here, from the state itself. They seem to know more about what's going on around here."

If Mrs. Clinton does enter the race, it would be the first time a current first lady has run for elective office, but it hardly would be the first time an out-of-stater has made a bid for a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

Most notable was former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who moved from Washington, D.C., and barely had his bags unpacked in New York when he was elected to

the Senate in 1964. In 1970, Republican James Buckley, a recent transplant from Connecticut, was elected to the seat vacated by Kennedy, who was assassinated while running for president in 1968.

Like Kennedy's candidacy, Mrs. Clinton's would come at a time when New York Democrats desperately need it. The party's most likely other contender for Moynihan's seat is Rep. Nita Lowey, who has represented the Westchester County suburbs since 1988 but registers virtually no name recognition in the state.

Speculation also has risen that Mrs. Clinton, a native of Park Ridge, Ill., might make a run for the U.S. Senate in Illinois in 2004, when Republican Peter Fitzgerald's seat comes up. Axelrod favors that idea.

"With all due respect to Illinois, a Senate seat from New York is a hotter political ticket than a Senate seat from Illinois," said Jay Severin, a GOP consultant.

Particularly if you are, as Bobby Kennedy was, looking for yet higher office. "This is a stepping stone to the presidency. I have absolutely no doubt that this is in her mind," said Severin, who considers Mrs. Clinton "Colin Powell in a skirt."

No question that New York is a big, highly visible and accommodating stage. It has no residency

Running for the Senate in New York

If First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton were to run for U.S. senator from New York, she would have to fulfill these constitutional requirements:

- Be 30 years of age.
- Be a U.S. citizen for 9 years.
- Live in the state where she is running.

The New York Board of Elections interprets the residency requirement as living in the state for any period of time—even just one day—up to the day of the election.

The state process

- Mrs. Clinton must be nominated by her party or collect 15,000 signatures from registered Democrats. To be nominated, state Democratic Party rules say, candidate must receive 25 percent of delegates' votes at the party convention in May 2000.
- If a Democratic opponent emerges, a primary election is held in September. The winner goes on the November ballot.

State voters

Number of registered New York voters by party as of 1998:

Democrat	4,997,773 (46.5%)
Republican	3,114,832 (29.0%)
Unaffiliated	2,164,121 (20.1%)
Other parties	464,062 (4.3%)

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not total 100

The strength of the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1996

- Won 52 out of 62 New York counties.
- Won 60 percent of the overall vote in the state.

Sources: New York Board of Elections, New York Democratic Party, World Almanac

Chicago Tribune

requirement beyond an address in the state by Election Day. Even a hotel suite will do, though Mrs. Clinton might raise awkward questions by moving out of the White House before her husband does.

While the carpetbagger tag may rankle some voters, for others, many of them newcomers themselves, it matters little. "She doesn't need to be from New York," said Delgado, an immigrant. "She knows very well the New York people and she understands our needs."

Moreover, as Delgado pointed out, Giuliani may be popular, but he has alienated a significant number of New York City residents, ranging from taxi drivers and street peddlers to many in the minority community.

Mrs. Clinton is well known, respected and popular in the state. Her many visits were credited with helping Democrat Charles Schumer defeat longtime GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November. Sharing her husband's strength with minority voters, her greatest challenge may be reaching out to Jewish voters, some of whom were offended by her stated support for a Palestinian state.

Nonetheless, early opinion polls generally have been encouraging for her. In the most recent Marist poll, released Jan. 26, Mrs. Clinton beat Giuliani handily, 53 percent to

42 percent, among all registered voters. She did particularly well in New York City, upstate New York and among women voters. Her softest spot seemed to be among suburban voters.

Although Republicans hold the statehouse, Democrats hold a sizable advantage in registered voters. President Clinton carried the state overwhelmingly in 1992 and 1996.

Said Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center: "There are three things you should know: Hillary Clinton has enormous appeal because New York has never elected a woman to a statewide office except as lieutenant governor. She'd get the women's vote. Secondly, she would have no difficulty raising money, because she could draw upon a national pool of donors. And in a presidential year, the Democratic turnout is usually higher here by at least a million votes. That would also be to her advantage."

But as Axelrod said, there remain two threshold questions the first lady must answer: "Does she want to go the electoral route and, if she does, when and where is it best to pursue it? Is New York the right place and is 2000 the right time?"

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Giuliani eyes challenge of Senate run vs. Clinton

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON - Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she would give "careful thought" to running for a US Senate seat from New York. Three confidants said she was talking with supporters about what it would take to run a serious campaign.

The first lady promised to make her decision later this year. President Clinton said on Monday she would be "terrific in the Senate."

Mrs. Clinton's statement drew a quick response from the camp of New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a possible Republican rival. "If Hillary Clinton announces a run for Senate, that would encourage the mayor to consider his candidacy for the Senate as well," a Giuliani spokeswoman said.

Newly elected Democratic Senator Charles Schumer sounded a note of caution for the first lady. "I think she would be an extremely formidable candidate. I guess she'd have to be the favorite, but favorites don't always win," Schumer said at a news conference in Albany, N.Y.

Mrs. Clinton said she was deeply gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running" for the Senate seat being opened by the retirement of Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Just four days after the end of her husband's impeachment ordeal, Mrs. Clinton said she had not been able to give much thought to a potential candidacy but would be able to focus on it now. She said she would make her decision later this

year.

"In the meantime," she said in a three-sentence statement, "I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on which we have worked together for so many years." White House officials were delighted that the attention on Mrs. Clinton was taking attention away from the president's now-concluded impeachment drama.

Marsha Berry, her press secretary, said she could not elaborate on the timing of Mrs. Clinton's decision. "I can't be any more specific than that because she doesn't know. She's going to talk to people, those who want her to do it and some who don't, and hear them out."

Colleen Roche, press aide to Giuliani, said in response to Mrs. Clinton's statement, "We are told that her candidacy would be the singular biggest unifying force in the Republican Party."

Giuliani has made it clear he has ambitions beyond City Hall and has not ruled out a run for the Senate. He has a strong base, is a solid fund-raiser and would be a formidable opponent.

Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to be the star attraction at a New York fund-raiser for the Democratic Party's Women's Leadership Forum in the first week of March, providing one opportunity to announce her decision.

Three confidants of Mrs. Clinton, all speaking on condition of anonymity, said she has begun returning telephone calls to supporters and asking for information about what it would take to run a campaign, from the amount of money she would have to raise to the availability of campaign talent.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION