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Beyond the City

Headlines Index

Last 6 Days

Search/Archives

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Beyond the City

First Lady Thinking It Over Gratified at uproar as she mulls Senate run

By THOMAS M. DeFRANK and KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON
Hillary Rodham Clinton — "deeply gratified" by the clamor for her to run for a New York Senate seat in 2000 — said yesterday she will give it "careful thought" and decide this year.

"A decision will be made soon, but it isn't imminent," said a close adviser to the First Lady. "I do not see it for a few weeks or possibly a couple of months."

In her first words on the topic since the idea of a bid was floated late last year, Clinton issued a short written statement that will fuel the guessing game.

She said:

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

"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."

The adviser said Clinton wants a reality check before she decides.

"The New York Democrats are just gilding the lily because they want her to run," the source said. "So they're telling her it will be easy to put together. But she knows the race will be damn tough — a lot tougher than they'd like her to think."

Clinton will spend "serious time" in New York in coming weeks to "get a better feel for the landscape" before deciding whether to run. A March 3 visit to New York City is planned, as are trips to the suburbs and upstate.



Gibson AP
First Lady Hillary
Rodham Clinton



Applewhite AP
Mrs. Clinton will
visit New York
before deciding on
a run.

"She's more than intrigued — she's very interested," the confidant told the Daily News. "But there are still a lot of buts. Everyone who characterizes this as a slam-dunk [to run] are just crazy."

Harold Ickes, former White House deputy chief of staff who is helping the First Lady evaluate the Senate race, is to meet today with Dennis Rivera, head of Local 1199 of the Health and Human Services Employees Union, a perennial power in New York elections. Her candidacy is expected to be high on their agenda.

One consideration for Clinton is that her probable opponent would be Mayor Giuliani, who aides say is not going to be scared off.

"The First Lady's decision is not likely to have any direct impact on the mayor's decision on whether or not to mount a Senate bid," said one City Hall source familiar with Giuliani's thinking.

While Clinton is deciding whether she will or won't, other potential Democratic candidates are in limbo — hindered in their ability to snare attention, raise money or enlist big-name support.

The First Lady's bid for time may throw a monkey wrench into Moynihan's hopes that the Democratic field would take shape quickly.

"He announced very early so that there would be plenty of time for people to raise money," said a source close to Moynihan. "The longer candidates go unannounced on the Democratic side, the more it defeats that purpose. . . . If she wants to run, she should go ahead, announce and do it."

Clinton's adviser said: "She understands she can't leave people hanging, but she's got to get more of a feel for this."

There is no legal handicap for a newcomer to New York to run. A candidate need only have purchased or rented a residence by Election Day, according to the state Board of Elections. New York has elected two residence-come-lately senators — Robert Kennedy in 1964 and James Buckley in 1970.

Pros and Cons

Pluses:

- Hugely popular in recent polls.
- Name recognition to die for.
- Fund-raising would be a snap.

- Other Democrats willing to stay out of primary if she's in.
- A way to push her pet causes after President Clinton leaves office.
- Can get in the face of Clinton's enemies on Capitol Hill.
- Her coattails could help other New York Democrats in close races.
- If she won, she'd be an instant presidential contender in 2004 or 2008.

Minuses:

- Limits income potential to pay off millions in legal bills.
- Tougher to control media access as candidate than as First Lady.
- Her husband's scandal baggage.
- Her own scandal baggage.
- Carpetbagger baggage.
- Foes will focus on controversial remarks, such as support for Palestinian statehood.
- Unavailable to help national ticket or Democrats in other 49 states.

Could Cut Either Way:

- Campaign would focus unwanted attention on First Daughter, Chelsea. But if she stumps with mom, she's an asset.
- Less time hangin' with Bill.

William Goldschlag

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EDITORIAL / Baggage Lady / Hillary Clinton would get no free ride in her New York run for U.S. Senate in 2000.

It looks as if the Hillary-for-senator boomlet isn't going away. President Bill Clinton fueled it with a conditional endorsement of his spouse during their visit to Mexico. "She'd be great if she did it," he said. Rep. Charles Rangel, New York's senior Democrat in the House, said, "She's seriously considering it and I'm excited about it." And Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose departure will create the vacancy in question, waxed eloquent about the first lady's "magnificent, young, bright, able, Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm."

Hold it right there for a minute. In a characteristically artful way, this canny incumbent has put his finger on one of the most obvious questions about a Hillary Rodham Clinton campaign for his seat in 2000: What has she got to do with New York?

Not that the carpetbagger issue - or the dynasty issue, for that matter - has to be an insurmountable hurdle in New York for a liberal Democrat with a national profile. Robert Kennedy's successful campaign in 1964 was proof enough of that. But this is not 1964, and the first lady would also bring a lot of other baggage to a Senate campaign.

She was the leading advocate for the great policy disaster of her husband's presidency, the elaborate health-care reforms that crashed and burned in Congress during his first term. She was tarnished at least temporarily by the firing of the White House travel staff, although Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr brought no charges. Her role in the Whitewater and Castle Grande land deals and in questionable billings by the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock remains murky to this day. Imagine what a potential opponent like the famously pugnacious New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani might do in a slash-and-burn campaign against a record like that.

Still, it's understandable that New York Democrats are salivating over the prospect of a Clinton candidacy. The top local talent has already bailed out, and the first lady would be a formidable fund-raiser if she decided to make the race. But after six bruising years in the White House, you've got to wonder whether she's really prepared to stay the course.

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EDITORIAL / Baggage Lady / Hillary Clinton would get no free ride in her New York run for U.S. Senate in 2000..., 02-17-1999, pp A36.

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Hillary: 'Careful Thought' / NY Senate bid is on her mind

By Ken Fireman. WASHINGTON BUREAU; Liam Plevin contributed to this story.

Washington - In her first public comment on the subject, Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she is giving "careful thought" to a run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York and will announce a decision later this year.

The first lady's statement will almost certainly fuel the growing political boomlet that has already made her a prime potential candidate for the seat currently held by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who is retiring next year.

Her statement comes one day after President Bill Clinton publicly touted her potential candidacy, and just four days after the president was acquitted in a Senate impeachment trial.

That acquittal, the first lady said, made it possible for her to address her political future for the first time.

"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," she said in a statement released yesterday evening. "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 first lady's press secretary, Marcia Berry, confirmed that it was the resolution of the Senate trial that made it now possible for Clinton to weigh a possible run for office.

"We made it clear that she was not in a position to think about this during that trial," Berry said.

Berry said she could not predict how long it would take for the first lady to declare her intentions. But she discouraged speculation that an announcement might come when Clinton speaks to the Women's Leadership Forum, an arm of the Democratic National Committee, in Manhattan on March 3. "I can't imagine she'll know in two or three weeks," Berry said.

The issue of timing could be critical to Democratic chances for retaining Moynihan's seat in the face of what is expected to be a strong bid for it by New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. While Clinton deliberates, other potential candidates, such as Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), have been forced into a holding pattern.

"That's a problem," said one New York Democrat, speaking on condition of anonymity. "Nita is waiting and ready to go," but the need to wait until the first lady makes her decision cuts into the time Lowey would need to raise money and get her campaign going should Clinton decline to run, the Democrat said.

Lowey has been meeting prospective supporters at the AFL-CIO convention in Florida, in California and upstate New York this week.

Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) said yesterday he hopes Clinton makes her decision "relatively early, I'd say by early spring," in order to leave time for other candidacies to develop should the first lady decide not to run.

At her sole public event yesterday, a ceremony to promote the administration's proposal for more funds for hurricane relief in Central America, the first lady shrugged off a shouted question from a reporter about her possible candidacy with a smile and a wave of her hand.

Speculation about a possible Senate candidacy was initially sparked

by Clinton's campaign appearances for Schumer last fall, which drew large and enthusiastic crowds. And it has been fueled by encouraging polls, such as one taken late last month by Quinnipiac College.

That survey found that Clinton led Giuliani among all voters by 51 percent to 42 percent, and that among women voters her lead was 58 percent to 36 percent.

"That's not a gender gap, that's a gender chasm," observed Maurice Carroll, director of the poll, which had a margin of error of 2.8 percentage points and was taken between Jan. 26 and Feb. 1

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Hillary: 'Careful Thought' / NY Senate bid is on her mind., 02-17-1999, pp A05.

First Lady considering Senate race

'Careful thought':
Clinton says she'll decide
about the New York
campaign later in year.

By Bob Deans
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — After weeks of speculation about her plans, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Tuesday she would give "careful thought" to running for the U.S. Senate next year.

In a statement released late in the day, Clinton said "a large number of people" have urged her to run for the seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

While Clinton has made no decision, President Clinton has

said he would support her "enthusiastically" if she chose to run and that he thinks she "would be terrific" in the Senate.

On Tuesday, the first lady presided over a White House ceremony to announce a request for nearly \$1 billion in U.S. reconstruction aid for Central American countries ravaged last fall by Hurricane Mitch.

"Mrs. Clinton, everyone wants to know if you're going to run for the Senate," CBS News correspondent Bill Plant shouted as the event concluded.

Clinton just smiled at the question and waved.

Hours later, though, she gave an answer of sorts.

"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," Clinton said in a statement released by her office. "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." Until then, she said, "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." If Clinton did decide to run, a prime Republican opponent would likely be New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Giuliani's press secretary released a statement Tuesday evening saying, in part, that "he would be more encouraged to run" against the first lady because "Mrs. Clinton would be the No. 1 unifier of the Republican Party in New York state."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Shift in Style for a New Senator

Schumer Broadens His Approach From His House Days

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28 — Charles E. Schumer says his personal life has not changed that much since he became New York's junior Senator. He still buys suits at a discount clothier, stays at budget hotels and urges people to call him Chuck.

But Mr. Schumer, a Democrat, is sweating the details of a change in his political life. No longer just the Representative for parts of Brooklyn and Queens, he now must understand the problems, weather the complaints and be the voice of 17 million constituents, including many who think he is a city-centric liberal who could not care less about them.

With his straight-A-student relentlessness, Mr. Schumer, 48, has immersed himself in issues important to upstate communities, from rising air fares in Syracuse to falling milk prices in Watertown, from low pay at Fort Drum to high electric rates in Jamestown.

"There is no reason why Rochester, with its great companies and its great institutions, shouldn't be a high-tech mecca in the entire Northeast," he told reporters at the opening of his Rochester office earlier this month. "That's one of the things I intend to do."

But he is also worrying about how he will play to another audience: his 99 fellow senators. There is a more intimate and courtly club than the House; individual members have far more power to shape legislation, personal relations are paramount to

success, and brass-knuckle politics are usually frowned upon.

In the House, Mr. Schumer was widely considered an effective and tireless legislator who made himself an expert on a range of issues, including gun control and banking. But his critics, and many allies, also viewed him as an incorrigible self-promoter who could be abrasive and partisan at times. To succeed in the Senate, they say, he will have to rein in some of those tendencies.

No one seems to understand that better than Mr. Schumer. Accused in the past of grabbing credit for legislation that others wrote, he says he plans to allow more senior senators to take the lead on legislation he once sponsored in the House. He has also been turning down invitations to appear on television talk programs, he says, partly to avoid causing resentment among his colleagues.

And after years of attacking House Republican leaders, he says he is learning about bipartisanship in the Senate, vowing to style himself after the late Senator Jacob K. Javits, a liberal New York Republican known for working well with Democrats.

The talk of renewed bipartisanship that emerged during impeachment is real, he said in a recent interview. "I go into a room with Senators, I start thinking, 'I get 50 of these guys to support me on something, I can pass it,'" he said. "You don't begin to think that way when there are 435."

Reflecting on what he described as

his attempts to defer to more senior colleagues, he said: "As a freshman member, you do things differently. Whenever there is a group of people talking, I'll defer to my senior colleagues first, then say my piece." He paused, then added slyly, "But it's a small group, so it's less of a wait."

Still, old habits can die hard. Some of Mr. Schumer's colleagues expressed amazement at how often he appeared before the microphones outside the Senate chamber or on television interviews during the Senate impeachment trial in January.

And when he delivered a stand-up routine at the Washington Press Club Foundation's Congressional dinner earlier this month, Mr. Schumer was widely panned when he took several barbed shots at House Republicans.

The act, which was written by his staff with the assistance of the writer-comedian Al Franken, a fellow Harvard graduate, opened with Mr. Schumer poking fun at himself for being a publicity hound. But the ballroom fell silent when Mr. Schumer quipped that Representative Bob Barr, a conservative Republican from Georgia, was preparing legislation titled the Defense of White Marriage Act.

And the silence broke into hisses when Mr. Schumer turned to House Speaker Dennis Hastert and said, "I'd like to congratulate Denny on his appointment by Tom DeLay." Mr. DeLay, the House whip, has been singled out by some Democrats as being the most powerful Republican



Senator Charles E. Schumer looking out over the Hart Senate Office Building during an office selection tour.

in the House.

"Debate," one Washington weekly, Roll Call, called the performance. "Over the top," several Republicans said. Even Josh Isay, Mr. Schumer's chief of staff, said, "I wanted to crawl under the table."

No one seriously thinks that the performance will damage Mr. Schumer's standing in the Senate. But it confirmed some people's impressions of him as hard-edged and partisan, Congressional officials said.

His friends say the misstep has already been forgotten. Mr. Schumer, they say, is destined for Senate stardom because he is a natural-born legislator, a pragmatist who can sidestep ideology to get things done.

"The Senate is a very wide open place," said Senator Richard J. Durbin, an Illinois Democrat who shares a town house on Capitol Hill with Mr. Schumer. "That plays to his strength. He's a bright fellow — I guess you'll have to write that, won't you? — and will be a major player."

Mr. Schumer has devoted much of his time since the election to traveling around the state, particularly to the regions north of the New York City suburbs, traditionally Republican territory that he is determined to win in 2004. He has pledged to put three upstate issues at the top of his legislative agenda: reducing air fares, cutting utility costs and creating jobs. He has said he will travel

anywhere in the country to lobby executives to locate offices upstate.

"God has blessed me with a lot of energy," Mr. Schumer said in Rochester. "And I want to put a lot of that energy into helping companies understand what a great place upstate New York is for relocating."

During his upstate tours, he plays the eager student, not shy about asking questions, or showing off a bit. At a meeting with Kodak executives in Rochester, he noted that he majored in chemistry for two years at Harvard, and offered some educated guesses as to why silver is light sensitive. And in a private meeting with officials at Monroe County Community College, he apparently let slip about his perfect scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

"He's got more people skills than you'd expect for someone who got 1600 on his SAT's," Dr. Peter Spina, the college president, said.

In his fashion, Mr. Schumer has also tried to demonstrate that he is not just another downstate politician who has no interest in upstate's problems until election time. One technique: tell jokes about the city.

At a dinner of business leaders in Jamestown, Representative Amo Houghton, a Republican from Corning, gave Mr. Schumer a red corduroy hat with the letters, A-M-O. Mr. Schumer put the hat on his head, and said with a wide grin, "In my dis-

trict, they would pronounce this ammo." The room broke up.

His trips, Mr. Schumer says, have already affected his votes. On a November visit to Fort Drum, he rode in a tank and received a tour from a two-star general who complained about the Army's problems in recruiting and keeping soldiers. The visit convinced Mr. Schumer of the need for raising military pay, and he voted for such legislation last week.

In the House, Mr. Schumer said, he might have dismissed the bill by saying, "Maybe we should be spending this on other things."

Mr. Schumer, whose family lives in Park Slope in Brooklyn, said his frequent travels have not prevented him from devoting Saturdays to his wife and two daughters, Alison, 9, and Jessica, 14. He has made every one of Alison's Sunday basketball games with the 78th Precinct Youth Council, and he still faxes home solutions to his daughters' math homework problems almost nightly, his wife, Iris Weinshall, said.

Ms. Weinshall, a deputy commissioner in the New York City Department of Citywide Administrative Services, said being a senator has also not changed Mr. Schumer's taste for modestly priced blue and gray suits. "A salesman said to him, 'Now that you're a senator, you should buy a more expensive suit,'" she recalled. "Chuck said forget it."

Style

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999



BY ROBERT A. BIEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST (ABOVE); FILE PHOTO/BY 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 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 draft-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 DiGiardi 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."

President Says Hillary Clinton Would Be a 'Terrific' Senator

By JAMES BENNET

MÉRIDA, Mexico, Feb. 15 — President Clinton said today that Hillary Rodham Clinton would be a "great" Senator from New York, adding his praise to a growing Democratic clamor for his wife to run for the United States Senate next year.

"It's a decision she'll have to make," the President said, after a reporter asked if he would encourage her to run. "She'd be great if she did it."

He cautioned that the idea had not occurred to Mrs. Clinton before "a lot of people started calling" and urging her to seek the seat of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in 2000.

"For reasons I'm sure you'll understand," Mr. Clinton said in an apparent allusion to his impeachment trial, "she hasn't had anything like adequate time to talk to the people who think she should do this, much less people who think perhaps she shouldn't. I mean, she just hasn't had time to deal with this."

With the trial behind him, Mr. Clinton, publicly cheerful and at ease during a 24-hour working visit to this colonial city in the Yucatan, seemed happy to fan speculation about his and his wife's futures after he leaves the office he has been fighting so fiercely to keep. "She and I both would like to continue to be useful in public affairs when we leave office," Mr. Clinton said. Mrs. Clinton, who was traveling with her husband, did not comment on her plans.

From a wispy notion planted by the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Senator Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, and embraced by a few New York Democrats, the prospect that Mrs. Clinton might run for the Senate has sprouted into full speculative bloom. On Sunday, Mr. Moynihan spoke glowingly about Mrs. Clinton's "magnificent, young, bright, able, Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm."

And today, Representative Charles B. Rangel, a Manhattan Democrat who is dean of the state's Congressional delegation, said he was "very excited" by Mr. Clinton's remarks. "Politically, we have pulled together an offer that the First Lady can't refuse," he said.

He said that Mrs. Clinton had been assured that she would have no opposition in the primary and that she would have the support of the Democratic Party and organized labor. Further, he said, major New York donors have called Mrs. Clinton to say that they would back her bid for office. "Quite frankly, it's a question of will," said Mr. Rangel, who is a member of the official delegation here. "She's been through so much that if she decided it would be too much, nobody should lean on her just because it would be good for our state and our nation."

Mr. Rangel did not elaborate on the nature of the assurances that no other Democrat would enter the race. But Judith Hope, the state party chairwoman, described Mr. Rangel's remarks as "a figure of speech" and said he was not describing "any kind of official or formal process." But Mrs. Hope, who has encouraged Mrs. Clinton to enter the race, said tonight that "it is more clear to me now than it has been that she is in fact giving this quite serious consideration."

Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, who is also part of the delegation here, said he discussed the possibility of a Senate race with Mrs. Clinton on Sunday night. "She seemed very serious," he said. "She said everybody tells her, 'You could win this thing.'"

Mrs. Clinton also met on Friday

with Harold Ickes, a White House adviser who has long been active in New York politics, in part to discuss the Senate race, Mr. Ickes said.

Mrs. Clinton, who returned to Washington with her husband this evening, has never held elective office, and as First Lady, she has spoken longingly of her wish for a "zone of privacy" around her family. Instead, her hairstyles have been critiqued, her billing records as an Arkansas lawyer scrutinized, and her steadfast loyalty to her husband lampooned. Reporters monitor her every move — did she take her husband's hand? Did she move out from under his encircling arm? — for signs of marital peace or discord. She does not like that at all, friends say.

The Clintons do not own a home. To register to vote, they have used the Little Rock address of Dorothy Rodham, Mrs. Clinton's mother.

For a Senate race in New York, Mrs. Clinton would have to establish residency there and determine how to balance campaigning with her extensive duties as First Lady. She would almost certainly face a full-time and well-financed Republican opponent, possibly Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. She plans to decide whether to run soon, officials say, to avoid unnecessarily interfering with



Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Mérida, Mexico, yesterday on an official trip with President Clinton.

other potential Democratic candidates. Some senior White House aides seem baffled by the Clintons' interest in a possible race for Senate, and express surprise that they have not dismissed the idea. They predict that Mrs. Clinton will ultimately decide not to run.

Other than the President, who said Mrs. Clinton would be "terrific in the Senate," White House officials dodged comment on the subject today. "The President was particularly unclear on that subject today," said Joe Lockhart, the press secretary, "and I have nothing to add to that."

But as the speculative bubble grows, few senior public officials, in or out of the Administration, can avoid being asked for their opinion of Mrs. Clinton's plans — whatever they may be. It was the first question put today to Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, when she tried to brief reporters on the multitude of incremental agreements that President Clinton reached here with President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico on fighting drugs, controlling illegal immigration, and snuffing out forest fires. "Mrs. Clinton is a fantastic human being, and anyone who knows her knows that she would be a great public servant," Mrs. Albright said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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

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 cam-

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



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

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"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

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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.

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BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

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"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.

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"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



BY ROBERT A. REIDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

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"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."

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Certainly, Lowey must be tired of all the draft-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. Unless she's talking about Hillary.

"Well, the fact that Hillary is the first lady and is in a class by herself causes the media to focus on her exclusively, and it is a fascinating story," Lowey says. "So I guess it's just the facts of life. And frankly, it

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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."

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

Mr. 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 post-impeachment 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

The New York Times

Giuliani Basks in Media Glare on Mrs. Clinton, Potential Candidate

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 — Sound- ing 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.

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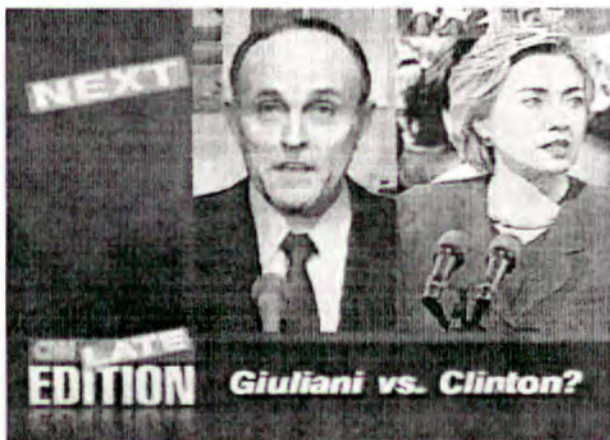
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In Post-Monica World, 'Hillary for Senate?' Has to Do

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 cloy- ing yet harmless way to ease into an interview: Mr. Russert promotes his own program and Mr. Torricelli banter 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 com- ments 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 thor- oughly scrutinized that it is only a slight exaggera- tion 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 Recon- struction. 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 consid- eration" to running set off a frenzy. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose announce- ment 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 indeci- sion 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 Thurs- day the Mayor appeared on "Crossfire," on Friday on "Today" and CNN's "Inside Poli- tics," 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 Congress- woman who has said she might run but only if

Mrs. Clinton doesn't, was on "Fox News Sun- day" 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 sug- gests 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 Schiller (an NBC consultant).

The Sunday talk shows covered more sub- stantive 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 seg- ment, "On the Campaign Trail." In a taped interview, George Will, never their most dy- namic commentator, talked to John Sweeney, president of the A.F.-C.I.O. The pabulum ques- tions 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 Congresswom- an 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 pre- dicted 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 sup- port 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 candi- dates, 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 pro- gram, Senator Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Sena- torial 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 Hillar- y 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 relin- quish next year because both Mrs. Clinton and her husband "had de- cided 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. Chris- tine 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 Sen- ate in 2000 would require ending her final term as Governor "a year short."

■ 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.

LUC NOVOTICH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

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: Whitewater 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 printed 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, Betty Ebeling, 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 carpetbagging.

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."

New York Report

The New York Times

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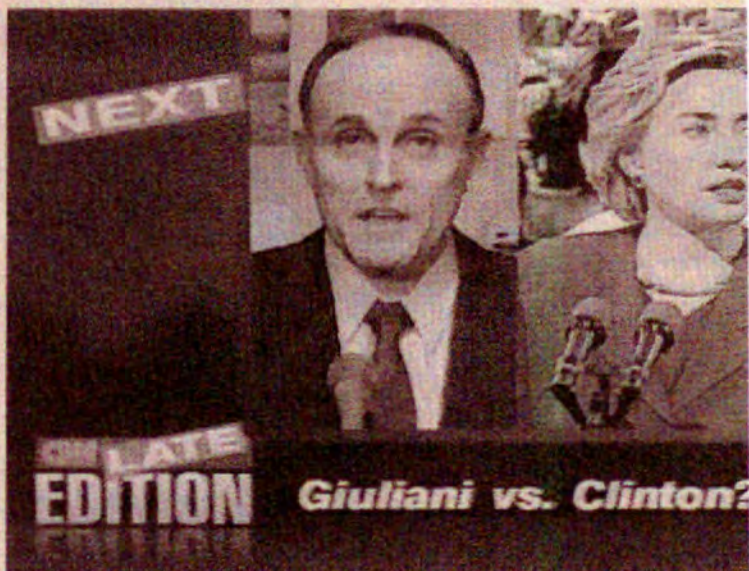
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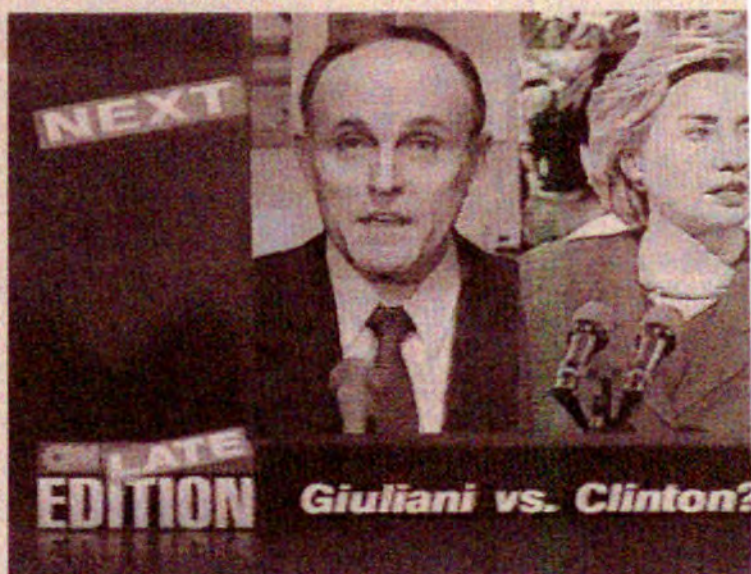
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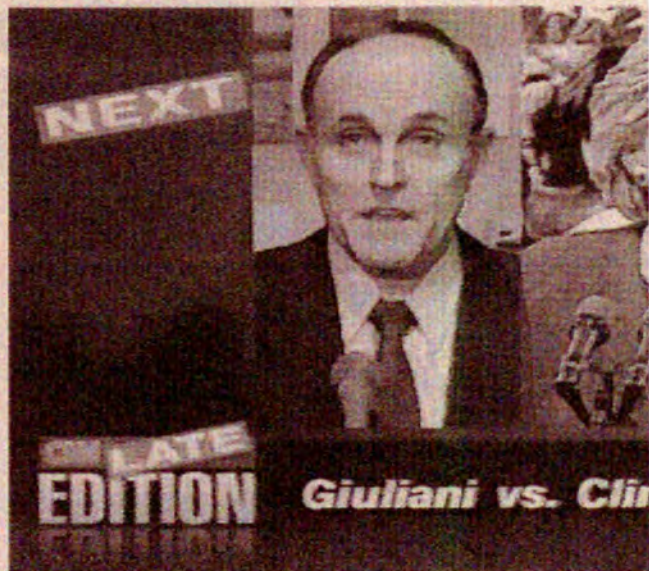
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PHOTOCOPY
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New York Report

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

The New York Times

Media Glare on Mrs. Clinton, Potential Candidate

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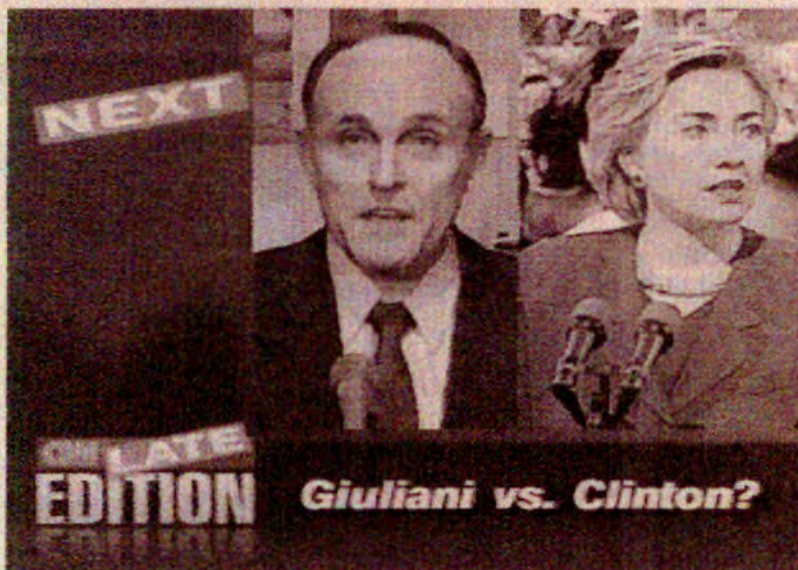
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CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

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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 Schiller (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-glitzy 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.

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"But I love the job I've got," she
said, noting that running for the Sen-
ate in 2000 would require ending her
final term as Governor "a year
short."

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Bright political future for Hillary

So Hillary Clinton is going to think about running for the Senate in New York?

The idea of running Hillary for office isn't new to the Clinton family. In 1990, when Bill was laying plans to run for president, he thought he needed the Arkansas governorship as a launching platform.

However, Clinton concluded that he could have the best of all worlds if Hillary were governor and he had more time to run for president. I encouraged them to do it, mainly because I thought Hillary would make a better governor. The idea was dropped when polls indicated that she could not win.

Then Bill wrestled for several weeks with the idea of not seeking a fifth term so he, like Jimmy Carter, would have a full two years for the presidential race. Clinton says he decided to run in the middle of a press conference he called to announce that he would not run for re-election.

One might think that the idea of Hillary running for high office in a state in which she never lived and never intends to live is ridiculous, but there's precedent for it. In the mid-1960s, Bobby Kennedy, needed a base from which to launch his 1968 presidential campaign, ran in New York and was elected easily. If Hillary runs in New York, we'll get a comparison of the popularity of the Kennedy and Clinton dynasties.

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, the man she would replace, is encouraging her to run, Democrats in Washington are warm to the idea and New York Democrats, who don't have a candidate who can tackle either Gov. George Pataki or Mayor Rudy Giuliani of New York City, are downright enthusiastic.

John R. Starr



The race won't be the cakewalk that Bobby Kennedy's was. Pataki and Giuliani, the Republicans, are extremely popular. Both have won re-election in token races, and one of them is sure to take up the challenge Hillary presents rather than allow New Yorkers to elect a second Democratic senator.

Hillary would make a better senator for New York than Bobby Kennedy did. It won't take her but a few years to become a New Yorker, just as she became an Arkansan two years after she started trying to be one out of political necessity.

The New York Senate race is not the only option for Hillary. There is reason to believe that Al Gore will choose her as his running mate if he gets the Democratic nomination, and he could get it more easily if he gets Hillary on the ticket from the get-go. As a matter of fact, getting Hillary on the ticket may give him his only chance to win the nomination.

Finally, it is not beyond the realm of reason that the Clintons, if their popularity ratings stay high, will double-cross Gore and run Hillary for president. She as good as anything they've got, including Gore.

Hillary for president would give the Clintons a shot at maintaining their opulent White House. They're not going to have 100 servants anywhere else they go.

It's time we had a female president. I wouldn't be at all put out if the race in November 2000 is between Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton. The race would give us the kind of clear liberal vs. conservative option that we didn't get in either of the Bill Clinton races.

To run for the Senate, Hillary can continue as the artificial person she had to become in Washington to properly play the role of first lady. If she goes for the presidency, she needs to find some way to get back to being the good old girl she was when she left Arkansas in January 1993.

I am confident that she can do it.

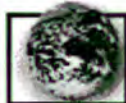
Hillary's political opportunities are there whether or not she decides to keep Bill. In some ways, she would be a better candidate without him.

There are, of course, many non-elective options for Hillary if Gore is elected. If Bill had not made him vice president, he would not have been in a position to run for president. Hillary probably can have any cabinet post or ambassadorship that she wants.

Ambassador to one of the larger countries is a cush assignment. Hillary would also make an excellent secretary of state or secretary of health and human services in a Gore administration.

I'm comfortable with the idea of Hillary in the White House, but I'd like the idea a lot better if Bill would announce that he won't live there but will go to Hollywood to prepare their retirement home and to do whatever it is he does best.

John R. Starr is the former managing editor of the Democrat-Gazette.



Beyond the City

Hil Eying N.Y. Run for Senate Campaign decision likely soon, aides say

By **KENNETH R. BAZINET**
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Aides to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday acknowledged for the first time that she is seriously considering running for the New York Senate seat in 2000 — and will make up her mind as early as next week.

"It's my impression that she is very intrigued by it," said a key Clinton associate who once dismissed the idea as far-fetched.

The Clintonite still believed, however, that the First Lady would not take the plunge. "It could go either way, but my best guess is that she will decide against it," the associate said.

One source told the Daily News the First Lady's decision would come "after the Mexico trip," on which she'll accompany President Clinton on Sunday and Monday.



Albans NEWS
**First Lady Hillary
Rodham Clinton**

Aides acknowledged she had been seriously considering the race, taking into account, among other concerns, that her decision has put the ambitions of other potential candidates on hold.

One major issue weighing against a race is that it would seriously reduce the amount of time she wants to spend to make sure Vice President Gore succeeds her husband.

A veteran Democratic operative and former administration official noted that a Gore victory in 2000 would be the final trophy for the Clintons — legitimizing his presidency and carrying on their agenda.

"The paint on the house isn't dry until Al Gore is elected," the operative said.

Another consideration is her likely Republican opponent, Mayor Giuliani.

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COVER STORY

It Takes a . . . Carpetbagger

With Rudy planning a Senate run, New York Democrats are searching for another Bobby Kennedy, someone to ride into town and lead them to the promised land. Hillary Clinton, your room at the Carlyle is ready.

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY

Political speculation comes, and political speculation goes. But this one, as far as New York Democrats are concerned, is the Mother of All Scenarios, a dream worthy of their sense of history: Hillary for Senate.

It seems, at first blush, ridiculous. Even she couldn't pull *this* one off. Wouldn't want to, for one thing. Run for Senate from a state she's never lived in? Only to go back to Washington -- she *hates* Washington -- back to the city of Ken Starr and Trent Lott and Chris Matthews and Sally Quinn, where they see her as an intruder and debaucher of pre-Clinton-era mores that were, um, unimpeachable? She should be dying to get the hell out of there, start making the kind of money she needs to pay those legal bills, hover in the penumbra of national politics for a while, live happily with her breathtaking transformation from ultra-liberal, anti-cookie immoralist to martyred feminist familial rock.

But hold on a minute. Surely, she wants a career and, after her husband's term ends, will be free to establish one on her own terms entirely.

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term ends, will be free to establish one on her own terms entirely. Surely, she hankers still to be at the center of things. Surely, having done the spade work of public service, having read to thousands of schoolchildren and lit hundreds of Christmas trees and been roped into lending her name to that silly little bestiary about Buddy and Socks, she wants more substance and less fluff. So why not?

"That's something that . . . I don't know how much of a possibility that is," says James Carville. "It's more fun to speculate than anything else."

"Off the record?" says a Senate Democratic staff person. "Not a chance in hell."

"She'd be a terrific candidate. She could win," says George Stephanopoulos. "SHE'S . . . NOT . . . RUNNING!"

One might ask, however, if George, given his own career change, is still in the loop. And others who know her aren't quite so fast to slam the door. "She's not about to make any Shermanesque statement," says Harold Ickes, who says he still talks to her every couple of weeks or so. "I'd be surprised, but, you know, you never know."

Nope, you never do. And unlikely as it may seem to some, it has to be said that the trajectory of her life these last tumultuous years has been pretty unlikely, too. Hillary for Senate? Call it improbable, but admit, too, given who she is and what New York is, that it makes a strange kind of sense.

This story has two parts. One part, of course, is about Hillary -- her pilgrim's progress, as it were, her search for redemption and a future, the unprecedented and unique politico-cultural space she occupies. We'll come back around to that. But the other part, and in many ways the more interesting part, is about New York. Stephanopoulos is blunt on this point: "This is as much about the vanity of New York and New Yorkers as it is about Mrs. Clinton. And by using the word *vanity*, I affirm that I am not a candidate in this race."

The Hill-for-Senate boomlet emanates, in the first instance, from a few very specific political observations: (1) Rudy Giuliani is likely to be the Republican nominee for Pat Moynihan's seat in 2000, and the Democrats will be hard-pressed to find someone who can run credibly against him. (2) It follows that the national party risks losing a Senate seat at a moment in history the Democrats are hoping will propel them back into control of Congress, and the state party loses a major, and prestigious, power base. (3) The state Democratic Party is not, shall we say, rich with talent just now. (4) The state Democratic Party is not rich with money, either, and would not mind finding a candidate who can raise plenty, for both self and party. (5) There's one Democrat whom Democrats seem to love, love, love.

"I've been working on this ever since Senator Moynihan decided he wasn't going to run again," says Harlem congressman Charlie Rangel, who seems to be the one who came up with this idea and who has run it by both Clintons without getting a yes, but also without getting anything like a no. "It's just amazing how she's gained the respect of so many Democrats, here in New York and everywhere. She'd be a very viable candidate."

To whom? "I can't begin," Rangel gushes, "to give you the names of labor leaders and politicians and activists who believe it would be a fantastic thing for our state and our party."

Rangel is right -- virtually every Democratic official and activist in New York is reduced to drool at the thought of her running. And money? Please. When New Jersey senator Robert Torricelli floated the idea of a Hillary candidacy in early January, it wasn't simply idle cheerleading: Torricelli is the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, which means it's his job to scour the nation and find candidates who can make realistic runs for the Senate (i.e., can raise at least \$10 million or so). Ten million, for Hillary, would be lowballing it. A Hillary-for-Senate campaign would have to employ half-a-dozen staffers just to open the checks.

It all sounds too good to be true to New York Democrats. Left for dead after the losses of David Dinkins and Mario Cuomo, they started to see daylight last year when Chuck Schumer toppled Al D'Amato. If Hillary ran, they say -- especially if she ran against Giuliani -- it'd be like the heavens opening up. "I think she would win if she ran," says Elizabeth Holtzman. "There'd be a tremendous amount of enthusiasm for her, tremendous excitement among women, in the African-American community. Her husband is very popular here, and she, if anything, might be more popular."

"Hillary would be an A-plus candidate," says Public Advocate Mark Green, "since she has the creativity, agenda, and resources necessary to compete against any Republican."

"She would," says one local Democratic consultant, "be a shoo-in. No argument."

"It'd be fun, man," Carville says. "Everybody would love it. You'd have the situation where, if those two ran, the New York Senate race would be more interesting than the presidential race."

Now we're getting to the heart of the matter. New York, of course, expects to be the center of attention in all matters. This is still true in many respects, but it's not true in politics. Yes, we have the country's most famous mayor, some would argue its most successful mayor. And we have a governor who, just because he's governor of New York and not of Montana, gets to mull a presidential run while reporters scribble down his thoughts. But the governor hasn't yet established himself as a Man of Stature, and the mayor, well, the mayor makes it kinda hard sometimes for the banned-from-City Hall citizenry to revel in his success. Schumer has the potential to earn a real place in the history books, but he's just getting started. Beyond that, they're all second-echelon -- no great and powerful congressional chairmen, no larger-than-life figures. And the power centers? They've moved to the suburbs out past O'Hare (Henry Hyde's district) and, Godsakes, Mississippi.

New York -- Democrats, naturally, but really the whole New York Establishment -- yearns for the kind of starring role it hasn't had in years. But for a starring role, you need stars. Big, serious people, with brains and, what, elan. Herbert Lehman. Robert Wagner, the first. Adam Clayton Powell. Bobby Kennedy. Pat Moynihan. Mario Cuomo, except that he never put his talents to the ultimate test. Sure, it makes more

sense, given her personal history, to run from Arkansas or Illinois, but at the end of the day, they're . . . well, Arkansas and Illinois. Chicago's great and all, a world-class city; but who's she going to hobnob with in Chicago, that lady who writes the V. I. Warshawski novels? "I think people in this state like having glamorous representatives," says Diane Ravitch, New Yorker, former assistant secretary of Education, and, like Hillary, Wellesley alumna (though earlier, she matriculated alongside Madeleine Albright). "That's how Bobby Kennedy got in in '64."

Yes, Bobby. Everyone points to Bobby. He wanted to run for president in 1964, but with Lyndon Johnson already in the Oval Office, he decided against it. He wanted to be Lyndon's veep, but Johnson decided a Yankee wouldn't bring the ticket anything and he needed a Midwesterner (and, oh yeah, Lyndon hated his guts). Meanwhile, New York Democrats, riven by fighting between the regulars and the reformers, had lost the governorship to Nelson Rockefeller and, in the city, were reduced to leaning uncomfortably on a mayoral administration, that of Robert Wagner (the second), that was running on empty -- indeed, in 1965, Republican John Lindsay would wrest Gracie Mansion away. A star like Kennedy and a beleaguered party seemed a perfect fit, so Bobby "moved" to New York, setting up residency in one of the family's homes, out in Glen Cove, even though he basically lived at the Carlyle until he bought his U.N. Plaza apartment.

It's nice narrative symmetry, but in fact the parallel between Bobby and Hillary is not exact. Bobby did not find the New York waters entirely smooth. The carpetbagging charge was the most obvious and the first to hit; his supporters fetched up the fact that he'd lived in Riverdale for a while as a youngster. He got caught up, also, in the reformers-regulars fight -- his posthumous image of progressive honor is a bit misleading, as concerns the Bobby of 1964, who was in the main the candidate of the party bosses. "Bobby had to work," says Ronnie Eldridge, the West Side city councilwoman who was one of his reform supporters. "His brother had been assassinated, of course, there was a Kennedy legend, everybody felt sorry for him, and all that. But he had to fight for it. He was under attack."

The Bobby precedent has cleared Hillary's path, though, by making the residency point, for one, moot. Hillary, if she comes to New York, will face no such attacks, at least not from Democrats. "The president asked me what was the downside," Rangel says. "He was concerned about residence. I told him Bobby Kennedy and Buckley had done that before" (that's James Buckley he means, a GOP senator who filled the Kennedy seat in 1970. Bonus trivia question that will be popping up over the next year: Who held the seat from 1968 to 1970, after Bobby was killed? Upstate Republican Charles Goodell, appointed by Rocky). The *Times* editorial page, no great friend of La Clinton lately, opined that New York primaries should operate on "the general theory of the more the merrier, including those who move to New York to find work" -- gee, who else could they have meant? And anyway, it's certainly not a legal issue. Lee Daghlion, spokesman for the state Board of Elections, says there's no real residency requirement to speak of for federal candidates. "She or anybody doesn't have to be a resident until Election Day," Daghlion says, adding that "you could be a resident just by moving into a hotel room." In the Carlyle, say.

So that's settled. And there aren't intra-party feuds anymore, mainly because there aren't enough Democratic activists even to have a feud

anymore. And, of course, the state elected Kennedy in the end, bought its little acre of Camelot. There's every sign that New York will offer her a kindred balm. "She'd be an extremely strong candidate," says attorney Victor Kovner. "She's enormously popular. She's a great campaigner. She would evoke enormous excitement among Democrats of all stripes." Even *Post* editorial-page editor John Podhoretz said on New York 1 that, "much to my disgust," New York "would welcome her with open arms."

New York likes what she represents (there is that welfare bill, but there aren't enough Democrats around anymore to quibble about things like that, either); doesn't much care who she or her husband sleeps with; feels palpably sorry for her; would love one more chance to prove itself less hypocritical and more effortlessly sophisticated than the nation's gaseous capital, would get a kick out of being her giant base camp in the culture war that has swirled around her frequently re-coiffed head over the past eight years.

So there's New York's rationale. What's hers? Here's Ickes: "A lot of people" -- this "lot" would presumably include both Ickes and Hillary -- "would see this as a sort of race of redemption. It's a multi-layered thing. Go back to when [Bill Clinton] first started running, you had the two-for-one thing -- you know, how she said, you elect him, you get me too. Then there was the co-presidency thing. Then came the health-care fiasco, which was I guess mostly laid at her doorstep. Then she went underground a bit. Then she had the legal travails, the commodities-trading thing, and the questions about billing at the Rose Law Firm. Then came the pillorying of Hillary, you might say, and the constant effort to drive the president and Hillary out of office. For her to run and win a very, very prestigious seat would permit her supporters to say there was a lot more here than anybody thought, and you guys were wrong."

Her supporters would indeed say this. She would probably refrain from saying it, but she'd certainly think it. And, though in one sense the possible elevation of Hillary is a complex sociological story that takes in everyone from Tammy Wynette to Ellen DeGeneres, in another sense it's really that simple: Redemption. Without ever having run for office, she's been through everything people who run for office have to go through, and more. It's not as if she didn't ask for it -- through the remark Ickes cites, and things like her old crack about having better things to do than baking cookies, she did leap smack into the hurricane's eye. But it's fair to say, too, that the other side got a little rough with her. Okay, more than a little. It's hard to think of things that would delight this political animal more than the knowledge that Trent Lott and Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms would have to call her "colleague." And, with 19 Republicans (out of 33 senators total) up for re-election in 2000, and 21 (again, out of 33) up in 2002, odds are decent that Democrats can recapture the Senate, and then they'd have to call her "Madame Chairwoman." Redemption doesn't come much bigger.

What no one knows at this point is what she thinks about this. Ickes says he talks to her regularly and insists that "she hasn't given it any thought." Rangel spoke to her about it on a trip to the Dominican Republic, after Hurricane Mitch. "She wasn't offended, let me put it that way," he says. "And she didn't say it was impossible."

Rangel said reporters and others in the Dominican Republic, hot on a

rumor, started asking her about it, "and she smiled and said, 'Don't tell me Charlie Rangel's got you too!' " She may just find it all amusing. Five percent of her may be waiting to see if anything like a groundswell builds. But this much is axiomatic: When politicians want to kill talk, really kill it, they say no.

Running for office, it turns out, has been on her mind before. Dick Morris says that in 1990, Bill Clinton was originally leaning toward not running for reelection as governor, and Hillary, says Morris, thought about giving it a go. "She commissioned me to do two polls about it," Morris says. "They showed that while very popular, she hadn't really carved out the independent image for herself that she has now. That conclusion infuriated her. She hated it. In fact they made me go back and do a second poll, with more carefully worded questions and so on. That came up with much the same thing."

Obviously, developing a rationale means weighing these kinds of downsides. Right now, thanks to *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, she is at the peak of her cultural moment. This kind of luster tends to dull when one becomes a declared candidate. "Once you announce," says Ickes, "your poll ratings drop fifteen or twenty points. And she knows that." And, even if legal residency is not an issue, the question of a First Lady moving out of the White House, of woman moving out on husband, even that husband, is salient. "Can you just imagine the kind of speculation that would cause?" Stephanopoulos asks. "That would become the whole race -- 'What does this really mean?' and all that sort of thing."

Maybe; Stephanopoulos knows his Washington press corps, and the national reporters and cable shows would surely fulminate over this question. But maybe not; after all, the New York press corps is the one that decided that, on balance, Rudy Giuliani's private life wasn't a thing of consequence or interest. The *Post* might work this angle, but the *Post* has better toys to play with here, like that quote about Palestinian statehood, which it plastered on its wood. Besides, there is precedent of a sort: Guess which First Lady spent lots of time in Greenwich Village during part of her husband's tenure (hint: She's looking over Hillary's and Rudy's shoulders in this very magazine)? Besides that, it must be admitted that Hillary is half of a couple that's turned social conventional wisdom on its head. If Bill can shoot up in the polls after what he did, there's no reason she couldn't hit 140 percent if she moved out on him.

There's another problem, though. "Of course she's enormously popular," says Victor Navasky, publisher and editorial director of *The Nation*. "First of all, there's the iconography of the situation, and then there are her own qualities. But she also has great baggage she comes with." Navasky recalled 1979-80, when the press urged Ted Kennedy to take on Carter, writing that the nomination would be his for the asking, and then, from the day he announced, screamed Chappaquiddick. Navasky asks: "Is she in the line of Robert Kennedy, or is she in the line of Senator Bill Moyers and Senator Ted Sorensen and Senator Walter Cronkite, all of whom were supposed to be elected at some point or another?" Moyers and Cronkite never ran, but Sorensen did, in 1970; David Halberstam wrote a blistering attack on him in *Harper's*, and Sorensen became one of the great flameouts of recent political history.

Halberstam says today that he was writing against "what I thought at the time was the worst of the Kennedy bullshit, the sense of entitlement and so forth." He had also been wary of Bobby in '64, but realized later that

"I was wrong. He really grew." And now, with respect to Hillary? "The test is not fame," he says. "Rather, it's how good a public person one is. How much has the person been in the wars, how much has the person changed? Has she really been in the pit as a public person? The answer is dramatically yes."

There wouldn't be much questioning her qualifications. There would be some skepticism as to her rationale, but that would be skepticism she could handle, or at least prove wrong over the course of a campaign. But in all likelihood, she'd face one more barrier, and his name is Giuliani.

Hillary v. Rudy. it doesn't quite have the seamless story line that would present itself if Hillary were to move to Georgia and run against Bob Barr, since Giuliani has put plenty of space between himself and the cultural right. But it's still two icons who stand for pretty different things. Daughter of the Sixties against the Man Who Wants to Bring Back the Fifties. McGovernite versus He Who Jumped the Democratic Ship Because of McGovern. It Takes a Village versus Seal Off the Village.

"I don't think she would have a prayer against Giuliani," Morris says. "Giuliani is one tough campaigner. If they think that a former prosecutor is not going to dredge up every last detail of Whitewater and her legal transactions, they're really kidding themselves. I think she knows this." Besides, he adds, "I mean, we don't know this for sure one way or the other, but there may still be a sealed indictment against her." Now *that* would be a deal-breaker.

Democrats counter by saying that turnout for Hillary could be so massive, enthusiasm so seismic, that Giuliani or any Republican would simply be buried. "This is basically a Democratic state," Liz Holtzman says. "If people don't dislike the Democrat, as they did Mario Cuomo in 1994, I don't see any good reason why a Republican should win. And you talk about enthusiasm. People will want to come out and vote for her. There'd be tremendous excitement."

One scenario is hard to argue: Imagine black voter turnout for Hillary and against Rudy. Huge. Hillary Clinton, via her husband, sits on a record at which black voters, on paper, should cast a gimlet eye: Pro-death penalty, pro-welfare reform, this sort of thing. But it hasn't hurt her husband's popularity among blacks, and it sure won't hurt hers. "He can't run on crime, because crime's gone down nationally under her and her husband," Al Sharpton says. "If I was Hillary, I'd rob that from him. He couldn't even run on welfare. I don't say these things with pleasure, necessarily, but they're so."

Giuliani, against Hillary or anyone else, would probably run somewhat to the right of where he governs, which he has always done; think, for example, of the importance his campaigns have placed on the Orthodox Jewish vote. He'd definitely raise the carpetbagger issue. And Morris may be right about Whitewater and so forth, although that kind of campaign, against Hillary Clinton and in New York, carries the risk of backlash. Mostly, he'd run on his record. It is, as we know, a formidable one. He'd certainly do better among white voters in the city than your typical Republican, and chances are they're ga-ga over him in the suburbs.

But his record is a mayor's record. The Senate is something else, even putting aside the question -- which, if he does run, will assuredly not be put aside -- of whether his bearing is a senatorial one. "Senate races are about making a statement politically," says David Doak, a Washington-based Democratic consultant. "They're about philosophy and ideals. Mayoralities and governorships are about many things, about getting things done. I think a lot of people who voted for Giuliani because of squeegee men" -- here, let's note that Doak worked on David Dinkins's campaigns -- "wouldn't necessarily vote for him for the United States Senate."

To represent philosophy and ideals, Hillary Clinton just has to stand there. Her platform will involve education and health care and the standard run of issues, but really, the less specific she gets, the better. And speaking of Doak, who would be the cogs of a Hillary campaign? Maybe Doak, doing the media, or maybe Bob Squier or maybe Bob Shrum or maybe Mandy Grunwald. Certainly Ickes. In all likelihood Susan Thomases, Hillary's best New York friend. Victor and Sarah Kovner. Rangel, as black liaison and as the guy (every campaign has one) who says the things about the other side that the candidate can't afford to say. Throw in Maria Echaveste, White House deputy chief of staff, who's from the Bronx. She's married to election lawyer Stanley Schlein, who, perhaps with lawyer Henry Berger, would look after the legal paperwork. Where Ickes goes, you may find George Arzt, consultant and former aide to Ed Koch. Whither Arzt, you'll find John LoCicero, another old Koch hand. Bring in Dennis Rivera, for troops and phone banks. Throw in maybe a couple of Chuck Schumer's staff people, a couple from Mark Green's office -- hell, throw in everybody. Who'd say no?

Surely, they all dream of getting the call. But it's only a dream, and it's likely to remain so. Meanwhile, off to the side sits Nita Lowey, who, under other circumstances, would have been regarded as a perfectly satisfactory, even a quality, candidate.

Who is Nita Lowey? She grew up in the Bronx, near Yankee Stadium. She raised her kids in Holliswood, Queens, "around the corner," as fate would have it, from a family by the name of Cuomo. Then she moved up to Westchester, to Harrison. With no electoral experience, she ran for Congress in 1988, against a well-financed GOP incumbent named Joseph DioGuardi, and she beat him. Again in a rematch in 1992. Whatever she's been doing for ten years, she's been doing it well enough by her constituents' lights that when she ran last year, she didn't even have a Republican opponent. It has to be said at the very least that she has a feel for her district, which includes parts of . . . the Bronx, Queens, and Westchester.

"I'm looking very seriously at the Senate race," Lowey says. "I've been encouraged by a lot of people to make the race -- my county chairman, certainly, has been supportive, as have other county chairs. I'm talking to friends and supporters and other people and trying to figure out if it's the best way for me to serve." And, she notes, "I've made it very clear that if Hillary Clinton decides to run, the entire state party, including me, will be behind her."

Lowey might even be a strong candidate against Giuliani -- woman, suburban, moderate. She's got personality, and the race would be lively.

But even the mere phrase "county chairman" brings the whole enterprise thuddingly back down to earth. County chairmen run races. Hillary would run a crusade. Crusades aren't necessarily more successful, but they sure are more fun.

From the January 25, 1999 issue of New York Magazine.

> [Table of Contents / January 25, 1999](#)



N.Y. SENATE RACE WOULD GIVE HILLARY A RUN FOR HER MONEY

By DEBORAH ORIN and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

The Hillary Dream has top New York Democrats floating on air - but the reality of a Hillary Clinton Senate candidacy may not be as rosy.

No doubt, she would be a star candidate and could raise oodles of dollars.

She now leads polls against likely GOP rival Mayor Giuliani.

But once she runs, the experts note, voters will start looking at her actions and her issues.

Like her unilateral declaration of support for a Palestinian state, which infuriated Israeli officials as well as many Democrats.

The First Lady touched off a firestorm last year when she said it would boost peace "for there to be a state of Palestine ... on the same footing as other states."

Mrs. Clinton stuck by her "personal" stance even though it infuriated Israel and conflicts with her husband's policy that Palestinians must negotiate statehood with Israel.

Even Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer (N.Y.), a Clinton loyalist, said he was "vexed and disturbed." And Giuliani, her potential rival, ripped her for "romanticizing Yasser Arafat."

"Most people have no idea that she stands for a Palestinian state, and that could be a serious problem in a state where one out of seven voters is Jewish," said GOP pollster

John McLaughlin.

"And most Jewish voters are core Democrats. That could mean, if she runs against a strongly pro-Israel Republican like Giuliani, that she'd just split the Jewish vote."

On most issues, Mrs. Clinton is on the liberal wing of her party.

On abortion, she's ardently pro-choice and also is a strong supporter of gay rights - but those might not be big issues against Giuliani, who shares her views and has a track record in office.

Still, many might feel that someone as high-profile as Mrs. Clinton could be in a better position to push women's issues.

She's a strong supporter of gun control - as is Giuliani, who stumped with Clinton for a handgun-control measure.

But where she stands on the death penalty - a major hot-button issue here - is unclear. And she has never presented herself as tough on crime.

As First Lady, she's made caring about kids her big issue in recent years. Nobody would quarrel with that motherhood-and-apple-pie issue, and Mrs. Clinton seems to have a real chemistry with little kids.

But she also, presumably, shares her husband's ardent opposition to any kind of school voucher program to give public-school kids a private-school alternative. And that's a hot issue here, especially with many Catholic families, and Giuliani is on the other side.

Then there's Mrs. Clinton's failed bid to nationalize health care, which Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) said was based on "fantasy" and would have devastated New York's prized hospitals.

And suppose she's asked about her husband's attempt to line-item veto a measure arranged by Moynihan and former Sen. Al D'Amato (R-N.Y.) - a veto that would have zapped one state, New York, by a whopping \$2.7 billion until the Supreme Court blocked it.

"By becoming a candidate, all's fair," says Republican strategist Eva Campbell, who

figures Billy Dale - the career travel staffer ousted at Mrs. Clinton's behest to make way for her cronies - could become a media or ad star in New York if the First Lady runs.

Sexgate is a dicey issue. Thanks to her husband's caddish conduct, most pols in 2000 risk being asked if they've cheated. Ironically, Mrs. Clinton could be the only one who's exempt - because it could seem too nastily personal.

A Democratic strategist says Republicans wouldn't dare go after her on Clinton scandals like Whitewater "because most New Yorkers are sick of it."

And because she's admired for her strength under fire.

But Republican strategist Rich Galen predicts Mrs. Clinton would have to explain her own actions - such as her claim that investor savvy and not an insider fix helped her turn \$1,000 into \$100,000 on cattle futures.

"New York politics is as tough as politics get. Her actions were never the central issue because you can't impeach First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton," Galen says.

"But you can certainly impeach Hillary Rodham, candidate."

MORE NEWS

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Sen. Rodham Clinton of New York?

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

NEW YORK — Friends of Hillary Rodham Clinton quiver with anticipation that she will run for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year, but political insiders predict the first lady won't take the plunge.

The political professionals harbor doubts, despite the fact that nearly all local polls show Mrs.

Pundits doubtful; pals hope she'll run

Clinton way out in front in matchups with two potential Republican opponents: New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Alfonse M. D'Amato, a former three-term senator.

"Even though she's ahead and even though all her friends in New York want it, my feeling is she's not going to run," says political strategist David Garth. "She's too smart."

If the Senate impeachment trial fails to convict President Clinton, Mr. Garth adds, New Yorkers "would be euphoric for about three weeks, and then they're going to say, 'Boy, this guy really got away with it.' And she might be the recipient of that. I mean, everyone's

a little embarrassed by Clinton."

But the prospect of a battle between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani has political operatives in both parties salivating over what could be the most colorful Senate race of the 2000 cycle.

Speculation about a run by Mrs. Clinton began in earnest in both Washington and New York last month, and the first lady's office has studiously avoided any comment — positive or negative — on the idea.

A New York magazine writer called it "It Takes a Village vs. Seal Off the Village," a play on Mrs. Clinton's well-known book and Mr. Giuliani's aggressive efforts to improve civility and public manners in his city.

Not since Robert F. Kennedy adopted New York and ran successfully for the U.S. Senate in 1964 has so much excitement been stirred by the possible injection of an outsider into a state race.

Mr. Garth, one of New York's veteran political kingmakers, reasons that voters at the moment view Mrs. Clinton sympathetically as "the loyal wife," not as an elected official. "She looks good, but as you get further away and if [Mr.] Clinton beats the rap — and they start looking at her as an individual — she may have some problems," he notes.

Political analysts agree that Mrs. Clinton would come to the Senate race with "a lot of baggage" — particularly her comment during Middle East peace talks in May that she favored creation of a Palestinian state. Although the White House tried to play it down, many interpreted the statement as a trial balloon for her husband's policy.

Such a position could pose a problem for Mrs. Clinton among the large numbers of Jewish voters in New York City.

Like the biblical parting of the Red Sea, possible Democratic contenders have either bowed out or stepped aside to await a sign from Mrs. Clinton. Democrats who have decided not to make the run include Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo; lawyer Robert F. Kennedy

Jr., the late senator's son; and state Comptroller H. Carl McCall.

Other Democrats putting a possible race for the Moynihan seat on hold include Public Advocate Mark Green and U.S. Reps. Nita M. Lowey and Carolyn B. Maloney.

One potential wild card is former Gov. Mario Cuomo. New York Post columnist Neal Travis reported this week a "quiet move" in state Democratic circles to draft the liberal Mr. Cuomo, who toyed with running for president on a number of occasions, for the Moynihan seat.

Meanwhile, Sen. Charles E. Schumer and Rep. Charles B. Rangel, the principal Democratic enthusiasts for a run by Mrs. Clinton, have stoked the fires of speculation, asserting that the first lady's silence on a candidacy means she has not made up her mind.

New York friends of Mrs. Clinton's say that should she decide to run, money would not be a problem.

But a Manhattan-based fundraiser for the Clintons said the first lady would "never" run for the New York seat because of the steep legal expenses she and her husband face. It is more likely, added the source, that she would seek a Senate seat in her home state of Illinois. But to do that, she would have to challenge a fellow Democrat, Sen. Richard J. Durbin, in 2002, or wait until 2004 to run against Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a Republican.

A poll released last week by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion found that 52.5 percent of those surveyed would support Mrs. Clinton, compared with 42 percent for Mr. Giuliani. The first lady led Mr. D'Amato, who has been mentioned as a possible candidate, 57.2 percent to 37.7 percent.

Said Marist polling director Lee Miringhoff: "Clearly, voters are responding in the abstract, but up against D'Amato, Hillary takes a large hunk of the Republican women, and even against Giuliani, there's a big gender gap here. She actually loses men in New York, but wins women overwhelmingly."

New York's Conservative Party chief Mike Long sees Mrs. Clinton as an extremist on social issues who would drive votes into the Republican camp.

The many women of Bill

Keeping up is a full-time job

I'm sitting here thinking about Bill Clinton's women, which, as you know, can be a full-time job. Let's take them in no particular order.

Hillary Rodham Clinton: She should not run for the U.S. Senate from anywhere, and certainly not from New York.

She hates the media—really, she does—and New York is the media capital of the world, a veritable 24-hour media orgy on which are piled the network stars and the finest reporters from the most reputably nosy newspapers, not to mention the rattiest tabloids, the nastiest columnists and the most shocking radio jocks. There's no escape; they hound you at midnight and then hound you at 6 a.m.

She'd step in it up there, I tell you. Big time. Her smarts are best applied to the practice of law, not to the art of politics. She does not like criticism; she cannot abide a loss of control. She wants her "zone of privacy," by which she means unoccupied space. There is no unoccupied space for a celebrity political candidate in New York City.

Put her on a New York City sidewalk amid cameras and microphones and she's sure to attack Tammy Wynette or cookie bakers or offer an offhand adoration of Arafat and the PLO. And just where did those billing records come from? And where did she get off having secret meetings to design a health care bill that went down in flames from impracticality and an unwillingness to compromise smartly?

Look, she and Bill are a team, a good one, and on a good team you have dedicated role players. On their team, he is the political performer and she is the fixer. Having her run for the U.S. Senate from New



**John
Brummett**

York is like putting your all-star offensive guard at quarterback.

What she needs to do is collect a massive advance for that book of hers, after she promises to get candid in at least one chapter on the angle of the philandering husband, and affiliate with a law firm and get really, really rich.

Monica Lewinsky: She will charm America in a two-hour special "20/20" presentation Wednesday night on ABC, sitting politely for the occasionally absurd questions of Barbara Walters.

She will ably articulate her regret. She will make the relationship with Your Boy Bill mildly understandable. She won't trash the president. She will shed an appropriate tear. And when asked about Ken Starr, she'll pause, and pause some more, and look around, and then say nothing while making her utter contempt evident.

Juanita Broadrick: Her story is the most vexing of all—credible in part, but seemingly outrageous in its elevation of Your Boy Bill's misbehavior from crude mashing to sexual assault or rape.

I find personally believable her account of meeting Clinton and getting together with him a second time, and of winding up in a hotel room with him, and of finding him all over her and resisting. I understand why she wouldn't have made an issue at the time

and why she wouldn't have wanted to tell her story in the Paula Jones case and why she would have decided to own up only when Ken Starr's official-looking G-men came around.

But her account of a cold and vicious physical attacker who casually departed the room by telling her to put some ice on the lip he'd bitten—gosh, it's hard to imagine.

Two things about her story: It cannot be proven and can never advance past its incarnation as unsubstantiated allegation, and it, more than anything else, makes me wish Your Boy Bill would go far, far away.

Paula Jones: She may be the most pitiable character of all. Something akin to what she alleges of Clinton probably happened. But her intellectual challenges are so great that she can hardly get through an interview without misinterpreting a simple question.

She was simply a pawn, and only a pawn, in something a bit less than what Hillary called a vast right-wing conspiracy. It was n't vast, and it wasn't exactly a conspiracy. It was a campaign. It was waged by rabid right-wing lawyers who moved this little girl from Lono County about the spaces on a board game called The Politics of Destruction.

The best thing that happened to her was that one of the spaces on the board called for a nose job.

Gennifer Flowers: It wasn't any 12 years and it sure wasn't love. But she was the first among the Other Women to reveal her name, and no one can ever take that away.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

BC-CLINTON-SCANDAL-HILLARY

Hillary giving consideration to Senate run

By Steve Holland

WASHINGTON, Feb 12 (Reuters) - Now that her husband's impeachment trial is over, Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to give careful consideration to running for a New York Senate seat in 2000, her aides said on Friday.

Flattered by all the attention she has received about a possible run, Mrs. Clinton has done nothing to discourage speculation about what would be an unprecedented political event -- a sitting first lady actively campaigning for a political seat for herself.

"Now that the trial is coming to an end she'll have a chance to put some thought into this," said her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry.

"Other people have been very interested in the speculation and have talked to her about it. But it's not the kind of thing that she's really been able to think about at this point," Berry said.

Berry said it was unclear how soon Mrs. Clinton would make a decision, adding that the first lady was simply "relieved" that the Senate impeachment trial was over.

"The kind of people who have talked to her about it are people she respects, and I'm sure she'll give it very careful consideration," she said.

Other aides sought to dampen speculation that she might announce a decision as early as next week.

Close aides, who asked to remain unidentified, still doubted that Mrs. Clinton would take the plunge -- particularly so soon after the difficult year she has had dealing with her husband's sex scandal and the resulting strain in her marriage.

But they insisted that she had not made up her mind and would want to talk to her husband and others about it.

"She doesn't know what she is going to do about this," said one top aide. "It's very intriguing obviously as a political possibility ... Obviously, the first lady is more than aware that she has to let people in New York know one way or the other. She doesn't want to be a spoiler. If she chooses not to run she doesn't want to drag it out and hurt other people's prospects."

The aide added: "Where it comes down I don't know. I don't think she knows. Now she's going to have to give it some attention and give it some closure."

New York Democrats want to the first lady to take advantage of the state's loose residency requirement and run for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Democrats fear that New York Democratic Representative Nita Lowey, who would like to run for the Moynihan seat, does not have the name recognition to defeat the expected Republican candidate, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Lowey is waiting to see what Mrs. Clinton does before announcing her own decision to run.

"Nita has said that Hillary is a friend and that they share the same concerns and that if she runs, she will support her," said Lowey's chief of staff, Howard Wolfson.

He said Lowey was "moving forward, meeting with New Yorkers, and doing what is needed to prepare for the race." Lowey would like to make her decision by April.

Timing is of prime importance because of fund raising concerns. New York Democrats predict it will take \$12 million or more to run a successful campaign.

Mrs. Clinton, a 51-year-old native of the Chicago area, generated the speculation with frequent travels to New York, including a Feb. 3 appearance at a Manhattan fund raiser with her husband. There, she gave a speech in which she spoke easily and confidently about Clinton's budget proposals.

After she introduced her husband, the president responded with a remark similar to President John Kennedy's when all eyes were on his wife Jacqueline

during a visit to Paris.

``It looks to me like it is highly likely that I will increasingly be known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York,' ' Clinton said.

The New York State Democratic Party would love her to run.

``Should the first lady decide to run we would be very excited by her candidacy. However, we are not counting on her running and are very confident that a candidate like Nita Lowey would do very well in preserving Sen. Moynihan's legacy,' ' said party spokesman Matthew Hiltzik.

He pointed to a poll by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion that showed Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani 53 percent to 42 percent among registered voters.

``Clearly, at first glance, this idea is intriguing to New Yorkers,' ' said Lee Miringoff, who conducted the poll.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES METRO THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1999

No Off Switch For Spotlight

So many is-she-or-isn't-she questions, so few facts.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON may or may not be running for the United States Senate. She may or may not be buying a certain apartment on the Upper West Side.

She has not weighed in. But it seems as if everyone else has. Her chances against Republicans like MAYOR RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI and her chances with Manhattan's notoriously tickle co-op boards have been dissected with unusual care this week.

"The Monica stuff is over, and people are looking for something to gossip about," said one Democrat who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "The lack of information makes it even more stimulating."

The speculation continued yesterday, with more talk about Mrs. Clinton's supposed interest in a cooperative apartment at 280 West End Avenue that has been on the market for \$1.295 million. Never mind that the doorman and the managing agent say that Mrs. Clinton has not even stopped by for a look-see.

"The funniest thing about the real estate community is, everybody's talking about what they've read in the papers," said one real estate agent who has been showing the apartment. "There's absolutely no true corroboration available."

Which is about what HAROLD ICKES, a former White House official who has discussed the Senate race with Mrs. Clinton, said.

"I know nothing about an apartment, nothing whatsoever," he said. "This stuff is wildfire."

Maybe Mrs. Clinton has compartmentalized her life, separating her apartment-hunting from her campaign decision-making to the point of keeping an insider like Mr. Ickes out of the real-estate loop. Or maybe she has realized what those who already live in New York know only too well: it is an expensive place, and the Clintons have never been wealthy.

"You can form a committee to pay legal bills, you can form a committee to set up a library," Mr. Ickes said. "You cannot form a committee to raise money for every day living in New York or else we'd all have committees."

Would renting be more affordable, as some Democrats noted? WILLIAM C. RUDIN, the president of a large family-run real estate firm whose roster of tenants has included V.I.P.'s like FORMER MAYOR DAVID D. DINKINS, answered the question with a question: "Hillary, who?"

As Pressure Rises, First Lady Faces Decision on Senate Bid

Democrats Advocate for N.Y. Race; Aides Discourage Speculation

By DAN BALZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will "seriously consider" whether to run for the Senate from New York in 2000 once the Senate impeachment trial of her husband has been concluded, several knowledgeable Democrats said yesterday.

The first lady has been besieged in recent weeks by Democrats in New York and elsewhere who have strongly encouraged her to seek the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), arguing that she would be the strongest possible candidate the party could nominate.

Hillary Clinton's office sought to play down intensifying discussion about a possible Senate race yesterday, and a number of Democrats said they still doubted that the first lady would jump into electoral politics this year, despite the pressure she is under.

But the possibility of a Clinton Senate campaign appears to have moved beyond the point of mere speculation, according to a number of sources. As one Democrat familiar with New York politics put it yesterday: "People who were telling me until a week ago that they didn't think this was going to happen now believe it's really possible that it could happen."

Another Democratic source said, "I think she is thinking about it and will take a hard look at it now." But he added, "Unless she's made a decision in her soul and has told no one, she has not decided what to do."

Marsha Berry, Hillary Clinton's press secretary, offered no clues about the first lady's leanings. "Her feeling has been that she's not in a position to be thinking about making a decision about a life choice like this while the Senate is conducting their business," Berry said. "I suspect at some point in the not-too-distant future she will begin to give thought to it."

Berry discounted reports that the first lady's staff had begun to clear her calendar later in the year and noted that several foreign trips have been scheduled.

A senior adviser to the first lady said, "There are an awful lot of people who are clearly interested in having her run. But I am not aware of a single serious discussion she has had with anyone, outside of listening to people who have pleaded with her to do this."

But others said she already is thinking about it. The chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Sen. Robert G. Torricelli (N.J.), "is putting tremendous pressure on her," said one

Democrat knowledgeable about the race. "Labor folks are really pushing it. The New York money folks are really pushing it. She hasn't dismissed it out of hand. She's interested and is considering it and will go through that process."

The Clinton-for-Senate boomlet has energized New York Democrats. "Democrats in this state are more and more excited by the prospect that she might run," said former state Democratic chairman John Marino.

The talk of a possible Senate campaign has grown in part because of a suggestion from President Clinton that the first lady might take the plunge. He told a fund-raising dinner in New York last week that he might be remembered as "the person who comes with Hillary to New York."

Around the same time, New York Democratic Party chairman Judith Hope fed the speculation by saying she thought the odds were "50-50" that Clinton would run. Yesterday, Hope sounded more cautious. "I still think it's a long shot and would be surprised if this were the choice she made," Hope said. "But it is my very strong impression that she has not ruled this out."

New York Democrats said the first lady would enjoy universal support within the party if she decided to run and likely would face no



BY DUSAN VRANIC—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses delegates to a U.N. conference on world population Tuesday in The Hague. In the United States, a former Democratic Party chief in New York says speculation that the first lady might run for Senate there is energizing his party.

primary opposition. They said she would have strong backing from labor, women, African Americans, Hispanics and New York City voters.

Another New York Democrat said a Clinton candidacy would generate "more energy across the state than at any time since the Gene McCarthy anti-war campaign" in 1968.

But a number of Democrats said the first lady had to undertake a more serious analysis before making a decision.

"I would be 100 percent for her going, but I don't want to encourage some fool's errand," said Bill Lynch, a leading New York Democratic strategist. "I think she would be a heck of a candidate, but we have to do some assessments of where

things are in the suburbs and upstate."

Others said there were several reasons why Clinton might not want to run. First, she would give up the opportunity to make a significant amount of money after the president leaves office. Second, she would face a brutal campaign—particularly if her opponent were New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R)—that likely would resurrect issues such as the Whitewater land deal and her commodities trading in Arkansas.

"The question she has to answer is, do I want to put myself through that recycling?" one Democratic strategist said.

Third, she has had a difficult relationship with the media since coming to Washington and could be hurt by that unless she adopted a

different posture toward journalists.

A final consideration is that she might not win.

Several Democrats already have passed up the race, but Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.) is strongly considering a campaign. Democrats said the first lady will need to make a decision soon out of deference to the needs of other potential candidates.

"It's important that she make that decision over the next few months, and I mean two months, not four months," Marino said.

"She's not a frivolous person," said one Democrat. "My sense is that she will make the decision fairly quickly."

Staff writer Ruth Marcus and researcher Ben White contributed to this report.

HRC Clips

Regarding Potential
New York Senate Bid



Friday, February 19, -
Tuesday, March 2, 1999

Style

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999



BY ROBERT A. WEISS — THE WASHINGTON POST (ABOVE) THE PHOTO BY SUSAN DEERE — 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 Schupier, 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 Schupier. "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 draft-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.

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."



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.



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 Ninfa 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

POSTOPINION



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,

Opinion of Hillary Clinton

Date	Favorable	Unfavorable
Nov. 13	54%	39%
Dec. 18	62	32
Jan. 18	60	33
Jan. 29	63	31
Feb. 13	59	34
Feb. 26	53	39

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 husband is president. When you get your face on the cover of Time and

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

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 characterization of a self-made man who worships his Creator.

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

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

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.

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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."

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 O'BIERAJ

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 prospect of a 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

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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.

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

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.

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? □

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 against 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.

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 Arkansans. 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, Arkansans 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-

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 ever 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 interesting 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 speculation? I don't think she will. She's too smart.

Philip Martin



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 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

being 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.

Arkansas Democrat -
Gazette 2/28/99

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.

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HOME

NEWS & VIEWS

Beyond the City

Headlines Index

Last 6 Days

Search/Archives

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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."

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2/26/99 1:00 PM

The Jewish Week

NEW YORK

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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 prejudge 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



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." □

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

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 of statehood.

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.

sent 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 criss-crossing the country over the next 20 months 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

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 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-



MAYOR'S PHOTO UNIT

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 superceded 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's 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.

Forward 2/26/99
66/96/99

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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 papers + NY Post

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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 ****

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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

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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,

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

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12

'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.

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



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

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

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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."

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.

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.

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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

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. □

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

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 Broaddrick. 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 Broaddrick'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
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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.

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 Ovitz'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.

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.

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

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL NEWS

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."

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

here's no more Monica
ry, no more
eachment, then
at's a newsmagazine to
'Ah, how about this?



The Hyping 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?" Al D'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."

The New York Times

Giuliani Basks in Media Glare on Mrs. Clinton, Potential Candidate

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 — Sound- ing 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 ambitiously 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 sided 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.

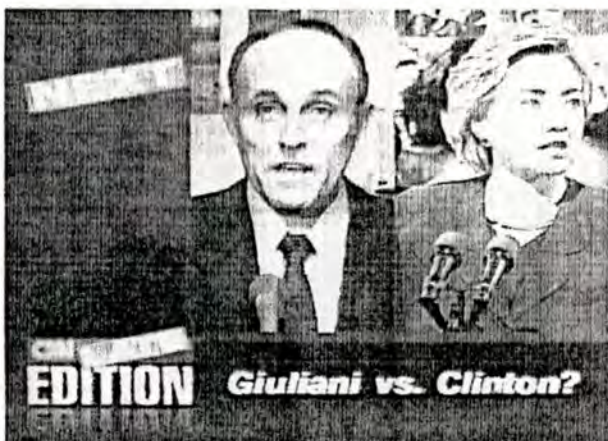
Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani have said they have not decided whether to run for the seat now held by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who plans to retire at the end of next year.

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.

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."

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.

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK "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 NBC'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-glitzy 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?"

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: Considering 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



By David Karp, AP

Giuliani: Possible GOP candidate

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*.

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.

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.

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 spirit 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



Rudolph Giuliani

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."

Mr. 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 HARVARD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—As Republicans in the nation's capital struggle to shake off their post-impeachment blues, this week's visit by the GOP's high-flying 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 "warning 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

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."

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."

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



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

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.

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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.

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Arkansas Democrat-Gazette 2/22/99



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. A brief commercial break, one of the reporters broadcast what he called a "mini bombshell," saying Torricelli believed Clinton would run.

That started people talking that she 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 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 Joycelyn. And another thing Huckabee and his wife have lacked 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 Gato 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.

**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.

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 commencing 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, Becky Elbel, told a friend, "It's an example of her



Hillary Rodham Clinton
Giving 'careful thought'

being wanted for herself, and I think that's great," said Elbel, 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.

Clinton says she will give careful thought to something that

means she will," Elbel 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 carpetbagging.

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, Rich and 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."



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the Democratic National Convention at the United Center on Aug. 27, 1996.

■ 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-pockets 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.

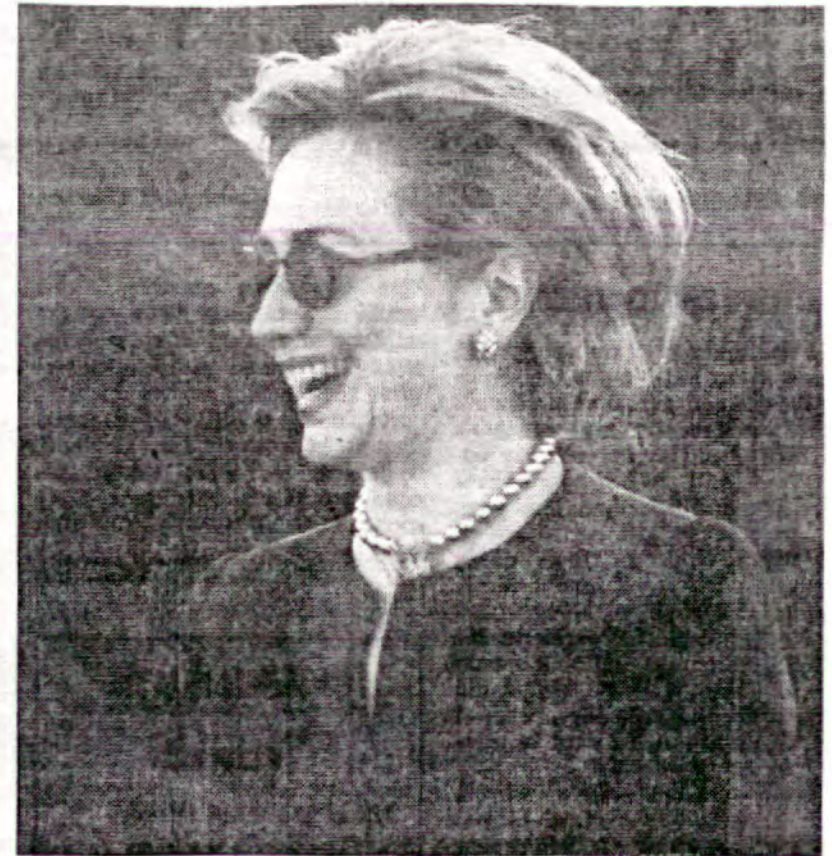
So if the U.S. Senate is what she wants, newcomer Peter Fitzgerald is a perfect target. But he's not up for re-election for six years.

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.

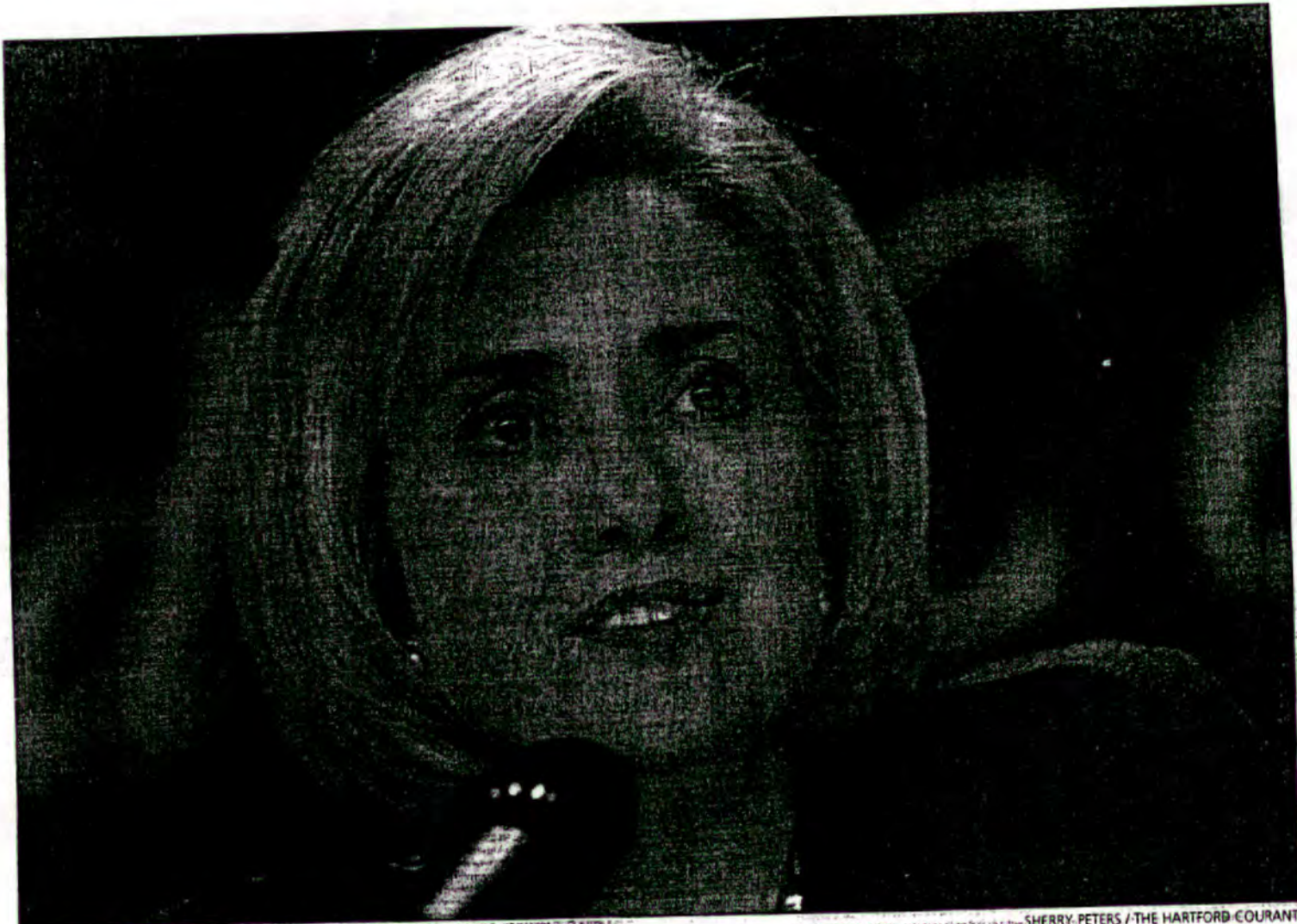
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SHERRY PETERS / THE HARTFORD COURANT

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

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.

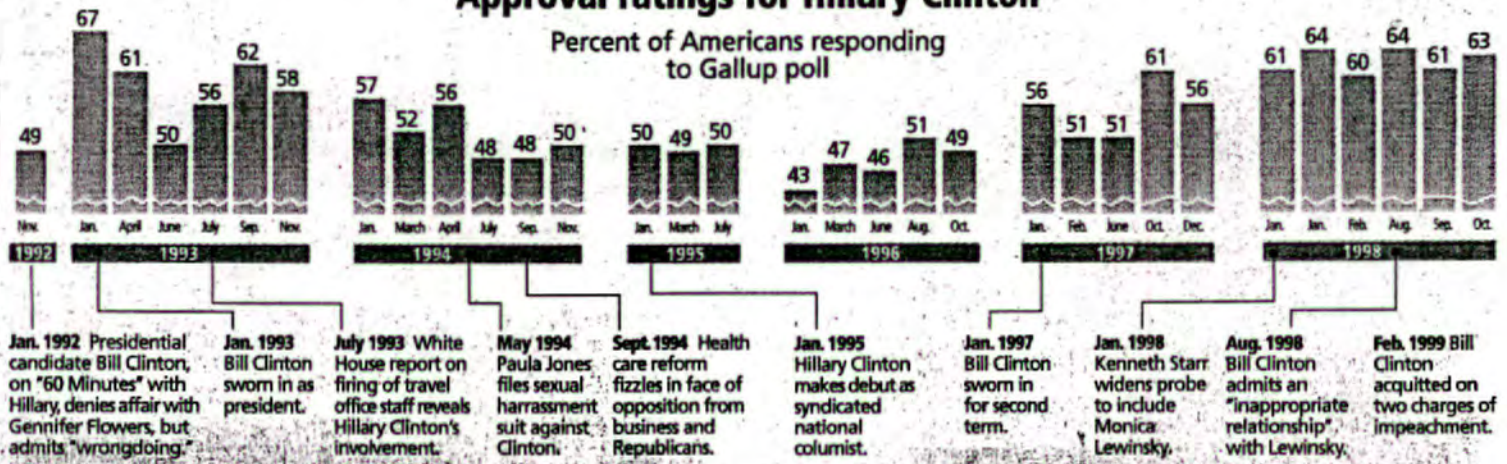
"She and I both would like to continue to be useful in public affairs when we leave office," the president said Monday.

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."

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.