



UNZIPPED

- **Aborted Pentagon big's baby**
- **Called Clinton 'a bigger liar than I thought'**
- **Mulled suicide leap from hotel**

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See page 27 to enter.

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MONICA UNZIPPED

MONICA ADMITS SHE



TELLING ALL: Monica Lewinsky says she became pregnant after an affair with a Pentagon employee. AP

Monica Lewinsky had a secret abortion as a result of her affair with a Pentagon employee — in the midst of her scandalous fling with President Clinton, she reveals in her long-awaited book.

Lewinsky was traumatized by the experience — but taunted Clinton with stories about the other man in her life, the book says.

She never told Clinton about the abortion and had to borrow money from an aunt to pay for it.

"I wasn't emotionally prepared for it," Lewinsky told London's Daily Mirror, which carries excerpts from the book and an interview with her in today's editions.

"It was just horrible and very depressing."

Among other revelations appearing in Andrew Morton's "Monica's Story," which goes on sale in America today:

■ Lewinsky at first didn't find Clinton attractive.

"With his big red nose and coarse, wiry-looking gray hair, he's an old guy," she says.

Book bares her fling at Pentagon

By Devlin Barrett in London and Andy Solis in New York

"There were tons and tons of women in the White House with crushes on him and I thought, 'These people are just crazy. They have really bad taste in men.'"

■ But during their flirtation "he undressed me with his eyes" and "we clicked at an incredible level."

"People have made it seem so demeaning for me but it wasn't, it was exciting and the irony is that I had the first orgasm of the relationship," Lewinsky said.

■ Once they became romantically involved, they would have long conversations at the White House.

"He would sit in the rocking chair and I would end up sitting on the floor

at his feet with my elbows on his knees and we'd just talk," she tells.

■ Her first meeting with Sexgate prober Kenneth Starr's prosecutors at a Ritz-Carlton hotel in January 1998 upset her so much she considered throwing herself out of a 10th-floor window.

"If I killed myself, then there would be no information and I wouldn't have to deal with the hurt and trouble I had caused the president," Lewinsky said.

■ Lewinsky always believed Clinton's reputation for playing with the truth, "but the events of the last year have shown him to be a much bigger liar than I ever thought."

■ She kept the infamous stained dress not because it was a trophy or evidence but because she couldn't afford to have it dry-cleaned immediately. "Being both a carelessly untidy young woman and one who has to keep a strict eye on her budget, she had seen no reason to have it cleaned immediately, doing so when she couldn't wear it would be a waste of money," her book asserts.

■ Monica and her family eventually turned sharply on their lawyer, William Ginsburg, whose show-biz style made her look like a Valley Girl out of her league.

"With hindsight, he was a terrible choice," her stepfather, Peter Strauss, says of Ginsburg.

In the 288-page book, Lewinsky reveals she had a three-month affair with a fellow Pentagon worker identified only as a "craggy-faced older bachelor" named Thomas.

The former intern met the man while on assignment in Bosnia, according to Daily Mirror editor Piers Morgan.

One evening after a date, Thomas invited Lewinsky to spend the night at his house, but she rushed home, where she later had a long, intimate phone conversation with the president.

"Even when she had a regular boyfriend, she always kept one eye on the clock, racing like Cinderella to get home before

See ABORTION on Page 22

Lewinsky & kin lash out at Linda

By ANDY GELLER

Monica Lewinsky and her family unleash their venom at Sexgate taper Linda Tripp, calling her a meddling witch, a praying mantis and a delusional brainwasher in the Sexgate siren's new book.

In "Monica's Story," they describe Tripp as a disgruntled, manipulative woman who — out of revenge — lured her young friend into a trap to incriminate President Clinton.

Tripp, a Pentagon employee, secretly taped her conversations with Lewinsky and turned them over to prosecutors, sparking the Sexgate scandal that resulted in the attempt to oust Clinton from office.

"She is like a meddling witch, a praying mantis," says Marcia Lewis, Lewinsky's mother.

Lewis calls Tripp "delusional," saying she had "an obsession with Clinton, at one point claiming that Hillary Clinton was jealous of her because she [Hillary] suspected that she was having an affair with the president."

Lewinsky compares Tripp to Svengali, a character in a 19th century novel who, through hyp-



TRIPP'S FALL? In her new book, Monica says, "Everyone in our family wants Linda Tripp (above) to lie awake at night worrying about going to jail." AP

nosis, transforms a talentless young woman into a famous vocalist.

"It was like she was brainwashing me," she says.

The book says Lewinsky thought she was confiding

in a friend when she poured out the story of her affair with Clinton.

Instead, she was being "lured into a trap, the unwitting bait with which to catch the president."

The book says Tripp be-

trayed Lewinsky because she hated the White House and loathed Lewinsky, who represented everything Tripp was not: "Young, pretty, well-educated, sexually liberated."

MONICA UNZIPPED

CLINTON 'MAKES ME

PHOTO PRESERVATION



TWO MUCH: Monica Lewinsky and Barbara Walters smile before taping the interview.

Claims he's sorry only that he was caught

A chastened Monica Lewinsky sometimes hates President Clinton and is sickened by her ex-lover's behavior, she said during a much-hyped TV interview last night.

The former White House intern said that while she has mixed feelings about the president, she's no longer in love with him and was devastated by his public denials and apologies about their affair.

"Sometimes I have warm feelings, sometimes I'm proud of him still, and sometimes I hate his guts. And, um, he makes me sick," Lewinsky told ABC's Barbara Walters in the "20/20" interview.

Asked what she would someday tell her children about the dangerous liaison that plunged the nation into scandal, Lewinsky said: "Mommy made a big mistake."

The "20/20" interview marked the first time Lewinsky, 25, told the story of her affair with Clinton without prodding by investigators and lawyers.

She also talked about her earlier affair with a married man in Oregon, a relationship with a Pentagon official that ended with an abortion, and her dream of finding Prince Charming.

Sighing and giggling, she described how intense flirting with Clinton led to hurried Oval Office trysts — and a relationship so intense that he cried several times.

"There was the time when I asked him to clarify the relationship — whether it was, you know, only for sexual reasons or not, early on," Lewinsky said.

"And he got upset at the notion that I might even think that, and the tears came to his eyes."

"He cried when he broke up with me on May 24... It was an intense relationship. At least that was how I saw it."

Lewinsky said Clinton even led her to believe they might have a future together.

"The president and I were having a very intimate discussion and he... said that he wished he had more time for me and I said... 'Well, maybe in three years, you might'...

"And he said, 'Well, I might be alone in three

years."

"I was very stunned to hear him say that, and so I said, 'Well, I think we'd be a good team.' And he said, 'Well, what are we going to do when I'm 75 and have to pee 25 times a day?'"

"That to me certainly indicated that it was a thought that had crossed his mind."

Her view of the relationship clashed with reality after the affair became public last year.

Clinton's under-the-gun responses to the allegation left her heartbroken — starting with his initial finger-wagging denial of a sexual relationship with "that woman."

"The 'that woman' part of the quote was so very harsh and it was... hurtful," she recalled.

"I could see how angry he was and, um, I didn't think he needed to go about denying the relationship in this manner. That was disappointing."

"I think he could have taken a higher road in his denial..."

"It still would have been," he said, she said, "if he had said 'Monica and I were friends. She's a great woman, she's a bright woman. I don't know why she's saying these things.'"

Monica was also wounded when White House aide Sidney Blumenthal quoted Clinton as calling her a "stalker" who made unwanted sexual advances.

"That was the defining moment when I really knew and fell out of love with him. And I knew at that moment that he was definitely not the person that I had ever thought he was," she said.

Watching a videotape of the president's address to the nation last Aug. 17, Lewinsky chewed her lip as she heard him admit the affair and apologize to everyone but her.

"I felt like a piece of trash. I felt dirty and I

Amorous intern may be talking head

By MICHAEL STARR

ABC is thinking of adding a new co-host to its daytime gabfest "The View" — Monica Lewinsky.

"Just as I was coming downstairs, the phone rang and it was Monica, who said, 'Good luck,'" Barbara Walters said on yesterday's show — hours before her interview with America's most-famous ex-intern aired in prime time.

"So it's an open invitation, Monica!"

Bill Geddie, who executive-produces "The View" with Walters, said:

"I think she'd be great in the co-host's seat. She's the right age, and has the right experience — and it's seriously crossed our minds... if she is interested."

The idea might not be as far-fetched as it seems.

The show's roster of co-hosts now consists of Barbara Walters, Joy Behar, Meredith Vieira and Star

Jones.

Adding Lewinsky would make sense, since the Sexgate siren fits the bill with ABC still looking to replace departed twentysomething co-host Debbie Matenopoulos.

Lewinsky would be just what the TV gods ordered: A twentysomething woman with a little on-camera experience, great hair, an extremely high recognition factor — and plenty to dish about.

Including him.

"She would have to be able to discuss everything and anything," Geddie said. "They just discuss the world at that table. Nothing is off-limits."

And there's an added bonus: Lewinsky's coziness with Walters, especially after last night's touching two-hour "20/20" interview — easily the year's most riveting TV moment.

"Barbara has brought it up jokingly, but Monica has so many different



EXPERIENCED WOMAN WANTED: Barbara Walters, on "The View" yesterday, shows Joy Behar a scar Monica knitted. Will the Sexgate siren join the show? ABC

things on her mind right now that I don't think it's in the cards," Geddie said. "But hope springs eternal."

Lewinsky wouldn't get a free ride based on her celebrity, Geddie said.

"She would have to try out just like everybody

else," he said. "We would have to see how she does for two or three days."

"Anybody would want her on their show — and we're no different!"

"The View" airs weekdays at 11 a.m. on WABC/Channel 7.

MONICA UNZIPPED

HAD A SECRET ABORTION

Here's Monica Lewinsky's view of the key players in Sexgate — compiled from her TV interview and new book.

On President Clinton, before they met: "I had only seen him on TV and I never thought of him as attractive...With his big red nose and coarse, wiry-looking gray hair, he's an old guy."

On Clinton's truthfulness: "I always knew he wasn't a very truthful person, but the events of the last year have shown him to be a much bigger liar than I ever thought. Now I see him as a selfish man who lies all the time. That makes me very angry and resentful."



On Linda Tripp: "I pity her. I would hate to be her. She is not me... There are some days that I just regret that I ever confided in Linda Tripp."



On whether Vernon Jordan knew of her affair with Clinton: (Jordan) said, "...Maybe you'll have an affair with him when he's out of office." And that was just startling to me. Then I said to him, 'Well I already had an affair with him.' "



On Chelsea Clinton: "She is the most precious thing to him [Clinton]. I had a very strong affinity for her, even having never met her, not having any interaction with her and wanted good things for her."



On the infamous blue dress: "[I] threw it in the closet. And it was funny. I had mentioned it to my girlfriends. We laughed about it. With one I even joked, 'Gee, maybe he'll pay for the dry cleaning.' "



On her feelings toward Ken Starr: "I'm too afraid to answer that. I'm sorry."



On her former lawyer, William Ginsburg: "At first... I think his motives were in the right place. But unfortunately I think he got bitten by the bug, and it became more about Bill Ginsburg than it did about my well-being and my welfare."



Returning from King Hussein's funeral in Jordan, Mrs. Clinton emphasizes that the President's budget proposal includes a \$25 million contribution to UNFPA.

Hillary Clinton assures Forum of renewed US support for population and development

COMMITTEE



LOUIS SILVERSTEIN / THE EARTH TIMES

ANALYSIS

To rally support from US

BY ROBERT L. SCHIFFER

Two seemingly unrelated developments at the Hague Forum on Tuesday combined to give hope of renewed US financial support for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

First was the assurance given by Hillary Rodham Clinton that her husband's administration would work to restore the \$25 million funding for UNFPA that the last US Congress had cut from Washington's current budget. Then, as if in instant response, came the announcement that a new US Committee for UNFPA had been formed to help rally American public support behind UNFPA and its funding needs.

With a board made up of a mix of leading public figures and former UN and UNFPA officials, the new US Committee has been set up in an effort "to focus the attention of policy makers and the American public on the tremendous challenges

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

BY JACK FREEMAN

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States did everything she could do on Tuesday to demonstrate the enthusiasm that she and her husband share about the Cairo Programme of Action, but her warm words did little to dispel fears that the Clinton administration may not be able to deliver on its promises.

"When nearly 600,000 women around the world still die every year—that is one every minute—this is no time to cut back on our commitments to family planning," she said.

She opened her address to the Plenary of The Hague Forum with an announcement that the President's budget proposal for the next fiscal year includes a \$25 million voluntary contribution to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)—and she spoke of UNFPA Executive Director Dr. Nafis Sadik in glowing terms.

But some people who listened to her speak—and said they were impressed by her presence and her delivery—noted that the Republicans who have spearheaded

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

MEETING SARAH C. CLARK

'More energy needed'

It's not that Sarah C. Clark is disappointed, but she says The Hague Forum—which is the first international population conference she has ever attended—displays less excitement and energy than she had anticipated. Clark, Director of Population Programs for the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, one of the powerhouse donors in the field, said she felt that so



Tried and true methods.

much had been accomplished at the Cairo population conference that perhaps "we are setting too-high standards for ourselves." "Cairo

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

CLARK

'More energy needed'

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

produced the real breakthrough," she continued, "the acceptance of the idea that women's empowerment and population are interrelated." This meeting, she added, is perhaps "not so exciting because it is not so polemic."

Another excitement-limiting factor could be the fact that she does not share the feeling of many forum participants that there is a problem with funding. Just last November, she said, the board of her foundation approved giving \$375 million to population-related activities over a five-year period. She also cited the population-related funding activities of other donors,

Promotion of social marketing.

including the Gates Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and others.

What's more, she said, much of this money to being used to help pay for grassroots programs that might be described as "everyday" rather innovative pilot or "seed-grant" projects. The Packard Foundation, she said, focuses on dealing with population issues "that are tried and true," bringing "traditional methods to non-traditional places." She said the foundation prefers to work not with governments but with NGOs and the private sector. Nor does she see anything untoward about a charitable foundation funneling money to profit-making business firms.

"They can work to scale because their motive is to expand," she explained. "They're sustainable from the beginning." The idea, she went on, is to help them get started and then "get them to serve the under-served." Foundations have long been involved in "social marketing," she said, which promotes worthwhile goals such as promoting the use of contraception—by the use of selective subsidies to the private sector.

She noted that the London-based Marie Stopes agency charges clients fees for their services at a reduced rate. "If

Clinton lauds UNFPA and urges more support

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

opposition to US support of UNFPA in the past are still in control of both houses of Congress. A major lobbying campaign is being mounted within the US by groups sympathetic to the UNFPA, but nobody is suggesting that theirs is anything but an uphill effort. Clinton applauded UNFPA's pilot program in China concerning voluntary family planning.

Her address was originally scheduled for Monday morning but was rescheduled because she had to fly to Jordan for the funeral of King Hussein. Despite the delay in delivery of the speech, its text was not made available to reporters until many hours later—too late for many working against deadlines.

Clinton spoke warmly and movingly of the many family planning programs she has visited in the developing world



Committing US backing.

and explained the importance of hygienic birthing kits that she has seen distributed by international agencies in an effort to reduce the risks of childbirth. Each kit, she said, included a bar of soap, some twine, a plastic sheet and a razor blade—at a cost of 13 cents. "No nation can move forward," she said, "when women and children are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty."

Throughout her speech she voiced her wholehearted support

for the Cairo consensus, which she said had shifted the focus of population policy away from control and coercion and toward choice.

Government, she said, has no place in the personal decision a woman makes on whether to bring a baby into the world. "This is a decision that should be made freely and responsibly without government coercion," she said, adding that it was the policy of the US government to help make sure that poor women can have the same choices and options that rich women now enjoy.

She said domestic policies promoted by the Clinton administration have brought about a decline in unwanted pregnancies and reduced the number of abortions by a full 12 percent. She repeated what she had told the NGO Forum on Sunday that it was the administration's policy to ensure that abortion is safe, legal and rare.

ANALYSIS

Rallying support from the US

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

the US and the world face" in promoting the Cairo agenda. Making the announcement of the committee's formation were board members Robin Chandler Duke, Mary D. Lindsay, and Paul Micou.

The committee, whose goal is to reach out to a broad spectrum of Americans to better inform them about the work of UNFPA, will seek to counter what it calls the "misrepresentations" of those in Congress responsible for its defunding. It should be remembered, the board members attending The Hague Forum said, that the US played a prominent role in establishing UNFPA at a

time when many in the developing world were suspicious of its agenda; and that, in fact, since 1969, the US has made voluntary contributions in excess of \$560 million to its work. It is a big step backward and ironic, they added, now that the developing countries support the work of UNFPA and the goals of the ICPD Program of Action, that the US should be the one to withhold support.

The US cut, orchestrated by a Republican majority in the House of Representatives, hits particularly hard at the least developed countries in Africa and elsewhere, contributing to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS. In one year alone, unless it is

reversed, the overall impact of the decision to withdraw the funding, according to UNFPA estimates, will be to deprive 870,000 women of effective modern-day contraception. More than 520,000 will end up using no method at all. And non-use or use of ineffective methods will result in 1,200 maternal and 22,500 infant deaths; 15,000 life-threatening illnesses and injuries to mothers during pregnancy and childbirth; 500,000 unwanted pregnancies resulting in 234,000 unwanted births; 200,000 abortions.

As US Committee board member Robin Chandler Duke said, "Our funding has to be restored. We're here to tell that to the world."

DELEGATES

Focusing on implementation

BY VIR SINGH

For Germany's Herbert Krumbein, coming to the Hague Forum is a chance to hear firsthand from government officials, aid agencies and various nongovernmental organizations what needs to be done to implement the goals of the 1994 Cairo Conference.

"For us, it is a first acquaintance," said Krumbein, who heads the Education, Health and Population Division at Germany's Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development.

At this week's



Herbert Krumbein.

commitment" to population programs after the Cairo conference. As proof of this, he said the government tripled the amount of overseas assistance in this area since the early 1990s. According to official German figures, total annual aid amounts to about \$310 million—about 3 percent of the national budget.

presidency of the European Union, an influential group among donor nations. Here at The Hague, Krumbein is meeting officials from the other 14 EU countries to discuss implementation of population programs. None has yet announced an increase in aid.

German officials say they want to ensure that money committed for overseas population programs is spent wisely. "It shouldn't disappear into a big pot," said Charlotte Hohn of the German Institute for Population Research.

Also on her government's wish list is greater emphasis for the elderly. "This is one issue which is neglected and will have to be addressed in the review of the Cairo Programme of Action."

"Europe has experience with aging which we would like to share with others," she added.

Debate over implants

BY RABYA NIZAM

After the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, with the increasing focus on family planning and access to contraceptives for women, newer and newer products have emerged.

Some gave women the option to choose which method of contraception is best for them. NORPLANT implants, a product developed by the Population Council, working in partnership with UNFPA, is being pushed.

Obstetricians, gynecologists and family planning experts say it's "an important method of contraception available worldwide in all family planning programs with appropriate resources." "The more methods you have, the more choices you have," said Perti Aaltonen, a manager for Liras, the implant manufacturer. NORPLANT capsules are inserted under the skin of the upper arm.

Although effective for five years and one of the longest acting methods, the process is reversible by early removal. However, according to Nasreen Huq, of Naripokkho, a women's rights NGO in Bangladesh, the situation is different in practice. "Many women are having difficulty in getting the implant removed," said Huq. "Women are forced to continue the five-year program since early removal is not cost effective for the provider."

"This goes against the whole issue of choice," said Huq, who added that it is ten times the cost per year than any other contraceptive method. Procured by UNFPA, NORPLANT is part of Bangladesh's family planning program and women are paid to use it.

CALENDAR

Wednesday

10:00 AM

Main Committee, continued consideration of substantive themes
Van Gogh Hall

10:00 AM

Plenary—continued operational review and assessment
Prins Willem-Alexander Hall

11:00 AM

News conference, World Bank
Rembrandt Room

2:00 PM

News conference, Population Action International
Rembrandt Room

Compiled by Reshma Prakash

GHANA

NGOs
step up
pressure

BY VIR SINGH

In Ghana, more of the pressure to implement population programs has come from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) than from politicians, says Rosemary Ardayfio of The Daily Graphic, the country's largest daily newspaper.

She says it is the NGOs that have really pushed for better access to family planning, empowering women and other priorities adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994.

Interestingly, at the head of the NGO brigade is none other than Ghana's First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings. She is a "moving force back at



Nana Rawlings.

home," says Ardayfio. "She understands the issues of development." More important, she has the ear of her husband, President Jerry Rawlings. "When you have the president talking about something, everyone picks it up."

The First Lady heads the 31st December Women's Forum, which along with the Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana and other groups has worked to make family planning and other health services more easily available in this West African nation of 18 million people. One problem Ardayfio sees in discussions about implementation of Cairo goals is that "people are talking more about figures than about improvement in people's lives."

Where Ghana's politicians have made a difference is in the area of women's health, says Ardayfio. After Cairo, Ghana's parliament passed a bill to end "traditional practices harmful to women." One of these is a custom prevalent among tribes in the north of the country whereby young girls are put in the care of priests who can spread sexual diseases.

By passing bills to end such practices, lawmakers have taken steps that are "very significant for Ghana," says Ardayfio.

"When they do, it's the NGOs that take the bills up for implementation."

She says one of the major challenges confronting Ghana is rapid growth of the elderly population. "We need new policies for the aged."

New warnings issued
on reproductive health

BY C. GERALD FRASER

New challenges to reproductive health include "morning after," or emergency, contraception and the proliferation of sexually transmitted diseases, said Dr. Mahmoud Fathalla in his opening remarks which set the stage for the third set of discussions in the Main Committee.

The committee concluded consideration Tuesday of gender equality, equity and the empowerment of women and at 4:29 PM turned to the theme of reproductive health, including family planning and sexual health, and reproductive rights. Main Committee discussions began Monday by examining the theme, "creating an enabling environment." Dr. Fathalla is a senior adviser for biomedical and reproductive health research and training at the Rockefeller Foundation. For him, he said, there are several new challenges required by new needs and new customers.

First of all, he said, reproductive health is "a mindset, a concept, an approach—the way the service is approached."

People are to be seen as ends, not means; as subjects, not objects.

This attitude means that reproductive health is tied to human rights, Dr. Fathalla explained. It was a violation by governments, he said, when they fail to protect a right, when they fail to protect women and children from sexual abuse and allow female genital mutilation.

The failure of governments to provide reproductive health services constituted another challenge. It was, the doctor said,



Dr. Mahmoud Fathalla greeting Hillary Clinton Sunday.

Contraception
crisis is cited
during panel.

more than simply a health problem or a development issue. People, politicians, and providers of services all need to act both inside of and outside of the health sector, Dr. Fathalla said.

On the matter of integration, another challenge, Dr. Fathalla said combination of all the components of reproductive health and all the components of the services should not result in a dilution of the services.

He recognized that juggling resources meant some nations to set priorities. But setting priorities successfully, he said, required participation by representatives of the providers as well as those for whom the services exist. Pragmatism was also a consideration.

A major challenge was meeting the new needs of two

sets of new customers. Those with sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, and the victims of gender based violence and sexual abuse. In addition, he said new "customers" under the reproductive health umbrella included men, adolescents and displaced persons, especially refugees.

"And knowledge is limited on all of these," Dr. Fathalla said.

He then made a pitch for more research, saying it was necessary for women to have protection from sexually transmitted diseases without having to rely on their male partner. They needed microbicides which would prevent infections.

What is now called emergency contraception is to be used by a woman within 48 to 72 hours after unprotected sexual intercourse, before pregnancy has been established. It cannot terminate an existing pregnancy, he said. And he considered it especially useful for adolescents and refugees.

CONFERENCE

notes

YOUTH FORUM ASKS
DONORS FOR MORE

In the Youth Forum recommendations to the Main Committee meeting, the participants proposed that at least 20 percent of the money given by donor countries for reproductive health initiatives be used to provide services to young people. The recommendation also boasts a stern reminder that they will not allow NGOs to forget them when they go to allocate funds.

COME SEE, THEN SAY
THAT

Amy Pollack of AVSC

International said that the donors who have cut funding for reproductive health care services only need travel to a developing country and see how dilapidated the services are to understand how desperately the money is needed. Pollack, an obstetrician, said that The Hague conference has shown the indifference with which much of the industrial world views women's issues. "Issues of gender and health come together in an actual clinic," she said. "There are clinics without trained counselors, no contraceptives or antibiotics."

TAKING ACTION

Joint funding by Bill Gates and Ted Turner

BY RESHMA PRAKASH

For the first time ever, two of the United States' prominent billionaires, Bill Gates and Ted Turner, will be jointly funding an ICPD+5 program, according to officials connected with the foundations set up by the two celebrities. The William H. Gates Foundation and the United Nations Foundation will give \$100,000 to the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) to allow them to bring 25 to 30 NGO representatives from developing countries to the ICPD+5 Prep Com meeting to be held in March in New York.

This is also the first funding announcement being made by the Gates Foundation after the \$2.2 billion recently added to the coffers of the foundation by Bill Gates, founder and CEO of Microsoft, specifically for population and health programs. "Joint funding gives a project more credibility and visibility, and it's good policy to coordinate foundation activity," said Gordon W. Perkin, Program Advisor for the Gates Foundation.

A physician by training, Perkin is also the President and co-founder of the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH), a Seattle-based organization that was one of the



Suzanne Cluett and Gordon Perkin.

first grant recipients of the Turner Foundation when it was set up in 1994. According to Perkin, even though considerable interest had been expressed by NGOs at The Hague on hearing of the additional \$2.2 billion available for grants, no other ICPD+5 proposals were being considered.

"Even though some major decisions remained to be made on what projects the additional funds would go for," said Suzanne Cluett, Associate Director of the Gates Foundation, "areas like maternal and child health are priorities."

Grants are given out every three months, she added, a process that continues throughout the year—a process made more flexible since the foundation has a single trustee and not a board of trustees.

She said that the Gates Foundation had almost tripled its funding of population projects since the time it was founded in 1994. By the end of 1998, \$28 million in grants had been given to population programs and \$100 million to a children's vaccine initiative, said Cluett, a program that was very much in the spirit of what the Cairo Program of Action was trying to achieve. Cluett, who joined the Gates Foundation a year ago, said her interest in population-related activities was sparked as a Peace Corp volunteer working in Nepal in the 1960s.

It was a time when the pill had just been introduced to the neighboring country of India, she said, a development that Nepalese women expressed great interest in. She petitioned the US Agency for International Development to get involved in a project to distribute the pill to the women in Nepal.

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Presidential Announcement
Reducing Violence Against Children Initiative

■ Mary Crosby, Deputy Executive Director

AACAP members attended the December 29 White House announcement of a new Children Exposed to Violence Initiative. Owen Lewis, M.D., Ephraim Bleiberg, M.D., Pam Sicher, M.D., and AACAP Executive Director Virginia Anthony participated in President Clinton's launching of plans to reduce violence against children and improve the way the justice system deals with children who are victims of or witnesses to violence.

With over three million children reported annually as being abused or neglected and millions more unreported, the initiative recognizes that child victims are more at risk to become violent offenders and responds to that



Attending the December 29 announcement of the Children Exposed to Violence Initiative are, left to right: Virginia Anthony, AACAP Executive Director; Ephraim Bleiberg, M.D., AACAP member and President and CEO of Menninger Foundation; Pam Sicher, M.D., AACAP member and President of the Children's Mental Health Alliance; and Owen Lewis, M.D., AACAP member and Vice President for Education and Research of the Children's Mental Health Alliance.

consequence. In his remarks, the President noted that, "For many, many of them, it is very difficult to be a child because there is too much violence, too much cruelty, too much instability. Children experience these things in our society at younger and younger ages."

The new initiative includes four components: reforming state and federal laws to provide timely punishment for those who commit child abuse and neglect; improving the way the justice system treats children who are

the victims of, or witnesses to, acts of violence; strengthening local prevention and intervention programs directed towards children exposed to violence; and, increasing public awareness of this serious problem through a National Summit in May 1999. The Summit will be chaired by Rep. Bud Cramer (D-AL), a member of the House Working Groups on Children and on Mental Illness and Health Care. He is also co-chair of the House caucus on Missing and Exploited Children.

To start the new effort to counter violence, the President announced the availability of \$10 million in "Safe Start" grants from the Department of Justice to help cities reduce the impact of violence on young children.

For more information, please contact the AACAP Department of Government Affairs, at 1.800.333.7636, extension 128 for Jeanne Land, Legislative Affairs Assistant. ♦



Meeting with Rep. Bud Cramer (D-AL), lower left, are Owen Lewis, M.D., lower right; Virginia Anthony, AACAP Executive Director and Pam Sicher, M.D., upper row, left to right.

Should She Go for It?

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

EVA CHIRAPONGSE
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

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

MARC B. ZELOOF
KEW GARDENS, N.Y.

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

DARBY PRELL
LAKE OSWEGO, ORE.

From Page to Screen

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

ALAN N. STERN
DENVER, COLO.

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

EDWARD G. KORAN
PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Whose Free Speech Is It?

I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY A FORMER Vietnamese man who fled his homeland in 1980 to escape starvation and poverty

MAIL CALL

Choosing Her Course

Hillary Clinton's next career move and possible Senate run, the subject of our March 1 cover story, generated mostly critical responses. While one reader, definitely in the minority, referred to

Mrs. Clinton as a "national treasure" and hopes she'll run, many others thought that her motives for considering the New York seat were not in the best interests of

the state, but rather more personal in nature. Some called the First Lady a carpetbagger and considered our report, including the cover line, "Her Turn," tantamount to an endorsement of her candidacy. "Your issue," wrote one, "was nothing more than a political gift to Hillary."



would hang a poster honoring Ho Chi Minh, the man who was responsible for making it such a hellhole ("The Siege of Little Saigon," NATIONAL AFFAIRS, March 1). Although I believe in freedom of speech, Truong Van Tran is inviting trouble by continuing to hang that picture. I am surprised that NEWSWEEK wasted paper on this desperate cry for attention. There are plenty of good survival stories about people who escaped Vietnam, like Dat Nguyen's, the line-backer for Texas A&M University.

MICHAEL CANAVAN
GAINESVILLE, FLA.

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

THERESE HAND
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

THE RECENT COVERAGE OF THE DEMON-stration in Little Saigon overlooked the inherent paradox of Truong Van Tran's use of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese flag to promote the First Amendment. Ho Chi Minh and his cohorts never had much use for free speech. Nor have his successors. At

least until now. Nguoi Viet, the largest Vietnamese newspaper in the United States, recently reported that the Vietnamese government was requiring all air travelers into Ho Chi Minh City to contribute \$50 to a legal-defense fund for Tran. Imagine—the very government that routinely imprisons its critics is now a vigorous supporter of this so-called advocate of free speech. Whether Tran is blind to his absurd position or a willing pawn in a charade orchestrated by Hanoi is hard to tell.

BILL PHAM
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

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

NAME WITHHELD
POTOMAC, MD.

A Searing Scenario

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

TODD E. H.
FRANKLIN,

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

WARD LYNDAL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Many Shades of Gray

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

What I Saw

EXCLUSIVE: In a compelling memoir of political seduction and betrayal, the ultimate insider takes you behind the scenes with Bill and Hillary Clinton. From the War Room to the White House, he was there. Now he tells all.

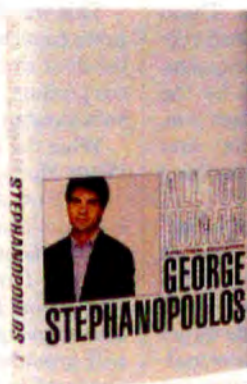
BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

DAYS AFTER THE MONICA LEWINSKY STORY BROKE IN JANUARY 1998, I had a dream about President Clinton: I had returned to the White House after a year away, and I was sitting in my usual chair just next to the president's desk in the Oval Office, prepping him for an interview with CBS News. *Seems like old times*, I thought; *it's good to be back*. But moments before the interview was scheduled to start, we got word of some vague but terrible tragedy. The whole country would soon know about it, and the president would need to respond. I pulled out my notepad and struggled to scratch out appropriate words of consolation and hope. Nothing came, but it didn't matter. Clinton did what he always seemed to do so well at times like this, saying exactly the right thing, in exactly the right way. *He's still got it—*

best politician I've ever seen. Then I walked across the Oval, opened a door and found myself in a pocket-size room—windowless and bare, except for nude pinups of Monica pasted on its walls.

I was struggling in my dream with the Clinton I loved and the Clinton I feared, the president I served and the man I didn't want to see. From the day I met him in 1991 to the day I left the White House in December 1996, he was the dominant figure in my life. The Clinton I know is a complicated man responding to the pressures and pleasures of public life in ways I found both awesome and appalling. I have come to see how his shamelessness is a key to his political success, how his capacity for denial is tied to the optimism that is his greatest political strength. For every reckless and expedient act, there are others of leadership and vision. Theodore White once wrote that "closeness to power heightens the dignity of all men." I now know that's not always true.

EXCERPTED FROM "ALL TOO HUMAN: A POLITICAL EDUCATION" BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS, AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD NATIONWIDE BEGINNING THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1999. © BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS. PUBLISHED BY ARRANGEMENT WITH LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, INC. RIGHTS RESERVED.



I FIRST IMPRESSIONS

BULKY AND BUTTER-CHEEKED, BILL CLINTON looked like an overgrown boy. But he had the gait of a man used to being obeyed, admired, courted and loved. Slow but not stately, almost lazy but loaded with self-confidence. Clinton held my eye with a smile while he shook my hand. His was soft, and the grip was surprisingly light for a politician. It was September 1991, at pollster Stan Greenberg's office, and I was interviewing for a job. For the next half hour, I joined Clinton on the first of countless stream-of-consciousness tours across the political landscape of his mind. By the time he closed with the prediction that the nomination would be decided on the day of the Illinois primary, I was blown away. He walked out with a wave and a promise to call.

I was moved by more than what he stood for or how much he knew. It was how I felt around him: uniquely known and needed. Clinton spoke to the me yearning to be singled out for a special job—the boy who had been his father's acolyte in the Greek Orthodox Church. The day before Clinton

THE FIRST QUALIFICATION

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

BY MEG GREENFIELD

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. 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 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 any more. 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 office-holders, 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 embarrassment, 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.



THE INNER SANCTUM: Walking over in his briefs, Clinton smacked a sloppy kiss on Hillary's cheek and introduced us. 'I've heard so much about you,' she told me. *Nice start. Warm.* This was exactly where I wanted to be.

The journey begins: Stephanopoulos went to work for Clinton in 1991; the candidate made the aide feel 'uniquely known and needed'

announced, I came on board as deputy campaign manager.

Two weeks later, I landed in Little Rock and went straight to the governor's mansion. The heavy autumn haze had left Clinton with a swollen head and a red nose. But that didn't stop him from picking up our conversation right where we had left off in Washington. "I feel good about it, but we're behind ... Got a lot to do ... Need to set up a network to get me ideas from my friends ... Decide what to do about the Florida straw poll."

He kept on talking as I followed him to the bedroom, where he started to change out of his jeans for a downtown lunch, then stopped to hand me an article from a pile on one of the night tables. There were two of them—one for him, one for her—both loaded down with novels, magazines, issue papers and spiritual books. I hadn't yet met Hillary, but seeing the night tables made me picture the two of them propped up late at night, passing their reading back and forth, arguing, laughing, educating each other, sharing a passion for ideas.

Then she appeared in the bedroom door. Hillary was prettier than her pictures, with a dimpled smile that didn't match her high-powered reputation and a tailored suit that did. Walking over in his briefs, Clinton smacked a sloppy kiss on her cheek and introduced us. "I've heard so much about you," she said, her Midwestern accent slowed just a touch by her years in the South.

Nice start. Warm. But it was one thing to be working with the boss while he changed; with his wife there, I just wanted to excuse myself. Hillary insisted I stay and stepped right into the conversation, asking questions, analyzing the upcoming primaries and reminding me of all the work we had to do. This was exactly what I wanted to be doing: building a presidential campaign—and exactly where I wanted to be: in its inner sanctum.

Soon we were in New Hampshire—and in trouble. There were questions about Gennifer Flowers, and Clinton's draft record. My better side cared about the substance of the campaign, but the competitive warrior in me was more engaged by the street fighting. I told myself that if this allegation, or the next one, or the one after that metastasized, the campaign would die—and nobody would ever hear or remember or benefit from anything we proposed on health care or education or the economy.

The Flowers piece in the *Star* tabloid alleging a "12-year affair" with Clinton hit on Jan. 23. Reading the story, Clinton seized on any detail he knew was wrong. I was happy to make a list of the details that were false, but I didn't press Clinton to say which ones were true. I wanted to see him as he saw himself—the target of unscrupulous enemies who would try to destroy him personally because they opposed his policies. And I needed Clinton to see me as his defender, not his interrogator, which made me, of course, an enabler.

Then came the Flowers tapes—scratchy but apparently authentic recordings of Clinton and Gennifer talking in intimate tones about their personal relationship and the presidential race. When I heard them, I was hit by a wave of nausea, doubt, embarrassment and anger. Mostly anger.

He lied. Even if he didn't, what's he doing talking to her in the middle of the campaign? Still, as the night passed, my campaign col-

leagues and I were back to fighting for him even more fiercely. A dynamic had already started that would repeat itself many times in the years ahead—one explained well by Reinhold Niebuhr: "Frantic orthodoxy," he wrote, "is never rooted in faith but in doubt. It is when we are not sure that we are doubly sure." I now had doubts about Clinton, had seen his flaws up close, which caused me to focus even more intently on his strengths and believe even more fervently in his ideas. His enemies would stop at nothing to defeat him, so nothing would stop me from defending him. Now I was a true believer.

II WASHINGTON WOES

WHEN WE GOT TO THE WHITE HOUSE IN JANUARY 1993, after defeating President Bush, hopes were high: we were supposed to focus "like a laser beam" on the economy, but we were quickly sidetracked by failed nominations, nanny problems, gays in the military and our own arrogance. It started on Day One.

S—. *I can't cover it up.* I was staring at the mirror of the single-stall washroom by the press secretary's office in the West Wing of the White House. In a few minutes, I would call my first official press briefing as communications director, and I had a problem. My beard. With all the craziness of the Inauguration, I hadn't had the chance to buy new razor blades, and the powder I was pasting on my cheeks gave me the pallor of a corpse with a 5 o'clock shadow. I was about to face the world from the White House podium looking like an adolescent Richard Nixon.

This was the big leagues. I stood behind the wooden door to the press room with a stomach full of pleasant butterflies. The sound of the door sliding open set off dozens of camera shutters. I walked to the podium, adjusted the glasses I had started wearing again in a vain attempt to look older and took in the scene with a deep breath.

What the reporters—and the world—soon saw, however, was a White House press secretary fall flat on his face.

Q: "How about all of these stories on the lifting of the ban on homosexuals in the military?"

How about you guys give it a rest and report decisions we've actually made? I know, it's too good to let go: sex, a fight with the military, gays feeling betrayed, a crisis right out of the box. If you reporters weren't pumping it so much, maybe real people wouldn't think it's the only promise we're trying to keep. But we can't get [Senate Armed Services Chairman] Sam Nunn and the Joint Chiefs to give us a break yet, so I have nothing to say.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "I think the president intends to end discrimination against homosexuals in the military ... and it would be very soon—probably within the next week, but not today."

Q: "George, would the president like Zoë Baird to offer to withdraw her nomination?"

Well, duh. Of course he would, wouldn't you? We're sucking wind on our first day with a candidate for attorney general who broke the law [by not paying Social Security taxes for household help]. But she

AT WAR: I wanted to see Clinton as he saw himself—the target of unscrupulous enemies. And I needed Clinton to see me as his defender, not his interrogator, which made me, of course, an enabler.



Strange bond: Fighting scandal, on the road or in the War Room, became 'addictive'

says she told Warren Christopher about it before Clinton chose her, so it's our fault—and she doesn't want to quit without clearing her name. We're stuck.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "No, he thinks she'll make an excellent attorney general ..."

Q: "If Mrs. Baird decides to withdraw her name, would the president accept it?"

In a heartbeat. I wish that's what I was announcing right now.

Q: "Did Mr. Clinton understand fully before naming her as his nominee for attorney general that she had employed illegal aliens for this long period of time?"

Bingo. The \$64,000 question. Wish I knew the answer. He says no. Christopher says yes. Christopher probably mentioned it, but who knows exactly what he said or how Clinton heard it? All I know is that Zoë is saying publicly that she told us, so we're screwed either way. If we didn't know, we're incompetent hacks. If we did and appointed her anyway, we're unethical elitists. Some choice: I can't blame it all on Zoë; the president's not ready to accept responsibility and move on; but if I dump it in Christopher's lap, it will hurt his credibility as secretary of State. Gotta punt.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "Again, I don't know the exact nature of his discussions on this ..."

Nice try. But they were just getting warmed up. I did know that I was dying out there—a fact confirmed by the flop sweat pouring out from under my arms and across my chest. A trickle started to stream down the side of my face, but I was afraid to wipe it away, certain the image would be flash-frozen into a metaphor of the new administration under siege.

My untenable position on Zoë was made worse by the fact that I wasn't prepared with simple facts and a few anecdotes to fill the reporters' first-day columns. Better preparation wouldn't have stopped the bad stories, but it would have helped soften the blow: talk about how the president and the First Lady feel on their first day; throw in a little color on the president's first night in the Residence and first morning in the Oval Office; bring Tony Lake, the national-security adviser, into the briefing room for a backgrounder on the ongoing confrontation in Iraq. But no, I wanted to do it all by myself, and I wasn't ready. When a reporter saved me from myself by saying thank you after 27 minutes of pounding, the UPI's Helen Thomas shouted, "Welcome to the big leagues," and I hustled out of there with my head down like a rookie knocked from the mound in the first inning of his first game.

Our way wasn't working, yet we resisted change, convinced that it was a kind of surrender. At first, we staff wouldn't always stand when the president entered a room, a throwback to the informal, insurgent style of the campaign. The same with the jogging shorts; only a series of bare-legged photos on the evening news persuaded the president to wear a warm-up suit. We started playing "Hail to the Chief" at all public ceremonies. Clinton's military salute took longer to fix. The tips of his fingers would furtively touch his slightly bowed head, as if he were being caught doing something he wasn't supposed to do. The snickering got so bad the message had to be delivered, and in private, but who was

the right messenger? Not me; I was too young, and not a veteran. The vice president was out; too much competitive tension in their relationship for something so personal. It had to be Tony Lake; Clinton's salute came under the heading of national security. After their talk, it grew crisper.

III HAMLET ON THE HUDSON

MY COLLEAGUE GENE SPERLING AND I WERE STANDING over my speakerphone, but for all Mario Cuomo knew we were on our knees. It was March 1993, and the two of us were begging the fabled New York governor to take a seat on the Supreme Court. He seemed to be loving every minute of it. So was I: the possibility of having Clinton in the White House and Cuomo on the court was too good to be true. But Cuomo was ducking the president. Clinton finally reached him on April 1 from Air Force One, and Cuomo told the president that he was leaning against being considered but would think about it. Although Clinton's patience was threadbare, he let the matter rest. By the next week, however, various versions of their pas de deux started to leak. On April 7 I called Andrew Cuomo, the governor's son and an assistant HUD secretary. "We have to pull the trigger one way or another," I told him.

Andrew called his father, and he told me later that they spoke for two-and-a-half hours. Mario finally told Andrew: "If you want me to, I'll call Clinton and take it." But an hour later, the governor faxed the president a letter saying that his duty to New York outweighed his desire to be on the Supreme Court. Another chapter in the saga of Clinton and Cuomo had drawn to a close.

The president still had to fill a vacancy on the court. We brainstormed "outside the box" by tossing around the idea of appointing a political philosopher instead of an attorney. The wildest fantasy hit closest to home: *Wouldn't Hillary look great in a black robe?*

Of course, that couldn't happen, but the president wanted a "big, bold" choice. April and May passed without a decision. We weighed Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Judge Stephen Breyer. Ruth Ginsburg, a women's rights pioneer on the federal bench, finally emerged. She was invited for a meeting in the White House Residence.

Then Cuomo called. Andrew, that is, although it was hard to tell the difference over the phone. I couldn't believe it. Andrew was trying to put his father back in the race! What I should have done was tell him right then that Ginsburg had it, even though that wasn't yet true. But I still wanted to see Cuomo on the court, and now there was a new inducement: if Andrew's call to me somehow led to his father's appointment, I would be the go-between who made it happen, an agent of history. *Stay cool. Hear him out.*

"Did you see Mario on 'Evans and Novak'?" Andrew continued. "They asked him what he would do if the president called, and he said, 'I would not say no to the president.'"

I hadn't seen the show and didn't know that Cuomo had been more equivocal than Andrew led me to believe. But I had been burned

enough before to be skittish. "Are you sure your father will accept if the president calls?" I asked. "We can't go down this road again. Before the president even thinks about picking up the phone, we have to be absolutely sure that the answer will be nothing but yes."

He put me on hold. Seconds later: "I just asked him. The answer is yes."

Well, it's out of my hands now. The Democratic governor of the state of New York has an important message for the president of the United States. Who am I not to pass it on?

I walked over to the Residence, where Clinton was changing into one of the Day-Glo polos he wore for golf. Instead of rejecting the idea out of hand, Clinton rolled his tongue behind his lower lip like a pitcher adjusting his chaw—a sign to me that he was listening, intrigued. "Let me think about it."

That meant he wanted to talk to Hillary. I returned to my office.

A few minutes later Hillary called. "George, we need to talk about this," she said. "Can you come back up with David Gergen and Mack?" (Mack McLarty was our first chief of staff; Gergen, a veteran of Republican administrations, had been brought in to shore us up after our rough start.)

Clinton and Hillary seemed to be on my side. He was getting positively lyrical about the prospect: "Mario will sing the song of America. It'll be like watching Pavarotti at Christmastime." He told me to tell Andrew that "the president was interested in his proposal."

That was all Andrew needed to hear. I reached him at his sister's wedding. "Mario will do it because the president wants him to..." What came next should have made me pull the plug. "But the president really has to put it to him. Unless he puts it to him, he won't do it. He needs to use strong language, has to tell Mario that he has to do it."

Bill and Hillary Offstage

Businesslike in meetings, in private they were often sweet with each other. The fun—and the fights.

WHEN THE 1992 campaign started, Hillary was an unqualified political asset. Clinton would cite her work on education and children as a reason to vote for him. We circulated BUY ONE/GET ONE FREE buttons, and progressive primary audiences, especially women, loved the modern-marriage pitch.

I liked most of what I saw in private, too. They really were complete partners, businesslike in meetings, often childlike with each other. Hillary adored him despite herself, giving him a Nancy Reaganesque gaze when he tightened his tie and talked nonstop about his upcoming speech, or later, when he loosened it with his arm around her and laughed about the evening's events. She could soothe him, too. One night, after a particularly useless debate prep during which Clinton was hoarse and cranky, I went up to their suite with the next day's schedule to find her on the couch with him, legs laid over his lap, feeding him lemon slices dipped in honey. In playful moments, Clinton called for her in baby talk: "Hee-a-ree, Hee-a-ree."

Of course, they fought, too,



A complex marriage: The Clintons were playful and protective

and it wasn't fun to watch. She lit into him when she thought he wasn't being tough enough on himself or the people around him. One morning during the New York primary all I saw as I walked in their door was her standing over him at the dining-room table, finger in his face, as he shoveled cereal into his mouth, his head bent close to the bowl. I backed up without turning around and quietly shut the door.

They expressed their anger at the rest of us in different ways. When Hillary was an-

gry, you didn't always know it right away—a calculated chill would descend over time. Clinton's anger was a more impersonal physical force, like a tornado. The tantrum would form in an instant and exhaust itself in a violent rush. Whoever happened to be in the way would have to deal with it; more often than not, that person was me. I guess Clinton figured that I could fix whatever problem was causing his frustration, and he must have sensed that I didn't take his temper personally. The trick

was to have a kind of thin skin—to understand that Clinton didn't really yell at you; he yelled through you as the rage passed through him.

He was always protective of Hillary. In 1992, when she was under fire for Whitewater and "tea and cookies," James Carville and I were reviewing campaign research with Clinton at a Holiday Inn in Charleston, W. Va. Part of the presentation was the videotape of a "dial group," where voters are hooked up to handheld meters and asked to respond to news reports, TV spots and tapes of speeches to gauge what works and what doesn't. The results are superimposed on the screen in real time, so you have an instant analysis of voter response.

When a shot of Hillary speaking was played, the line on the screen dropped like a downhill ski run.

"Oh, man," said Clinton, demonstrating both husbandly concern and his capacity for denial, "they don't like her hair."

Nobody said a word, but Carville started grinding his fist into my thigh. That pressure and the laughter building up inside me made me double over until James mumbled something and burst out of the room. I was right behind him. We collapsed in hysterics the second we hit the corridor. From then on, whenever I wanted to make James laugh, all I had to say was "They don't like her hair." To him, it was the single most memorable line of the campaign. To me, it was just a sweet moment.



ON THE GRIDDLE: At my first White House briefing, I was dying. Flop sweat was pouring out from under my arms and across my chest.

A trickle started to stream down the side of my face.

Early stumbles: Gergen was brought in as the Clintonites faltered in their first days. 'Our way wasn't working,' says Stephanopoulos.

Here we go again. Andrew and I were caught up in the world's oldest courtship ritual. He was telling Cuomo that Clinton really wanted him; I was assuring Clinton that Cuomo really wanted him. Andrew worked his father over all through the wedding, asking him four times if he was sure.

At 11:30 that night, Andrew called me one more time. Mario was on board. I relayed the message to the president at 9:30 the next morning, just before his meeting with Ginsburg. After that, Clinton told me to call Andrew again and to let him know that Cuomo should expect a call around 6 p.m.

At 5:45, Mario Cuomo was on the line—for me. My stomach sank to my knees. This couldn't be good news. Cuomo knew that Clinton was scheduled to call at 6. Cuomo started a soliloquy. "George, Andrew's been trying very hard to bring me to change my view, but I feel that I would be doing a disservice to the president. I feel that I would not be able to do what we all need, including supporting the president politically. I surrender so many opportunities of service if I take the court. I don't want the president to think that I might say yes," Cuomo finished. "The president shouldn't call me."

While I was listening to Cuomo in disbelief, Andrew called. "This is a 180-degree turn from yesterday," he said. "I'm sorry."

I was, too. The game was over. I was the master of another disaster. My colleagues would revel in my loss, and Clinton would have a hard time trusting me again on a matter like this. On that late Sunday afternoon, however, he took it in stride, shaking his head with a slightly bemused smile that said this was what he had expected and was probably for the best.

IV A FIRST STRIKE

IT WAS JUNE 23, AND SUMMER LIGHT WAS STILL FILTERING into the parlor by the Lincoln Bedroom. Two months earlier, Kuwaiti authorities had arrested 14 men for planning to place a car bomb in the path of former president Bush as he received an award in Kuwait City. The CIA and FBI had established a link between the bombing suspects and the Iraqi Intelligence Service. Our job that night was to help Clinton decide how to retaliate. All of the top guns were there, including Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell. We didn't sit until the president sat; our early informality was gone now, overtaken by the task at hand. This would be Commander in Chief Clinton's first military strike.

We were determined to send an unambiguous, unapologetic message to Saddam—but with weapons, not words. Even the new members of our team were acutely aware of the president's tendency to overexplain himself in streams of sentences. "Don't oversell and don't undersell," advised Powell.

Wise counsel. But that night, President Clinton didn't need to be coached. He wasn't ill informed, insecure or itching for a fight. As he reviewed the evidence and asked for an outline of the military options, Clinton jotted notes on a small pad. His questions revealed a man determined to make his decisions for the right reasons: "Are we sure the evidence is compelling?" "Is this a truly pro-

portionate response?" "How can we minimize harm to innocent civilians?" The president polled the room. One by one, each of the principals voted for a cruise-missile strike. I was honored to be there, but I didn't want any attention called to my presence. Something about my age and my ignorance of war made me feel as if I didn't quite belong. The president asked me what I thought. OK, George, don't blow it. Keep it simple. No one ever got in trouble for something they didn't say. "I don't think there's a choice, Mr. President." It was unanimous.

Soon cruise missiles were launched toward Baghdad. Simultaneously, President Clinton sat in the Oval and began to consult with his counterparts. President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was first on the line. I heard only Clinton's end of the conversations, but the calls were short and to the point. Russian President Boris Yeltsin, true to form, was indisposed; his people couldn't find him. Yitzhak Rabin was already the foreign leader Clinton most admired: "He's a tough son of a bitch!" Clinton said after putting down the phone. The Kuwaitis and Saudis were enthusiastic, and British Prime Minister John Major offered his full support.

Ironically, the president who seemed most reluctant was the one whose life and honor Clinton was defending. I can only imagine what President Bush was thinking when Clinton gave him the news: "It's clear it was directed against you. I've ordered a cruise-missile attack." Clinton closed the conversation by assuring Bush that he had done everything he could to minimize the loss of life. When Clinton put down the phone, he seemed to be convincing himself that Bush was behind him, instead of the other way around. "I think he thinks we did the right thing," he told me. "Thought it was a tough call."

Clinton wanted and needed Bush's approval as much as Bush needed—although he may not have wanted—Clinton's protection. Bush may have been the only man in the country, with the possible exception of Colin Powell, who could have singlehandedly stopped the attack. All it would take was a well-placed leak to the press, or a sotto voce call from Brent Scowcroft to Tony Lake. But that wasn't Bush's style. Whatever made him diffident at the prospect of having a military strike ordered in his defense, he kept it to himself. Presidents, especially gentlemen presidents, didn't do that to each other.

V FACING HILLARY'S WRATH

BY THE FALL OF 1993, THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE HAD found its footing. We held the Middle East peace ceremony, passed NAFTA and the Brady bill, got our economic plan through and had proposed the centerpiece of our domestic agenda: health-care reform.

But if a genie offered me the chance to turn back time and undo a single decision from my White House tenure, I'd head straight to the Oval Office dining room on Saturday morning, Dec. 11, 1993. The night before, White House counsel Bernie Nussbaum, David Kendall (Clinton's private attorney) and Hillary had persuaded the president to stonewall The Washington Post, which was asking for documents relating to the Clintons' Whitewater investment. The

DARK DAYS: Since Foster's suicide, I had been seeing a therapist. It helped, but by 1994 I had insomnia, waking up 10 to 12 times a night. My problems weren't physical: I descended into a real depression.

Stress and strain: Under pressure, he grew a beard to hide an outbreak of hives



possibility that the Clintons would be implicated in wrongdoing by any investigation of Madison Guaranty was extremely low, but the lawyers were taking nothing for granted. They all underestimated, however, the media reality that reporters want most what they're told they can't have and the cultural reality that the country probably wouldn't care about the ins and outs of an old land deal as long as it didn't look as if the Clintons had something to hide.

On Saturday morning, McLarty gave Gergen and me one last chance to convince Clinton the only way to kill the story was to cooperate with the Post. The president seemed to agree. "I don't have a big problem with giving them what we have," he said, almost apologetically, his mind elsewhere. "But Hillary..."

Saying her name flipped a switch in his head. Suddenly, his eyes lit up, and two years' worth of venom spewed out of his mouth. You could usually tell when Clinton was making Hillary's argument: even if he was yelling, his voice had a flat quality, as if he were a high-school debater speeding through a series of memorized facts. "No, you're wrong," he said. "The questions won't stop. They'll always want more. No president has ever been treated like I've been treated." On the Whitewater issue, Clinton wasn't commander in chief, just a husband beholden to his wife. Hillary was always the first to defend him on bimbo eruptions; now he had to do the same for her. The decision: don't cooperate.

Hillary's strategy, however, wasn't working. By early January 1994, there was growing pressure from both Republicans and Democrats for a special prosecutor, and we were holding a rolling Whitewater meeting in Mack's office. I was arguing that we had to request a special counsel before it was forced on us. After the first couple of hours, we reached consensus; Joel Klein, Bernie Nussbaum's deputy, was dispatched to broach the matter with Hillary, but she shut him down. Two hours later, Harold Ickes and Mack tried again. The answer was still no.

When they returned with the news, about a dozen of us were scattered around Mack's office; I was folded over the wingback chair by Mack's desk, griping openly about the magnitude of our mistake. Then she walked in. The whole room dropped dead silent.

"Well," said Hillary crisply, taking a seat on the couch by the door. "I think this is a meeting I ought to be at."

Because I had been talking, I felt as if everyone was looking at me. I prided myself on not being afraid to make a tough argument to the principals, and I'd look like a wimp now if I didn't continue.

"Well, I might as well go on with what I was saying," I said. Sitting up straight and staring right at Hillary, I made my case: "Assuming we did nothing wrong, the best thing is to have a special counsel say so. There's an air of inevitability to this. If we don't ask for one from the attorney general, we're going to get an independent prosecutor. Congress will keep the drumbeat going; they'll pass the Independent Counsel Act, and the appeals court will appoint one. I know we didn't do anything wrong, but it looks like we did because we're not being forthcoming. More important than anything else, this is going to kill health care if we don't get it under control. This debate will sap us for the next 30, 60, 90 days—as long as we keep up the fight. If you want us to fight, Hillary, we will. We can beat this back. But it will take all our time, all our staff re-

sources and, most important, all our political capital, which we need every bit of to pass health care."

I thought the final argument was the coup de grâce—the killer point that she couldn't counter. Instead it struck at her deepest fear—that after all of her hard work, after all her sacrifice, after all the indignities of the campaign and the frustrations of the first year, the project that would make it all worthwhile would be crippled by scandal. Cornered, she struck back: "What do you mean, the Congress won't stop? You told me that if we gave everything to the Justice Department that would end it. It didn't end it. Now the Congress wants them? If we were as tough as the Republicans, we'd band together and beat them back."

I tried to stay calm, answering point by point. "The Democrats are still holding firm, but I can't promise that they'll be with us in a month. It's beyond the Congress now: it's in the editorial pages; it's everywhere. We don't get the benefit of the doubt because we're not being forthcoming, and we are being defensive."

WHATEVER I SAID WAS EXACTLY WRONG. TEARS STUNG the corners of her eyes, and I imagined Hillary's fear-induced fury—at the Republicans for trying to destroy health care by destroying her, at the press for its small-minded, obsessive scrupulousness when issues affecting real people were at stake, at her husband for getting her into this stupid land deal with his shady friends in the first place and then expecting her to clean it up, at her best friend, Vince Foster, for killing himself, at herself for letting the situation spiral out of control. All of that fury, for a moment, was directed at me.

"You never believed in us. In New Hampshire, it was just me and Susan [Thomases] and Harold who believed in us. If we wouldn't have fought, we would never have won. You gave up on us..."

She paused, her voice fell, and Hillary started to cry. "We were out there alone, and I'm feeling very lonely right now. Nobody is fighting for me."

We all seemed stuck to our chairs, not knowing whether to be unnerved, afraid or consoling. I was too stunned to respond. Harold Ickes, who had been explicitly absolved from the accusation of disloyalty, tried to rescue me with one final plea for reconsideration.

"I don't want to hear anything more," Hillary snapped, back in control. "I want us to fight. I want a campaign now." Looking back at me, she took one last shot: "If you don't believe in us, you should just leave." Then she walked out the door.

A dead moment passed. I fixed a crinkly smile on my face. I walked the few steps to my office, closed the door behind me and broke down.

"You gave up on us." How could she say that? Nobody's fought harder for them. I'm the most loyal staffer they've ever had. I went out there every day. On Gennifer. And the draft. And Whitewater. Sacrificed my credibility. I went out there on faith, without the facts, and would get killed, just humiliated. No matter what I thought inside, I went before the whole country like a crazy person, even said I believed he never had sex with Gennifer. People would laugh at what I would say. Then to get attacked—not for being wrong but for being disloyal, for abandoning them. F--- her. I'm ar-

HILLARY'S FURY: 'You never believed in us ... You gave up on us,' she told me as Whitewater raged in '94. Her voice fell, and Hillary started to cry. 'Nobody is fighting for me.'

Close call: On Whitewater, Stephanopoulos says, Clinton was a husband beholden to his wife



going for what's best—for her, for him, for all of us and everything we're fighting for. F--- her.

But I also knew why Hillary's words wounded me so deeply. They were true. I never showed it to the world, but during the dark days of New Hampshire, I did give up. Remembering that made me feel sorry for Hillary. She'd had to gulp hard on prime-time television when Sam Donaldson read back her husband's farewell to Gennifer: "Good-bye, baby." She'd had to pull it all together every single day—for him, for Chelsea—and she never really knew what was coming next, either. And all for what? Not just to be First Lady, but to do big things. Now her integrity was being questioned; everything she'd worked for was imperiled, and no one was there for her.

By the end of that month, Janet Reno had appointed Robert Fiske to be the Whitewater special counsel; he was ultimately succeeded by Kenneth Starr. That morning's New York Times poll found that President Clinton had a higher approval rating than either Reagan or Carter on their first anniversaries in office and that the public had more confidence in the economy than at any time since 1990. The pattern of the Clinton presidency was set. A month later, Paula Jones would hold her first press conference.

VI THE WILDERNESS—AND O.J.

IN NOVEMBER 1994, THE VOTERS PAID US BACK FOR OUR TAX increase, the failed health-care initiative and our assorted early missteps by handing Congress to Newt Gingrich and the Republicans. Clinton brought in Dick Morris, his old adviser, to try to fix things, and I was on the outs. To make matters worse, I had been in the doghouse with both Clintons since June 1994, when Bob Woodward published "The Agenda," his account of our chaotic White House. I had tried to handle Woodward as he wrote the book, and the Clintons still hadn't forgiven me for what followed. The sum effect: I was no longer the ultimate authority on what the president would do. As 1995 unfolded, Clinton recovered politically by stealing some of the GOP agenda and fighting the rest of it, culminating in his veto of the GOP budget and the government shutdown.

In the fall of '95, however, the American public was preoccupied with a drama far from Washington. In the White House, we calculated what the O. J. Simpson verdict would mean for Clinton and the country—and got ready for the worst.

On Monday, Oct. 2, Gene Sperling and I were in my office when CNN's "Breaking News" logo lit up the television that was always on. Caught off guard by the fact that the jury's deliberations had taken less than four hours, chief of staff Leon Panetta hastily called a meeting in his office. The president would need a statement responding to the verdict, which would come the next day, and the Justice Department was preparing for possible riots in Los Angeles.

Naturally, we began speculating on the verdict. Leon, a former prosecutor and strict disciplinarian, went straight to guilty. Dick Morris went straight to the polls: "Eighty percent of the blacks in the country think O.J.'s been framed or that there was police misconduct. He's innocent." My own conclusion was more a wish than a

prediction. "Guilty," I said. The president refused to play, saying only that he was surprised at how quickly the verdict had been reached. Morris had an answer for that too: "That kind of impetuosity is characteristic of blacks."

The next morning, we met with Justice Department officials to review their contingency plans. Their Community Services Task Force reported that African-Americans in Los Angeles were on tenterhooks and focused on Mark Fuhrman. They feared a guilty verdict would set off riots in the streets, and were coordinating with the LAPD and community leaders to keep the situation under control. Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick told us that once the verdict was announced, the Justice Department would pursue a civil-rights complaint against Mark Fuhrman and investigate allegations of misconduct against the police—a move that would be especially crucial if O.J. was found guilty. We all agreed that the president's statement should be as neutral as possible.

When we went to get the president's approval, he opened the meeting with a wan stab at humor: "So, Jamie, are we going to have black or white riots today?" I flashed back to a moment shortly after Simpson's arrest. Clinton was in his dining room, recalling the time he'd played golf with O.J. and reflecting on the anxieties that eat away at a middle-aged man whose greatest achievements are behind him. But now the president was more focused on politics than psychology. The prospect of acquittal made Clinton anxious. He feared it would fuel white resentment and feed the prejudiced notion that "blacks can't be trusted with the criminal-justice system." An acquittal would deepen racial divisions; and while Clinton didn't say it then, he knew it could also mean more "angry white males" voting Republican in 1996.

The verdict was set for 1 p.m. Eastern time. Several of us watched in Betty Currie's office, which had the largest television in the Oval Office suite. Clinton pulled a chair up to the console facing Betty's desk. He was uncharacteristically quiet and didn't look up from the crossword puzzle he was working on. The members of the jury took their seats. Their decision: not guilty.

Clinton stared at the screen; we stared at Clinton. For us, the suspense wasn't over yet. No one said a word, as if we were waiting for official guidance on what to think. After all, at some level, Clinton's reaction would become our reaction; that came with the territory. The president knew that, too. A year or two earlier, he would have said everything on his mind. But by this point in his presidency, he was more aware of being watched and better understood the weight of his words—even the private ones. He struggled to remain silent, but a single disgusted syllable slipped out: "S—."

That was all we needed. As the TV played scenes of crowds cheering in South-Central L.A., our small room became a babel of anger and invective. Clinton didn't move from his chair, just silently re-drafted his public reaction, a single sentence expressing respect for the jury's decision and sadness for "Ron and Nicole." Mike McCurry asked if he had any other thoughts. "Not that I want to say," he replied. Still sitting, he slowly doubled over, lowering his head into the palms of his hands, grinding them into his eyes as if to keep all those thoughts from escaping.

Everyone returned to work, and Clinton retreated to the relative



MONICA'S STORY: I knew in my gut Clinton was lying. But I still wondered what I would do if I were back inside. It wasn't hard to imagine the slide from conscientious objector to kamikaze warrior.

Sad epilogue: Stephanopoulos recalled Monica as a flirty intern who tried to bring him lattes

We had first worked together in the Dukakis campaign, then the War Room, now the White House. She was a serene presence. As I returned to my office, I wondered about her. Boy, it must have been painful for her to watch that scene, even if she loves the president, even if she's friends with us. Ashamed of my insensitivity, I went back to talk with her about it and asked if she could explain the cheers.

"You mean, what do they think in the 'hood?" she asked, with just enough of an edge to let me know that my outraged reaction to the verdict had been noted. "Most people feel vindicated by the verdict. It sends the message that the police can't screw around with black people."

But Betty, what kind of a message does it send to let a murderer go free? The look on my face gave me away. So Betty brought up a talk we'd had shortly after O.J. was arrested. "Remember, George, when this started, I thought he was guilty and you didn't believe it." It was a gentle reproach, a reminder to be humble in my judgments.

VII GETTING HELP

THE PRESSURES OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND LIVING ON THE Clinton roller coaster were overwhelming. Since Vince Foster's suicide, I had been seeing a therapist. Although I wasn't ashamed of seeking treatment, I had instinctively calculated the political fallout. When I told Clinton, he responded perfectly—with a shrug of his shoulders that said it was no big deal for him and a look in his eye that said he was concerned about me.

The therapy helped, but there were always worries at work: legislative failures, anxieties about my place in Clinton's world, and even a troubled young woman who stalked me. Health-care reform's slow death in 1994 was particularly disheartening. We fought hard, but were losing. Hillary tried to keep our spirits up. Seeing that I was fluey from fatigue, she sent me a carton of homeopathic cures one day accompanied by a note: "We need you healthy for health care! H." But her echinacea and goldenseal wouldn't cure the case of insomnia I had developed. Ten to 12 times a night, I'd wake up to check the clock. *Phew, it's only 2.* My eyes were red, and the underside of my skin felt like it had been scrubbed with steel wool. My problems weren't physical: I descended into a real depression.

Much of the darkness had lifted by mid-1995, but my nerves were shot, and it had started to show. During June battles on the budget and affirmative action, hives had erupted across my chin. I grew a beard. The rash subsided after an August vacation, but my most pernicious symptom persisted unseen. It was a sound: of fingernails screeching across slate or the tines of a fork scraping a

bone-china plate. Several times a day, for up to an hour straight, it would loop around my brain and reverberate through my torso like feedback from an overamplified guitar. My therapist suggested and recommended a specialist in neurology and psychiatry. I resisted. The spartan in me said, "Suck it up"; the spin doctor saw future headlines.

But by December I couldn't take it anymore. I sat on the edge of the sofa as the psychiatrist told me what I already knew: I was burned out. A serotonin re-uptake inhibitor like Zoloft, he then explained, would help stop my nerves from flooding my brain with the chemical fueling my compulsive symptoms. Soon I slept four hours straight, then I was up to six. I no longer woke up waiting for the sound to start. The feedback cleared, and I could breathe deeply again. Testing myself, I would see fingernails on a blackboard, hear the soundtrack, then switch it off.

The medication stripped away layers of worry, allowing me to remember what it was like to be me—a melancholy nail biter, sure, but not someone consumed by anxiety, not someone who measured himself by his proximity to a president or convinced himself that his words and deeds would make or break a presidency. I still worked hard, but I worried less. I cared about what we could do, but I didn't obsess. Calmer, more detached, I prepared to leave.

I still wanted one more win, and the 1996 campaign gave me that chance. But even as I got better, I wasn't tempted by thoughts of working in a second term. It would be competent but complacent, encapsulated by the slogan "The era of big government is over." Getting Clinton elected, however, was a priority. The Republicans nominated Bob Dole, but after the government shutdown they never had a chance. In October, two nights before Clinton's final presidential debate against Dole, a group of us were in the bar of the Albuquerque Holiday Inn reviewing the day's prep session. Around midnight, an advance man found me to say the president was on the phone.

"Can you come up for a minute?"

VIII BREAKING THE SPELL

THE ENCOUNTER I'D BEEN DREADING. THAT MORNING, The New Yorker had published David Remnick's profile of me, in which I openly discussed moving on before the start of the second term. I had been candid with Remnick, in part because I wanted to lock myself into leaving. I had wanted to put off a conversation with the president as long as I could. Now Clinton was calling me on it.

When I entered the suite, he was sprawled on the bed in T shirt and jeans, with the contents of his saddlebag briefcase—folders, briefing books, a couple of paperback mysteries and a new hardcover by Gary Hart—spilled on the bedspread around him.

"So, how's this Remnick article?"

"It's not too bad," I replied. But searching for more comfortable ground, I quickly changed the subject. "The prep went well today,"

I said, "We're ahead of schedule. If you have a solid night Wednesday, the election is over." This was what I knew how to do with Clinton—relate through work, a candidate and his staff. But after a few minutes, Clinton stopped me.

"Now let's talk about you," he said. "Do you really want to leave? Nobody around here can do what you do."

Although I was grateful to Clinton for the chances he had given me and the things he had taught me—and for coming through on the big issues—his personal magnetism had less power over me now. Watching it work on others still gave me a kind of clinical thrill, but I liked to think that I had become more a student of his seductive powers than their subject. He foiled that defense by tapping into my need to feel indispensable and saying exactly the right thing: "Nobody around here can do what you do." After I told him about being treated for burnout, he suggested that I

take a six-month sabbatical and then come back to work. Thoughtful, but that wasn't how the White House worked. We both knew this was good-bye.

On election night Hillary was in the back bedroom of the president's suite, helping Chelsea get dressed. I knocked on her door. She peeked out: "Just a minute," then came into the hall. Only the two of us were there. This was our private good-bye. She gave me a hug, then held me at arm's length for an extra second, a hand on each of my shoulders, her eyes shining.

We smiled through the silence. Victory was vindication—even sweeter for her than for her husband. She had paid a higher price, taken harder hits, achieved fewer dreams. Now she'd have a second chance, and I wished her luck. She did the same for me. All the stresses and threats, all the suspicions and resentments, all the times the two of us had clashed because I blamed her for being too

'I Didn't Want to Know'

In a **NEWSWEEK** interview, Stephanopoulos weighs Clinton's flirtations, fitness to serve and the future

WHEN GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS began writing his book in 1997, he planned to tell the story of a man who had overcome his flaws and become a good president. That changed the day the Lewinsky story broke. All that Stephanopoulos had seen—the president's simmering anger, his clever use of the language, his last-minute flip-flops—took on new meaning, and he rewrote the book. Stephanopoulos talks with **NEWSWEEK** about how he sees Clinton now. Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: You spent four years at the president's side. Did you see any inappropriate behavior?

STEPHANOPOULOS: I accept, looking back, that maybe I just did not want to know. I never saw him in a compromising position with a woman. I saw him flirt, but I just couldn't imagine it would go beyond that. The consequences were too great. He flirted with everybody, with audiences, with little kids, with elderly women. I just thought it was a substitute.

Are you proud you worked for the president?

It's a question I still struggle



Second thoughts: 'I don't think he'd be fit enough to be elected'

with. We accomplished, and he has accomplished, more than I ever thought humanly possible. But he lost the battle with himself, tarnished his presidency and all of us associated with it. If I knew everything then that I know now, of course I wouldn't [have worked for him]. But he's been a good steward, and I think he's been a good president, despite these horrible flaws.

Is he fit to be president?

He's too fit to be removed, but knowing what we know

now, I don't think he'd be fit enough to be elected.

One of the things I loved best about Clinton was his definition of character: get up every day and do a little bit better than you did the day before. He struggled to do that. And then he just shut down. I hate to agree with Dick Morris, but it is like he's two different people. The shame of the whole Clinton experience is that it was a story of a man who confronted his weaknesses and who became a better president every day.

And then he threw it all away.

Do you feel the president was appropriately punished?

Having your grand-jury testimony played before the whole nation and knowing this episode will be the filter through which you will always be seen is a severe punishment. I think there are times when he is alone at night and he knows the gravity of what he has done. People say he seems down a lot. I was for censure because I think we need to deal with this problem of a president who did not fully live up to the oath of office yet did not commit, in my mind, an impeachable offense.

What do you think will happen now?

In some ways, the battle against impeachment was the glue that was holding a lot of the White House together. People will now leave. My guess is that nothing will happen legislatively. It would have been hard without the scandal, but now it seems almost impossible. There's at least a chance this could create a productive atmosphere; the desire of all to accomplish something could create an unusual last two years. But it's just a chance, and a remote one at that. Here's the long-shot play: Al Gore picks Hillary Clinton as his running mate. They win and Bill Clinton has to serve as second spouse. Now, that would be something.

THE ESTRANGEMENT: I didn't believe Clinton, which meant I was the enemy now. I heard that as far as the president was concerned, I was a nonperson—my name was not to be mentioned in his presence.

A new life: In September '98, Stephanopoulos studies up for his spot on ABC's 'This Week'



rigid and she blamed me for not being as "tough as Kennedy's men"—all that was behind us now. We had survived. We had won. All would be well.

"I love you, George Stephanopoulos."

"I love you too."

Staff no more, I walked out the door.

IX ON MY OWN

I MOVED TO NEW YORK FOR A NEW CAREER AS A WRITER, teacher and television commentator. I learned how to better balance my life; over time, I stopped taking antidepressant medication. But habit dies hard. After a presidential press conference, I'd leave a congratulatory message with Betty Currie, hoping Clinton would call. When I defended him publicly, Clinton would return the favor by tracking me down.

Then, on Wednesday, Jan. 21, 1998, the worst of the old days were back. A big story was breaking with allegations about the president and a former White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. They'd had sex. Clinton might have told her to lie. There were tapes. Starr was investigating.

A moment from a Sunday morning in late 1996 recurred to me. Monica had approached me as I walked from my apartment to the Starbucks next door. I hadn't seen her in nearly a year, but I vaguely remembered her as a pretty, busty, flirty intern I'd pass in the halls or see hanging out at Starbucks on weekends. A few times at work, she had tried to surprise me with a double-tall latte, but my assistant Laura Capps would stop her at the door. That morning, Monica had a question for me: "Does your president tell the truth?" I thought her phrasing was peculiar, but people stopped me on the street to say strange things all the time. After mumbling some answer like "He does his best," I bought my coffee and didn't think about it again.

Now, as the scandal broke, I knew in my gut that Clinton was lying. But I still wondered what I would do if I were back inside. It wasn't hard to imagine the slide from skepticism to certainty, from conscientious objector to kamikaze warrior. I couldn't really know what I would do because I wasn't there—in the Oval, as the president of the United States looked me in the eye and put his hand on mine and begged me to believe him just one more time.

I don't think Hillary knew about Monica until Clinton came home from the Jones deposition. That night, they canceled plans to have dinner with Erskine and Crandall Bowles, and Hillary later said, cryptically, that they had spent much of the weekend "cleaning out closets." But Clinton probably didn't come clean then, either. I imagine he told Hillary that he slipped up but didn't stray—that he had befriended a troubled girlfriend of Betty Currie's, but it got a little out of hand because the girl was insecure, infatuated and slightly crazy. She came on to him, began to imagine an affair. It got so bad she started to stalk him and repeated her fantasy to friends. Somehow the Jones lawyers heard about her. He stupidly tried to fix the situation himself: talked to her on the phone, met with her when she came to see Betty, asked

Vernon Jordan to help her get a job and get her out of town. But he never had sex with her and never told her to lie.

How could Hillary buy that? How could she not? Every marriage is a mystery, but it seemed to me that their bond had been strengthened by the intensity of their White House experience, that Hillary had fallen in love all over again with the boy from Arkansas who had become the president she dreamed he could be. By the time I left the White House, there was less whispering about screaming bouts on the second floor. Hillary hinted that she and Bill had talked about adopting a second child, an unexpected revelation I would have dismissed if I hadn't also heard West Wing gossip about their trying to have a baby of their own. The last time I'd seen them together was in October 1997 at Hillary's 50th-birthday party. The Ritz-Carlton ballroom was filled with their friends of a lifetime and Washington's power elite. Chelsea had flown home from Stanford to surprise her mom. As Hillary swirled around the dance floor in her husband's arms, she seemed as happy as I'd ever seen her.

Hillary had to believe him. She had to believe that as he'd grown in office he'd outgrown his past. She had to do what she had always done before: swallow her doubts, stand by her man and savage his enemies. But I didn't believe Clinton, and I couldn't buy the party line—which meant I was the enemy now. That's the way it was with the Clintons: you were either for them or against them. I knew what being under siege was like, so I really couldn't blame them for feeling the way they did. I heard that as far as Clinton was concerned, I was now a nonperson—my name was not to be mentioned in his presence.

The charges of disloyalty were the most painful. I didn't think Clinton had "created" me, or that loyalty demanded defending behavior I found abhorrent. But Clinton had given me the opportunity of a lifetime, and I *did* owe him some benefit of the doubt. I didn't think I was a hypocrite, because my defense of Clinton against past bimbo eruptions had been predicated on my belief that he wouldn't create new ones, but maybe I was complicit because when I worked for Clinton I had been willing to suspend my disbelief about some of his more suspect denials. I realized that the intensity of my anger toward him was both irrational and uncharitable, but I couldn't help it: for several years, I had served as Clinton's character witness. Now I felt like a dupe. The ultimate rationale for doing what it took to win was not just the thrill of the fight or my need to be on top, but also my belief that progressive ideals would be better protected as long as Clinton was president. He didn't have a right to put those policies at risk. He didn't have a right to compromise my compromises, to make me question whether helping him get elected was the best thing I ever did—or the worst.

As 1998 wore on, my anger at Clinton was matched by my fury at Ken Starr and the GOP. Clinton had dishonored his office, but he didn't deserve to be impeached. By January 1999, he delivered a masterful State of the Union address; it was his best defense in the trial that was unfolding across the Capitol. As I watched, sitting across town in what had become my usual chair at ABC, I delighted in the political virtuosity of Clinton's performance. America was doing fine—better than fine, better than I ever could have imagined six years ago. Now I watched from far away, wondering what might have been—if only this good president had been a better man.

NE DONT ON NE CONTRÔLAIT JAMAIS LA VITESSE
A TROIS PORTES A

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HILLARY SE RESSOU

Après une nuit passée sous la tente près de Merzouga, au Maroc, Hillary Clinton n'a pu résister à l'appel du soleil levant. En vis

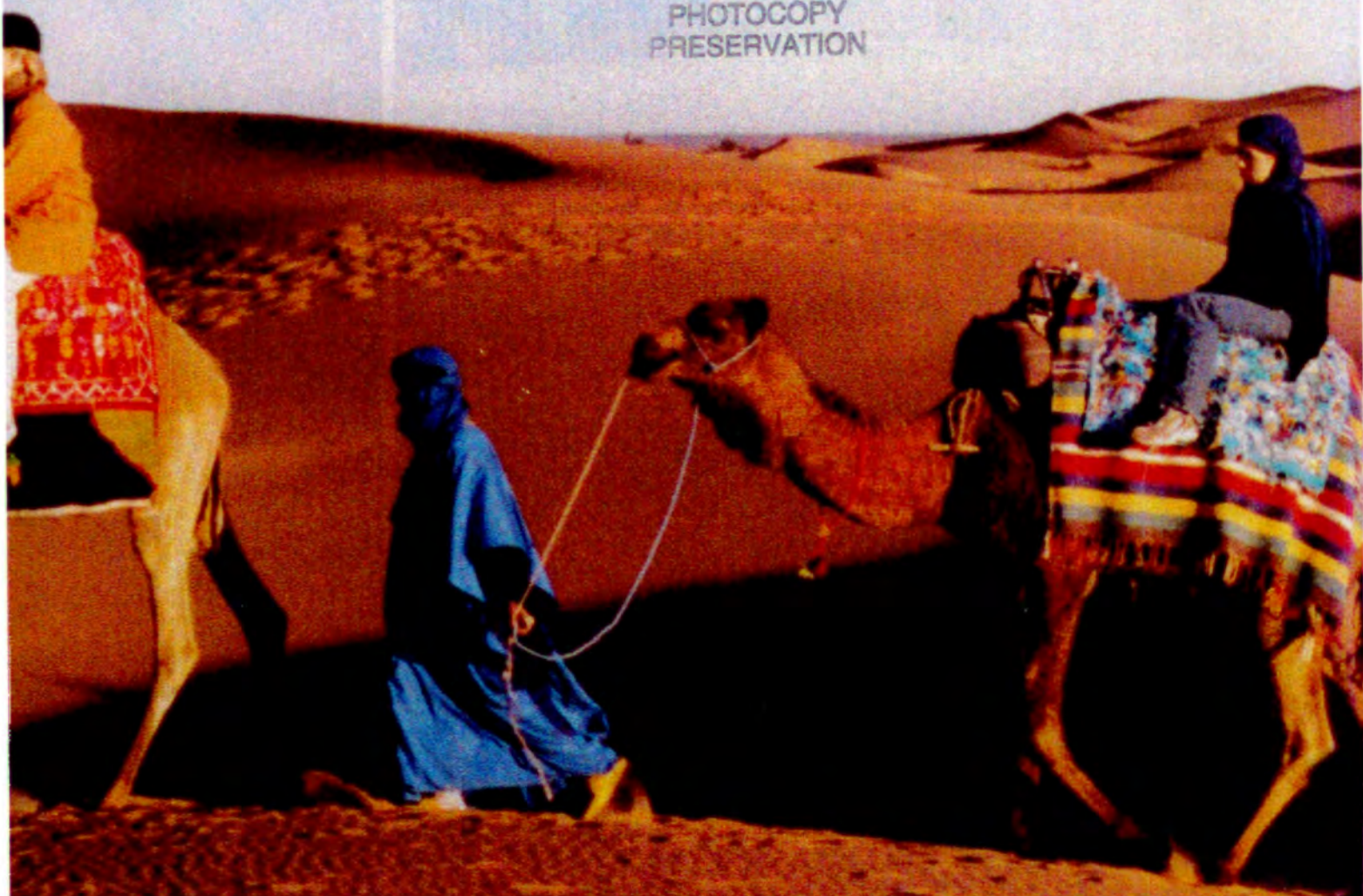
—
holy did a
great job. . . .
He is the best -
✓ for him

**l'affaire Lewinsky, la First Lady est partie
avec Chelsea pour un long périple
en Egypte, en Tunisie et au Maroc. Une plage
de méditation avant de se lancer dans
de nouveaux combats**

*Méharée insolite dans le désert marocain, dimanche 27 mars : après
avoir célébré l'Aïd-el-Kébir, la fête musulmane du mouton, Hillary Clinton et sa fille
Chelsea s'adonnent au tourisme.*

PHOTO RALPH ALSWANG

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



CE DANS LE DESERT

pour elle, le cauchemar de l'affaire Monica et son cortège d'humiliations sont à présent terminés. Pugnace, Hillary Clinton mène sa prochaine bataille : les élections sénatoriales, en l'an 2000. La femme du président veut conquérir l'Etat de New York. On l'entendement d'un poste d'ambassadeur auprès des Nations unies et de la rédaction d'un livre de Mémoires. Telle une élève modèle, elle suit pas à pas. Commentaire du Dr Nancy Snyderman, une amie de Hillary : « Elle a la force de sa mère. » Inépuisable.

PHOTOCOP
PRESERVATION



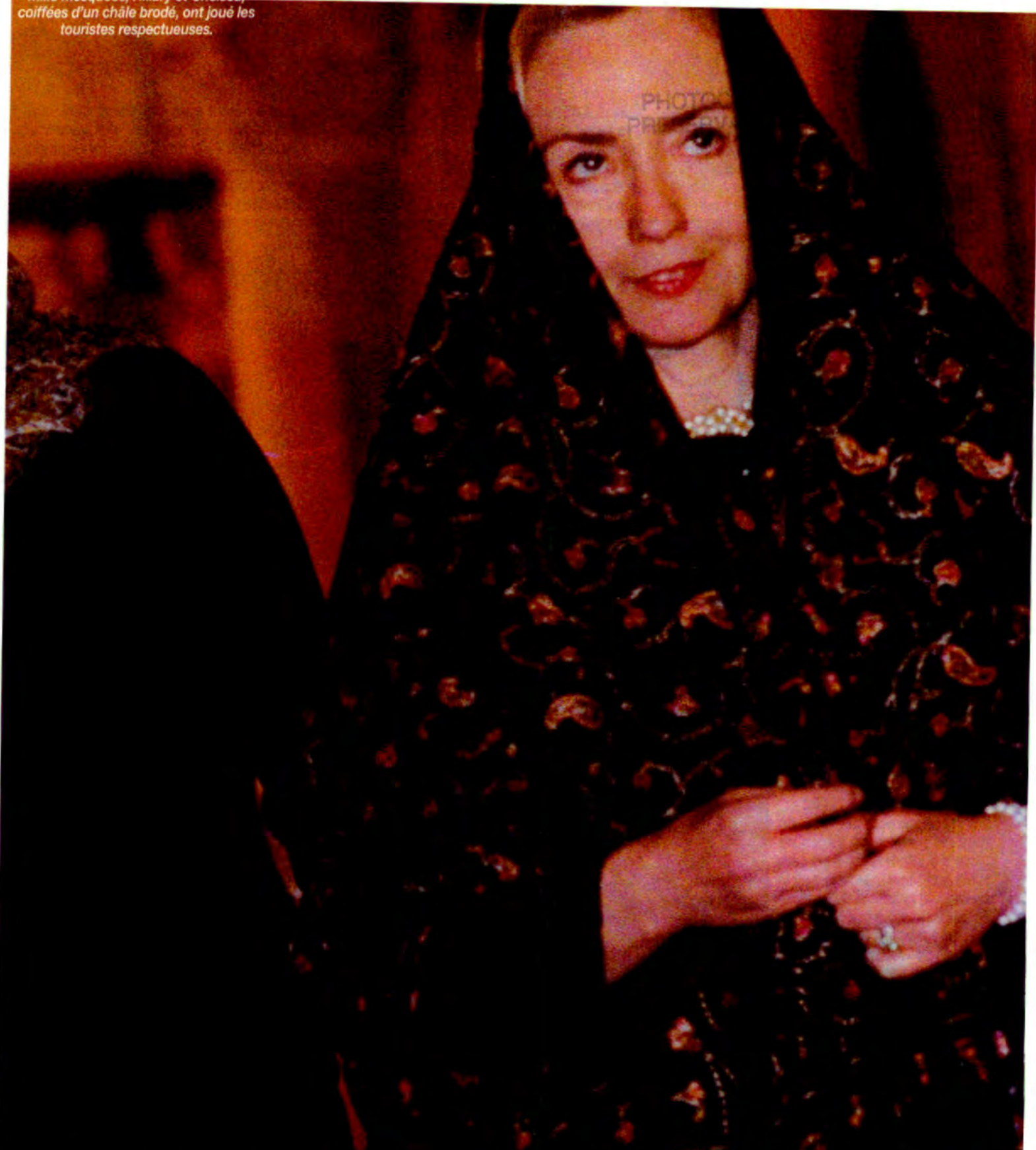
A l'abri d'une citadelle du XII^e siècle, la First Lady américaine et sa fille ont contemplé la tumultueuse capitale égyptienne. Ci-dessous, temple de Louxor : une minute de bonheur au milieu des ruines de l'Egypte antique.



Plus que jamais
complices, la mère et
la fille jettent
un voile sur le grand
déballage sentimental
la Maison-Blanche



... dans les
même mosquées, Hillary et Chelsea,
coiffées d'un châle brodé, ont joué les
touristes respectueuses.



... temples pharaoniques, minarets du Caire...
Hillary et Chelsea ont accompli leur pèlerinage
en Egypte. Otant leurs chaussures et couvrant
leurs cheveux dans les mosquées. Souriant
aux photographes devant les colosses multi-
millénaires de Louxor. Les deux femmes par-
tagent une même foi chrétienne intense, et

une même passion pour la méditation. Mais
après son étape cairote, Hillary Clinton re-
trouve les accents de son passé militant chez
les démocrates. Sillonnant la Tunisie en com-
pagnie de la Première dame du pays, Leila
Ben Ali, elle a pris la parole devant les suffra-
gettes maghrébines venues l'acclamer : « Il

faut parler au nom de toutes les femmes qui
continuent de souffrir et sont maltraitées, leur
lance-t-elle. C'est le cas en Algérie. En Afgha-
nistan, des femmes sont brutalisées et humili-
liées sous prétexte de religion. » Manière de
rappeler qu'on peut être respectueux de l'is-
lam sans céder au chantage des fanatiques.

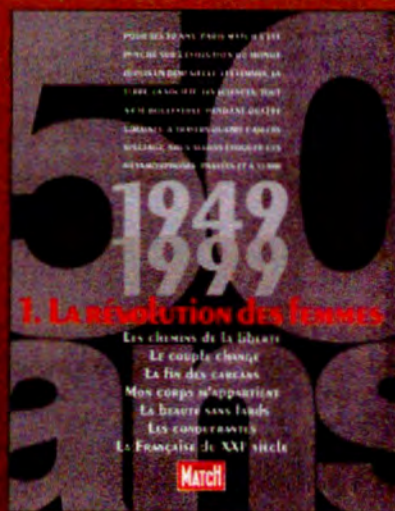
PARIS
MATCH

LA GUERRE et ses drames

NOS ENVOIES SPECIAUX DANS LA FUREUR DU KOSOVO ET DE BELGRADE

En Yougoslavie
dernier fleuron de
l'Air Force, l'avion furtif
le bombardier le
plus cher de l'Histoire
2 milliards de dollars
pour la première fois
engagé au combat

Supplément
40 pages
En 50 ans,
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et ses victoires



TUNNEL DU MONT-BLANC

HISTOIRE ET PHOTOS D'UNE CATASTROPHE
Les victimes, les héros et maintenant les responsables

What I Saw

EXCLUSIVE: In a compelling memoir of political seduction and betrayal, the ultimate insider takes you behind the scenes with Bill and Hillary Clinton. From the War Room to the White House, he was there. Now he tells all.

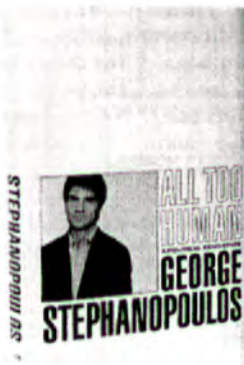
BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

DAYS AFTER THE MONICA LEWINSKY STORY BROKE IN JANUARY 1998, I had a dream about President Clinton: I had returned to the White House after a year away, and I was sitting in my usual chair just next to the president's desk in the Oval Office, prepping him for an interview with CBS News. *Seems like old times*, I thought; *it's good to be back*. But moments before the interview was scheduled to start, we got word of some vague but terrible tragedy. The whole country would soon know about it, and the president would need to respond. I pulled out my notepad and struggled to scratch out appropriate words of consolation and hope. Nothing came, but it didn't matter. Clinton did what he always seemed to do so well at times like this, saying exactly the right thing, in exactly the right way. *He's still got it—*

best politician I've ever seen. Then I walked across the Oval, opened a door and found myself in a pocket-size room—windowless and bare, except for nude pinups of Monica pasted on its walls.

I was struggling in my dream with the Clinton I loved and the Clinton I feared, the president I served and the man I didn't want to see. From the day I met him in 1991 to the day I left the White House in December 1996, he was the dominant figure in my life. The Clinton I know is a complicated man responding to the pressures and pleasures of public life in ways I found both awesome and appalling. I have come to see how his shamelessness is a key to his political success, how his capacity for denial is tied to the optimism that is his greatest political strength. For every reckless and expedient act, there are others of leadership and vision. Theodore White once wrote that "closeness to power heightens the dignity of all men." I now know that's not always true.

EXCERPTED FROM "ALL TOO HUMAN: A POLITICAL EDUCATION" BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS, AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD NATIONWIDE BEGINNING THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1999. © BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS. PUBLISHED BY ARRANGEMENT WITH LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, INC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



I FIRST IMPRESSIONS

BULKY AND BUTTER-CHEEKED, BILL CLINTON looked like an overgrown boy. But he had the gait of a man used to being obeyed, admired, courted and loved. Slow but not stately, almost lazy but loaded with self-confidence. Clinton held my eye with a smile while he shook my hand. His was soft, and the grip was surprisingly light for a politician. It was September 1991, at pollster Stan Greenberg's office, and I was interviewing for a job. For the next half hour, I joined Clinton on the first of countless stream-of-consciousness tours across the political landscape of his mind. By the time he closed with the prediction that the nomination would be decided on the day of the Illinois primary, I was blown away. He walked out with a wave and a promise to call.

I was moved by more than what he stood for or how much he knew. It was how I felt around him: uniquely known and needed. Clinton spoke to the me yearning to be singled out for a special job—the boy who had been his father's acolyte in the Greek Orthodox Church. The day before Clinton



THE INNER SANCTUM: Walking over in his briefs, Clinton smacked a sloppy kiss on Hillary's cheek and introduced us. 'I've heard so much about you,' she told me. *Nice start. Warm.* This was exactly where I wanted to be.

The journey begins: Stephanopoulos went to work for Clinton in 1991; the candidate made the aide feel 'uniquely known and needed'

announced, I came on board as deputy campaign manager. Two weeks later, I landed in Little Rock and went straight to the governor's mansion. The heavy autumn haze had left Clinton with a swollen head and a red nose. But that didn't stop him from picking up our conversation right where we had left off in Washington. "I feel good about it, but we're behind ... Got a lot to do ... Need to set up a network to get me ideas from my friends ... Decide what to do about the Florida straw poll."

He kept on talking as I followed him to the bedroom, where he started to change out of his jeans for a downtown lunch, then stopped to hand me an article from a pile on one of the night tables. There were two of them—one for him, one for her—both loaded down with novels, magazines, issue papers and spiritual books. I hadn't yet met Hillary, but seeing the night tables made me picture the two of them propped up late at night, passing their reading back and forth, arguing, laughing, educating each other, sharing a passion for ideas.

Then she appeared in the bedroom door. Hillary was prettier than her pictures, with a dimpled smile that didn't match her high-powered reputation and a tailored suit that did. Walking over in his briefs, Clinton smacked a sloppy kiss on her cheek and introduced us. "I've heard so much about you," she said, her Midwestern accent slowed just a touch by her years in the South.

Nice start. Warm. But it was one thing to be working with the boss while he changed; with his wife there, I just wanted to excuse myself. Hillary insisted I stay and stepped right into the conversation, asking questions, analyzing the upcoming primaries and reminding me of all the work we had to do. This was exactly what I wanted to be doing: building a presidential campaign—and exactly where I wanted to be: in its inner sanctum.

Soon we were in New Hampshire—and in trouble. There were questions about Gennifer Flowers, and Clinton's draft record. My better side cared about the substance of the campaign, but the competitive warrior in me was more engaged by the street fighting. I told myself that if this allegation, or the next one, or the one after that metastasized, the campaign would die—and nobody would ever hear or remember or benefit from anything we proposed on health care or education or the economy.

The Flowers piece in the *Star* tabloid alleging a "12-year affair" with Clinton hit on Jan. 23. Reading the story, Clinton seized on any detail he knew was wrong. I was happy to make a list of the details that were false, but I didn't press Clinton to say which ones were true. I wanted to see him as he saw himself—the target of unscrupulous enemies who would try to destroy him personally because they opposed his policies. And I needed Clinton to see me as his defender, not his interrogator, which made me, of course, an enabler.

Then came the Flowers tapes—scratchy but apparently authentic recordings of Clinton and Gennifer talking in intimate tones about their personal relationship and the presidential race. When I heard them, I was hit by a wave of nausea, doubt, embarrassment and anger. Mostly anger.

He lied. Even if he didn't, what's he doing talking to her in the middle of the campaign? Still, as the night passed, my campaign col-

leagues and I were back to fighting for him even more fiercely. A dynamic had already started that would repeat itself many times in the years ahead—one explained well by Reinhold Niebuhr: "Frantic orthodoxy," he wrote, "is never rooted in faith but in doubt. It is when we are not sure that we are doubly sure." I now had doubts about Clinton, had seen his flaws up close, which caused me to focus even more intently on his strengths and believe even more fervently in his ideas. His enemies would stop at nothing to defeat him, so nothing would stop me from defending him. Now I was a true believer.

II WASHINGTON WOES

WHEN WE GOT TO THE WHITE HOUSE IN JANUARY 1993, after defeating President Bush, hopes were high: we were supposed to focus "like a laser beam" on the economy, but we were quickly sidetracked by failed nominations, nanny problems, gays in the military and our own arrogance. It started on Day One.

S---. *I can't cover it up.* I was staring at the mirror of the single-stall washroom by the press secretary's office in the West Wing of the White House. In a few minutes, I would call my first official press briefing as communications director, and I had a problem. My beard. With all the craziness of the Inauguration, I hadn't had the chance to buy new razor blades, and the powder I was pasting on my cheeks gave me the pallor of a corpse with a 5 o'clock shadow. I was about to face the world from the White House podium looking like an adolescent Richard Nixon.

This was the big leagues. I stood behind the wooden door to the press room with a stomach full of pleasant butterflies. The sound of the door sliding open set off dozens of camera shutters. I walked to the podium, adjusted the glasses I had started wearing again in a vain attempt to look older and took in the scene with a deep breath.

What the reporters—and the world—soon saw, however, was a White House press secretary fall flat on his face.

Q: "How about all of these stories on the lifting of the ban on homosexuals in the military?"

How about you guys give it a rest and report decisions we've actually made? I know, it's too good to let go: sex, a fight with the military, gays feeling betrayed, a crisis right out of the box. If you reporters weren't pumping it so much, maybe real people wouldn't think it's the only promise we're trying to keep. But we can't get [Senate Armed Services Chairman] Sam Nunn and the Joint Chiefs to give us a break yet, so I have nothing to say.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "I think the president intends to end discrimination against homosexuals in the military ... and it would be very soon—probably within the next week, but not today."

Q: "George, would the president like Zoë Baird to offer to withdraw her nomination?"

Well, duh. Of course he would, wouldn't you? We're sucking wind on our first day with a candidate for attorney general who broke the law [by not paying Social Security taxes for household help]. But she

AT WAR: I wanted to see Clinton as he saw himself—the target of unscrupulous enemies. And I needed Clinton to see me as his defender, not his interrogator, which made me, of course, an enabler.

Strange bond: Fighting scandal, on the road or in the War Room, became 'addictive'



says she told Warren Christopher about it before Clinton chose her, so it's our fault—and she doesn't want to quit without clearing her name. We're stuck.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "No, he thinks she'll make an excellent attorney general ..."

Q: "If Mrs. Baird decides to withdraw her name, would the president accept it?"

In a heartbeat. I wish that's what I was announcing right now.

Q: "Did Mr. Clinton understand fully before naming her as his nominee for attorney general that she had employed illegal aliens for this long period of time?"

Bingo. The \$64,000 question. Wish I knew the answer. He says no. Christopher says yes. Christopher probably mentioned it, but who knows exactly what he said or how Clinton heard it? All I know is that Zoë is saying publicly that she told us, so we're screwed either way. If we didn't know, we're incompetent hacks. If we did and appointed her anyway, we're unethical elitists. Some choice: I can't blame it all on Zoë; the president's not ready to accept responsibility and move on; but if I dump it in Christopher's lap, it will hurt his credibility as secretary of State. Gotta punt.

Mr. Stephanopoulos: "Again, I don't know the exact nature of his discussions on this ..."

Nice try. But they were just getting warmed up. I did know that I was dying out there—a fact confirmed by the flop sweat pouring down from under my arms and across my chest. A trickle started to stream down the side of my face, but I was afraid to wipe it away, certain the image would be flash-frozen into a metaphor of the new administration under siege.

My untenable position on Zoë was made worse by the fact that I wasn't prepared with simple facts and a few anecdotes to fill the reporters' first-day columns. Better preparation wouldn't have stopped the bad stories, but it would have helped soften the blow: talk about how the president and the First Lady feel on their first day; throw in a little color on the president's first night in the Residence and first morning in the Oval Office; bring Tony Lake, the national-security adviser, into the briefing room for a background on the ongoing confrontation in Iraq. But no, I wanted to do it all by myself, and I wasn't ready. When a reporter saved me from myself by saying thank you after 27 minutes of pounding, the UPI's Helen Thomas shouted, "Welcome to the big leagues," and I hustled out of there with my head down like a rookie knocked from the mound in the first inning of his first game.

Our way wasn't working, yet we resisted change, convinced that it was a kind of surrender. At first, we staff wouldn't always stand when the president entered a room, a throwback to the informal, insurgent style of the campaign. The same with the jogging shorts; only a series of bare-legged photos on the evening news persuaded the president to wear a warm-up suit. We started playing "Hail to the Chief" at all public ceremonies. Clinton's military salute took longer to fix. The tips of his fingers would furtively touch his slightly bowed head, as if he were being caught at something he wasn't supposed to do. The snickering got so bad that the message had to be delivered, and in private, but who was

the right messenger? Not me; I was too young, and not a veteran. The vice president was out; too much competitive tension in their relationship for something so personal. It had to be Tony Lake; Clinton's salute came under the heading of national security. After their talk, it grew crisper.

III HAMLET ON THE HUDSON

MY COLLEAGUE GENE SPERLING AND I WERE STANDING over my speakerphone, but for all Mario Cuomo knew we were on our knees. It was March 1993, and the two of us were begging the fabled New York governor to take a seat on the Supreme Court. He seemed to be loving every minute of it. So was I: the possibility of having Clinton in the White House and Cuomo on the court was too good to be true. But Cuomo was ducking the president. Clinton finally reached him on April 1 from Air Force One, and Cuomo told the president that he was leaning against being considered but would think about it. Although Clinton's patience was threadbare, he let the matter rest. By the next week, however, various versions of their pas de deux started to leak. On April 7 I called Andrew Cuomo, the governor's son and an assistant HUD secretary. "We have to pull the trigger one way or another," I told him.

Andrew called his father, and he told me later that they spoke for two-and-a-half hours. Mario finally told Andrew: "If you want me to, I'll call Clinton and take it." But an hour later, the governor faxed the president a letter saying that his duty to New York outweighed his desire to be on the Supreme Court. Another chapter in the saga of Clinton and Cuomo had drawn to a close.

The president still had to fill a vacancy on the court. We brainstormed "outside the box" by tossing around the idea of appointing a political philosopher instead of an attorney. The wildest fantasy hit closest to home: *Wouldn't Hillary look great in a black robe?*

Of course, that couldn't happen, but the president wanted a "big, bold" choice. April and May passed without a decision. We weighed Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Judge Stephen Breyer. Ruth Ginsburg, a women's rights pioneer on the federal bench, finally emerged. She was invited for a meeting in the White House Residence.

Then Cuomo called. Andrew, that is, although it was hard to tell the difference over the phone. I couldn't believe it. Andrew was trying to put his father back in the race! What I should have done was tell him right then that Ginsburg had it, even though that wasn't yet true. But I still wanted to see Cuomo on the court, and now there was a new inducement: if Andrew's call to me somehow led to his father's appointment, I would be the go-between who made it happen, an agent of history. *Stay cool. Hear him out.*

"Did you see Mario on 'Evans and Novak'?" Andrew continued. "They asked him what he would do if the president called, and he said, 'I would not say no to the president'."

I hadn't seen the show and didn't know that Cuomo had been more equivocal than Andrew led me to believe. But I had been burned

enough before to be skittish. "Are you sure your father will accept if the president calls?" I asked. "We can't go down this road again. Before the president even thinks about picking up the phone, we have to be absolutely sure that the answer will be nothing but yes."

He put me on hold. Seconds later: "I just asked him. The answer is yes."

Well, it's out of my hands now. The Democratic governor of the state of New York has an important message for the president of the United States. Who am I not to pass it on?

I walked over to the Residence, where Clinton was changing into one of the Day-Glo polos he wore for golf. Instead of rejecting the idea out of hand, Clinton rolled his tongue behind his lower lip like a pitcher adjusting his chaw—a sign to me that he was listening, intrigued. "Let me think about it."

That meant he wanted to talk to Hillary. I returned to my office.

A few minutes later Hillary called. "George, we need to talk about this," she said. "Can you come back up with David Gergen and Mack?" (Mack McLarty was our first chief of staff; Gergen, a veteran of Republican administrations, had been brought in to shore us up after our rough start.)

Clinton and Hillary seemed to be on my side. He was getting positively lyrical about the prospect: "Mario will sing the song of America. It'll be like watching Pavarotti at Christmastime." He told me to tell Andrew that "the president was interested in his proposal."

That was all Andrew needed to hear. I reached him at his sister's wedding. "Mario will do it because the president wants him to..." What came next should have made me pull the plug. "But the president really has to put it to him. Unless he puts it to him, he won't do it. He needs to use strong language, has to tell Mario that he has to do it."

Bill and Hillary Offstage

Businesslike in meetings, in private they were often sweet with each other. The fun—and the fights.

WHEN THE 1992 campaign started, Hillary was an unqualified political asset. Clinton would cite her work on education and children as a reason to vote for him. We circulated BUY ONE/GET ONE FREE buttons, and progressive primary audiences, especially women, loved the modern-marriage pitch.

I liked most of what I saw in private, too. They really were complete partners, businesslike in meetings, often childlike with each other. Hillary adored him despite herself, giving him a Nancy Reaganesque gaze when he tightened his tie and talked nonstop about his upcoming speech, or later, when he loosened it with his arm around her and laughed about the evening's events. She could soothe him, too. One night, after a particularly useless debate prep during which Clinton was hoarse and cranky, I went up to their suite with the next day's schedule to find her on the couch with him, legs laid over his lap, feeding him lemon slices dipped in honey. In playful moments, Clinton called for her in baby talk: "Hee-a-ree, Hee-a-ree."

Of course, they fought, too,



A complex marriage: The Clintons were playful and protective

and it wasn't fun to watch. She lit into him when she thought he wasn't being tough enough on himself or the people around him. One morning during the New York primary all I saw as I walked in their door was her standing over him at the dining-room table, finger in his face, as he shoveled cereal into his mouth, his head bent close to the bowl. I backed up without turning around and quietly shut the door.

They expressed their anger at the rest of us in different ways. When Hillary was an-

gry, you didn't always know it right away—a calculated chill would descend over time. Clinton's anger was a more impersonal physical force, like a tornado. The tantrum would form in an instant and exhaust itself in a violent rush. Whoever happened to be in the way would have to deal with it; more often than not, that person was me. I guess Clinton figured that I could fix whatever problem was causing his frustration, and he must have sensed that I didn't take his temper personally. The trick

was to have a kind of thin skin—to understand that Clinton didn't really yell at you; he yelled through you as the rage passed through him.

He was always protective of Hillary. In 1992, when she was under fire for Whitewater and "tea and cookies," James Carville and I were reviewing campaign research with Clinton at a Holiday Inn in Charleston, W. Va. Part of the presentation was the videotape of a "dial group," where voters are hooked up to handheld meters and asked to respond to news reports, TV spots and tapes of speeches to gauge what works and what doesn't. The results are superimposed on the screen in real time, so you have an instant analysis of voter response.

When a shot of Hillary speaking was played, the line on the screen dropped like a downhill ski run.

"Oh, man," said Clinton, demonstrating both husbandly concern and his capacity for denial, "they don't like her hair."

Nobody said a word, but Carville started grinding his fist into my thigh. That pressure and the laughter building up inside me made me double over until James mumbled something and burst out of the room. I was right behind him. We collapsed in hysterics the second we hit the corridor. From then on, whenever I wanted to make James laugh, all I had to say was "They don't like her hair." To him, it was the single most memorable line of the campaign. To me, it was just a sweet moment.



ON THE GRIDDLE: At my first White House briefing, I was dying. Flop sweat was pouring out from under my arms and across my chest. A trickle started to stream down the side of my face.

Early stumbles: Gergen was brought in as the Clintonites faltered in their first days. 'Our way wasn't working,' says Stephanopoulos.

Here we go again. Andrew and I were caught up in the world's oldest courtship ritual. He was telling Cuomo that Clinton really wanted him; I was assuring Clinton that Cuomo really wanted him. Andrew worked his father over all through the wedding, asking him four times if he was sure.

At 11:30 that night, Andrew called me one more time. Mario was on board. I relayed the message to the president at 9:30 the next morning, just before his meeting with Ginsburg. After that, Clinton told me to call Andrew again and to let him know that Cuomo should expect a call around 6 p.m.

At 5:45, Mario Cuomo was on the line—for me. My stomach sank to my knees. This couldn't be good news. Cuomo knew that Clinton was scheduled to call at 6. Cuomo started a soliloquy. "George, Andrew's been trying very hard to bring me to change my view, but I feel that I would be doing a disservice to the president. I feel that I would not be able to do what we all need, including supporting the president politically. I surrender so many opportunities of service if I take the court. I don't want the president to think that I might say yes," Cuomo finished. "The president shouldn't call me."

While I was listening to Cuomo in disbelief, Andrew called. "This is a 180-degree turn from yesterday," he said. "I'm sorry."

I was, too. The game was over. I was the master of another disaster. My colleagues would revel in my loss, and Clinton would have a hard time trusting me again on a matter like this. On that late Sunday afternoon, however, he took it in stride, shaking his head with a slightly bemused smile that said this was what he had expected and was probably for the best.

IV A FIRST STRIKE

IT WAS JUNE 23, AND SUMMER LIGHT WAS STILL FILTERING into the parlor by the Lincoln Bedroom. Two months earlier, Kuwaiti authorities had arrested 14 men for planning to place a car bomb in the path of former president Bush as he received an award in Kuwait City. The CIA and FBI had established a link between the bombing suspects and the Iraqi Intelligence Service. Our job that night was to help Clinton decide how to retaliate. All of the top guns were there, including Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell. We didn't sit until the president sat; our early informality was gone now, overtaken by the task at hand. This would be Commander in Chief Clinton's first military strike.

We were determined to send an unambiguous, unapologetic message to Saddam—but with weapons, not words. Even the new members of our team were acutely aware of the president's tendency to overexplain himself in streams of sentences. "Don't oversell and don't undersell," advised Powell.

Wise counsel. But that night, President Clinton didn't need to be coached. He wasn't ill informed, insecure or itching for a fight. As he reviewed the evidence and asked for an outline of the military options, Clinton jotted notes on a small pad. His questions revealed a man determined to make his decisions for the right reasons: "Are we sure the evidence is compelling?" "Is this a truly pro-

portionate response?" "How can we minimize harm to innocent civilians?" The president polled the room. One by one, each of the principals voted for a cruise-missile strike. I was honored to be there, but I didn't want any attention called to my presence. Something about my age and my ignorance of war made me feel as if I didn't quite belong. The president asked me what I thought. OK, George, don't blow it. Keep it simple. No one ever got in trouble for something they didn't say. "I don't think there's a choice, Mr. President." It was unanimous.

Soon cruise missiles were launched toward Baghdad. Simultaneously, President Clinton sat in the Oval and began to consult with his counterparts. President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was first on the line. I heard only Clinton's end of the conversations, but the calls were short and to the point. Russian President Boris Yeltsin, true to form, was indisposed; his people couldn't find him. Yitzhak Rabin was already the foreign leader Clinton most admired: "He's a tough son of a bitch!" Clinton said after putting down the phone. The Kuwaitis and Saudis were enthusiastic, and British Prime Minister John Major offered his full support.

Ironically, the president who seemed most reluctant was the one whose life and honor Clinton was defending. I can only imagine what President Bush was thinking when Clinton gave him the news: "It's clear it was directed against you. I've ordered a cruise-missile attack." Clinton closed the conversation by assuring Bush that he had done everything he could to minimize the loss of life. When Clinton put down the phone, he seemed to be convincing himself that Bush was behind him, instead of the other way around. "I think he thinks we did the right thing," he told me. "Thought it was a tough call."

Clinton wanted and needed Bush's approval as much as Bush needed—although he may not have wanted—Clinton's protection. Bush may have been the only man in the country, with the possible exception of Colin Powell, who could have singlehandedly stopped the attack. All it would take was a well-placed leak to the press, or a sotto voce call from Brent Scowcroft to Tony Lake. But that wasn't Bush's style. Whatever made him diffident at the prospect of having a military strike ordered in his defense, he kept it to himself. Presidents, especially gentlemen presidents, didn't do that to each other.

V FACING HILLARY'S WRATH

BY THE FALL OF 1993, THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE HAD found its footing. We held the Middle East peace ceremony, passed NAFTA and the Brady bill, got our economic plan through and had proposed the centerpiece of our domestic agenda: health-care reform.

But if a genie offered me the chance to turn back time and undo a single decision from my White House tenure, I'd head straight to the Oval Office dining room on Saturday morning, Dec. 11, 1993. The night before, White House counsel Bernie Nussbaum, David Kendall (Clinton's private attorney) and Hillary had persuaded the president to stonewall The Washington Post, which was asking for documents relating to the Clintons' Whitewater investment. The

DARK DAYS: Since Foster's suicide, I had been seeing a therapist. It helped, but by 1994 I had insomnia, waking up 10 to 12 times a night. My problems weren't physical: I descended into a real depression.

Stress and strain: Under pressure, he grew a beard to hide an outbreak of hives



possibility that the Clintons would be implicated in wrongdoing by any investigation of Madison Guaranty was extremely low, but the lawyers were taking nothing for granted. They all underestimated, however, the media reality that reporters want most what they're told they can't have and the cultural reality that the country probably wouldn't care about the ins and outs of an old land deal as long as it didn't look as if the Clintons had something to hide.

On Saturday morning, McLarty gave Gergen and me one last chance to convince Clinton the only way to kill the story was to cooperate with the Post. The president seemed to agree. "I don't have a big problem with giving them what we have," he said, almost apologetically, his mind elsewhere. "But Hillary..."

Saying her name flipped a switch in his head. Suddenly, his eyes lit up, and two years' worth of venom spewed out of his mouth. You could usually tell when Clinton was making Hillary's argument: even if he was yelling, his voice had a flat quality, as if he were a high-school debater speeding through a series of memorized facts. "No, you're wrong," he said. "The questions *won't* stop. They'll always want more. No president has ever been treated like I've been treated." On the Whitewater issue, Clinton wasn't commander in chief, just a husband beholden to his wife. Hillary was always the first to defend him on bimbo eruptions; now he had to do the same for her. The decision: don't cooperate.

Hillary's strategy, however, wasn't working. By early January 1994, there was growing pressure from both Republicans and Democrats for a special prosecutor, and we were holding a rolling Whitewater meeting in Mack's office. I was arguing that we had to request a special counsel before it was forced on us. After the first couple of hours, we reached consensus; Joel Klein, Bernie Nussbaum's deputy, was dispatched to broach the matter with Hillary, but she shut him down. Two hours later, Harold Ickes and Mack tried again. The answer was still no.

When they returned with the news, about a dozen of us were scattered around Mack's office; I was folded over the wingback chair by Mack's desk, griping openly about the magnitude of our mistake. Then she walked in. The whole room dropped dead silent.

"Well," said Hillary crisply, taking a seat on the couch by the door. "I think this is a meeting I ought to be at."

Because I had been talking, I felt as if everyone was looking at me. I prided myself on not being afraid to make a tough argument to the principals, and I'd look like a wimp now if I didn't continue.

"Well, I might as well go on with what I was saying," I said. Sitting up straight and staring right at Hillary, I made my case: "Assuming we did nothing wrong, the best thing is to have a special counsel say so. There's an air of inevitability to this. If we don't ask for one from the attorney general, we're going to get an independent prosecutor. Congress will keep the drumbeat going; they'll pass the Independent Counsel Act, and the appeals court will appoint one. I know we didn't do anything wrong, but it looks like we did because we're not being forthcoming. More important than anything else, this is going to kill health care if we don't get it under control. This debate will sap us for the next 30, 60, 90 days—as long as we keep up the fight. If you want us to fight, Hillary, we will. We can beat this back. But it will take all our time, all our staff re-

sources and, most important, all our political capital, which we need every bit of to pass health care."

I thought the final argument was the coup de grâce—the killer point that she couldn't counter. Instead it struck at her deepest fear—that after all of her hard work, after all her sacrifice, after all the indignities of the campaign and the frustrations of the first year, the project that would make it all worthwhile would be crippled by scandal. Cornered, she struck back: "What do you mean, the Congress won't stop? You told me that if we gave everything to the Justice Department that would *end* it. It *didn't* end it. Now the Congress wants them? If we were as tough as the Republicans, we'd band together and beat them back."

I tried to stay calm, answering point by point. "The Democrats are still holding firm, but I can't promise that they'll be with us in a month. It's beyond the Congress now: it's in the editorial pages; it's everywhere. We don't get the benefit of the doubt because we're not being forthcoming, and we *are* being defensive."

WHATEVER I SAID WAS EXACTLY WRONG. TEARS STUNG the corners of her eyes, and I imagined Hillary's fear-induced fury—at the Republicans for trying to destroy health care by destroying her, at the press for its small-minded, obsessive scrupulousness when issues affecting real people were at stake, at her husband for getting her into this stupid land deal with his shady friends in the first place and then expecting her to clean it up, at her best friend, Vince Foster, for killing himself, at herself for letting the situation spiral out of control. All of that fury, for a moment, was directed at me.

"You *never* believed in us. In New Hampshire, it was just me and Susan [Thomases] and Harold who believed in us. If we wouldn't have fought, we would never have won. You gave up on us..."

She paused, her voice fell, and Hillary started to cry. "We were out there alone, and I'm feeling very lonely right now. Nobody is fighting for me."

We all seemed stuck to our chairs, not knowing whether to be unnerved, afraid or consoling. I was too stunned to respond. Harold Ickes, who had been explicitly absolved from the accusation of disloyalty, tried to rescue me with one final plea for reconsideration.

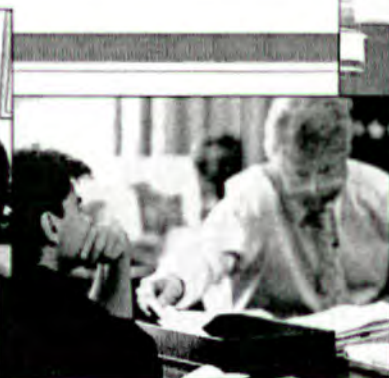
"I don't want to hear anything more," Hillary snapped, back in control. "I want us to fight. I want a campaign now." Looking back at me, she took one last shot: "If you don't believe in us, you should just leave." Then she walked out the door.

A dead moment passed. I fixed a crinkly smile on my face. I walked the few steps to my office, closed the door behind me and broke down.

"You gave up on us." How could she say that? Nobody's fought harder for them. I'm the most loyal staffer they've ever had. I went out there every day. On Gennifer. And the draft. And Whitewater. Sacrificed my credibility. I went out there on faith, without the facts, and would get killed, just humiliated. No matter what I thought inside, I went before the whole country like a crazy person, even said I believed he never had sex with Gennifer. People would laugh at what I would say. Then to get attacked—not for being wrong but for being disloyal, for abandoning them. F--- her. I'm ar-

HILLARY'S FURY: 'You never believed in us ... You gave up on us,' she told me as Whitewater raged in '94. Her voice fell, and Hillary started to cry. 'Nobody is fighting for me.'

Close call: On Whitewater, Stephanopoulos says, Clinton was a husband beholden to his wife



going for what's best—for her, for him, for all of us and everything we're fighting for. F--- her.

But I also knew why Hillary's words wounded me so deeply. They were true. I never showed it to the world, but during the dark days of New Hampshire, I did give up. Remembering that made me feel sorry for Hillary. She'd had to gulp hard on prime-time television when Sam Donaldson read back her husband's farewell to Gennifer: "Good-bye, baby." She'd had to pull it all together every single day—for him, for Chelsea—and she never really knew what was coming next, either. And all for what? Not just to be First Lady, but to do big things. Now her integrity was being questioned; everything she'd worked for was imperiled, and no one was there for her.

By the end of that month, Janet Reno had appointed Robert Fiske to be the Whitewater special counsel; he was ultimately succeeded by Kenneth Starr. That morning's New York Times poll found that President Clinton had a higher approval rating than either Reagan or Carter on their first anniversaries in office and that the public had more confidence in the economy than at any time since 1990. The pattern of the Clinton presidency was set. A month later, Paula Jones would hold her first press conference.

VI

THE WILDERNESS—AND O.J.

IN NOVEMBER 1994, THE VOTERS PAID US BACK FOR OUR TAX INCREASE, the failed health-care initiative and our assorted early missteps by handing Congress to Newt Gingrich and the Republicans. Clinton brought in Dick Morris, his old adviser, to try to fix things, and I was on the outs. To make matters worse, I had been in the doghouse with both Clintons since June 1994, when Bob Woodward published "The Agenda," his account of our chaotic White House. I had tried to handle Woodward as he wrote the book, and the Clintons still hadn't forgiven me for what followed. The sum effect: I was no longer the ultimate authority on what the president would do. As 1995 unfolded, Clinton recovered politically by stealing some of the GOP agenda and fighting the rest of it, culminating in his veto of the GOP budget and the government shutdown.

In the fall of '95, however, the American public was preoccupied with a drama far from Washington. In the White House, we calculated what the O. J. Simpson verdict would mean for Clinton and the country—and got ready for the worst.

On Monday, Oct. 2, Gene Sperling and I were in my office when CNN's "Breaking News" logo lit up the television that was always on. Caught off guard by the fact that the jury's deliberations had taken less than four hours, chief of staff Leon Panetta hastily called a meeting in his office. The president would need a statement responding to the verdict, which would come the next day, and the Justice Department was preparing for possible riots in Los Angeles.

Naturally, we began speculating on the verdict. Leon, a former prosecutor and strict disciplinarian, went straight to guilty. Dick Morris went straight to the polls: "Eighty percent of the blacks in the country think O.J.'s been framed or that there was police misconduct. He's innocent." My own conclusion was more a wish than a

prediction. "Guilty," I said. The president refused to play, saying only that he was surprised at how quickly the verdict had been reached. Morris had an answer for that too: "That kind of impetuosity is characteristic of blacks."

The next morning, we met with Justice Department officials to review their contingency plans. Their Community Services Task Force reported that African-Americans in Los Angeles were on tenterhooks and focused on Mark Fuhrman. They feared a guilty verdict would set off riots in the streets, and were coordinating with the LAPD and community leaders to keep the situation under control. Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick told us that once the verdict was announced, the Justice Department would pursue a civil-rights complaint against Mark Fuhrman and investigate allegations of misconduct against the police—a move that would be especially crucial if O.J. was found guilty. We all agreed that the president's statement should be as neutral as possible.

When we went to get the president's approval, he opened the meeting with a wan stab at humor: "So, Jamie, are we going to have black or white riots today?" I flashed back to a moment shortly after Simpson's arrest. Clinton was in his dining room, recalling the time he'd played golf with O.J. and reflecting on the anxieties that eat away at a middle-aged man whose greatest achievements are behind him. But now the president was more focused on politics than psychology. The prospect of acquittal made Clinton anxious. He feared it would fuel white resentment and feed the prejudiced notion that "blacks can't be trusted with the criminal-justice system." An acquittal would deepen racial divisions; and while Clinton didn't say it then, he knew it could also mean more "angry white males" voting Republican in 1996.

The verdict was set for 1 p.m. Eastern time. Several of us watched in Betty Currie's office, which had the largest television in the Oval Office suite. Clinton pulled a chair up to the console facing Betty's desk. He was uncharacteristically quiet and didn't look up from the crossword puzzle he was working on. The members of the jury took their seats. Their decision: not guilty.

Clinton stared at the screen; we stared at Clinton. For us, the suspense wasn't over yet. No one said a word, as if we were waiting for official guidance on what to think. After all, at some level, Clinton's reaction would become our reaction; that came with the territory. The president knew that, too. A year or two earlier, he would have said everything on his mind. But by this point in his presidency, he was more aware of being watched and better understood the weight of his words—even the private ones. He struggled to remain silent, but a single disgusted syllable slipped out: "S—."

That was all we needed. As the TV played scenes of crowds cheering in South-Central L.A., our small room became a babel of anger and invective. Clinton didn't move from his chair, just silently re-drafted his public reaction, a single sentence expressing respect for the jury's decision and sadness for "Ron and Nicole." Mike McCurry asked if he had any other thoughts. "Not that I want to say," he replied. Still sitting, he slowly doubled over, lowering his head into the palms of his hands, grinding them into his eyes as if to keep all those thoughts from escaping.

Everyone returned to work, and Clinton retreated to the relative

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MONICA'S STORY: I knew in my gut Clinton was lying. But I still wondered what I would do if I were back inside. It wasn't hard to imagine the slide from conscientious objector to kamikaze warrior.

Sad epilogue: Stephanopoulos recalled Monica as a flirty intern who tried to bring him lattes

solitude of the Oval, leaving the office to Betty—the only African-American in the room.

We had first worked together in the Dukakis campaign, then the War Room, now the White House. She was a serene presence. As I returned to my office, I wondered about her. Boy, it must have been painful for her to watch that scene, even if she loves the president, even if she's friends with us. Ashamed of my insensitivity, I went back to talk with her about it and asked if she could explain the cheers.

"You mean, what do they think in the 'hood?" she asked, with just enough of an edge to let me know that my outraged reaction to the verdict had been noted. "Most people feel vindicated by the verdict. It sends the message that the police can't screw around with black people."

But Betty, what kind of a message does it send to let a murderer go free? The look on my face gave me away. So Betty brought up a talk we'd had shortly after O.J. was arrested. "Remember, George, when this started, I thought he was guilty and you didn't believe it." It was a gentle reproach, a reminder to be humble in my judgments.

VII GETTING HELP

THE PRESSURES OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND LIVING ON THE Clinton roller coaster were overwhelming. Since Vince Foster's suicide, I had been seeing a therapist. Although I wasn't ashamed of seeking treatment, I had instinctively calculated the political fallout. When I told Clinton, he responded perfectly—with a shrug of his shoulders that said it was no big deal for him and a look in his eye that said he was concerned about me.

The therapy helped, but there were always worries at work: legislative failures, anxieties about my place in Clinton's world, and even a troubled young woman who stalked me. Health-care reform's slow death in 1994 was particularly disheartening. We fought hard, but were losing. Hillary tried to keep our spirits up. Seeing that I was fluey from fatigue, she sent me a carton of homeopathic cures one day accompanied by a note: "We need you healthy for health care! H." But her echinacea and goldenseal wouldn't cure the case of insomnia I had developed. Ten to 12 times a night, I'd wake up to check the clock. *Phew, it's only 2.* My eyes were red, and the underside of my skin felt like it had been scrubbed with steel wool. My problems weren't physical: I descended into a real depression.

Much of the darkness had lifted by mid-1995, but my nerves were shot, and it had started to show. During June battles on the budget and affirmative action, hives had erupted across my chin. I grew a beard. The rash subsided after an August vacation, but my most pernicious symptom persisted unseen. It was a sound: of fingernails screeching across slate or the tines of a fork scraping a

bone-china plate. Several times a day, for up to an hour straight, it would loop around my brain and reverberate through my torso like feedback from an overamplified guitar. My therapist suggested and recommended a specialist in neurology and psychiatry. I resisted. The spartan in me said, "Suck it up"; the spin doctor saw future headlines.

But by December I couldn't take it anymore. I sat on the edge of the sofa as the psychiatrist told me what I already knew: I was burned out. A serotonin re-uptake inhibitor like Zoloft, he then explained, would help stop my nerves from flooding my brain with the chemical fueling my compulsive symptoms. Soon I slept four hours straight, then I was up to six. I no longer woke up waiting for the sound to start. The feedback cleared, and I could breathe deeply again. Testing myself, I would see fingernails on a blackboard, hear the soundtrack, then switch it off.

The medication stripped away layers of worry, allowing me to remember what it was like to be me—a melancholy nail biter, sure, but not someone consumed by anxiety, not someone who measured himself by his proximity to a president or convinced himself that his words and deeds would make or break a presidency. I still worked hard, but I worried less. I cared about what we could do, but I didn't obsess. Calmer, more detached, I prepared to leave.

I still wanted one more win, and the 1996 campaign gave me that chance. But even as I got better, I wasn't tempted by thoughts of working in a second term. It would be competent but complacent, encapsulated by the slogan "The era of big government is over." Getting Clinton elected, however, was a priority. The Republicans nominated Bob Dole, but after the government shutdown they never had a chance. In October, two nights before Clinton's final presidential debate against Dole, a group of us were in the bar of the Albuquerque Holiday Inn reviewing the day's prep session. Around midnight, an advance man found me to say the president was on the phone.

"Can you come up for a minute?"

VIII BREAKING THE SPELL

THE ENCOUNTER I'D BEEN DREADING. THAT MORNING, The New Yorker had published David Remnick's profile of me, in which I openly discussed moving on before the start of the second term. I had been candid with Remnick, in part because I wanted to lock myself into leaving. I had wanted to put off a conversation with the president as long as I could. Now Clinton was calling me on it.

When I entered the suite, he was sprawled on the bed in T shirt and jeans, with the contents of his saddlebag briefcase—folders, briefing books, a couple of paperback mysteries and a new hardcover by Gary Hart—spilled on the bedspread around him.

"So, how's this Remnick article?"

"It's not too bad," I replied. But searching for more comfortable ground, I quickly changed the subject. "The prep went well today,"

I said, "We're ahead of schedule. If you have a solid night Wednesday, the election is over." This was what I knew how to do with Clinton—relate through work, a candidate and his staff. But after a few minutes, Clinton stopped me.

"Now let's talk about you," he said. "Do you really want to leave? Nobody around here can do what you do."

Although I was grateful to Clinton for the chances he had given me and the things he had taught me—and for coming through on the big issues—his personal magnetism had less power over me now. Watching it work on others still gave me a kind of clinical thrill, but I liked to think that I had become more a student of his seductive powers than their subject. He foiled that defense by tapping into my need to feel indispensable and saying exactly the right thing: "Nobody around here can do what you do." After I told him about being treated for burnout, he suggested that I

take a six-month sabbatical and then come back to work. Thoughtful, but that wasn't how the White House worked. We both knew this was good-bye.

On election night Hillary was in the back bedroom of the president's suite, helping Chelsea get dressed. I knocked on her door. She peeked out: "Just a minute," then came into the hall. Only the two of us were there. This was our private good-bye. She gave me a hug, then held me at arm's length for an extra second, a hand on each of my shoulders, her eyes shining.

We smiled through the silence. Victory was vindication—even sweeter for her than for her husband. She had paid a higher price, taken harder hits, achieved fewer dreams. Now she'd have a second chance, and I wished her luck. She did the same for me. All the stresses and threats, all the suspicions and resentments, all the times the two of us had clashed because I blamed her for being too

'I Didn't Want to Know'

In a **NEWSWEEK** interview, Stephanopoulos weighs Clinton's flirtations, fitness to serve and the future

WHEN GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS began writing his book in 1997, he planned to tell the story of a man who had overcome his flaws and become a good president. That changed the day the Lewinsky story broke. All that Stephanopoulos had seen—the president's simmering anger, his clever use of the language, his last-minute flip-flops—took on new meaning, and he rewrote the book. Stephanopoulos talks with **NEWSWEEK** about how he sees Clinton now. Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: You spent four years at the president's side. Did you see any inappropriate behavior?

STEPHANOPOULOS: I accept, looking back, that maybe I just did not want to know. I never saw him in a compromising position with a woman. I saw him flirt, but I just couldn't imagine it would go beyond that. The consequences were too great. He flirted with everybody, with audiences, with little kids, with elderly women. I just thought it was a substitute.

Are you proud you worked for the president?

It's a question I still struggle



Second thoughts: 'I don't think he'd be fit enough to be elected'

with. We accomplished, and he has accomplished, more than I ever thought humanly possible. But he lost the battle with himself, tarnished his presidency and all of us associated with it. If I knew everything then that I know now, of course I wouldn't [have worked for him]. But he's been a good steward, and I think he's been a good president, despite these horrible flaws.

Is he fit to be president?

He's too fit to be removed, but knowing what we know

now, I don't think he'd be fit enough to be elected.

One of the things I loved best about Clinton was his definition of character: get up every day and do a little bit better than you did the day before. He struggled to do that. And then he just shut down. I hate to agree with Dick Morris, but it is like he's two different people. The shame of the whole Clinton experience is that it was a story of a man who confronted his weaknesses and who became a better president every day.

And then he threw it all away.

Do you feel the president was appropriately punished?

Having your grand-jury testimony played before the whole nation and knowing this episode will be the filter through which you will always be seen is a severe punishment. I think there are times when he is alone at night and he knows the gravity of what he has done. People say he seems down a lot.

I was for censure because I think we need to deal with this problem of a president who did not fully live up to the oath of office yet did not commit, in my mind, an impeachable offense.

What do you think will happen now?

In some ways, the battle against impeachment was the glue that was holding a lot of the White House together. People will now leave. My guess is that nothing will happen legislatively. It would have been hard without the scandal, but now it seems almost impossible. There's at least a chance this could create a productive atmosphere; the desire of all to accomplish something could create an unusual last two years. But it's just a chance, and a remote one at that. Here's the long-shot play: Al Gore picks Hillary Clinton as his running mate. They win and Bill Clinton has to serve as second spouse. Now, that would be something.

THE ESTRANGEMENT: I didn't believe Clinton, which meant I was the enemy now. I heard that as far as the president was concerned, I was a nonperson—my name was not to be mentioned in his presence.

A new life: In September '98, Stephanopoulos studies up for his spot on ABC's 'This Week'



rigid and she blamed me for not being as "tough as Kennedy's men"—all that was behind us now. We had survived. We had won. All would be well.

"I love you, George Stephanopoulos."

"I love you too."

Staff no more, I walked out the door.

IX ON MY OWN

I MOVED TO NEW YORK FOR A NEW CAREER AS A WRITER, teacher and television commentator. I learned how to better balance my life; over time, I stopped taking antidepressant medication. But habit dies hard. After a presidential press conference, I'd leave a congratulatory message with Betty Currie, hoping Clinton would call. When I defended him publicly, Clinton would return the favor by tracking me down.

Then, on Wednesday, Jan. 21, 1998, the worst of the old days were back. A big story was breaking with allegations about the president and a former White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. They'd had sex. Clinton might have told her to lie. There were tapes. Starr was investigating.

A moment from a Sunday morning in late 1996 recurred to me. Monica had approached me as I walked from my apartment to the Starbucks next door. I hadn't seen her in nearly a year, but I vaguely remembered her as a pretty, busty, flirty intern I'd pass in the halls or see hanging out at Starbucks on weekends. A few times at work, she had tried to surprise me with a double-tall latte, but my assistant Laura Capps would stop her at the door. That morning, Monica had a question for me: "Does your president tell the truth?" I thought her phrasing was peculiar, but people stopped me on the street to say strange things all the time. After mumbling some answer like "He does his best," I bought my coffee and didn't think about it again.

Now, as the scandal broke, I knew in my gut that Clinton was lying. But I still wondered what I would do if I were back inside. It wasn't hard to imagine the slide from skepticism to certainty, from conscientious objector to kamikaze warrior. I couldn't really know what I would do because I wasn't there—in the Oval, as the president of the United States looked me in the eye and put his hand on mine and begged me to believe him just one more time.

I don't think Hillary knew about Monica until Clinton came home from the Jones deposition. That night, they canceled plans to have dinner with Erskine and Crandall Bowles, and Hillary later said, cryptically, that they had spent much of the weekend "cleaning out closets." But Clinton probably didn't come clean then, either. I imagine he told Hillary that he slipped up but didn't stray—that he had befriended a troubled girlfriend of Betty Currie's, but it got a little out of hand because the girl was insecure, infatuated and slightly crazy. She came on to him, began to imagine an affair. It got so bad she started to stalk him and repeated her fantasy to friends. Somehow the Jones lawyers heard about her. He stupidly tried to fix the situation himself: talked to her on the phone, met with her when she came to see Betty, asked

Vernon Jordan to help her get a job and get her out of town. But he never had sex with her and never told her to lie.

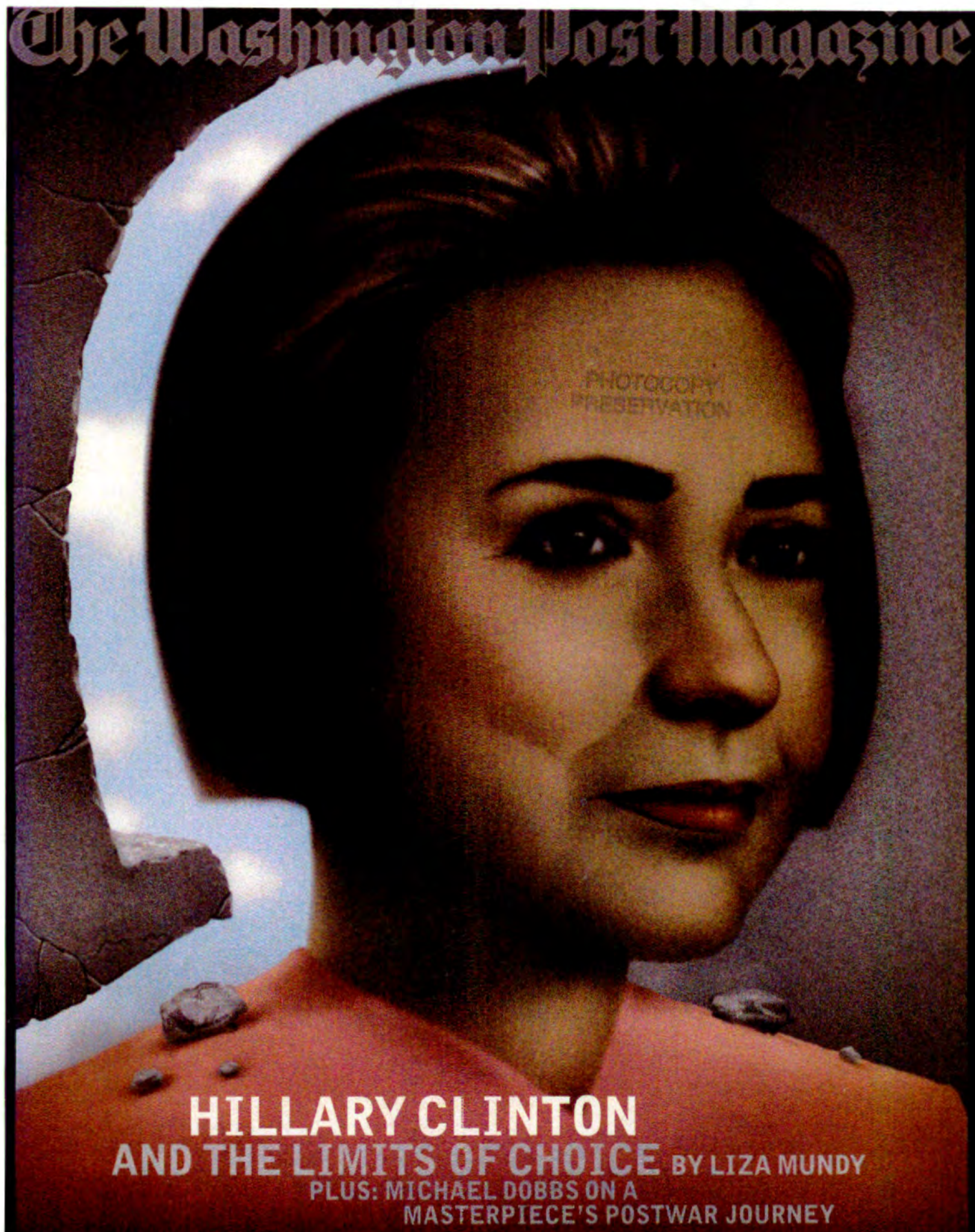
How could Hillary buy that? How could she not? Every marriage is a mystery, but it seemed to me that their bond had been strengthened by the intensity of their White House experience, that Hillary had fallen in love all over again with the boy from Arkansas who had become the president she dreamed he could be. By the time I left the White House, there was less whispering about screaming bouts on the second floor. Hillary hinted that she and Bill had talked about adopting a second child, an unexpected revelation I would have dismissed if I hadn't also heard West Wing gossip about their trying to have a baby of their own. The last time I'd seen them together was in October 1997 at Hillary's 50th-birthday party. The Ritz-Carlton ballroom was filled with their friends of a lifetime and Washington's power elite. Chelsea had flown home from Stanford to surprise her mom. As Hillary swirled around the dance floor in her husband's arms, she seemed as happy as I'd ever seen her.

Hillary had to believe him. She had to believe that as he'd grown in office he'd outgrown his past. She had to do what she had always done before: swallow her doubts, stand by her man and savage his enemies. But I didn't believe Clinton, and I couldn't buy the party line—which meant I was the enemy now. That's the way it was with the Clintons: you were either for them or against them. I knew what being under siege was like, so I really couldn't blame them for feeling the way they did. I heard that as far as Clinton was concerned, I was now a nonperson—my name was not to be mentioned in his presence.

The charges of disloyalty were the most painful. I didn't think Clinton had "created" me, or that loyalty demanded defending behavior I found abhorrent. But Clinton *had* given me the opportunity of a lifetime, and I *did* owe him some benefit of the doubt. I didn't think I was a hypocrite, because my defense of Clinton against past bimbo eruptions had been predicated on my belief that he wouldn't create new ones, but maybe I was complicit because when I worked for Clinton I had been willing to suspend my disbelief about some of his more suspect denials. I realized that the intensity of my anger toward him was both irrational and uncharitable, but I couldn't help it: for several years, I had served as Clinton's character witness. Now I felt like a dupe. The ultimate rationale for doing what it took to win was not just the thrill of the fight or my need to be on top, but also my belief that progressive ideals would be better protected as long as Clinton was president. He didn't have a right to put those policies at risk. He didn't have a right to compromise my compromises, to make me question whether helping him get elected was the best thing I ever did—or the worst.

As 1998 wore on, my anger at Clinton was matched by my fury at Ken Starr and the GOP. Clinton had dishonored his office, but he didn't deserve to be impeached. By January 1999, he delivered a masterful State of the Union address; it was his best defense in the trial that was unfolding across the Capitol. As I watched, sitting across town in what had become my usual chair at ABC, I delighted in the political virtuosity of Clinton's performance. America was doing fine—better than fine, better than I ever could have imagined six years ago. Now I watched from far away, wondering what might have been—if only this good president had been a better man. ■

The Washington Post Magazine



HILLARY CLINTON
AND THE LIMITS OF CHOICE BY LIZA MUNDY
PLUS: MICHAEL DOBBS ON A
MASTERPIECE'S POSTWAR JOURNEY

March 21, 1999

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THE HILLARY DILEMMA

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

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

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

As she stands by her man, the women's movement stands by Hillary Clinton as a symbol of women's

right to choose—a career, a home, a marriage. But what has she really chosen?

BY LIZA MUNDY
PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS
BY MATT MAHURIN

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

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

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

has brought her, has also brought unimaginable pain. In doing so, she has stuck with a man who, in the course of his womanizing, is alleged to have harassed and even sexually assaulted other women. Hillary has endured not only her pain but theirs.

How to accommodate such contradictions?

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

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



unscorched, over hot coals. How much pain is she feeling? How much more can she take?

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

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

Choice is also the word invoked by leaders of the women's movement as they try to make sense of Hillary Clinton—her silence, her suffering, her decision to stay with her husband, her newfound popularity—and how all these things affect her status as a feminist leader. Because it seems fair to say that they do, or should, affect that status. Just as it's gotten a lot harder to characterize Bill Clinton as a friend of the working girl, so too has it become more problematic to lionize Hillary as a feminist standard-bearer. This, remember, is a woman who campaigned with her husband on a platform that emphasized women's equality. During her tenure, she has championed women's rights in venues from Beijing to Kampala. Yet she—of all people!—has stayed in a marriage that, whatever blessings it

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

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

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

Is this not true?

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

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

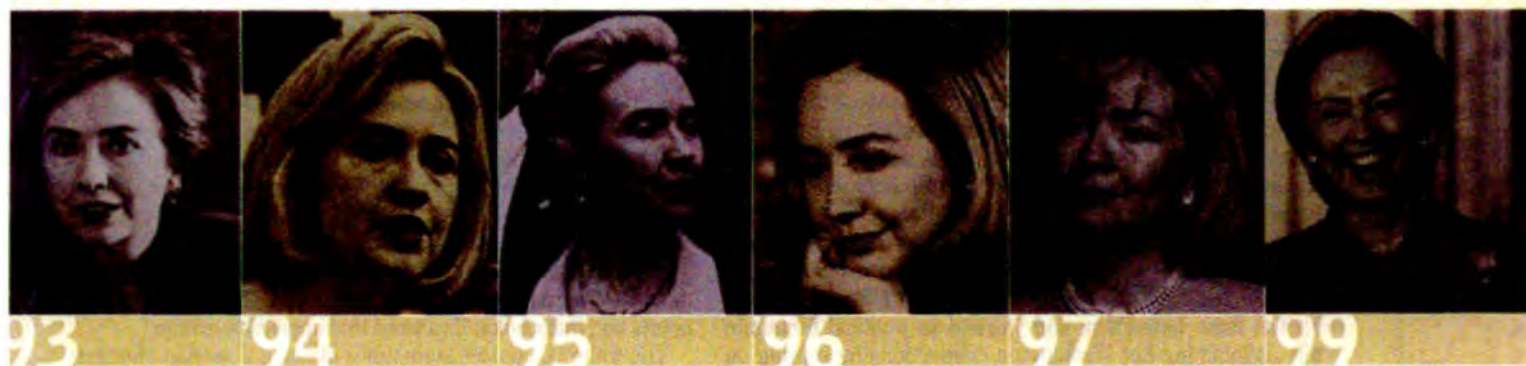
A nation that long regarded **HILLARY AS GLENN CLOSE,** **THE HOMICIDAL WORKING WOMAN IN 'FATAL ATTRACTION,'** NOW **APPARENTLY SEES HER AS ANNE ARCHER, THE LONG-SUFFERING** **WIFE WHO WELCOMES HER HUSBAND BACK TO THE HEARTH.**

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

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

nagged and drove, until Hillary silenced her with the "ultimate rejoinder," which was, of course, that she loved Bill Clinton deeply and wanted to try making a life with him in Fayetteville, where he was teaching at the University of Arkansas law school. Ehrman stopped nagging but didn't stop worrying. When they reached Fayetteville, their arrival coincided with a football weekend when the Razorbacks were playing at home.

Entering town, Ehrman saw undergraduate men, hanging from lampposts, wearing something odd on their heads and



the hassle, the airplane tickets, and offered to drive her down.

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

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

"I thought: I worked hard as a woman to help her get the opportunities she was entitled to," Ehrman says. "I thought she was throwing that opportunity away." So she nagged and drove,

hollering "soooey!" She looked closer and realized that her beloved Hillary Rodham, her high-powered hope for the future, was about to settle in a town full of frat boys wearing pig hats. "And that," she says, "is when I started to cry."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For feminism, too, a certain pragmatism was taking hold. Witches were out. Coat hangers were history. But the *Roe* victory already felt chillingly tenuous. Violence against clinics started right away, and it quickly became clear that

abortion rights were going to be not so much a one-time victory as an ongoing struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

continued on page 22

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

"I think she was talking about blind faith versus making a conscious choice," explains Mandy Grunwald. "I think what she was

band had indeed had an affair with Lewinsky, had lied to her about it, and sent her out to lie to the nation. "He betrayed her," says her former press secretary Neel Lattimore. "He betrayed her personally and professionally."

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

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

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

too, can favor choice. So can Republicans. The first speaker is Selwa "Lucky" Roosevelt, who describes herself pointedly as a "pro-choice Republican who speaks for millions of other pro-choice Republicans."

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

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

saying was, this is a conscious choice. I choose to be with this man. I am not stuck here, I am not blindly staying here. I do this with wide-open eyes."

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

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

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

Her staff and friends insist she honestly did not know the truth; that only much later, in August, did she learn that her hus-

band had indeed had an affair with Lewinsky, had lied to her about it, and sent her out to lie to the nation.

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

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

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

In the hotel lobby is a man who volunteers for Voters for Choice, because men,

of the Heart: The Margaret Sanger Story." Then Hillary Clinton, who takes the stage to characteristically thunderous applause.

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

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

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

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

Clinton, who, they all think, totally rocks.

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

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

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

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

She's able to *separate the personal from the political*. Truly, we've come a long way, baby. For these younger, third-wave feminists, Hillary Clinton represents what could be called the supermarket theory of feminism, or, alternatively, the lipstick-is-okay-and-no-lipstick-is-okay-too theory of femi-

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

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

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

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

"It happens," says Damon.

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

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

Because that's the goal: giving girls information about what they can do. Information is access. Information is power. Hillary Clinton, they feel, is informed about her options and so any choice she makes is okay. If she's staying in her marriage now in order to keep open the possibility of a Senate

but baseball—and trying to play with boys who ridiculed her. Niyati Shah's family is from India, though she grew up in the United States, and she remembers having her own consciousness raised when she went to India and met many women who had suffered sexual abuse.

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

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

"Where do human rights begin?" the speaker asks. "In small places, close to home, so close and small that they cannot

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

nism. The I'm-okay-you're-okay theory of feminism. A theory in which any choice or way of life is okay as long as it doesn't involve judging other choices or ways of life. As Boonin puts it, "Feminism is about the interconnection between sexism, racism, classism and homophobia."

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

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

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

campaign—as Damon, for one, suspects—that makes sense. She wants to maximize her choices. After all, she's able to separate the political from the personal. The political matters. Ideologically, the personal doesn't. "I don't know if adultery is a feminist issue," says Damon.

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

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

But when asked why they are feminists, they all cite personal reasons. Familial reasons. For Sarah Boonin, her feminism started in what she acknowledges is a laughable way: Once, when she was a kid, she wasn't allowed to go to the circus, and her brother was allowed to go, and she thought this was sexist so she put a placard on a popsicle stick and "picketed dinner." Summer Damon, who was raised with her siblings by a single mom, remembers being a really good baseball player—not softball

be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person—the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm or office where he worked. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Which is to say, they felt pretty good.

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

Why didn't she leave? While she declined to be interviewed for this article, some observers say that the Clintons are affectionate in private and conclude they remain deeply in love—a pretty notion but one that's hard to confirm about any married couple, much less this one. Grunwald points, too, to Hillary's position on divorce and her commitment to family. "I don't think this is paradise for her," Grunwald says. "And I think that people who are cynical and think she's made this choice because she has chosen power, misunderstand their relationship and misunderstand her belief in marriage and family . . . They miss how much pain is there, people who think this is

a political choice. If that were true, there would be no pain. That would be easy."

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

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

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

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

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PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS, PAGES 8, 9:

1959, SIXTH GRADE PHOTO; 1970, YALE LAW REPORTER; 1974, COURTESY DAVID MARANISS; 1986, ASSOCIATED PRESS; 1987, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE; 1992, JAMES A. PARCELL; 1993, RAY LUSTIG; 1994, MICHAEL WILLIAMSON; 1995, FRANK JOHNSTON; 1996, PORTER GIFFORD/GAMMA LIAISON; 1997, BRAD MARKEL/GAMMA LIAISON; 1999, GEORGES DE KEERLE/GAMMA LIAISON.

continued from page 25

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liza Mundy is a staff writer for the Magazine.

DURER

continued from page 18

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

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

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

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

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

Poland also has asserted an interest in the Lubomirski Durers, if not a formal

claim. After the war, many of the books and works of art from the former Lubomirski museum and Ossolinski Institute were transferred from Lvov to the city of Wrocław in western Poland as "a gift from the people of Ukraine." In 1995, after the collapse of communism, the institute was officially reconstituted in Wrocław.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HRC Clips

Trip to Egypt,
Tunisia & Morocco
March 20 - April 1, 1999



Clips from Thursday, March 18 -
Monday, April 5, 1999

In Morocco, Hillary Clinton Discards Politics for Diplomacy

By PETER BAKER
Washington Post Staff Writer

MARRAKESH, Morocco, March 31—Forget the Senate. Over the last 12 days, Hillary Rodham Clinton has looked and sounded more like a candidate for secretary of state.

There she was in Egypt, gently urging tolerance for the minority Coptic Christians. There she was in Tunisia, lashing out at Islamic radicals in other countries who oppress women. And here she was in Morocco, speaking out on everything from the Middle East peace process to the NATO airstrikes in Yugoslavia.

It has hardly been a new role for the most traveled first lady in American history. Indeed, Clinton's trek through the deserts of North Africa has closely followed the political and diplomatic road map she has used through six years of globe-trotting to such out-of-the-way locales as South Asia, Sub-Sa-

haran Africa and the former Soviet republics.

But the sight of the first lady back on the world stage where she feels so sure-footed brought into sharp focus the peculiar trade-offs facing her as she decides whether to run next year for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.): How does a woman who eagerly told an audience this morning about education and economics in Guatemala and Uganda turn her attention to the pork-and-potholes issues that arise in places like Utica and Ithaca? How does a woman whose international profile is so high that bystanders in Africa two years ago referred to her as "the queen of the world" adjust to becoming a low-ranking member of the seniority-conscious Senate?

These are the questions that some advisers leery of her Senate flirtation have been asking her. If she has come up with any answers, she was not letting on today.

"I'm still weighing all this in my own

mind," she told reporters as she prepared to return to Washington Thursday. "I've really tried to put it out of my mind the last 10 days ... so I will start thinking about that again once I return home."

But she added that she would hardly forget the issues she has made her mantra around the world, including women's rights, education and religious tolerance. "These issues should be a priority no matter what I do," she said. "I don't believe that my one voice is in any way sufficient to speak out on some of these issues. But I will continue to add it no matter what decision I make about my future."

She added it in her own trademark manner in North Africa. She stuck to themes and tones that would not offend her hosts, while pushing her causes with carefully chosen words and pictures.

As she does on most of her overseas trips, Clinton visited a microenterprise program

that helps women start businesses with small loans, met with nongovernmental organizations advocating human rights, announced modest U.S. financial help and convened a round-table discussion of local women to talk about their status in society.

The pattern is so familiar that embassies notified in advance no longer need much guidance in arranging for her visits. "In the beginning, people didn't know quite what to expect," said Margaret A. Williams, her former chief of staff, who came to Morocco to help with the visit. "Now people know to start putting together the lists of all the women in town."

By this point, embassies know to identify some of the most exotic sightseeing for the first lady and her daughter, Chelsea, 19, who joined her while on break from Stanford University. In Egypt they toured the ancient Luxor Temple and in Morocco they rode camels in the Dunes of Merzouga.

Clinton had planned to visit Israel and Jordan, but scratched them from her itinerary in light of the Israeli elections and the recent death of Jordan's King Hussein. Yet the politics of the Middle East followed her in Arab countries that recall—and heartily applaud—her statement last year essentially supporting Palestinian statehood as part of the long-term solution to the region's tensions.

Mindful of the dust storm that comment created—and perhaps of sensitivities about the topic in New York—Clinton did not repeat it here. Asked about the issue today, she took a decidedly more neutral tack, to the point of implicitly urging Palestinian leaders not to declare statehood on their own at this point.

Less likely to cause problems in New York were her attacks on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic for his campaign to empty Kosovo of ethnic Albanians.

FM: Reuters

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^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-TRIP

^Hillary Clinton returns from North Africa tour

By Randall Mikkelsen

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham

Clinton returned to Washington Thursday after a 12-day North African trip that gave her a chance to promote her causes on an international stage as she weighs whether to run for the U.S. Senate.

Clinton's trip was aimed at improving relations with the Islamic world.

A U.S. official said Thursday the tour let Clinton use her personal touch -- talking with ordinary citizens and showing respect for Islam with her visits to mosques and holy sites -- to put across an official U.S. openness to the Arab world that other officials in formal speeches have been unable to do as effectively.

"I think Mrs. Clinton is able to do it on a people-to-people level that's much more meaningful to the average folks out there," the official said. "It just has much more resonance to average people."

Clinton's trip ended as it began, with flight difficulty. She was forced to scrap the schedule for her final day in Morocco when heavy fog prevented her plane from landing in the imperial city of Fes. At the outset of the trip on March 20, her plane aborted takeoff from Washington due to engine failure.

Clinton's plane Thursday diverted to the capital Rabat, where she held a hastily rearranged meeting with Prime Minister Abderrahmane El Yousoufi. Yousoufi flew in from Fes on a smaller plane that was able to take off.

The trip also gave her a chance to promote her causes of women's rights and social development on an international stage as she considers a run for a New York U.S. Senate seat in 2000.

Clinton said Wednesday she would resume deliberations upon her return. Her aides said she has given no indication on which way she is leaning.

During her trip, she toured ancient and holy sites of Islam, Judaism and Coptic Christianity. She spoke out for religious tolerance, women's rights and education for girls, and discussed human rights concerns privately in meetings with the leaders of Egypt and Tunisia.

Clinton also saw numerous examples of people working to solve basic development problems such as providing money to start a business or clean water.

U.S. officials said her meeting Thursday with Yousoufi was an important show of support. The United States regards Yousoufi as a bulwark against Islamic fundamentalist politics and a standard-bearer for greater political openness in Arab governments.

Yousoufi, a Socialist who once was sentenced to death by King Hassan II, was named last year by Hassan as head of the first government in decades to be drawn largely from opposition parties.

^REUTERS

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First lady finds North Africa tour welcome respite

6:32 p.m. ET (2333 GMT) March 31, 1999

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By **Sandra Sobieraj**, Associated Press

MARRAKECH, Morocco (AP) — Greeted with reverence and adulation, Hillary Rodham Clinton proclaimed her tour of North Africa a welcome escape and a success for U.S.-Arab relations.

"I always like getting away from Washington," the first lady said Wednesday as she and her daughter Chelsea wrapped up their 12-day tour — part sightseeing, part U.S. diplomacy — through Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco.

"I hope for our country this has also been a trip that has helped to move the agenda forward as to how we relate to people in this region of the world," the first lady said in a brief news conference.

Particularly, she said she hoped her tours helped to erase the "stereotypes and negative images" that some Arabs and Americans harbor toward one another.

Preparing to depart Thursday for Washington, Mrs. Clinton sounded reluctant to face decisions about whether to seek the Democratic nomination for Senate in New York in 2000.

"I've really tried to put it out of my mind the last 10 days," she said.

She focused instead on the headlines at hand, joining Western leaders in condemning Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic for the Serbs' treatment of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

But her husband did not mind musing on what the responsibilities of a husband of a senator might be.

"I don't know, but I am willing to fulfill them," Clinton said with a laugh during an interview with CBS anchor Dan Rather that focused largely on the crisis in Kosovo. "You know, I would fill in at dinners, make speeches when she had to vote. I'd be the main caseworker at the New York state office. I'd do whatever I was asked to." [an error occurred while processing this directive] The first lady said she's been "horrified" by the news she has seen on TV from Kosovo and the "propaganda" from the Serbs. She accused Milosevic of "a kind of perverted political decision-making."

Mrs. Clinton nodded at a reporter's suggestion that her forcefulness on such a national security crisis was unusual for a first lady.

"It was important for me to speak out and, of course, I made clear that my husband knew that I was going to do that," Mrs. Clinton said.

Almost daily telephone calls from President Clinton have allowed the first lady to keep abreast of world developments while she was encountering

adoring villagers, flattering foreign leaders and ancient wonders.

While protesters outside the White House accused the president of starting World War III in Kosovo and new polls showed New Yorkers cooling to the idea of the first lady as one of their senators, in North Africa she found only enthusiastic receptions.

"May God repay you for this. May God glorify you," an elderly Moroccan woman repeated over and over as Mrs. Clinton toured the run-down squatter community of Koudia.

From King Hassan came this word, according to U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Edward Gariel: "We will not only treat her as a head of state, but as a member of my family."

For example, the king dispatched to Mrs. Clinton's five-star hotel a pile of silk robes and invited her to his dynasty's mausoleum at Rissani. Never before had the mausoleum been opened to a non-Islamic visitor.

Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali turned the first lady's 15-minute courtesy call into an hourlong summit on tough issues, including his country's "shortcomings" on human rights.

"That really is going to be her greatest legacy — calling attention to human rights, violations against women," historian Carl Anthony said.

On this trip, coming at the close of her husband's sex-and-impeachment scandal, the first lady showed a certain exuberance — laughs shared with diplomats and tour guides, the bounce of her hips as she clapped and flailed her arms to the beat of a Berber drummer.

She also endeavored to normalize relations with reporters, many of whom covered her husband's impeachment. She held two small news conferences, included the press in her "let-her-hair-down" desert sleepover, and had two off-the-record dinners with reporters.

Still, she offered few clues about her plans, political or otherwise.

Clearly, though, she welcomes the chance to give her views on certain issues, such as the rights and health of women and children around the globe.

"I don't believe that my one voice is in any way sufficient to speak out on some of these issues, but I will continue to add it no matter what decision I make about my own future."

comments@foxnews.com

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Here's the Pitch.

Hillary Clinton Shows Stateswoman Mode In N. Africa

REUTERS 6:22 p.m. ET (2323 GMT) March 31, 1999

MARRAKESH, Morocco — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton returns home Thursday after a tour that has taken her from Egypt to Morocco in a bid to improve American relations with the Islamic world.

The 12-day trip across North Africa has given Clinton a chance to promote her policies on an international stage as she weighs up whether to run for the U.S. Senate next year — a decision she said she would resume working on when she gets back to Washington.

"There are strategic and human interests both that I hope have been advanced by this trip," Clinton said Wednesday during a brief meeting with reporters accompanying her. "I hope that I have done something to increase the understanding between these countries and the people who live here, and our country and Americans."

She said that during her trip she had made little progress in her deliberations on whether to run for a New York Senate seat. Among other options she is considering is an international career after President Clinton leaves the White House at the end of his second and final four-year term.

"I'm still weighing all this in my own mind, and I've really tried to put it out of my mind," she said. "I've wanted to be fully in this experience."

Tuesday, one of the two women members of Morocco's parliament cautioned Clinton about the difficulties of elective politics.

"Undoubtedly the political arena is one of the most hazardous arenas for women to practice (in)," said parliament member Badia Skalli during a meeting between the first lady and women leaders.

Aides to Clinton said she has given as little indication in private as she has in public about which way she was leaning.

"I think she is still very conflicted," said one aide.

But the aide said she hoped speculation would ease now that the Kosovo crisis has dominated government and media agendas.

Clinton during her trip toured ancient and holy sites of Islam, Judaism and Coptic Christianity. She spoke out for religious tolerance, women's rights and education for girls, and discussed human rights concerns privately in meetings with the leaders of Egypt and Tunisia.

She saw numerous examples of people working to solve basic development problems, such as providing money to start a business or clean water.

In addition, she responded to the launching of NATO's air offensive against Yugoslavia with a condemnation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that was unusually strong for a president's spouse addressing a major developing crisis.

Wednesday she explained that her horror over Serbian ethnic cleansing in Kosovo outweighed the traditional reserve of U.S. first ladies.

"I'm just horrified by what I have seen, but I am particularly horrified by the use of propaganda and the manipulation of the truth and the revision of history that the Serbian government is engaged in right now," she said.

"It was important for me to speak out, and of course I made clear that my husband knew that I was going to do that," she said. She had pointed out Tuesday that most of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians are Muslims.

Clinton was welcomed by Muslims throughout her trip, many of whom had been thrilled by her May 1998 statement endorsing the idea of Palestinian statehood. Although the White House quickly said she was expressing her own opinion and not U.S. policy, and she has not reiterated the idea since, she was received as a friend of the cause.

"This is a struggle you have taken on to assert the rights of the Islamic and Arab people. Let me pay tribute to your support to the Palestinian people," said Mohammed El Yazghi, Morocco's minister of regional planning, environment, urban development and housing, in introducing her Tuesday.

Clinton leaves for Washington Thursday evening, after spending the day in Fez visiting a hospital, meeting with a group of nonprofit organizations and paying a call on Prime Minister Abderrahmane El Youssoufi.

comments@foxnews.com

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■ While the president spent a harrowing week fretting over developments in Kosovo, his wife, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, and daughter, **Chelsea Clinton**, took an adventuresome spring break—12 days in North Africa. Highlights included an overnight in the Moroccan desert, a tour of Roman ruins in Tunisia, and a jaunt through Cairo's bazaar. The first lady's bad back, which caused her to truncate a trip with her husband earlier this year, had recovered enough for a rollicking camel ride, and the two camped in the desert in tents—furnished with electricity, cell phones, and nearby toilets. Aides said the trip provided a break for the first lady, who has been intensely deliberating over whether to run for the U.S. Senate.



■ Caught swindling \$4 million from his Baptist organization and stealing funds intended for the rebuilding of burned southern churches, the Rev. **Henry Lyons** was sentenced in Florida last week to 5½ years in prison. A weeping Lyons apologized, saying his theft of the \$250,000 meant for burned churches "stinks in God's nostrils." Lyons next will be sentenced on federal fraud and tax charges.

■ **Bernhard Schlink's** novel *The Reader* is set in postwar Germany. The story of a love affair between a 15-year-old boy and a woman twice his age—a former SS prison guard—it develops into a meditation on guilt, atonement, and responsibility. After two years of modest U.S. sales, Schlink's subtle novel has now become the nation's leading paperback seller—thanks to being the March selection of Oprah Winfrey's book club. The 55-year-old Schlink, a professor of law in Berlin, might be mystified by the workings of American culture. But his novel plumbs far deeper mysteries.



■ Hospitalized in Las Vegas for a respiratory ailment, and possibly disoriented by medication, the great jazz singer **Joe Williams** left his bed last week and died trying to walk the few miles home. Williams, 80, moved millions with his manly baritone, sang with legends like Count Basie, and had the kindest of hearts. On a jazz cruise, when an amateur singer struggled with "Lush Life," he put his arm around her, and helped sing the song. How did such a nice guy survive show biz? "Because his talent was so overpowering," says filmmaker Jean Bach.

On the Road with Hillary and Chelsea

LAST WEEK HILLARY CLINTON CONCLUDED a 12-day tour of North Africa. The visit, she told reporters, was intended to "increase the understanding" between Americans and Arabs. To advance this message, **NOTEBOOK** brings you A First Lady's Guide to the Region:

TIP 1 Don't overpack

The First Lady's jet was delayed an hour due to excess cargo weight. And she brought only three press secretaries!

TIP 2 Keep the camels happy

From an official memo: "Try to keep the noise down to a minimum so that people and camels can get their rest. Camels are known to be ornery, and we would like them to get all the rest they need."

TIP 3 Loose lips ruin trips

Only a handful of White House reporters was allowed to accompany the Clinton women—and only on the condition that all private goings-on were off the record.

TIP 4 Camping's fun; CNN's better

Not far from the First Lady's desert encampment were R.V.s equipped with showers, toilets and TVs. Coca-Cola machines were also provided, courtesy of Morocco's King Hassan II.

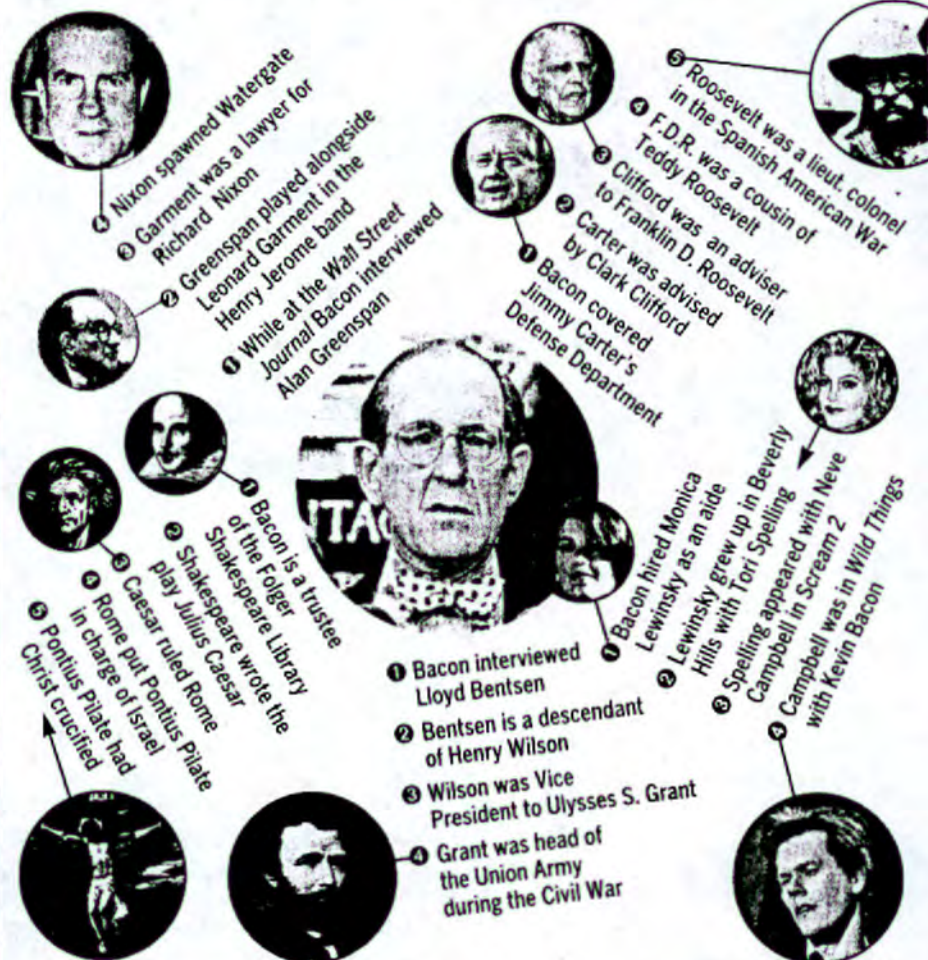
TIP 5 Try to blend

At a banquet, Mrs. Clinton donned an *ahrouy*, a type of robe, and *tahrouyt*, an ornate shawl. Chelsea wore a more modest shepherd's robe and head wrap.

CENTER: WILLIAM PHILLIPS—REUTERS; CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT: AP, TANNEN MAURY—AP, RON EDWARDS—AP, AP, PHIL ROTT—AP, AP, JOHN HAYES—AP, AP, CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO ANCO, MANSSELL COLLECTION—TIME INC., AP, PHIL ROTT—AP



ZORABICA DIAZ—REUTERS



Six Degrees of Kenneth Bacon

THE PENTAGON'S BESPOKEN SPOKESMAN Ken Bacon is getting to be the harbinger of a lot of bad news about the Kosovo situation. And in fact, using the guidelines of the Kevin Bacon game,

whereby any actor can be traced to Kevin in six steps, a lot of the bad stuff that has happened to America, or anywhere, can be traced to our bow-tied friend. Then again, he can even be traced back to Kev himself.

WISH YOU WERE HERE

HAIR APPARENT

It was heads up at last week's Proud Lady Beauty Show, a trade expo for African-American beauty products in Chicago. Inspired by the unique properties of black hair, stylists went to new heights. You know what they say: It's a curl thing.



Hillary a frequently flying first diplomat

By Julia Malone
COX NEWS SERVICE

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who returned Thursday from North Africa, has set travel records in her role as roving U.S. emissary.

Her visit to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco brings to 58 the number of countries Mrs. Clinton has visited on 19 solo trips abroad since her husband took office in 1993.

It is not clear how much the journeys have cost and exactly how expenses are budgeted for the most widely traveled first lady in history.

The 12-day trip with daughter Chelsea included visits to villages, a ceremonial feast hosted by King Hassan of Morocco and a camel ride through the desert.

The first lady delivered "four or five significant speeches," said

Mrs. Clinton's trips have no budget

Marsha Berry, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, in a telephone interview from Morocco. "It's a very important part of the world for us."

The tour, like the first lady's past travels, was designated by President Clinton as an official diplomatic mission.

"They come under the expense of the State Department," Miss Berry said Wednesday in explaining that there were no cost estimates for the tour. She referred a reporter to the State Department.

However, the State Department press office declined to provide budget information.

"Questions in reference to the first lady should be referred to the White House," a spokeswoman said.

The cost of first ladies' travel has long been vague.

"It was a mystery to me," said Sheila Tate, who was press secretary to first lady Nancy Reagan. "There were allusions made to a budget. I never saw one."

Even so, Mrs. Tate said Mrs. Reagan's office felt pressure to limit travel, in part because of the expense. An overseas trip for two private citizens might cost a few thousand dollars, she said, but "if the first lady goes, it must cost hundreds of thousands of dollars."

For her visit to North Africa, Mrs. Clinton brought about 20 administration officials, including her three spokeswomen. About a dozen journalists, whose companies pay their expenses, joined the group aboard an Air Force Boeing

707 specially outfitted for VIPs.

Extra expenses for such a trip also include sending staff members in advance to make arrangements, diverting local embassy resources, arranging for complex ground transportation needs and providing round-the-clock security with three shifts of Secret Service agents.

"It comes out of various budgets," including the Defense Department, the Treasury Department and State, Mrs. Tate said. "So there's no way to figure out how much a trip costs."

In recent years, solo first lady trips had been relatively rare. In President Reagan's two terms in the White House in the 1980s, Mrs. Reagan took only three solo trips to three countries. She took three other brief side trips as she traveled abroad with her husband.

FM: Reuters

a1244

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-FOG 1STLD

^FOCUS-Fog diverts Mrs Clinton's plane to Rabat
(Adds meeting with Morocco's PM, para 3, quotes, paras 7-9)

RABAT, April 1 (Reuters) - U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was forced to scrap her schedule on Thursday, the final day of her North African trip, after fog prevented her plane from landing in the Moroccan city of Fes.

Mrs Clinton's plane circled over Fes for some two hours and made a preliminary attempt to land, but the pilot was finally forced to give up and head to the capital Rabat, some 200 km (125 miles) to the west.

Moroccan Prime Minister Abderrahmane El Youssoufi, whom Mrs Clinton was due to see in Fes, followed her in a small plane for a brief meeting at Rabat airport. She later flew home to Washington.

The first lady was scheduled to visit a hospital and meet representatives of non-profit organisations in Fes before wrapping up her goodwill tour to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco.

Mrs Clinton's started her tour on March 20 with an aborted take-off in Washington caused by a crosswind that shut off one of her plane's engines.

The U.S government regards the meeting with Youssoufi as an important recognition of expanding democracy in Morocco. Youssoufi, a Socialist, was appointed in 1998 by King Hassan II to lead the first government in four decades drawn largely from opposition groups.

"He (Youssoufi) is the most serious experiment in the expanded political participation" in Morocco," a U.S. official said.

"His progress is being watched very closely all over the Arab world, by governments and by different opposition parties throughout the Arab region," the official added.

Youssoufi, 74, was also a "secular alternative to political Islam," he added in an apparent reference Algeria where tens of thousands of people have been killed in seven years of horrific fighting between Moslem rebels and the army-led authorities.

Mrs Clinton met the Moroccan monarch on Wednesday.

^REUTERS

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LE MATIN

du Sahara et du Maghreb

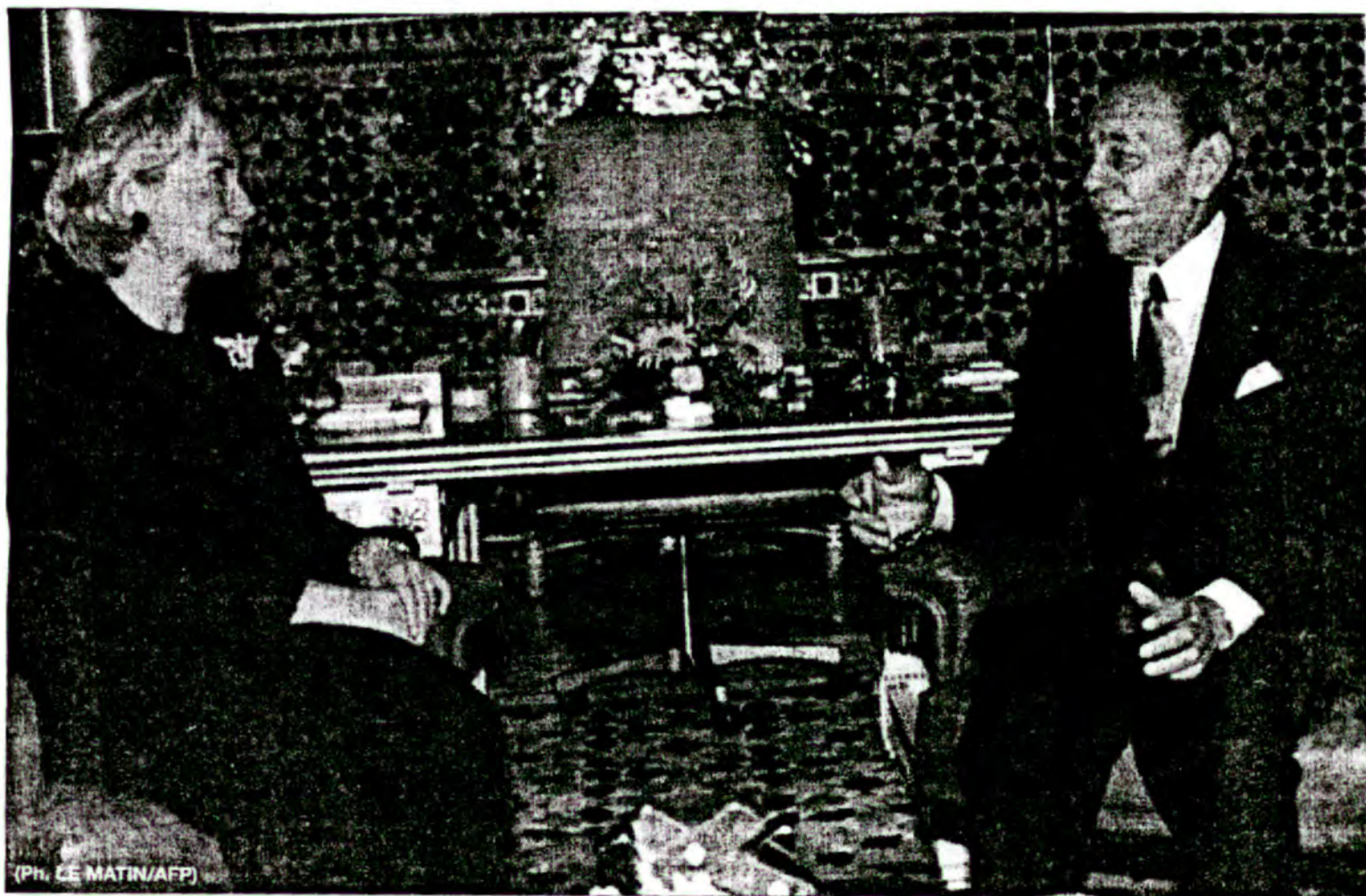
LA PLUS FORTE AUDIENCE DES QUOTIDIENS DU MAROC

Directeur Politique
Ahmed ALAOUI

Directeur Général
Abdelhafid ROUISSI

Directeur de la Rédaction
Hassan ALAOUI KACIMI

N. 10.296 - JEUDI 1^{ER} AVRIL 1999 - 14 DOU-AL HIJJA 1419 - 15 NISSAN 5759 - PRIX : 2 DH



(Ph. LE MATIN/AFP)

S.M. le Roi Hassan II reçoit Mme Hillary Clinton La first lady rend hommage à la tolérance du Maroc qui est inscrite dans ses traditions

S.M. le Roi Hassan II a reçu, mercredi soir au Palais Royal de Marrakech, l'épouse du Président américain, Mme Hillary Clinton, actuellement en visite privée au Maroc. Lors de cette audience, Mme Hillary Clinton était accompagnée de sa fille, Chelsea.

Cette audience s'est déroulée en présence de l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Rabat, M. Edward Gabriel, et de l'ambassadeur du Maroc à Washington, M. Mohamed Benissa.

Rappelons que l'épouse du Président américain,

dans le discours qu'elle a prononcé mardi soir au palais Badia a rendu hommage, mardi à Marrakech, à la tolérance du Maroc qui est inscrite dans ses traditions et loue la position adoptée par le Royaume concernant la situation au Kosovo.

LIRE PAGE 4

L'enseignement, meilleur investissement d'un pays

affirme Mme Clinton à la conférence sur l'éducation organisée par le ministère de l'Education nationale et Wafabank

L'épouse du Président américain, Mme Hillary Rodham Clinton, a affirmé que l'enseignement reste, à l'heure actuelle, le meilleur investissement pour un pays. Dans un discours-programme devant les participants à une conférence, mercredi à Marrakech, sur "l'éducation et le secteur privé, un impératif de développement" organisée sous le haut patronage de S.M. le Roi Hassan II, la première dame américaine a appelé à une approche différente dans le traitement de la question de l'éducation et de l'enseignement, mettant en relief à ce propos le rôle que peut jouer le secteur privé en matière de soutien aux activités pédagogiques comme c'est le cas aux Etats-Unis. Mme Clinton n'a pas manqué d'exalter les résultats enregistrés par le Maroc en matière de scolarisation de la petite fille, notamment en milieu rural, rappelant, à cet égard, la décision qu'avait prise feu S.M. Mohammed V d'inscrire la Princesse Lalla Aïcha à l'école, ce qui a incité l'ensemble des Marocains à en faire autant.

SUITE PAGE 4



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S.A.R. le Prince Héritier Sidi Mohammed offre une réception en l'honneur de Mme Clinton

S.A.R. le Prince Héritier Sidi Mohammed a offert, mercredi en fin d'après-midi à Marrakech, une réception en l'honneur de l'épouse du Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Mme Hillary Rodham Clinton.

S.A.R. le Prince Héritier Sidi Moham-

med était accompagné lors de cette réception, de S.A.R. le Prince Moulay Rachid, de LL.AA.RR. les Princesses Lalla Meriem, Lalla Asmae et Lalla Hasnae et de S.A. le Prince Moulay Ismail.

La réception s'est déroulée en présence de conseillers de S.M. le Roi, de

membres du gouvernement, du wali et des gouverneurs de la région de Marrakech-Tensift-El Haouz, des parlementaires de la région et de plusieurs personnalités du monde de l'économie, de la finance, de la culture et de l'information.

(MAP)



(Ph. LE MATIN/AFP)

THE FIRST LADY

Hillary Clinton, in Morocco, Says NATO Attack Aims at Stopping Bloodshed

By JAMES BENNET

MARRAKESH, Morocco, March 30 — Hillary Rodham Clinton said tonight that the NATO bombing in Yugoslavia was necessary because of the Serbs had planned a "campaign of massive and systematic destruction" against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

Mrs. Clinton used a speech here on tolerance to add her voice to the NATO position that President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia bears responsibility for the bombing. She accused him of having prepared to kill or expel ethnic Albanians from Kosovo even as peace talks were under way earlier this month.

"That is why my husband and our NATO allies could not stand and look the other way," she said. "They could not permit this to go on with impunity until most of the Albanian population was either dead or displaced."

"It is also why my husband and our NATO allies are determined to persevere until Milosevic has embraced peace or NATO has significantly limited his ability to make war."

Mrs. Clinton is 10 days into a 12-day trip through North Africa to promote education, health care and human rights. Today she attended a roundtable with Moroccan women,

Milosevic wages war 'in his own personal interest,' the First Traveler says.

stopped at an orphanage and visited a housing development that gets help from the American Government.

She spoke before more than a thousand people — most of them Muslims — who gathered at sunset in the ruins of El Badi Palace, a 16th-century compound fragrant with orange trees and surrounded by towering adobe walls. Although she had previously expressed her support for American service personnel, her remarks this evening on the fighting were her most extensive.

Mrs. Clinton accused Mr. Milosevic of having tried for 10 years to fan ethnic and religious hatred in Yugoslavia. "He did it for his own personal political advantage," she said. "Tolerance, he thought, would not give him any advantage. But exploiting the consequences of division, waging war on his neighbors and his people, is what he thought was in his

own personal interest."

Now, Mrs. Clinton said, President Milosevic is pursuing the same sort of policy that he carried out in Bosnia, pointedly noting that most of the Albanians in Kosovo are Muslims.

Mr. Milosevic, she said, had found waging war easier than building a modern state. "It is difficult, very difficult in today's world to make some of the hard decisions that must be made in peace," she said.

Mrs. Clinton also attacked the treatment of women by the Taliban, the fundamentalist Muslim group that controls most of Afghanistan, and recalled the killings of hundreds of thousands of people in Rwanda in 1994. At the same time, she congratulated Morocco on a "tradition of tolerance" that included resisting Nazi persecution of the Jews.

On her stops in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, Mrs. Clinton, who is traveling with her daughter, Chelsea, has visited several mosques and repeatedly stressed American support for Islam, even as she has condemned its fundamentalist strain.

She has also stopped in several churches and synagogues, and she visited a 440-year-old Jewish cemetery here on Monday evening. "We are all children of God," she said this evening. "We are all children of Abraham."



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is touring North Africa to promote education, chatted yesterday with Princess Lalla Fatima of Morocco.



BY KHALIL BUA—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clinton with an orphan in Marrakech, Morocco.

The First Lady, Defending NATO

■ **Hillary Rodham Clinton** yesterday waded into the political and military morass that is Yugoslavia, blasting President **Slobodan Milosevic** for "fanning the flames of ethnic and religious division" for a decade and overseeing Serb soldiers who are "executing" ethnic Albanian men and boys "in cold blood."

Clinton defended the NATO bombing during a measured speech on tolerance to an Arab audience in the ruins of the 17th-century El Badi Palace in Marrakech—where she is nearing the end of a 12-day trip to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco with daughter **Chelsea** to strengthen U.S.-Arab ties.

But Clinton skirted one tricky Mideast issue—which could haunt her if she runs for the Senate in New York—when a Moroccan official introduced her in a squatter community as an advocate of Palestinian statehood, the Associated Press reported. She ignored the tribute, which was based on a remark she made last year that long-term Mideast interests would be served if Palestine became a state.

Hillary says Milosevic plotted crisis

MARRAKECH, Morocco (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton castigated Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic yesterday for what she cast as an ego-driven agenda to fuel war and execute Albanian boys "in cold blood."

Delivering in measured tones a carefully scripted lecture on tolerance, Mrs. Clinton forcefully defended NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia and said Mr. Milosevic has been plotting the crisis over the last decade in order to prop up his power.

The first lady charged that Mr. Milosevic was never interested in peace with the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo province, not even as Serb representatives sat down to negotiate a Kosovo peace this month in Rambouillet, France.

"While the Kosovar representatives were saying yes to peace, the Serbians were planning a campaign of massive and systematic destruction," Mrs. Clinton said.

She sketched a methodic ethnic-cleansing drive by Serb military and police forces, "burning homes

and destroying entire villages, separating men and boys from their families and executing them in cold blood."

Mrs. Clinton is nearing the end of a 12-day tour of Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco that she intended to strengthen U.S.-Arab friendship.

It has been apparent that some Arabs here view that friendship in especially personal terms with the first lady because of her offhanded remark last year that "it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."



WARM WELCOME — Hillary Rodham Clinton hugged Ait Lacguer Aicha after accepting a bracelet yesterday during a tour of a shantytown in Marrakesh, Morocco. The Koudia is being renovated with USAID money.

**Does your broker give you an alert
when your stock doubles?**



Mrs. Clinton 'Horried' By Reports From Kosovo

REUTERS 1.20 p.m. ET (1821 GMT) March 31, 1999

MARRAKESH, Morocco — U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Wednesday she was "horried" by reports of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and that she would resume considering a Senate bid after she returns from her North African trip.

Mrs. Clinton explained her forceful defense the day before of NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia, saying her horror over Serbian ethnic cleansing in Kosovo outweighed the traditional reserve of U.S. first ladies in addressing fast-developing crises.

"I'm just horried by what I have seen, but I am particularly horried by the use of propaganda and the manipulation of the truth and the revision of history that the Serbian government is engaged in right now," she said.

She spoke in Morocco during a brief news conference with reporters accompanying her on her good-will tour, which ends Thursday.

The tour has given Mrs. Clinton a chance to stride the world stage with an energetic policy agenda, as she weighs a run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000 against other possible ambitions such as United Nations ambassador.

Aides say she remains divided on whether to run. Said Mrs. Clinton, "I will start thinking about that again on my return home."

Mrs. Clinton had defended the NATO campaign Tuesday in a speech on religious tolerance, saying the allies had acted to prevent Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic from carrying out a plan for the "massive and systematic destruction" of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians.

She said she had discussed her plans to speak out with President Clinton.

"It was important for me to speak out, and of course I made clear that my husband knew that I was going to do that," she said. She added that the message carried additional significance in North Africa, with its overwhelmingly Muslim population. She had pointed out Tuesday that many of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians are Muslim.

Mrs. Clinton said that during her 12-day trip she had made little progress in her deliberations on whether to run for the Senate.

"I'm still weighing all this in my own mind, and I've really tried to put it out of my mind ... I've wanted to be fully in this experience," she said.

Referring to her long-held agenda of women's and children's issues, health care and economic development for the poor, she said, "These issues should be priorities no matter what I do and they really, I hope, are priorities for people both in public and private life."

"I don't believe that my one voice is in any way sufficient to speak out on

some of these issues, but I will continue to add it no matter what decision I make about my own future."

Aides to Mrs. Clinton said she has given as little indication in private as she has in public about which way she was leaning. "I think she is still very conflicted," said one aide.

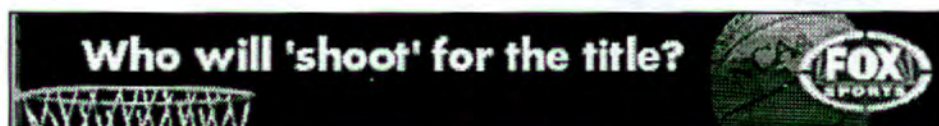
But the aide said she hoped speculation would ease now that the Kosovo crisis has dominated government and media attention.

Mrs. Clinton dodged a question about whether the trip was a welcome break from Washington after more than a year of scandal over her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky. "I've always liked getting away from Washington" she said. "This has been a long-planned and long-anticipated trip that has been far beyond my expectations."

She said President Clinton was "green with jealousy" that he could not be along for the trip, which has taken her from the ancient temples of Egypt to the dunes of the Sahara.

comments@foxnews.com

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Mrs. Clinton horrified by Milosevic's actions

7:53 a.m. ET (1254 GMT) March 31, 1999

MARRAKECH, Morocco (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton said today she is adding her voice to the Western chorus of condemnation of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic because she's "horrified by the use of propaganda and the manipulation of the truth."

Speaking with reporters near the close of her 12-day trip through North Africa, Mrs. Clinton nodded at the suggestion that her forceful statement Tuesday on the grave situation in Kosovo was unusual for a first lady.

"It was important for me to speak out and, of course, I made clear that my husband knew that I was going to do that," Mrs. Clinton said.

On Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton lashed out at Milosevic and accused him of a long-calculated strategy of ethnic cleansing to prop up his political power in Yugoslavia. Her expansive comments coincided with an effort by the Clinton administration and its allies to raise the cost to Yugoslavia for its scorched-earth torching of Kosovo.

Today, Mrs. Clinton said Milosevic was engaged in "a kind of perverted political decision-making."

"I've seen, as many people have, the pictures and heard the stories on the television and in the news and I'm just horrified by what I have seen," Mrs. Clinton said.

"But I am particularly horrified by the use of propaganda and the manipulation of the truth and the revision of history that the Serbian government is engaged in right now."

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Clintons Tour Morocco



Photos by Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton, left, receives a kiss from a Berber girl in the Moroccan village of Tasselmente on Monday. The first lady, visiting North Africa with her daughter, Chelsea, announced a \$2 million U.S. program to establish a provincial small business lending center in Morocco, and a grant of \$100,000 to fight the blindness-causing disease trachoma. At right, Chelsea leaves the grave site of a former leader of the Jewish community in Marrakesh.



AP PHOTO

WARM WELCOME — *First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton received a kiss yesterday from a young girl in the Tasselmante Village in Morocco, where aid workers are trying to improve the standard of living. Clinton announced a \$2 million US program to establish a small business lending center in the region, and a \$100,000 grant to fight the blindness-causing disease trachoma.*

31ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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AP Online

March 30, 1999; Tuesday 15:59 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 556 words

HEADLINE: First Lady: Milosevic Driven by Ego

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ

DATELINE: MARRAKECH, Morocco

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton castigated Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic on Tuesday for what she cast as an ego-driven agenda to fuel war and execute Albanian boys "in cold blood."

Delivering in measured tones a carefully scripted lecture on tolerance, Mrs. Clinton forcefully defended NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia and said Milosevic has been plotting the crisis over the last decade in order to prop up his power.

Earlier Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton ducked a volatile issue of Middle East peace one her critics have used to try and complicate her Senate prospects in New York when she ignored a Moroccan official's tribute to her as an advocate for Palestinian statehood.

Her remarks on tolerance, to an Arab audience in the ruins of the 17th-century El Badi Palace, framed Mrs. Clinton's first expansive defense of the NATO bombing that is consuming her husband's attention back home.

The first lady charged that Milosevic was never interested in peace with the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo province, not even as Serb representatives sat down to negotiate a Kosovo peace this month in Rambouillet, France.

"While the Kosovar representatives were saying yes to peace, the Serbians were planning a campaign of massive and systematic destruction," Mrs. Clinton said.

She sketched a methodic ethnic-cleansing drive by Serb military and police forces, "burning homes and destroying entire villages, separating men and boys from their families and executing them in cold blood."

Mrs. Clinton said Milosevic started 10 years ago "fanning the flames of ethnic and religious division."

"He did it for his own personal political advantage. ... Exploiting the consequences of division, waging war on his neighbors and his people is what he thought was in his own personal interest."

Mrs. Clinton is nearing the end of a 12-day tour of Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco that she intended to strengthen U.S.-Arab friendship.

AP Online, March 30, 1999

It has been apparent that some Arabs here view that friendship in especially personal terms with the first lady because of her offhanded remark last year that "it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

In a squatter community along the road to Casablanca, Arabs newly earning titles to their homes cheered Tuesday as Mohamed el-Yazghi, Morocco's minister for regional planning, introduced Mrs. Clinton as a champion for Palestinian statehood.

"This is a struggle you have taken on: To assert the rights of the Islamic and Arab people to dignity," el-Yazghi said.

"Let me ... pay tribute to your support to the Palestinian people in terms of self-determination and building an independent state on their land."

Taking the lectern next, Mrs. Clinton ignored the tribute and went ahead with her announcement that the United States would guarantee \$7.8 million in housing loans for Morocco.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, told a reporter off stage that the first lady takes no position on Palestinian statehood.

"She's supported the peace process and thinks the parties involved should be the ones to decide that," Berry said.

As Mrs. Clinton mulls whether to run for a Senate seat from New York in 2000, her Republican opponents have tried to stir Jewish opposition by reviving the Palestinian comment she made last year.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 30, 1999

FM: Reuters

a2131

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-WOMEN

^Mrs. Clinton says US women face obstacles to power
By Randall Mikkelsen

MARRAKESH, Morocco, March 30 (Reuters) - U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, considering a run for the Senate, said on Tuesday that American women have more difficulty reaching the top rungs of power than those in parliamentary democracies.

"It is more difficult, I think, for a woman to advance to the very top position in our country than perhaps it would be in a parliamentary system," Mrs. Clinton said.

She had been asked about the issue of women in politics, with a reference to her own future, during a discussion with a group of Moroccan women leaders as part of her 12-day North African journey that ends on Thursday.

Despite the difficulties, she said, "The opportunities for women in the American political system are opening up and broadening so that you will see many more women involved in American politics."

During the discussion, Badia Skalli, one of two women members of the Moroccan parliament, told Mrs. Clinton "the political arena is one of the most hazardous for women to practice (in)."

Mrs. Clinton said a woman in a parliamentary system has only to convince a "small group, primarily of men," that she is capable of leading. "In our system, or in any presidential system, but particularly in the United States, a woman has to persuade the entire society that she can be a leader," she said.

During her meeting, Mrs. Clinton also suggested that the Moroccan government consider an "affirmative action" programme of female-run boarding schools so that girls could get the education many in Morocco are deprived of out of social fears about mixing of sexes.

And she offered her support for continuing a U.S.-backed programme to distribute condoms to fight AIDS, winning the appreciation of the women.

"Thank you very much for the condoms," said Hakima Himmich, a member of the International AIDS society and other medical groups.

During a discussion on the impact of Islamic strictures on Moroccan family law, Mrs. Clinton heard a complaint about the unequal treatment between men and women who slay adulterous spouses. There was no mention made of President Bill Clinton's highly publicised infidelities.

"There is a provision that does not provide for leniency should (a woman) find her husband in a full state of adultery, whereas special circumstances, aggravated circumstances, are granted to men should they kill their women after adultery," said attorney Nezha Alaoui.

Mrs. Clinton also spoke of the crisis in Kosovo, saying it shows the vulnerability of women to war and the need for women everywhere to work for peace.

"The more women can express themselves both privately and publicly about the need to put old conflicts behind us, that to me is something that women should pay particular attention to no matter what other agenda we might have," she said.

She said building a stable society requires "a high degree of organised effort. "It is easier to march soldiers into Kosovo and engage in ethnic cleansing than it is to figure out how to build the economy of Yugoslavia."

NAMES & FACES

TG's If

If **Tipper Gore** found herself living at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. in a couple of years, would she change anything besides the monograms on the towels? Well, yes: She wouldn't be as outspoken as the current first lady.

Should **Vice President Gore** capture the White House in 2000, she says, she'd probably keep a lower profile than **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, who has been a fixture in the Oval Office for the past six years.

"I've never done it that way," Gore said in Sacramento, where she subbed for **President Clinton** over the weekend after he canceled an appearance at the California Democratic Party convention due to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

With four children (one still at home), a grandchild due in June and two elderly parents in the Washington area, Gore notes she has a busy schedule. "I find that I only spend so much time on issues that I care about, and I spend a lot of time on keeping the family together."

Sands Souci

The reason Hillary Clinton couldn't stand in for her husband was because she was—what else?—camelback riding through the Sahara yesterday with daughter **Chelsea**. After a long and festive evening as guests of the Moroccan



Camel diplomacy: Chelsea Clinton gets a ride at dawn on the Moroccan dunes; she's with her mother touring North Africa.

government at a desert encampment, mother and daughter rose early and rode their dromedaries a short distance through

Down Ur

the dunes to watch the sun rise.

Eight White House journalists covering the first lady's 12-day tour of North Africa participated in the revelries with the understanding that the first lady's nonworking activities would not be reported in detail. This much, however, was made known: A memo to the her staff read, "Try to keep the noise down to a minimum so that people and camels can get their rest. Camels are known to be ornery, and we would like them to get all the rest they need."

The Clintons in North Africa



By Abdelhak Senna, Agence France-Presse

Last stops: Above, Chelsea Clinton wears a head cover during a visit to the mausoleum of Moulay Ali Sherif on Saturday in Rissani, Morocco. Below, also Saturday, Hillary Rodham Clinton kneels at the grave of U.S. Private Celia Goldberg at the North Africa American Cemetery outside Tunis, Tunisia. Goldberg was killed in Tunisia during WWII. Right, the first lady rides a camel Sunday to watch the sun rise in the Western Sahara deserts of Morocco.



By Zoraida Diaz, Reuters



By Khue Bui, AP

Hillary's image rides high in jaunt across North Africa

Her act plays well in Morocco, but what will be next?

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton has spent the past week in North Africa doing what she does best: polishing her multifaceted public persona.

And they loved her as diplomat, humanitarian and feminist in Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, just as they did in India, which she visited a year ago with daughter Chelsea.

But will her global appeal play where it counts the most, at home?

Immersed in a 12-day goodwill tour of North Africa, Mrs. Clinton has been far from the narrow, often frenetic world of insider politics. She has toured health clinics, lunched with high-profile feminists, dined with other first ladies and toured the sites with Chelsea.

When an Egyptian tour guide suggested she might like to be an archaeologist, Mrs. Clinton responded with aplomb. "Well, I am looking for a new career," she said.

The first lady has been kissed on the cheek by a female admirer, pestered by reporters and applauded by crowds of veiled women. She has spoken about waste water, women's rights, education and Kosovo.

Mrs. Clinton complimented a Tunisian women's clinic for its policy of encouraging men to have vasectomies rather than counting on female birth control.

"I agree with that," Mrs. Clinton said. "You are the first health clinic I've visited anywhere in the world that has recognized that. I'm very impressed."

Mrs. Clinton is in her element on the broader international stage. She is at ease here — impeccably turned out, telegenic and even-tempered under relentless media scrutiny.

She began the North Africa trip with a bang, reaffirming both her interest in a run for the Senate and keeping a public presence after her husband leaves office.

In Cairo, she told reporters that she had made "lots of calls" and would "continue speaking out" on issues that have fascinated her for decades.

When bombs fell over Kosovo, Mrs. Clinton switched immediately to classic first lady mode, supporting American will — and her husband.

"As my husband the president explained last night to the American people, the United States and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killings of people in Kosovo and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," she said Thursday and added she was praying for the American military.

On Friday, Mrs. Clinton spoke up for women's rights, condemning violence against women in some Islamic countries.

"It is time for the violence to end, so that Algerians can once again be free to work in peace and in safety," she said. "We also must speak up for the women of Afghan-



Hillary Rodham Clinton prepares to dismount yesterday after an early morning ride in Morocco on which she watched sunrise on the Sahara. AP

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istan... once again in the misused name of religion."

In Morocco, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea retreated to the desert Saturday as their Muslim hosts slaughtered lambs in celebration of their religion's most holy event, Eid el-Adha, or "Feast of the Sacrifice."

After an evening of feasting and entertainment, the Clintons arose early, mounted their camels and rode a few hundred yards over dunes of red sand to a point from which they watched the sun rise over the Sahara.

Mrs. Clinton returns home Thursday, and according to her spokeswoman, does not have public activities planned until the White House Easter Egg roll on April 5.

Her more distant future still fascinates many. Inquiring minds ask: Will she be appointed U.N. ambassador, leave her husband, move to Manhattan, take a lucrative spot in a corporation — or even run for Senate?

Her international credentials notwithstanding, the Senate doesn't look like a sure thing.

A Marist College poll released Friday found 45 percent of registered New York voters surveyed who said Mrs. Clinton should run for office, down from 56 percent a few weeks ago. Another 49 percent said she should not run at all — up from 37 percent in February.

Indeed, life in this hemisphere has not always been kind to Mrs. Clinton.

A few weeks ago, gleeful reports of a snarling first lady made the media rounds. The Fox News Channel broke a story March 10 detailing a hair-raising row between Bill and Hillary Clinton during a family vacation.

"I don't want to be in the same room with him, let alone the same bed," Fox quoted her as saying. She also refused to accompany her husband on his Central American trip because she could not get her own bedroom.



WHAT'S DUNE? Two camels take Chelsea (left) and Hillary Clinton for a ride on the Moroccan dunes yesterday. Reuter

Arabian night for Hillary & Chelsea

THE DUNES OF MER-ZOUGA, Morocco — In the dark chill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton mounted camels and plodded a snaking trail toward the Saharan sunrise.

It was a hushed finale to a clanging Berber jamboree of song, dance, fire and beasts.

The First Lady and her daughter retreated to the desert Saturday and yesterday, as the Muslim hosts of this week's Moroccan leg of a North African odyssey slaughtered lambs for one of the religion's most holy events, Eid el-Adha, "Feast of the Sacrifice."

King Hassan lavished extravagances on the Clinton women and their entourage of 50, erecting especially for them a modern "Arabian Nights" set in the crook of the shifting red dunes.

Claps, chants and drumbeats of Berber tribal troupes greeted the party and kept up a clamor for more than four hours, from sunset to bonfire.

In a giddy, predinner rite reminiscent of a gaggle of bridesmaids before a wedding, tribal

women wrapped the Americans in traditional Berber costume.

Mrs. Clinton wore that of an honored lady: the "ahrouy," a silver-white, elaborately wrapped robe, and "tahrouyt," a black silk scarf and shawl decorated with bangles.

Chelsea, 19, opted for a shepherd's azure robe and head wrap.

In green- and white-striped tents, staffed by white-robed servants wearing the traditional maroon fez, course after course came on gold-edged Bavarian dinner china and French silver.

Whole quartered lambs, curried chickens, prune-stewed beef, rice, fresh fruit, hot green tea, sweet wine and, finally, champagne.

Throughout Saturday night's dinner, Mrs. Clinton held court at a center table. Under her laughing watch, almost everyone in the party took a turn on the sand with the Ahidous and Ahouach troupes, whose flailing arms and hopping feet followed neither rules nor rhythm. AP

Clintons view Sahara sunrise

THE DUNES OF MERZOUGA, Morocco — In the dark chill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton mounted camels and plodded a snaking trail toward the Saharan sunrise, a hushed finale to a clanging Berber jamboree of song, dance and fire. The first lady and her daughter are touring North Africa. (AP)

Hillary and Chelsea feted sumptuously in Moroccan desert

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Women sat cross-legged on the red Berber carpets to have their palms, wrists and ankles elaborately dyed with henna. By midnight, the fortunetellers arrived.

Eight White House reporters covering the First Lady's 12-day tour of North Africa were among the party, on condition that the details of Mrs. Clinton's and Chelsea's recreation be kept "off the record."

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said they just wanted to relax and enjoy the night.

Aides who worked with the Moroccan government to plan the extravaganza said they had to restrain the king's largess or else ruin the rustic "camp-out" feel that Mrs. Clinton wanted.

They failed.

King Hassan, who remained at his palace 260 miles away to observe Eid, ordered electricity and cell phone service installed for the encampment.

Refrigerated Coke machines supplied the sleeping tents and a half-dozen heated RVs -- each with a television broadcasting CNN -- offered toilets and showers.

Past midnight, quiet fell on the camp, as the party awaited a 5 a.m. wake-up shout for Sunday's sunrise camel rides.

Read a memo to the First Lady's staff:

"Try to keep the noise down to a minimum so that people and camels can get their rest. Camels are known to be ornery, and we would like them to get all the rest they need."

END

Around the world

FROM TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICES

TUNISIA

Mrs. Clinton lambastes many abuses of women

TUNIS—Girls whose legs are burned with acid because ankles peek from beneath their skirts. Teenagers raped and forced into slavery. Trained professional women denied jobs and must beg for food.

Hillary Rodham Clinton decried such snapshots from Algeria and Afghanistan on Friday and condemned Islamic fundamentalists there who brutalize women in the name of religion.

"Those who perpetrate these hateful deeds pervert the great religion in whose name they claim to act," the first lady said at a women's rights conference in the Tunisian capital, less than a three hours' drive from the Algerian border.

The tens of thousands of Algerians killed by Islamic radicals in seven years of fighting "were victims of a war that is civil in name only," Clinton said.

She exhorted her audience of 1,000 mostly professional Tunisian women, who enjoy a progressive variety of rights, to also speak out against Afghanistan, where women "are being brutalized by the Taliban [fundamentalists who control the government] once again in the name—the misused name—of religion."

In keeping with the non-confrontational style she has adopted toward her host governments on this 12-day North African tour—now at its midpoint—Clinton made only a thickly veiled reference to Tunisia's tight clamp on political freedoms.

The government in this tiny country wedged between volatile Libya and Algeria maintains stability by imprisoning critics and restricting the creation of political parties.

FM: Reuters

a7851

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-SENATE

^Hillary Clinton's choice U.S. or world stage

By Randall Mikkelsen

MARRAKESH, Morocco, March 29 (Reuters) - First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton emerged from a desert encampment on Sunday with a vivid illustration of the difficulty she faces in deciding whether to run for a U.S. Senate seat.

The first lady spent Saturday night at the Merzouga dunes in the Sahara desert, where she was treated to a rousing evening of feasting and high-energy Berber entertainment as a guest of the Moroccan government.

She arose early on Sunday for a camel trek with daughter Chelsea to watch a brilliant, multi-hued sun rise from the sand dunes.

An exotic adventure, and one of many highlights of her 12-day goodwill tour across North Africa, the desert stay made clear the attractions for Clinton of a career in international relations.

Associates of the first lady say she has long considered such a calling after President Bill Clinton leaves the White House.

Possible ambitions include serving as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, a notion that predated her recent consideration of a run for the Senate in New York in 2000. Former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who Clinton has often cited as an inspiration, was appointed as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations.

"That's the dilemma she finds herself in," Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said. "There are a whole series of options that are available to her and she's going through the process of weighing all that."

Asked if her North Africa trip was having an influence on her deliberations, Berry said. "You can't help but think what the possibilities are."

With the start of the NATO air offensive in Yugoslavia, Clinton is unlikely to face the same intense media speculation over her Senate decision once she returns to the United States late on Thursday that she did before she left.

Clinton has pressed on with her trip despite the offensive, and shown herself to be comfortable in her role as a stateswoman, goodwill ambassador and tourist.

She has promoted closer ties with the Islamic world, pressed leaders she has met on issues including human rights and religious tolerance, and held "round-table" discussions with members of the elite as well as poor villagers on issues such as education and women's rights.

RB-- 03/28/99 12:58:00

FM: Reuters

a2814

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-MOROCCO

^Hillary Clinton receives peace wish in Morocco

By Randall Mikkelsen

MARRAKESH, Morocco (Reuters) - Hillary Rodham Clinton brought gifts of health and progress in a visit to an oasis village Monday, and received a wish for world peace from a leader of Morocco's dwindling Jewish community.

But the escalating crisis in Kosovo and NATO air strikes against the Serbian province were not mentioned, in keeping with most of the first lady's goodwill trip to North Africa.

Jacky Kadosh, president of the Jewish community of Marrakesh, presented Mrs Clinton with a ceremonial "shofar" or ram's horn along with a message of peace for her and U.S. President Bill Clinton. He did not mention Kosovo.

"We can wish that it will come a day so the shofar would be blown for the for wide peace in the world," Kadosh said as he and Mrs Clinton made a sunset visit to his father's tomb in the old Jewish cemetery of Marrakesh.

Kadosh said he wished to recognize President Clinton for "the way he's taking care of peace."

Mrs Clinton accepted the shofar, also leaving Kosovo unmentioned, saying "that's a wonderful gift, and something we all hope for." She came to the ceremony as part of her aim to emphasize historical good relations between Jews and Muslims in Morocco, although most Jews have emigrated since Israel was founded.

The NATO offensive against Yugoslavia and the growing humanitarian crisis has had little impact on the first lady's tour through North Africa, during which she has promoted women's rights and closer ties with the Islamic world.

In her only comments on the crisis, Thursday, Mrs Clinton defended the attack and offered prayers for the safety of allied soldiers.

At a desert encampment Saturday night and Sunday, staff members and journalists covering Mrs Clinton tried to keep up with developments in the downing of a NATO jet via satellite television links in camping vans brought in to serve as mobile bathrooms.

Also Monday, Mrs Clinton visited the riverine oasis village of Tasselmante, in the shadow of a 400-year-old mud-walled fortress, where residents have been working with a group of aid agencies to improve their standard of living through education, conservation and small commercial development.

She announced a \$2 million U.S. program to establish a provincial small business lending center in the region, and a grant of \$100,000 to fight the blindness-causing disease trachoma.

^REUTERS

LEVEL 1 - 25 OF 99 STORIES

The Associated Press

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March 27, 1999, Saturday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 708 words

HEADLINE: Mother and daughter: A dynamic of devotion and inspiration

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: TUNIS, Tunisia

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton told the story of a Tunisian widow with six daughters who shocked her neighbors by leaving the "women's work" in olive groves to start a carpet business and put her girls through college.

"She persevered, withstanding taunts and scorn, working hard and inspiring her daughters to do the same," the first lady recounted with admiration to a women's rights convention.

The story of a mother-daughter dynamic of devotion and inspiration finds a reflection in the relationship that Mrs. Clinton appears to share with her daughter.

After an excruciating and embarrassing year of scandal in the White House - a year in which Mrs. Clinton held her head up and her family together - Chelsea Clinton, 19, emerged during a 12-day trip with her mother through Northern Africa as poised, polite, curious and open as ever.

A shy but indulgent smile was her reward to Egyptian photographers in Cairo's walled Coptic quarter who clucked their tongues and called out "Girlie! Girlie!" to get her to turn their way.

One of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's security agents, who were at the Clintons' service last week, said Chelsea, after poking around the tombs at Luxor's Valley of the Kings with her mother, was "so enthralled with the pharaohs" that she asked to return on her own - if the Egyptian agents wouldn't mind.

At the El-Djem Coliseum in Kairouan, Tunisia, Chelsea ducked behind walls to study the Roman structure and knelt to peek into the pit where wild ostriches, antelope and leopards once waited to do battle with gladiators.



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The Associated Press, March 27, 1999

She was apologetic to photographers who asked her to stand still and pose beside her mother. "I was just wandering around," she said.

The Stanford University sophomore's spring break offers the most lingering glimpse in more than a year of the Clintons' much-sheltered only child.

But only a glimpse.

While Chelsea herself seems not to have withered at all during her father's scandal, the protective layers around her have thickened.

In her best-selling "It Takes a Village," Mrs. Clinton likened the sheltering of Chelsea to the successively larger dolls that cradle the smallest in a set of Russian folk-art nesting dolls.

It is a metaphor borne out in practice.

At least one member of Mrs. Clinton's staff is almost always at Chelsea's side.

And the staff, on orders from the first lady, instructed eight reporters traveling with the Clintons that Chelsea's casual remarks - even her gestures - are strictly "off the record" unless she appears purposefully before news cameras, as at El-Djem.

Press secretary Marsha Berry explained: "She is not a public figure. ... The fact that she is on this trip is not news."

A People magazine cover story on Chelsea this year, on top of gossip tabloid articles last fall, appear to have strengthened Mrs. Clinton's determination to shelter her daughter.

Chelsea is traveling in a spare seat on Mom's Air Force jet and bunking with her mother at hotels. None of her expenses are being paid by taxpayers, Berry said.

On earlier spring-break tours to Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, the first lady often held up her companionship with Chelsea as evidence of how families should treasure daughters. And in a youth discussion in Tanzania, Mrs. Clinton even turned the microphone over to her daughter while TV cameras rolled.

Not on this trip.

In a half-dozen public remarks, many focusing on girls' self-esteem, mother-daughter relationships or the empowerment of young women, Mrs. Clinton has, almost pointedly, made no reference to Chelsea.

At the trip's final stop, in Morocco, Mrs. Clinton made an exception from that practice Saturday, singling out her daughter in order to put at ease a shy sixth-grade girl made silent by the spectacle of news cameras and security agents.

As Naima Nuari struggled to say she wanted to be a doctor when she grows up,

The Associated Press, March 27, 1999

Mrs. Clinton leaned forward, put her hands on the little girl's arms and smiled.

"You just have to ignore all these problems and all these lights," she said. Then, gesturing to Chelsea in a far corner of the classroom, Mrs. Clinton said, "I have a daughter, she is here with me over there."

Chelsea also leaned forward expectantly and gave the girl an encouraging smile.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 27, 1999

The Associated Press

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March 27, 1999, Saturday, PM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 414 words

HEADLINE: First lady condemns Islamic radicals in Algeria, Afghanistan

BYLINE: By SANDRA SOBIERAJ, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: TUNIS, Tunisia

BODY:

Girls whose legs are burned with acid because ankles peek from beneath their skirts. Teen-agers raped and pressed into slavery. Trained professional women denied jobs and forced to beg for food.

Hillary Rodham Clinton decried such snapshots from Algeria and Afghanistan on Friday, and condemned Islamic fundamentalists there who brutalize women in the name of religion.

"Those who perpetrate these hateful deeds pervert the great religion in whose name they claim to act," the first lady said at a women's rights conference in the Tunisian capital, less than a three-hour's drive from the Algerian border.

The tens of thousands of Algerians killed by Islamic militants over seven years of fighting "were victims of a war that is civil in name only," Mrs. Clinton said, noting that she spoke on behalf of her husband and the American people.

She exhorted her audience of about 1,000 mostly professional Tunisian women, who enjoy a progressive variety of rights, also to speak out against Afghanistan, where women "are being brutalized by the Taliban once again in the name - the misused name - of religion."

In keeping with the non-confrontational style she's adopted toward her host governments on this 12-day North African tour, now at its midpoint, Mrs. Clinton made only a thickly veiled reference to Tunisia's tight clamp on political freedoms.

The government in this tiny country wedged between volatile Libya and Algeria maintains stability by imprisoning its critics and restricting the creation of political parties and nongovernmental organizations.

"We must speak out when women are stopped from starting NGO's, from freely expressing their views, or participating in the political process," Mrs. Clinton said.

PAGE 36

The Associated Press, March 27, 1999

From Tunis, the first lady and her entourage ventured 100 miles south to the old Muslim holy city of Kairouan.

She toured one of the nation's 23 family planning and abortion clinics, where contraceptives and abortions are provided free to Tunisian women.

"Tunisia's far-sighted and successful family planning policies have played an important role in advancing the status of women," Mrs. Clinton said.

Inside the spotless clinic, she smiled and nodded when gynecologist Rached Nagra said he encourages men to consider vasectomies instead of looking to women to take care of contraception.

"I agree with that," Mrs. Clinton said. "You are the first health clinic I've visited anywhere in the world that has recognized that. I'm very impressed."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 27, 1999

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March 27, 1999; Saturday 12:08 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 224 words

HEADLINE: Tunisian Leader Admits Problems

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ

DATELINE: TUNIS, Tunisia

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton met for more than an hour Saturday with Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who assured the first lady human rights problems "will be properly addressed," an administration official said.

In what was to have been a 15-minute courtesy call at the presidential palace at the close of Mrs. Clinton's two days here, the president and Mrs. Clinton talked privately. According to a U.S. official present, Ben Ali acknowledged "shortcomings" in his government's record on political freedoms but said a tight rein on dissidents in Tunisia helps keep Islamic extremists from making inroads from neighboring Algeria and Libya.

"The greatest bulwark against them is a strong citizenry," the official quoted Ben Ali as saying.

The Tunisian president expressed concern about the latest State Department report on human rights, which faulted Tunisia for restricting political expression. The U.S. official said Ben Ali invited the United States through its ambassador in Tunis or members of Congress to bring human rights allegations directly to the president, and "he will personally ensure that they get properly addressed."

From Tunis, Mrs. Clinton headed to Morocco, where she visited a school in rural Er Rachidia and announced a \$1.6 million U.S. grant to help Moroccan schools educate girls.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 27, 1999

FM: Reuters

a5773

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY 3RDLD (PICTURE)

^FOCUS-Mrs. Clinton, Chelsea camp in Sahara desert
(releads, updates with First Lady arriving at desert camp)

By Randall Mikkelsen

MERZOUGA DUNES, MOROCCO., March 27 (Reuters) - First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton travelled deep into the Sahara desert on Saturday to spend the night amid towering sand dunes after a traditional Moroccan feast.

The First Lady, on a 12-day North African safari, arrived here in a motorcade of four-wheel-drive vehicles that kicked up plumes of dust as it sped along a dirt track across barren plains to the edge of a range of towering dunes.

The air was filled with the sounds of drums and horns as Mrs. Clinton arrived at her desert encampment. The music continued into the evening.

Mrs. Clinton's party strolled out onto the dunes as the sun set, then returned to the compound. Ground rules for accompanying reporters specified that the First Lady's non-working activities could not be reported in detail.

Two dozen canvas tents with wool carpet floors were pitched on the desert for Mrs. Clinton's party. There were some modern conveniences, too, including Coca-Cola machines interspersed among the tents. Camping vans parked behind the encampment had flush toilets and cellular phone service for callers to reach the outside world.

Mrs. Clinton arrived here after stopping at a Peace Corps project in the town of Siffa, where she thanked American volunteers who displayed for her their henna-dyed hands decorated in a local custom for the Moslem holiday of Aid al Adha.

She visited a school in the town of Aoufous, where she worked hard to coax a painfully shy young woman into sharing her dream of growing up to be a doctor. Mrs. Clinton leaned over, put her hand on the knee of the girl, and offered encouragement.

"Most young people are shy, but you know I have a daughter.

She's here with me over there," Mrs. Clinton said, pointing at Chelsea. At that, the girl broke the ice and in answer to a question from Mrs. Clinton, said she had been in school for six years.

Mrs. Clinton acknowledged the girl's fear of speaking in public in front of television cameras and dignitaries. "When I was your age, I would never have been able to do that," she said.

Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea laid a wreath at the tomb of Moulay Ali Cherif, founder of the birthplace of the Alaouiti dynasty of Morocco's King Hassan II that has lasted four centuries.

Mrs. Clinton arrived in Morocco from Tunisia, where she held a lengthy meeting earlier on Saturday with President Zine

al-Abidine Ben Ali to discuss the North African country's human rights situation.

Ben Ali acknowledged a need to improve Tunisia's record but also said the perception of his country's intolerance had been too harsh, a U.S. official said.

Mrs Clinton also visited a military cemetery in Tunisia to honour fallen U.S. soldiers from the World War Two North African campaign.

At the memorial in a northern suburb of Tunis, Mrs Clinton laid a bouquet of yellow roses at the Star of David-topped marker of the grave of woman Army Corps Private Celia Goldberg, the only enlisted woman killed in the campaign.

A U.S. Navy bugler played taps as Mrs Clinton paused several moments at the grave marker, one of 2,833 in the cemetery.

During her stay in Morocco, Mrs Clinton is expected to emphasise education for girls in a country where the rate of illiteracy among women is around 70 percent.

Before starting her official schedule, she set out for a desert encampment at the Merzouga dunes in the south-central Moroccan province of Errachidia for a camping and camel-riding break in the Sahara.

Besides Morocco and Tunisia, Mrs Clinton's North African journey has already taken her to Egypt.

RB-- 03/27/99 15:58:00

FM: Reuters

a4453

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY 1STLD

^Mrs Clinton remembers World War Two U.S. soldiers

(Adds meeting with Ben Ali and departure, 7th para)

By Randall Mikkelsen

TUNIS, March 27 (Reuters) - U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton paid a sombre visit to a military cemetery in Tunis on Saturday to remember fallen American soldiers from the World War Two North African campaign.

At the memorial in a northern suburb of Tunis, Mrs Clinton laid a bouquet of yellow roses at the Star of David-topped marker of the grave of woman Army Corps Private Celia Goldberg, the only enlisted woman killed in the campaign.

A U.S. Navy bugler played taps. Mrs Clinton paused several moments at the grave marker, one of 2,833 at the cemetery, then stood up and slowly walked away with a saddened expression on her face.

The North African campaign in 1942-1943 represented America's entry into fighting against German and Italian Axis forces.

About 6,000 Americans were killed in the North Africa campaign and 2,000 were missing, a U.S. military official said.

The liberation of Tunis represented the Allied victory in North Africa with the surrender of more than a quarter of a million of Axis troops and allowed the Allies to enter Europe through Italy.

Later on Saturday Mrs Clinton met Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali before setting out for a desert encampment at the massive Merzouga dunes in south-central Morocco for a camping and camel-riding break in the Sahara desert.

She will make the last leg of the trip over a sandy track and ride camels up a sand dune on Sunday to watch the sun rise.

A note to the White House staff on the delegation advised that the walls of the tents would be thin, and to "keep the noise down to a minimum so that people and camels can get the rest. Camels are known to be ornery and we would like them to get the rest they need."

Mrs Clinton is on a 12-day North African journey. Resuming her official schedule in Morocco, she is expected to emphasise education for girls.

^REUTERS

RB-- 03/27/99 06:28:00

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1999 · USA TODAY

FIRST LADY'S TOUR: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter, Chelsea, arrived in Tunis, Tunisia, for a three-day visit — part of a tour of North Africa. Clinton visited a youth training and women's center in an impoverished Tunis suburb before heading to the presidential palace in Carthage.

Her schedule includes a speech Friday to a women's gathering and visits to two tourist sites, including the archaeological remains of the Roman coliseum of El-Jem. On Saturday, Clinton goes to the American military cemetery in Carthage where U.S. soldiers killed in World War II are buried. She leaves for Morocco later Saturday.

Hillary hails Kosovo strike while touring Egypt clinic

TUNIS — Hillary Rodham Clinton defended NATO's attack on Yugoslavia yesterday before flying from Egypt to Tunisia and speaking out for women's rights.

"The United States and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killing of people in Ko-

sovo and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," she said at a women's clinic in Luxor, Egypt.

"We are hoping and praying that the brave men and women ... who have undertaken this mission will be able to carry it out safely and will bring it to as swift an end as possible."

Drawing a contrast between the work of the clinic and the armed confrontation over Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic's refusal to accept a peace deal for Kosovo, she said: "Today we are in a place that is celebrating life."

On the fifth day of her 12-day North African goodwill journey, Mrs. Clinton turned her emphasis to women's rights — after advocating religious tolerance and closer ties with the Islamic world during a stay in Egypt that began on Sunday.

In Luxor, she said women needed to have choices over birth control and other health issues, and hailed an Egyptian government effort to involve clinics in other activities, such as literacy programs.

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Mrs. Clinton decries Islamic violence against women

10.08 a.m. ET (1509 GMT) March 26, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

TUNIS, Tunisia (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton went before the professional women of Tunisia today to speak out against religious fundamentalism in a neighboring country so severe that girls are splashed with acid "because someone deemed their skirts too short."

Her targets were the Islamic fundamentalists ripping apart Algeria, next door, and the ruling Taliban fundamentalist religious element in Afghanistan where women "are being brutalized by the Taliban once again in the name — the misused name — of religion."

"We must speak up for the women and people of Algeria who are victims of a war that is civil in name only," the American visitor said.

Tens of thousands of Algerians have been killed over seven years of war waged by Islamic radicals, Mrs. Clinton said. An Islamic insurgency erupted after the military-backed government canceled elections that the since-banned Islamic Salvation Front had been expected to win.

"We hear stories of girls whose legs were burned with acid because someone deemed their skirts too short. We hear stories of women who were raped and pressed into slavery, women whose throats were slit and bodies thrown into a well."

Many in her Arab audience nodded as Mrs. Clinton continued: "Those who perpetuate these hateful deeds pervert the great religion in whose name they claim to act."

The first lady, saying she was in Tunisia on behalf of President Clinton, also spoke out against Afghanistan, where she said women are brutalized for slight violations of a strict religious code.

In the middle of a 12-day tour of North Africa, Mrs. Clinton said she mostly wanted to celebrate Tunisia's investment in women's equality, education and health.

Tunisian first lady Leila Ben Ali said she was proud that to know that 22 percent of Tunisia's lawyers and judges are women.

But even before delivering today's address to about 1,000 professional women, Mrs. Clinton got a lesson on this authoritarian nation's clamps on free expression.

She sat down Thursday with a dozen of Tunisia's prominent female activists, including a film director, a human rights advocate and an opposition party member of parliament.

But the ladies' discussion at the cliff-top residence of U.S. Ambassador Robin Raphel, overlooking Carthage and the Gulf of Tunis, was hastily

Mrs. Clinton decries Islamic violence against women

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0326/n_ap_0326_111.

closed to reporters after participants said they feared having their views broadcast in the media.

Tunisia, a sliver slightly smaller than Missouri wedged between the volatile Libya and Algeria, keeps a tight rein on political opposition.

It has no practical rights of freedom of speech or political expression, said one U.S. official.

But Mrs. Clinton said she was here mostly to celebrate the country's record of investments in women and children.

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Hillary Clinton Speaks Up For Women Rights

REUTERS 9:39 a.m. ET (1440 GMT) March 26, 1999

TUNIS — U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, in Tunisia Friday on the second leg of her goodwill trip to North Africa, spoke up for women rights in the world and decried violence against them in Algeria and Afghanistan.

"We must use our voices to speak up for women around the world who are still suffering in silence," she said in an address to hundreds of women and representatives of women's organizations in Tunis in presence of Tunisian first lady Leila Ben Ali.

"Seven years are enough...It is time for the political classes (in Algeria) to include all who oppose the use of violence and it is time for the violence to end, so that Algerians can once again be free to work in peace and in safety in their homes, their streets and their country," she said.

Algerian women have not been spared in the violence gripping Algeria in the past seven years. Thousands of them have been reported killed, many having had their throats cut or been burned to death by Muslim rebels trying to topple the largely secular army-backed government and impose a puritanical state.

"We also must speak up for the women of Afghanistan who are being brutalized by the Taliban, once again in the...misused name of religion," Clinton said.

"There had been advances. We have seen the circle of human dignity expand in the (North Africa) region and through the world," she said. But she added that there was always a risk that women would lose rights they had gained.

On the sixth day of her 12-day North African goodwill journey Thursday, Mrs. Clinton called attention to the advanced state of women's rights in Tunisia since the country's 1956 independence, which the United States believes can serve as an example to other Islamic countries.

"I am impressed by the progress that women have made in Tunisia," she said.

"We must speak out when women are stopped from organizing non-governmental organizations, from freely expressing their views or participating in the political process," she added.

U.S. officials said that that portion of the speech was a reference to the Tunisian government's low tolerance for political expression.

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Mrs. Clinton decries Islamic violence against women

8:37 a.m. ET (1338 GMT) March 26, 1999

By **Sandra Sobieraj**, Associated Press

TUNIS, Tunisia (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, speaking in the Tunisian capital, lashed out today at the Islamic fundamentalists ripping apart this tiny nation's neighbor, Algeria.

"We must speak up for the women and people of Algeria who are victims of a war that is civil in name only," Mrs. Clinton exhorted to Tunisian women convening just a three-hour drive from the Algerian border.

Tens of thousands of Algerians have been killed over seven years of war waged by Islamic radicals, Mrs. Clinton said. "We hear stories of girls whose legs were burned with acid because someone deemed their skirts too short. We hear stories of women who were raped and pressed into slavery, women whose throats were slit and bodies thrown into a well."

Many in her Arab audience nodded as Mrs. Clinton continued: "Those who perpetuate these hateful deeds pervert the great religion in whose name they claim to act."

The first lady, saying she was in Tunisia on behalf of President Clinton, also spoke out against Afghanistan, where women "are being brutalized by the Taliban once again in the name — the misused name — of religion," she said.

In the middle of a 12-day tour of North Africa, Mrs. Clinton said she mostly wanted to celebrate Tunisia's investment in women's equality, education and health.

Tunisian first lady Leila Ben Ali said she especially wanted her American counterpart, a trained lawyer, to know that 22 percent of Tunisia's lawyers and judges are women.

But as Mrs. Clinton prepared for today's address before about 1000 professional women, she got a lesson on this authoritarian nation's clamps on free expression.

She sat down Thursday with a dozen of Tunisia's prominent female activists, including a film director, a human rights advocate and an opposition party member of parliament.

But the ladies' discussion at the cliff-top residence of U.S. Ambassador Robin Raphel, overlooking Carthage and the Gulf of Tunis, was hastily closed to reporters after participants said they feared having their views broadcast in the media.

Tunisia, a sliver slightly smaller than Missouri wedged between the volatile Libya and Algeria, keeps a tight rein on political opposition.

It has no practical rights of freedom of speech or political expression, said

Mrs. Clinton decries Islamic violence against women

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0326/n_ap_0326_100

one U.S. official.

But Mrs. Clinton said she was here mostly to celebrate the country's record of investments in women and children.

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Mrs. Clinton praises Tunisia's achievements on women's rights

2.28 a.m. ET (728 GMT) March 26, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

TUNIS, Tunisia (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told Tunisians she came "to learn more about (their) extraordinary achievements" on women's rights. She also got a lesson on this authoritarian nation's clamp on political expression.

Preparing for today's address on women's rights at the Congressional Palace in the Tunisian capital, Mrs. Clinton sat down Thursday with a dozen of this nation's prominent female activists, including a film director, a human rights advocate and an opposition-party member of Parliament.

But the ladies' discussion at the clifftop residence of U.S. Ambassador Robin Raphel, overlooking Carthage and the Gulf of Tunis, was hastily closed to reporters after participants said they feared having their views broadcast in the media.

Tunisia, a sliver slightly smaller than Missouri wedged between the volatile Libya and Algeria, keeps a tight rein on political opposition.

It has no practical rights of freedom of speech or political expression, said one U.S. official.

But the first lady, holding to the nonconfrontational style of her 12-day North Africa tour to date, said she was here mostly to celebrate the country's record of investments in women and children.

"I am delighted to be in Tunisia, one of the United States' oldest allies and a trailblazer in the fight for women's rights," the first lady said in a statement released at the Tunis airport.

There, she and her daughter Chelsea were greeted by a saber-wielding honor guard of elaborately cloaked military officers. The first lady's plane, getting in a bit early, was asked to circle the verdant coastline a half-dozen times while the red-carpet greeting was assembled.

The Tunisian government spends 20 percent of its annual budget implementing a program of health, education and employment rights for females.

Ninety-nine percent of Tunisian girls old enough for the first grade are in school, and 45 percent of college students here are women.

Family-planning services are widely available and abortion is legal. Tunisia, a predominantly middle-class nation, is the only Arab state to outlaw polygamy.

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FM: Reuters

a3528

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-DESERT

^Mrs Clinton to take a break in the desert

By Randall Mikkelsen

TUNIS, March 27 (Reuters) - U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will take a weekend break to go camping and camel-riding in the Sahara desert before resuming more official tasks during her 12-day North African journey.

The first lady is to travel on Saturday to a desert encampment at the massive Merzouga dunes in south central Morocco.

She will make the last leg of the trip over a sandy track and ride camels up a sand dune on Sunday to watch the sun rise.

Resuming her official schedule in Morocco, Mrs Clinton is expected to emphasise education for girls.

Before she leaves Tunisia, Mrs Clinton will on Saturday meet President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, who since 1987 has presided over a period of economic liberalisation and advances in women's rights, while maintaining a low tolerance for political dissent and free expression.

A U.S. official said what is perhaps an "overstated" fear of Islamic political fundamentalism is in part behind the tight hold the government keeps over political groups and the press.

"The government doesn't like to encourage associations or groups that they know are getting together for the purpose of being critical of Tunisia," the official said.

"It's a peculiar kind of censorship that both the government and much of the population subscribe to."

"They've taken a zero-tolerance approach toward Islamists (fundamentalists)," she said.

Ben Ali was reelected with 99.9 percent of the vote in 1994.

On Saturday, Mrs. Clinton praised Tunisia's advances in women's rights, which the United States believes can serve as a model for the Islamic world.

Later in the day, she highlighted this with a visit to a women's health centre in the town of Kairouan on the Tunisian steppeland, which provides mobile medical service to remote areas and dispenses free contraceptives and abortions to women.

But she also gave what her aides said was a gentle nudge to Tunisia that reflected U.S. disappointment over its government's low tolerance for political expression.

"We must speak out when women are stopped from ... freely expressing their views or participating in the political process," she said in a speech to about 1000 women at a regional conference in Tunis.

^REUTERS

RB-- 03/26/99 19:10:00

FIRST LADY IN EGYPT: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton reflected on the political struggles of an ancient Egyptian queen while she toured tombs and temples. As she and her daughter, Chelsea, inspected the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Clinton was told of the queen's rivalry with a stepson who tried to erase all depictions of her from the temple. "She was not the first woman in that position (of queen). Why the animosity?" asked Clinton, who has in the past blamed President Clinton's political scandals on the animosity of his opponents. A guide said the ill will was not out of spite but politics. The first lady was heard to respond, "Sometimes it looks the same."

**Hillary sticks to plans
on North Africa tour**

LUXOR, Egypt — U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will proceed with her goodwill journey through North Africa despite the launching of NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia, her spokeswoman, Marsha Barry, said yesterday.

Asked if Mrs. Clinton, who is due to travel from Luxor in Egypt to Tunisia today, would change her plans because of the strikes, Miss Barry said, "No."

The first lady spent the fourth day of her 12-day trip touring the temples and tombs of Egypt's Pharaohs. She is due to return to Washington from Morocco, the last of three countries on her itinerary, next Thursday.



Hillary Clinton Defends NATO Attacks

REUTERS 3:51 p.m. ET (2100 GMT) March 25, 1999

TUNIS — U.S. first lady Hillary Clinton defended NATO's attack on Yugoslavia Thursday, before flying from Egypt to Tunisia and speaking out for women's rights.

"The United States and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killing of people in Kosovo and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," she said at a women's clinic in Luxor, Egypt before leaving for Tunisia.

"We are hoping and praying that the brave men and women in the military action who have undertaken this mission will be able to carry it out safely and will bring it to as swift an end as possible."

Drawing a contrast between the work of the clinic and the armed confrontation over Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic's refusal to accept a peace deal for Kosovo, she said:

"Today we are in a place that is celebrating life."

On the fifth day of her 12-day North African goodwill journey, Mrs. Clinton turned her emphasis to women's rights, after advocating religious tolerance and closer ties with the Islamic world during a stay in Egypt which began Sunday.

At the clinic in Luxor, she said women needed to have choices over birth control and other health issues, and hailed an Egyptian government effort to involve clinics in other activities such as literacy programs.

Upon arriving in Tunisia, she toured a small business lending program that targets women. She then held discussions with a group of nine prominent women, including an opposition member of parliament and a human rights activist.

The United States regards Tunisia, an Islamic country, as having advanced women's rights, but U.S. officials say political expression in general there is sharply restricted.

"No matter where we as women live we have many of the same interests and concerns," Mrs. Clinton said. "So to create a dialogue around the world about women's roles and rights and responsibilities is one way of us learning more from each other."

"I am impressed by the progress that women have made in Tunisia."

Mrs. Clinton's meeting was closed to reporters because of the political sensitivity of what some participants might say.

Friday she is to make a speech on women's rights billed as one of the three major addresses of her North African trip.

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Mrs. Clinton backs husband on Kosovo

5:30 a.m. ET (1030 GMT) March 25, 1999

LUXOR, Egypt (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton said today she concurs with her husband's assessment that NATO bombing in Yugoslavia is justified to "avert a broader humanitarian crisis."

The U.S. first lady addressed the subject briefly while attending the opening of a medical clinic

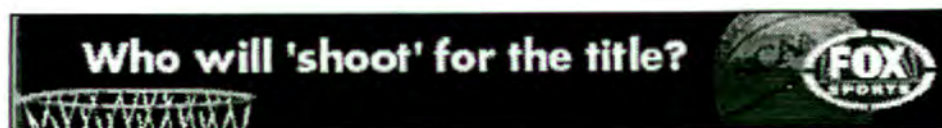
"As my husband, the president, explained last night to the American people, the United States and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killings of people in Kosovo and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," Mrs. Clinton said.

"We are hoping and praying that the brave men and women in the military action who have undertaken this mission will be able to conduct it safely and will bring it to as swift an end as possible," she said.

"My prayers and the prayers of peace loving people around the world are with the brave men and women and their families. May God bless them."

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Mrs Clinton Offers Prayers After NATO Attack

REUTERS 4.18 a.m. ET (919 GMT) March 25, 1999

LUXOR, Egypt — U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Thursday she hoped for a quick end to NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia and offered her prayers for the soldiers carrying out the attacks.

"We are hoping and praying that the brave men and women in the military action who have undertaken this mission will be able to conduct it safely and will bring it to as swift an end as possible," she said.

"My prayers and the prayers of peace loving people around the world are with these brave men and women and may God bless them," said Mrs Clinton, speaking at the new Karnak women's health clinic in Luxor on the last day of her tour in Egypt.

NATO air strikes were ordered after Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic rejected a Kosovo peace agreement signed by the province's ethnic Albanians.

Aides said the first lady had no plans to change the itinerary of her 12-day trip in North Africa despite the NATO attacks launched Wednesday.

She learned about the attacks while at a dinner hosted by the Egyptian government in the 3,500-year-old Luxor Temple after a day touring tombs and temples of ancient Egyptian pharaohs.

Mrs Clinton announced Thursday new U.S. aid to help fight water pollution and preserve ancient monuments. She was due to travel to Tunisia later in the day on the next leg of her tour.

The \$45 million aid package to improve the sewage-treatment system of Luxor will limit destruction of some of ancient Egypt's great monuments caused by rising water tables.

"This project...helps protect the treasures of the past and the health of the people in the future," Mrs Clinton said, speaking at a children's school in Luxor.

She said the improvements would serve about 30,000 people and treat waste water and recycle it for irrigation.

Throughout her travels in Egypt since Sunday, Mrs Clinton has witnessed damage to ancient and historical sites caused by leaching of salts from ground water into building stone.

Experts said the completion in 1970 of the Aswan High Dam on the upper Nile river had accelerated the problem because it ended the annual flooding that washed away built-up salts.

A spokeswoman for Mrs Clinton said the improved system in Luxor, home of the Luxor and Karnak temples, will help by removing minerals from the waste water before it is discharged.

Mrs Clinton Offers Prayers After NATO Attack

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0325/n_rt_0325_47.

Mrs Clinton will promote development and women's rights in a visit to Tunisia ending Saturday. She returns to Washington Thursday after the last leg of her visit in Morocco.

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FM: Reuters

a4110

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-TRIP 1STLD

^Hillary Clinton defends NATO attacks
(recasts, edits throughout)

By Randall Mikkelsen

TUNIS (Reuters) - U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, preparing on Thursday for the second leg of her goodwill trip to North Africa, defended NATO military strikes against Yugoslavia.

"The United States and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killing of people in Kosovo and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," she said at a women's clinic in Luxor, Egypt before flying to Tunisia.

"We are hoping and praying that the brave men and women in the military action who have undertaken this mission will be able to carry it out safely and will bring it to as swift an end as possible."

Drawing a contrast between the work of the clinic and the armed confrontation over Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic's refusal to accept a peace deal for Kosovo, she said: "Today we are in a place that is celebrating life."

On the fifth day of her 12-day North African goodwill journey Thursday, Mrs. Clinton emphasized women's rights, after advocating religious tolerance and closer ties with the Islamic world during a stay in Egypt which began Sunday.

At the clinic in Luxor, she said women needed to have choices over birth control and other health issues, and hailed an Egyptian government effort to involve clinics in other activities such as literacy programs.

In Tunisia, she toured a small business lending program that targets women. She then talked with nine prominent women, including an opposition member of parliament and a human rights activist.

In a speech on Friday, Mrs. Clinton is expected to call attention to the advanced state of women's rights in Tunisia since the country's 1957 independence, which the United States believes can serve as an example to other Islamic countries. "I am impressed by the progress that women have made in Tunisia," she said.

The United States regards Tunisia, an Islamic country, as having advanced women's rights, but U.S. officials say political expression in general there is sharply restricted.

"No matter where we as women live we have many of the same interests and concerns," Mrs. Clinton said. "So to create a dialogue around the world about women's roles and rights and responsibilities is one way of us learning more from each other."

^REUTERS

FM: UPI

u9206

(UPI Focus)<

Hillary calls for peace in Kosovo<

LUXOR, Egypt, March 25 (UPI) Hillary Rodham Clinton called for a swift end to the airstrikes over Yugoslavia, and said she was praying for those conducting them.

"As my husband the president explained last night to the American people, the U.S. and its NATO allies have acted to stop the brutal killing in Kosovo, and avert a broader humanitarian crisis," she said, during a stop at a health clinic in southern Egypt.

"My prayers and the prayers of peace loving people around the world are with these brave men and women and their families," she added of the NATO troops that began pummeling the Serb-ruled Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Wednesday. Clinton's remarks came as she wound up the first leg of a North African trip that aims to promote democracy, women's rights and religious tolerance in Tunisia, Morocco as well as Egypt.

At a Luxor primary school, this morning, the first lady announced a \$45 million grant from the United States Agency for International Development to improve waste water treatment in this tourist town, where flooding has caused health problems and damaged the area's world-renown pharaonic monuments. The money is in addition to \$34 million in new assistance the first lady earlier announced for family planning and mother and child-care programs in Egypt.

Clinton praised the Association of Upper Egypt for Education and Development, a Coptic Christian-run school in Luxor, where Muslim and Christian students elect student leaders and write letters demanding service from the area's elected officials. "That is what creating a healthy environment really means," she said.

Keeping in line with earlier remarks during her trip, Clinton refrained to comment directly on religious tension in southern Egypt, where hundreds of Coptic Christians have been killed by Islamist extremists in recent years.

But Shaheen Abo Shanab, whose two twins are among the Muslims students attending the school, denied there was any tension between Copts and Muslims in Egypt. "Any Copt or Muslim that makes problems does so because he doesn't understand religion 100 percent," he said, adding his friends and work colleagues were primarily Copts. Besides the school, the first lady also visited a family planning clinic today. Both sites receive development assistance from USAID. She left Luxor for Tunis midday.

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UPI- 03/25/99 13:02:00



Mrs. Clinton announcing U.S. grant to Egypt for wastewater system

1:34 a.m. ET (635 GMT) March 25, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

LUXOR, Egypt (AP) — Water is turning Egypt's ancient wonders and modern tourist attractions — the great pylon gateways of Karnak Temple, the colossi of Ramses II — from stone to sand.

The United States, represented here this week by Hillary Rodham Clinton, is giving Egypt \$45 million for a wastewater system in Luxor. Archeologists hope the improved treatment of wastewater will not only improve the health and safety of today's people but also retard damage to yesterday's treasures.

The first lady, traveling with her daughter Chelsea, was announcing the grant at a school here this morning before going on to Tunisia.

Water damage has been a recurrent theme at each of Mrs. Clinton's stops since she arrived in Egypt on Sunday — from the rotted foundation of a 10th-century church in Cairo's Coptic quarter, to the salt residue threatening the brilliant colors of King Tut's tomb.

"You do have a lot of problems with groundwater that I didn't really understand until I was preparing for this trip," Mrs. Clinton told conservationists in Cairo at the start of her 12-day tour.

Archeologists say Egyptian tombs and temples that have survived for thousands of years are actually very fragile because of a rising water table. The problem was exacerbated in 1970 by the construction of the new High Dam on the Nile south of Luxor.

Higher groundwater is constantly absorbed into the sandstone walls of the temples, trapping salts in the stone that crystallize and gradually slough away the outer layer of the structures.

"Before, dryness preserved everything," said Ray Johnson, an American preservation expert working here. "Today, Egypt is getting wetter, there are more people, more irrigation, and saltwater eventually turns stone to sand."

Over the past 20 years, the United States, through the Agency for International Development, has provided nearly \$3 billion for the water and wastewater systems of Egypt.

comments@foxnews.com

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First Lady Treads Carefully Through Cairo's Politics, Neighborhoods

By HOWARD SCHNEIDER
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, March 23—In a country that has banned some political parties, arrested human rights workers and detained thousands of suspected Islamic radicals without trial, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton surveyed Egypt's progress toward democracy and civil society in a speech today and decided it was doing pretty well.

In a carefully worded, half-hour address, Clinton avoided even im-

plicit criticism of an important U.S. ally where security concerns are paramount and the government historically has been hesitant to turn any operations over to businesses or other organizations.

Instead, she praised the government for expanding opportunities for nongovernmental organizations involved with health care and women's rights. She said she was looking forward to visiting a "democracy school" in Luxor that teaches people about citizenship, and that reductions in the rates of population

growth and infant mortality showed progress is being made.

An aide told the Associated Press that Clinton did express concern to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak about the treatment of the country's Coptic Christian minority—an issue Egyptian officials say has been greatly distorted by Western politicians and journalists.

But such worries largely have been consigned to the background during her trip to North Africa with her daughter, Chelsea, who is

on her spring break from Stanford University.

Capping a three-day visit to the Arab world's largest city, Clinton shied away from controversial themes.

Rather, she asked her audience to imagine— they were ancient Egyptians assembling cargo for their journey to the afterworld— what they will need on the journey to a new life in the 21st century.

It was a metaphor that let her stick to such safely neutral themes as religious tolerance and educa-

tion—appropriate to a trip that has been light on substance and heavy on sightseeing.

Clinton's visit here also has been carefully managed to minimize contact with the city's prodigious layers of dust and crowded streets.

An hour before she visited one of the city's oldest Islamic neighborhoods, down a narrow corridor where donkeys and cars compete for space, the street was cleared and a water truck gave her path a cursory dousing.

Residents were kept to the side

as well, confined to the alleys between buildings as the first lady toured the Salah Talai Mosque and then strolled across to the 10th-century Bab Zuweila gate.

As her motorcade pulled away, security officials stepped aside, and people surged back into the street. A crowd of boisterous children chased after the first lady's car as police and residents shared a laugh over what they put up with when dignitaries come hunting for history. At least, said one, the street gets cleaned.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1999

Hill to Egyptians: Never give up on dream of peace

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton yesterday urged Egyptians to "never give up on the dream of peace" in the Mideast but kept mum on her controversial support for a Palestinian state.

Mrs. Clinton, in a speech at Cairo's American University, steered clear of controversy, preaching religious tolerance and urging the Mideast to "reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination."

Mrs. Clinton's carefully chosen words disappointed some in the crowd who wanted her to elaborate on her remarks last year backing Palestinian statehood.

"She's quite well-known here for her comment on Palestine, so I was hoping for a little more, something definitive," said Tom Farkas, an administrator at the university where Mrs. Clinton spoke for 40 minutes.

In a satellite hook-up with students in Switzerland last year, the First Lady set off a firestorm by saying it was in the "long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

The White House quickly distanced itself from her statement, which threatens to hound her if she decides to run for the New York Senate seat being va-

cated by Daniel P. Moynihan.

Yesterday, Mrs. Clinton trod gingerly.

"We will never and must never give up on the dream of peace," she said.

She said there were those "in every religion" who preach intolerance and violence against "believers of other faiths" — and emphasized the United States was "not perfect" either, citing church burnings and hate crimes.

The First Lady and daughter Chelsea also toured sacred Muslim, Christian and Jewish sites before flying south to Luxor, where they visited the Luxor Temple and posed for photos.

**Hillary, princess of
whines: Editorial /
Page 30**

Rudy trims First Lady's lead: po

By FREDRIC U. DICKER
State Editor

ALBANY — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's lead over Mayor Giuliani in the U.S. Senate race has narrowed, a new



LAP OF LUXOR-Y: Hillary Clinton and daughter Chelsea the Temple of Luxor yesterday in Egypt yesterday.

poll shows.

The Quinnipiac College survey found Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 50-39 percent, among registered voters, down from 54-36 in a Feb. 23 Quinnipiac poll. The poll has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

"The first-round euphoria about Hillary Clinton's possible Senate bid has faded a bit," said Quinnipiac polling director Maurice Carroll.

Fifty-one percent of New Yorkers have a favorable view of Mrs. Clinton while 21 percent gave her mixed reviews and 5 percent said they don't have an opinion.

Giuliani, in the midst of weeks of controversy over the police shooting of Amadou Diallo, received a 38-26 favorable rating, with 23 percent giving him mixed reviews and 13 percent saying they don't have an opinion.

The new poll found former U.S. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, who

says he might seek the nomination, would lose to Clinton 56-34 percent.

D'Amato was rated unfavorably by 42 percent of those surveyed compared to 32 percent who gave him a positive rating.

Meanwhile, Suffolk County publican U.S. Rep. Rick L. who also is eying the Senate race, would lose to Mrs. Clinton 56-23 percent, the poll shows.

The poll also found Giuliani would beat U.S. Rep.

Lowey, 48-30, if she were his opponent in the race for Senate.

Lowey, of Westchester, she's likely to seek the Democratic Senate nomination if Clinton doesn't.

The poll also found Giuliani would defeat Lazio, 33-20 — 38 percent undecided — if Senate race was between the two of them.

A Zogby International poll week showed Giuliani ahead of Mrs. Clinton, 48.4-36.9 percent among "likely voters." Quinnipiac surveyed "registered voters."

First lady explores Cairo, makes plea for tolerance

By SANDRA SOBIERAJ
Associated Press

CAIRO, Egypt -- Hillary Rodham Clinton visited some of Egypt's most important Muslim, Christian and Jewish sites Tuesday, then exhorted the people of the Middle East to "reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination."

The American first lady's appeal for tolerance came in a country where Islam is the state religion, but the largely secular government has been under fire for years from Muslim militants.

Clinton said before she left on a 12-day trip through Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia that she was counting on news coverage to spread her message beyond North Africa's borders. Her touring in Cairo generated news photos of Egypt's religiously diverse history.

With her daughter, Chelsea, at her side, the first lady marveled at the air shaft of a pulpit used to keep the Muslim imam cool as he preaches in a 700-year-old mosque. She stepped into the cellar of the Ben Ezra Synagogue, Egypt's oldest, whose foundations were laid in the 11th century on the site where, tradition holds, baby Moses was discovered among bulrushes. And she peered into the mildewed crypt of St. Sargius Church, where Mary and Joseph were said to have sheltered the Baby Jesus as they fled into Egypt from King Herod's soldiers.

In her address at the American University in Cairo, Clinton seemed careful not to offend diplomatic sensitivities. Several times in her 40-minute speech, she noted that the United States is "not perfect" and that church burnings and hate crimes back home give evidence of intolerance.

"We have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," Clinton said. "In every religion, there are those who would drape themselves in the mantle of belief and faith, only to distort its most sacred teachings -- preaching intolerance and resorting to violence against believers of other faiths."

Egyptian Christians, known as Copts, were frequent targets of the insurgent Muslims at the height of their violent unrest in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The government contends its strong and often-violent tactics have succeeded in quelling the domestic terror.

From Cairo, the first lady flew south to Luxor, where she and Chelsea spent more than an hour poking through massive Luxor Temple, then posed for tourists and news photographers alike at the feet of a colossus of Ramses III.

Today, the women planned to travel to the Valley of the Kings.

END

Mrs. Clinton urges people of Mideast to reject violence

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At St. Sargius Church, with its unmarked, basement-level entrance off an alley in Cairo's Old Coptic Quarter, Bishop Yohanna cast the best light on the situation for his American visitors.

"We feel that we are brothers and friends," he said. "We are one unit and one country. We love them, and they love us." Troublemakers, he said, are "just a few religious fanatics."

END

First Lady avoids criticism of Egyptian politics

CAIRO -- In a country that has banned some political parties, arrested human rights workers and detained thousands of suspected Islamic radicals without trial, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton surveyed Egypt's progress toward democracy and civil society in a speech Tuesday and decided that it was doing pretty well.

In a carefully worded, half-hour address, Mrs. Clinton avoided even implicit criticism of an important U.S. ally where security concerns are paramount and the government historically has hesitated to turn any operations over to businesses or other organizations.

Instead, she praised the government for expanding opportunities for nongovernmental organizations involved with health care and women's rights.

She said she was looking forward to visiting a "democracy school" in Luxor that teaches citizenship, and that reductions in the rates of population growth and infant mortality showed progress.

An aide told The Associated Press that Mrs. Clinton did express concern to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak about the treatment of the country's Coptic Christian minority -- an issue that Egyptian officials say has been greatly distorted by Western politicians and journalists.

But such worries largely have been consigned to the background during Mrs. Clinton's trip to North Africa with her daughter, Chelsea, who is on her spring break from Stanford University.

Capping a three-day visit to the Arab world's largest city, Mrs. Clinton shied away from controversial themes.

Rather, she asked her audience to imagine -- as ancient Egyptians assembled cargo for their journey to the afterworld -- what they will need on the journey to a new life in the 21st Century.

It was a metaphor that let her stick to such safely neutral themes as religious tolerance and education, appropriate to a trip that has been light on substance and heavy on sightseeing.

Mrs. Clinton's visit here also has been carefully managed to minimize contact with the city's prodigious layers of dust and crowded streets.

An hour before she visited one of the city's oldest Islamic neighborhoods, down a narrow corridor where donkeys and cars compete for space, the street was cleared and a water truck gave her path a cursory dousing.

END

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 The Detroit News, Inc.
The Detroit News

March 24, 1999, Wednesday

SECTION: Front; Pg. Pg. A16

LENGTH: 562 words

HEADLINE: First lady appeals for tolerance in Egypt

BYLINE: Sandra Sobieraj / Associated Press

BODY:

CAIRO -- Hillary Rodham Clinton visited some of Egypt's most important Muslim, Christian and Jewish sites Tuesday, then exhorted the people of the Middle East to "reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination."

The first lady's appeal for tolerance came in a country where Islam is the state religion, but the largely secular government has been under fire for years from Muslim militants.

Clinton is on a 12-day trip through Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

With daughter Chelsea at her side, the first lady marveled at the air shaft of a pulpit used to keep the Muslim imam cool as he preaches in a 700-year-old mosque. She stepped into the cellar of the Ben Ezra Synagogue, Egypt's oldest, whose foundations were laid in the 11th century on the site where, tradition holds, baby Moses was discovered among bulrushes. And she peered into the mildewed crypt of St. Sargius Church, where Mary and Joseph were said to have sheltered the baby Jesus as they fled into Egypt from King Herod's soldiers.

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Troublemakers, he said, are "just a few religious fanatics."

From Cairo, Clinton flew south to Luxor, another trove of ancient treasures on the Nile. She and Chelsea spent more than an hour poking through massive Luxor Temple, then posing for tourists and news photographers at the feet of a colossus of Ramses III.

Today, the women planned to tour the temple of Queen Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings, where in November 1997 a band of militant Muslims killed 58 foreign tourists.

In her Cairo address, Clinton also celebrated the U.S.-mediated Israeli-Egyptian peace accord, reached in 1978, that led the next year to the first treaty between Israel and an Arab country. But the first lady shied away from the complicated issues that have hampered the peace process since.

Last year, in a satellite hookup with a youth conference in Switzerland, Clinton caused an international stir with her comment: "I think it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

Tuesday, Clinton said only, "We will never and must never give up on the dream of peace that was really ignited by the Camp David accord."

GRAPHIC: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter, Chelsea, tour the Temple of Luxor in Egypt on Tuesday. During the tour, she condemned violence and discrimination in the name of religion. Khue Bui / Associated Press

LOAD-DATE: March 24, 1999

21ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 The News and Observer
The News and Observer (Raleigh, NC)

March 24, 1999 Wednesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A10

LENGTH: 278 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton walks, talks softly during visit to Egypt

SOURCE: THE WASHINGTON POST

BODY:

CAIRO, Egypt -- First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton surveyed Egypt's progress toward democracy and civil society in a speech Tuesday and decided it was doing pretty well.

The assessment came even though Mrs. Clinton was speaking in a country that has banned some political parties, arrested human rights workers and detained without trial thousands suspected of being Islamic radicals .

The first lady avoided even implicit criticism of an important U.S. ally where security concerns are paramount and the government historically has been hesitant to turn any operations over to businesses or other organizations.

She praised the government for expanding opportunities for nongovernmental organizations involved with health care and women's rights and said she was looking forward to visiting a "democracy school" in Luxor that teaches about citizenship.

An aide said Mrs. Clinton did express concern to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak about the treatment of the country's Coptic Christian minority - an issue Egyptian officials say has been greatly distorted by Westerners.

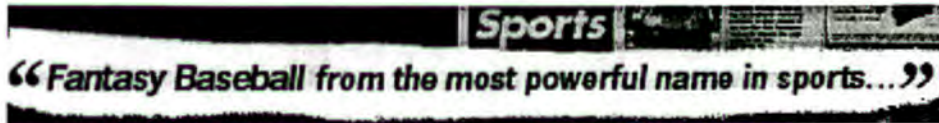
But such worries largely have been consigned to the background during her trip to North Africa with her daughter, Chelsea, who is on break from Stanford University.

Capping a three-day visit to the Arab world's largest city, Mrs. Clinton shied away from controversial themes and instead asked her audience to imagine - they were ancient Egyptians assembling cargo for their journey to the afterworld - what they will need on the journey to a new life in the 21st century.

It was a metaphor that let her stick to such safely neutral themes as religious tolerance and education.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 24, 1999



Mrs. Clinton Hears Political Woes Of Egyptian Queen

REUTERS 9:30 a.m. ET (1431 GMT) March 24, 1999

LUXOR, Egypt — U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton reflected on the political struggles of an ancient Egyptian queen and mused over her post-White House career while she toured tombs and temples Wednesday.

As she and her daughter Chelsea inspected the massive Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, nestled in the golden desert cliffs where Egypt's royalty were buried above the Nile, Mrs. Clinton was told of the queen's rivalry with a stepson who tried to erase all depictions of her from the temple after she died.

"She was not the first woman in that position (of queen). Why the animosity?" asked Mrs. Clinton, who has in the past blamed President Clinton's political scandals on the animosity of his opponents.

One of her guides said the ill will was "not out of spite, but politics."

To which Mrs. Clinton was heard to say "sometimes it looks the same."

Mrs. Clinton was in Luxor on the fourth day of a 12-day North African goodwill trip.

As well as touring the temple, she stepped down into the tomb of King Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings and was given a rare look at the splendid tomb of King Seti I, normally closed while conservators study how to preserve it, but opened to a visitor for the first time in 10 years.

She also visited the vividly decorated tomb of Queen Nefertari in the nearby Valley of the Queens.

Mrs. Clinton has said she would take a break during the trip from her deliberations on whether to run for a U.S. Senate seat in New York, but the issue was clearly on her mind.

In the Hatshepsut temple, she was complimented by her tour host, head of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities, Gaballah Ali Gaballah, on her observations regarding a ceiling painting.

"Perhaps you should be one of us, an archaeologist," he said.

"Well, I am looking for a new career," she said.

She also waxed philosophical about a ceiling painted with a deep blue sky and stars. "It's probably a contradiction, like all things — men, women, night, day," she said.

The Hatshepsut temple is the site of a 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by Egypt's biggest Islamic militant group.

Although security in the area had been sharply increased since the attack, lone sentinels standing high on the cliffs above the Valley of the Kings

Mrs. Clinton Hears Political Woes Of Egyptian Queen

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0324/n_rt_0324_97.s

provided evidence of even greater security for the first lady's visit.

Although the United States and NATO have approved air strikes against Yugoslavia over President Slobodan Milosevic's refusal to agree to a Kosovo peace deal, aides to Mrs. Clinton said they were unaware of any plans to change her trip if attacks were launched.

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Here's the Pitch.

Mrs. Clinton Hears Woes Of Egyptian Queen

REUTERS 6.13 p.m. ET (2314 GMT) March 24, 1999

LUXOR, Egypt — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton reflected on the political struggles of the only female pharaoh to rule ancient Egypt and mused over her post-White House career while touring tombs and temples Wednesday.

Late in the day, Mrs Clinton learned of NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia while at an Egyptian government dinner in the 3,500 year-old Luxor temple. Her spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady had no plans to alter her 12-day goodwill journey to North Africa, which continues Thursday with her traveling to Tunisia.

During the fourth day of her trip Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton and her daughter Chelsea inspected the massive Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, nestled in the golden desert cliffs where members of Egypt's royalty were buried above the river Nile.

The temple honoring Hatshepsut, who ruled Egypt 1,500 years before the birth of Jesus and was the only female pharaoh during the glory years of ancient Egypt's Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, was the site of a 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by Egypt's biggest Islamic militant group.

The first lady was told of the queen's rivalry with a stepson who tried to erase all depictions of her from the temple after she died.

"Why the animosity?" asked Mrs. Clinton, who in the past has blamed President Clinton's political scandals on the animosity of his opponents.

One of her guides said the ill will was "not out of spite, but politics."

Mrs. Clinton was heard responding "sometimes it looks the same."

Although security in the area had been increased sharply since the 1997 attack, sentinels standing high on the cliffs above the Valley of the Kings gave evidence of even greater security for the first lady's visit.

As well as touring the temple, she stepped down into the tomb of King Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings and was given a rare look at the many-chambered tomb of pharaoh Seti I, normally closed while experts study how to preserve it, but opened to a visitor for the first time in 10 years.

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Mrs. Clinton Hears Woes Of Egyptian Queen

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0324/n_rt_0324_273.s

observations regarding a ceiling painting.

"Perhaps you should be one of us, an archeologist," he said.

"Well, I am looking for a new career," she said.

She also waxed philosophical about a ceiling painted with a deep blue sky and stars and another depiction of Hatshepsut adopting a man's form to enhance her authority.

"It's probably a contradiction, like all things — men, women, night, day," she said.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 Associated Press
AP Online

March 24, 1999; Wednesday 14:14 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 540 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton Tours Temple

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ
AP-Mrs-Clinton-Tourist ,0578

DATELINE: LUXOR, Egypt

BODY:

In the Valley of the Queens, Hillary Rodham Clinton may have found her calling.

'Well, I AM looking for another career,' she quipped.

The first lady and her daughter, Chelsea, were touring the 3,400-year-old temple of Queen Hatshepsut on Wednesday with archeologists and conservationists in tow.

'Look,' she instructed in the innermost chamber, where the ceiling was painted blue with stars. A combination, she concluded, of day and night. 'Like all things men, women, night, day.'

'You should be one of us,' said Gaballa Ali Gaballa, head of Egypt's antiquities council.

Mrs. Clinton, ever more willing to muse aloud about her own future after her husband's presidency is over, chuckled when she spoke of shopping for a new career.

While she's not yet sure about a run for the Senate in 2000, to walk among the queens on Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton wore her running shoes.

The ancient political turmoil of Hatshepsut rang familiar to Mrs. Clinton.

Shown one of the temple's few remaining reliefs of the queen, most of whose images were defaced or erased by stepson Thutmose III, Mrs. Clinton marveled: 'Why the enmity?'

'It was not out of spite, but politics,' explained restorationist Ray Johnson.

'Sometimes they look the same,' Mrs. Clinton reflected.

AP Online, March 24, 1999

Sounds like President Clinton is feeling left out.

'My husband is a little jealous,' Mrs. Clinton reported to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak after a call from Washington on her first morning.

Day Two, the president also checked in by phone.

'When I spoke to the president this morning, he reminded me that he had yet to even see the pyramids except through the window of an airplane,' Mrs. Clinton told an audience at the American University in Cairo.

She had a suggestion for her husband come Jan. 20, 2001:

'I assured him he could return perhaps when he no longer travels with 800 or 900 people and see the city and the sights and meet the people for longer than a day.'

Public whispering about the Clintons' marriage is not only an American tabloid preoccupation.

One day before Mrs. Clinton's arrival in Cairo, Al-Ahram, Egypt's largest daily newspaper, editorialized that she should divorce the president.

But before every audience she's addressed in Egypt Mrs. Clinton has left little doubt that the two remain very much connected.

At a Cairo maternal health clinic: 'I mentioned that to the president in my meeting with him this morning. ...'

At a youth center: 'As I mentioned to the president this morning. ...'

Opening her university address: 'When I spoke to the president this morning. ...'

And, what do the two of them talk about in these daily chats?

'Just catching up on things,' she said. 'I know it's raining back in Washington.'

Security agents in black with high-tech weapons perched atop the ancient cliffs around the valley.

But the obviously tight security for Mrs. Clinton's tour was the only suggestion of any concern.

In November 1997, a band of Muslim militants stormed the Temple of Hatshepsut and killed 58 foreign tourists there. As Mrs. Clinton and her daughter wandered the site Wednesday, no mention was made of that attack.

AP Online, March 24, 1999

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 24, 1999

First Lady Confirms Talks on N.Y. Senate Bid

By HOWARD SCHNEIDER
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, March 22—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton confirmed today that she is consulting friends and advisers about a possible run for the Senate in New York, saying that is just one option she is exploring to stay involved in public life when President Clinton's second term ends.

Talking to reporters on the second day of a trip to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, Hillary

Clinton said she intends to find some way to continue working on the issues she is most interested in after leaving the White House in January 2001.

Whether that means delving into electoral politics or something else remains to be seen. But the first lady indicated she is serious about exploring a run for the seat held by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who is retiring.

"I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf

of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on," Clinton said. "The form that will take I really can't predict at this time."

"I've talked to a lot of people in the last month, and I will continue that when I return home," she said of her consultations with advisers and friends.

The comments marked the first time Clinton has responded directly to questions raised by her strong showing in polls pitting her in a hypothetical Senate race against New York Mayor

Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican.

She agreed to the rare question-and-answer session following her tour of a Cairo health center, apparently in an effort to dispense with the issue while she is traveling and turn the spotlight to the issues of religious tolerance and historic conservation that are the centerpieces of her North Africa trip.

"Right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important part-

nership and friendship between the United States and Egypt," she told the audience of reporters, doctors and hospital staff.

Touring here with her daughter Chelsea during Chelsea's spring break from Stanford University, the first lady has divided her time among Cairo's ample mix of Muslim, Christian and ancient historic sites, weaving together an effort to reach out to the Islamic world with her personal interest in historic preservation.

She is also trying to call attention to the money being invested here by the U.S. Agency for International Development in sewer and other

public works projects critical to maintaining some of Cairo's most important architecture.

On Sunday, for example, she visited the Salih Talai Mosque in one of Cairo's oldest Islamic neighborhoods, an elegant, open-air building that until a few months ago was surrounded by pools of open water that threatened to erode the foundation.

That problem has been fixed, and, in conjunction with Egyptian authorities, a 700-year-old, intricately carved beechwood minbar has been restored.

The minbar is a pulpit-like platform at the top of a short staircase for the mosque's prayer leader,

NEW YORK

**Mrs. Clinton Touts Mission
And Hints of Senate Plans**

Hillary Rodham Clinton deflected questions in Cairo yesterday about whether she planned to run for the Senate from New York, but said she was looking for a way to advance the issues involving children and women "I've spent more than 25 years working on."

Mrs. Clinton paused during a 12-day tour of North Africa yesterday to answer — or, rather, deflect — questions about her plans. She repeatedly emphasized that she was in Egypt to promote good will and good works, not her political prospects.

But in response to a question about the best way to promote her "global mission" on behalf of women, Mrs. Clinton said: "I don't know the answer to that. But I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on, having to do with improving the lives of children and giving more opportunities of all kinds to people, particularly women, and improving relations around the world."

Mrs. Clinton, who had previously issued only a written statement and made an oblique public joke about the Senate race, is considering a campaign for the seat to be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in 2000.

JAMES BENNET

In Cairo, the First Lady Parries Questions About a Senate Bid

By James Bennett
CAIRO, March 22

Hillary Rodham Clinton deflected questions today about whether she plans to run for the Senate from New York, but said she was looking for a way to advance the issues involving children and women "I've spent more than 25 years working on."

With even shopkeepers here speculating that Mrs. Clinton might run, she paused during a 12-day tour of North Africa today to address questions about her plans. She repeatedly emphasized that she was here to promote goodwill and good works, not her political prospects.

"I've talked with a lot of people in the last month," Mrs. Clinton said of her consideration of a campaign, "and I will continue that when I return home. But right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt, which I think is in the best interests, long-term, of the people of both countries."

On the first full day of her trip, Mrs. Clinton hopscotched across Cairo today at a pace that would exhaust many candidates, let alone diplomats. She paid an hourlong call on the Egyptian President, Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, then stopped at a bazaar, an educational center, a health clinic, a synagogue, and a church, squeezing in a lunch and a reception along the way.

After arriving on Sunday, Mrs. Clinton toured two mosques. She is trying on this trip in part to encourage religious tolerance and allay any suspicions of American regard for Islam.

Of six questions from reporters, four dealt with the Senate race, although Mrs. Clinton did not always choose to interpret them that way. Asked about her "future plans" by an Egyptian reporter, she responded: "Well, tomorrow I'm going to Luxor." The audience laughed and clapped.

Trying another gambit, an American then noted that some people who spoke with the First Lady today told reporters that they hoped Mrs. Clinton would run. What was her reaction? "I have enjoyed meeting all of the people that I've met so far," Mrs. Clinton said, "and we've talked about important issues that are really critical to the lives of the people in Egypt."

Finally, a reporter asked the question head-on: Was the First Lady considering a campaign? Mrs. Clinton replied that she would keep consulting people about it, but that for the time being she was thinking about Egypt.

But after a more roundabout question about the best way to promote her "global mission" on behalf of women, Mrs. Clinton became more expansive. "I don't know the answer to that," she said. "But I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on, having to do with improving the lives of children and giving more opportunities of all kinds to people, particularly women, and improving relations around the world, among democracies, and making it clear that we have a lot to learn and give to one another in the world."

She added: "Any way that I can continue to do that I intend to. But the form that will take I really, I can't predict at this time." Mrs. Clinton, who had previously issued only a written statement and made an oblique public joke about the Senate race, is considering a campaign for the seat to be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in 2000.

During this Middle East tour, Mrs. Clinton is not visiting Israel -- a stop important to many New Yorkers -- because, her aides had said, it would be improper for her to go so close to the elections there.

Images: Photo: Hillary Rodham Clinton toured a market in Cairo yesterday, a stop on a busy schedule that also saw her take questions from reporters.

N.Y. SENATE RACE: In her most expansive comments yet on a possible Senate bid, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said that she's been making "lots of calls" to friends and advisers but hasn't decided whether to run. In Cairo on a 12-day visit to Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, Clinton said she wants to "continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on. Any way I can continue to do that, I intend to. But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time." She said she will continue sounding out supporters before deciding whether to seek the open Senate seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

Hillary concedes she may run in N.Y.

No decision yet, but she's weighing her chances for Senate

By Sandra Sobieraj
ASSOCIATED PRESS

CAIRO — In a most unlikely place to talk American politics — at an Egyptian health clinic — Hillary Rodham Clinton acknowledged yesterday an interest in running for the U.S. Senate.

She said she has been making "lots of calls" on the subject over the past month but has not made a decision. The only thing she is certain of, she added, is that she wants to keep a public role after she and her husband leave the White House.

Mrs. Clinton, who was on the first day of a 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, told reporters that whatever happens in her political future, "I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on."

"Any way I can continue to do that, I intend to. But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time."

Yesterday's news conference was her most expansive discussion of running for office. Mrs. Clinton took six questions.

In the lobby of Cairo's El Basatine clinic for women and children, reporters noted that her husband had expressed his support if she decided to run for the Senate.

"As you know, I've made lots of calls over the past month," said Mrs. Clinton, who initially danced away from the question.

She has been sounding out friends, advisers and political consultants on her chances of winning the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"I will continue that when I return home," she said.

But, she added before heading off to lunch with the wife of President Hosni Mubarak, "right now I



Wahiba el-Sayed, a garment maker, hugs Hillary Rodham Clinton in Cairo and urges her to seek office: "She's a very strong woman."

want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt."

Interest in the first lady's political ambitions was evident in the marketplace.

"We are nominating her," Wahiba el-Sayed said through a translator. "She's a very strong woman, a very active woman."

The veiled, 50-year-old woman,

a garment maker, insisted photographers snap a picture of her kissing the first lady's cheek.

In her speech at the clinic, Mrs. Clinton singled out as her priorities creating opportunities for women, improving the lives of children and improving relations between world democracies.

She also said that she wants to prevent "bad abortions," and spoke up for "integrated family planning" services for all women.

First Lady Discusses Senate Run

From Associated Press

CAIRO—In a most unlikely place to talk American politics—at an Egyptian health clinic—Hillary Rodham Clinton acknowledged an interest in running for the U.S. Senate.

She's been making "lots of calls" on the subject over the past month but hasn't made a decision, she said. The only thing she is certain of, she added, is that she wants to keep a public role after she and her husband leave the White House.

Monday was the second day of Mrs. Clinton's 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, and word of her possible candidacy for a Senate seat from New York got here before she did. At the Khan el-Khalili marketplace, Mona Abdel clapped her hands together and shook with excitement as Secret Service agents filed down the market's alleyway.

"She's applying for the Congress," said Abdel, 25. "I will nominate her for sure."

Mrs. Clinton told reporters that whatever happened in her political future, "I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on. Any way I can continue to do that, I intend to. But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time."

The news conference Monday was her most expansive discussion of running for office. Mrs. Clinton took six questions.

In the lobby of Cairo's El Bassatine clinic for women and children, reporters noted that her husband had expressed his support if she decided to run for the Senate. An Egyptian journalist stepped forward to ask Mrs. Clinton about her "plans for the future."

The first lady momentarily played it coy. "Well, tomorrow I'm going to Luxor," she said to chuckles from the assembled doctors, nurses and Egyptian officials.

It took three more questions to draw her out on the topic.

"As you know, I've made lots of calls over the past month," she said. She has been sounding out friends, advisers and political consultants on her chances in a bid for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

"I will continue that when I return home," she said.

But, she added before darting off to lunch with the wife of President Hosni Mubarak, "right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt."

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"We are nominating her," Wahiba el-Sayed said through a translator. "She's a very strong woman, a very active woman."

The veiled, 50-year-old woman, a garment maker, insisted photographers snap a picture of her kissing the first lady's cheek.

Metalworker Sayed el-Said Mahmoud el-Sharaky had engraved two brass, copper and silver picture frames—one for Mrs. Clinton and one for daughter Chelsea.

In Egypt, Hillary Clinton discusses political plans

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CAIRO — In an unlikely place to discuss US politics — an Egyptian health clinic — Hillary Rodham Clinton acknowledged an interest in running for the Senate.

She said she has made "lots of calls" on the subject over the past month but has not made a decision. The only thing she is certain of, Clinton added, is that she wants to keep a public role after she and her husband leave the White House.

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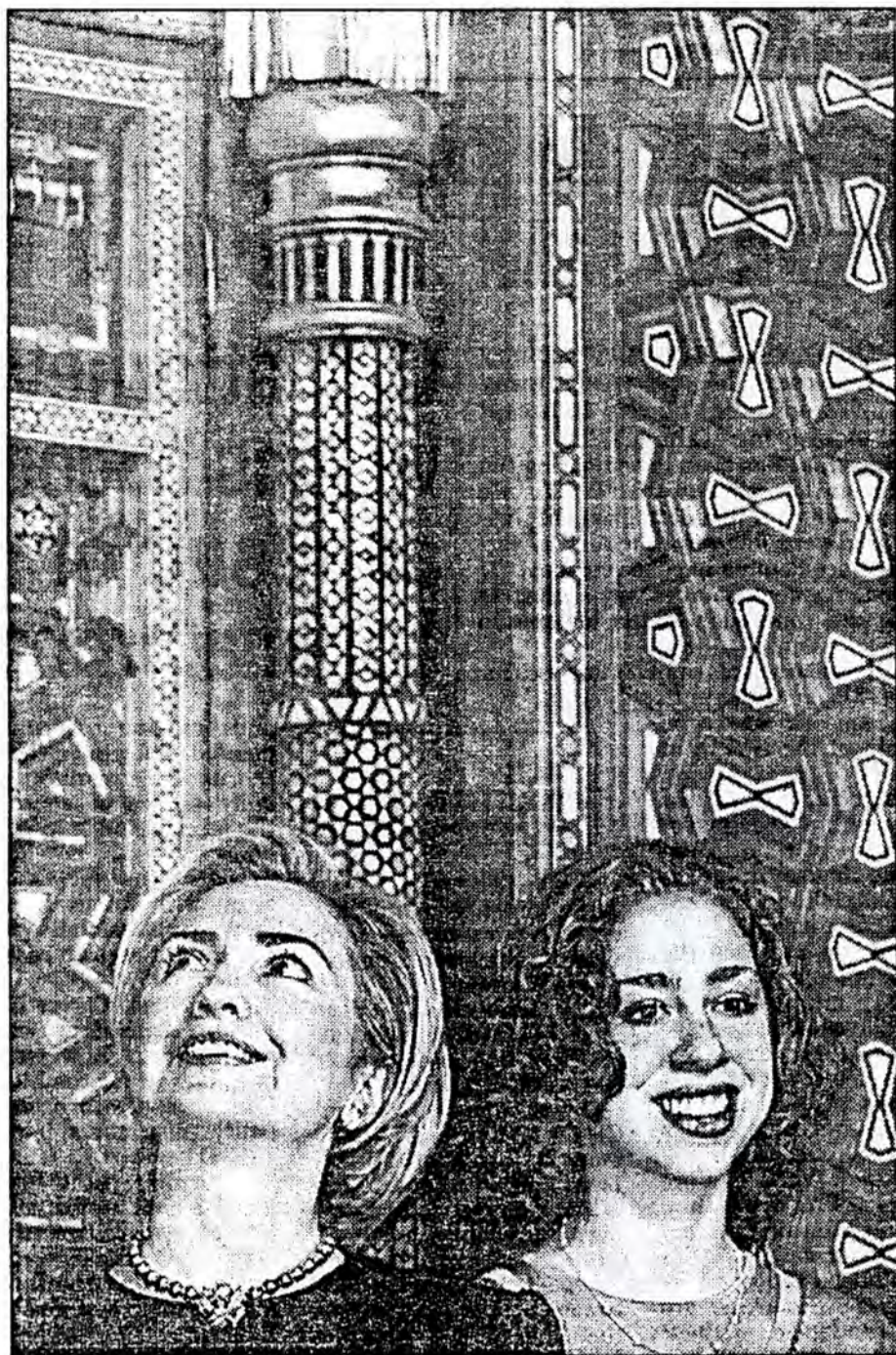


AP PHOTO

Hillary Rodham Clinton, on a Cairo tour, got a hug yesterday from a shop owner, Wahiba Sayed, in the Khan al Khalili market.

She has been sounding out friends, advisers and consultants on her chances in a bid for the seat of retiring Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

"I will continue that when I return home," she said.



EYE FOR ANTIQUITY: Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea visit the 11th-century Ben-Ezra synagogue in Cairo yesterday. Reuter

Hillary still isn't talking on Senate bid

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON —

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she still hasn't decided if she'll run for the Senate — but made it clear she wants to stay in public life after she leaves the White House.

"But the form that will take — I really can't predict at this time," Mrs. Clinton said coyly when quizzed in Cairo, Egypt, where she's traveling with daughter Chelsea and a press entourage.

Meanwhile, some New Yorkers sounded skeptical Mrs. Clinton — whose public support last year for a Palestinian state upset many Jewish voters — will ever throw her hat into the Senate ring.

They noted anyone serious about running in New York likely would include Israel on a visit to the Mideast.

Mrs. Clinton is making the 12-day trip to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco to strengthen "the bonds of understanding between the United States and the entire Arab world," her office says.

Speculation about the First Couple's rocky marriage — in the wake of the president's sex-and-lies fling with ex-intern Monica Lewinsky — is also haunting Mrs. Clinton.

In Egypt's state-owned Al-Ahram newspaper, veteran columnist Anis Mansour declared, "Their relationship is completely over."

"The divorce proceedings will go very smoothly because the judge will not have to summon witnesses. Almost all the globe's pop-

ulation are witnesses on Clinton's infidelity," Mansour wrote.

A Post poll shows most Americans believe Mrs. Clinton has stayed in the marriage because she loves the power, not the man.

For the first time yesterday, the First Lady — who last month issued a statement acknowledging interest in retiring New York Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's Senate seat — spoke about her future plans, saying:

"I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on," such as "improving the lives of children, and giving more opportunities to people, particularly women."

First Lady says in Egypt she'll keep public role

CAIRO -- In a most unlikely place to talk American politics -- at an Egyptian health clinic -- Hillary Rodham Clinton on Monday acknowledged an interest in running for the Senate.

She has been making "lots of calls" on the subject over the past month but has not made a decision, she said. The only thing she is certain of, she added, is that she wants to keep a public role after she and her husband leave the White House.

Monday was the first full day of Mrs. Clinton's 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, and word of her possible candidacy for a Senate seat from New York got here before she did. At the Khan al Klalili marketplace, Mona Abdel clapped her hands together and shook with excitement as Secret Service agents filed down the market's alleyway.

"She's applying for the Congress," said Abdel, 25. "I will nominate her for sure."

Mrs. Clinton told reporters that whatever happens in her political future, "I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on. Any way I can continue to do that, I intend to. But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time."

The news conference Monday was Mrs. Clinton's most expansive discussion of running for office. She took six questions in the lobby of Cairo's El Bassatine clinic for women and children. An Egyptian journalist stepped forward to ask Mrs. Clinton about her "plans for the future."

It took three more questions to draw her out on the topic.

"As you know, I've made lots of calls over the past month," she said. She has been sounding out friends, advisors and political consultants on her chances in a bid for the seat of Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, who is retiring.

"I will continue that when I return home," she said.

But, she added before darting off to lunch with the wife of President Hosni Mubarak, "Right now, I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt."

END

Hillary Clinton urges tolerance on North Africa tour

CAIRO - In a country where Islam is the state religion, Hillary Rodham Clinton has tiptoed a thin diplomatic line, staging a symbolic push for religious tolerance in the hushed, hallowed chambers of Egypt's oldest Jewish, Christian and Muslim landmarks.

She marveled at the air shaft of a 700-year-old pulpit used to keep the Muslim imam cool as he preaches. She stepped into the cellar of the 11th-century Ben Ezra synagogue, where the baby Moses was long ago discovered among bulrushes.

And she peered into the mildewy crypt of St. Sargius Church, where Mary and Joseph were said to have sheltered the child Jesus as they fled King Herod's tyranny.

Today, she put careful words to the images of religious diversity with an address - the first public speech of her 12-day North Africa tour - at Cairo's American University.

"We have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," Mrs. Clinton said, noting that the United States has problems with church burnings and hate crimes.

"In every religion, there are those who would drape themselves in the mantle of belief and faith only to distort its most sacred teachings - preaching intolerance and resorting to violence against believers of other faiths."

Mrs. Clinton also celebrated the Israeli-Egyptian peace accord reached in 1978, but did not address the complicated issues that have hampered the peace process since.

Tom Farkas, coordinator of the university's English-language program, was underwhelmed by Mrs. Clinton's low-key approach. "She's quite well-known here for her comment on Palestine, so I was hoping for a little more, something definitive."

He referred to an offhand remark Mrs. Clinton made about her support for a Palestinian state during a question-and-answer session with a group of young people from the Middle East at a peace camp last year in Europe.

"It's not Mrs. Clinton's role" to criticize and lecture on the need for religious tolerance, said her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry.

In a meeting yesterday with President Hosni Mubarak, Mrs. Clinton voiced some concern about the treatment of his country's 6 million to 10 million Coptic Christians.

"She raised it. He was aware of it. He talked about efforts being made to investigate," said Melanne Verveer, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff.

The Washington-based Center for Religious Freedom, in a report due to be released next month, concluded that Egypt's minority Copts generally are able to practice their faith but are "threatened in varying degrees by terrorism from extreme Islamic groups, by the abusive practices of local police and security forces, and by discriminatory and restrictive Egyptian government policies."

At the St. Sargius Church, with its unmarked, basement-level entrance in the Old Coptic Quarter, Bishop Yohanna cast the best light on the situation for his American visitors.

"We feel that we are brothers and friends," he said. "We are one unit and one country. We love them and they love us."

The troublemakers, he added, are "just a few religious fanatics."
END



Mrs. Clinton treads carefully with talk of religious tolerance

3.23 p.m. ET (2025 GMT) March 23, 1999

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By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

CAIRO, Egypt (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton visited some of Egypt's most important Muslim, Christian and Jewish sites Tuesday, then exhorted the people of the Middle East to "reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination."

The American first lady's appeal for tolerance came in a country where Islam is the state religion, but the largely secular government has been under fire for years from Muslim militants.

Mrs. Clinton said before she left on a 12-day trip through Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia that she was counting on news coverage to spread her message beyond North Africa's borders. Her touring in Cairo generated news photos of Egypt's religiously diverse history.

With daughter Chelsea at her side, the first lady marveled at the air shaft of a pulpit used to keep the Muslim imam cool as he preaches in a 700-year-old mosque. She stepped into the cellar of the Ben Ezra Synagogue, Egypt's oldest, whose foundations were laid in the 11th century on the site where, tradition holds, baby Moses was discovered among bulrushes. And she peered into the mildewed crypt of St. Sargius Church, where Mary and Joseph were said to have sheltered the Baby Jesus as they fled into Egypt from King Herod's soldiers.

In her address at the American University in Cairo, Mrs. Clinton seemed careful not to offend diplomatic sensitivities. Several times in her 40-minute speech, she noted that the United States is "not perfect" and that church burnings and hate crimes back home give evidence of intolerance.

"We have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," Mrs. Clinton said. "In every religion, there are those who would drape themselves in the mantle of belief and faith, only to distort its most sacred teachings — preaching intolerance and resorting to violence against believers of other faiths."

Egyptian Christians, known as Copts, were frequent targets of the insurgent Muslims at the height of their violent unrest in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The government contends its strong and often-violent tactics have succeeded in quelling the domestic terror.

At St. Sargius Church, with its unmarked, basement-level entrance off an alley in Cairo's Old Coptic Quarter, Bishop Yohanna cast the best light on the situation for his American visitors.

"We feel that we are brothers and friends," he said. "We are one unit and one country. We love them, and they love us." [an error occurred while

processing this directive] Troublemakers, he said, are "just a few religious fanatics."

From Cairo, Mrs. Clinton flew south to Luxor, another trove of ancient treasures on the Nile. She and Chelsea spent more than an hour poking through massive Luxor Temple, then posing for tourists and news photographers alike at the feet of a colossus of Ramses III.

On Wednesday, the women planned to tour the temple of Queen Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings, where in November 1997 a band of militant Muslims killed 58 foreign tourists.

In her Cairo address, Mrs. Clinton also celebrated the U.S.-mediated Israeli-Egyptian peace accord, reached in 1978, that led the next year to the first treaty between Israel and an Arab country. But the first lady shied away from the complicated issues that have hampered the peace process since.

Last year, in a satellite hookup with a youth conference in Switzerland, Mrs. Clinton caused an international stir with her comment: "I think it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state." She called the goal "very important for the Palestinian people" and for the "broader goal of peace in the Middle East." U.S. policy holds that the Palestinians must negotiate their future with the Israelis.

Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton said only, "We will never and must never give up on the dream of peace that was really ignited by the Camp David accord."

Tom Farkas, coordinator of the Cairo American University's English language program, called Mrs. Clinton's soft approach predictable. But he said: "She's quite well-known here for her comment on Palestine, so I was hoping for a little more, something definitive."

In a meeting Monday with President Hosni Mubarak, which was scheduled as a 15-minute courtesy call but stretched to an hour, Mrs. Clinton voiced concern about the treatment of Egypt's 6 million to 10 million Coptic Christians.

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Mrs. Clinton Appeals For Religious Tolerance

REUTERS 3:01 p.m. ET (2002 GMT) March 23, 1999

LUXOR, Egypt — U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Tuesday appealed for religious tolerance in a rapidly changing modern world.

In a speech at American University in Cairo, she cited the ancient Egyptian practice of filling pharaohs' tombs with supplies for the afterlife, and said values such as religious tolerance were now essential items worth preserving.

"Think if you will about the values you would take to the next world," she said.

"We have to bring forward those lessons in tolerance and understanding that truly do stand the test of time and we have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," she said.

Mrs. Clinton later flew to Luxor, where she and daughter Chelsea strolled among the towering columns, monumental statuary and epic hieroglyphics of the 3,500 year-old Luxor Temple.

"It marks the site where civilization was born, the big bang," Ray Johnson, field director of a University of Chicago-affiliated archaeology project in Luxor, said as he showed Mrs. Clinton the temple's "rejuvenation room."

She watched with an intellectual detachment as Johnson stood before an ancient carving explicitly depicting the advent of human life as a man in sexual climax.

During her three-day visit to Luxor, Mrs. Clinton also will visit the Valley of Kings and Queens and the Hatshepsut Temple, site of the November 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by Egypt's biggest Islamic militant group.

Her speech came on the third day of a 12-day North African tour aimed at bridging the gulf between Islam and the West. Aides said the speech was targeted at the Islamic world, parts of which have reacted to modern life with a rise of militancy.

She spoke after touring Christian, Muslim and Jewish holy sites in Cairo during the previous two days.

"These three great monotheistic religions have so much to give one another and people everywhere. That can only happen if we respect, we listen and we care about the traditions and values that each of us hold dear," she said.

Mrs. Clinton said that aside from freedom of religious expression, the foundations of a modern democratic society included education and health care opportunities for all.

She did not mention her own political aspirations, as she contemplates a run for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

At a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak Monday, Mrs. Clinton expressed concern about attacks on Coptic Christians. But in her speech she described visiting a Coptic church in Cairo and a nearby synagogue against the backdrop of the city's many mosques, some of which she toured Sunday.

"It gave me a vivid sense of the diversity that exists in this great country," she said. "Now that (diversity) can either be a source of division or a blessing. That is certainly how I view it in my own country."

Mrs. Clinton said even in the United States it had been necessary to fight intolerance shown in burnings of churches and a long history of racial discrimination.

She said recognizing the "diversity of humanity" was a "daily struggle" in a democracy.

World leaders were more challenged than ever to prevent dissemination of prejudice because of new methods of communication, including the Internet, she added.

"We now have new tools of communication that can stir up divisions in the blink of an eye. Someone can go in the Internet and put out a message of hate that with a press of a button can be everywhere in the world," she said.

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FM: Reuters

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^BC-EGYPT-HILLARY

^Mrs Clinton to visit Egypt's Valley of the Kings

By Randall Mikkelsen

LUXOR, Egypt, March 24 (Reuters) - U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who cited the spiritual beliefs of the pharaohs in appealing for religious tolerance, sets out on Wednesday to view glories of the ancient Egyptian kings.

She flew up the Nile River to Luxor after delivering a speech in Cairo on Tuesday aimed at bridging the gulf between Islam and the West in a changing world.

She will spend Wednesday touring King Tutankhamen's tomb and other ancient sites in the royal burial valleys in the mountains west of Luxor, and visit Egyptian scholars to learn more about modern research into the dawn of civilisation.

She also will visit Hatshepsut Temple, site of the November 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by Egypt's biggest Islamic militant group. She decried such violence in her speech at American University in Cairo, saying societies gripped by religious and ethnic hatred cannot progress.

The first lady is on a 12-day tour of North Africa that began on Sunday.

Mrs Clinton and daughter Chelsea got an introduction to Luxor's monuments on Tuesday afternoon when they strolled among the towering columns, monumental statuary and epic hieroglyphics of the 3,500 year-old Luxor Temple.

"It marks the site where civilisation was born, the big bang," Ray Johnson, field director of Chicago House, a University of Chicago-affiliated Egyptology project in Luxor, said as he showed Mrs Clinton the temple's "rejuvenation room."

She watched with detachment as Johnson stood before an ancient carving explicitly depicting the creation of the world as a man in sexual climax.

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"Think if you will about the values you would take to the next world," she said.

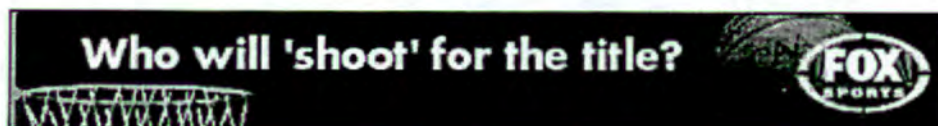
"We have to bring forward those lessons in tolerance and understanding that truly do stand the test of time and we have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," she said.

She also referred to Christian, Jewish and Islamic holy places she saw in Cairo. "These three great monotheistic religions have so much to give one another and people everywhere. That can only happen if we respect, we listen and we care about the traditions and values that each of us hold

dear," she said.

World leaders were more challenged than ever to prevent dissemination of prejudice because of new methods of communication, including the Internet, she added.

"We now have new tools of communication that can stir up divisions in the blink of an eye. Someone can go in the Internet and put out a message of hate that with a press of a button can be everywhere in the world," she said.



Hillary Rodham Clinton Dodges Senate Issue In Egypt

REUTERS 12:47 a.m. ET (549 GMT) March 23, 1999

CAIRO, Egypt — With Egypt's bazaars buzzing with talk about her possible bid for the U.S. Senate, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton finally discussed the issue Monday but left nobody any wiser about her plans.

Answering questions publicly on the issue for the first time, she told reporters: "I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on.

"But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time," Mrs. Clinton said after a speech at a women's health center in Cairo.

She announced at the center a \$24.5 million U.S. donation for family planning and maternal health programs in Egypt, on the second day of a 12-day tour through North Africa to promote social issues and closer relations with the Islamic world.

Also Monday, she toured a synagogue and a 5th century Coptic Christian church in Cairo, expressed what aides said was concern in a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak about Islamic militants' attacks on minority Copts, and discussed with a group of women a videotape project they were involved in to spread awareness of women's issues.

In addition, she traipsed along a narrow alleyway of the Khan El-Khalili tourist bazaar area of Cairo to visit shopkeepers, some of whom were aware of her Senate deliberations and said they were eager for her to run.

"I will nominate her for sure," artisan Mona Abdel-Mageed told reporters as she readied a strand of ceramic beads to give the first lady.

At the health center, Mrs. Clinton took the rare step of answering questions from reporters about her Senate plans.

"I've talked to a lot of people in the last month and I will continue that when I return home, but right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt," the first lady said.

Her comments on her political future were her first since she acknowledged in a written statement in February that she was considering a run for a New York Senate seat in 2000. She has consulted busily with political advisers in weighing a race.

But President Clinton said in a news conference Friday "I literally don't have a clue" whether she would run.

That didn't stop some Egyptians from forming an opinion. Wahiba El-Sayed, standing in her shop as she awaited a visit from Mrs. Clinton, called her "a very strong woman" and said she should run for the Senate seat.

"If she wants to do something she can do it," El-Sayed said.

The first lady visited shops to highlight a U.S.-supported "microcredit" lending program that has helped small business operators, many of them women, to get started.

"I've seen programs like this all over the world. They're very successful and people take it seriously," Mrs. Clinton said as she toured the shops. "I'm so proud of the women borrowers."

She told reporters she was focusing on issues like "improving the lives of children, and giving more opportunities to people, particularly women, and improving relations around the world among democracies, and making it clear that we have a lot to learn and give one another in the world."

Abdel-Mageed and other shopkeepers declined to discuss their views of the Clintons' relationship in the wake of the president's sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky.

But veteran columnist Anis Mansour, in a commentary printed Monday in the English-language Egyptian Gazette, declared that "their relationship is completely over."

"The divorce proceedings will go very smoothly because the judge will not have to summon witnesses. Almost all the globe's population are witnesses on Clinton's infidelity," he wrote.

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Hillary Clinton Urges Religious Tolerance

REUTERS 9:44 a.m. ET (1444 GMT) March 23, 1999

CAIRO — U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton drew on two days of touring Christian, Muslim and Jewish holy sites in Egypt to call Tuesday for religious tolerance.

"These three great monotheistic religions have so much to give one another and people everywhere," she said at the American University in Cairo.

Students, professors and other invited guests stood and applauded Mrs. Clinton at the start and end of her 45-minute speech, billed as one of her major policy addresses during her 12-day trip to North Africa which began Sunday.

Mrs. Clinton called for religious tolerance and a democratic society, stressing the importance of solid education and health care opportunities for all, especially women and girls.

She did not mention her own political aspirations, nor say whether she will run for the United States Congress.

At a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak Monday, Mrs. Clinton expressed concern about attacks on Coptic Christians. She and daughter Chelsea visited the 5th century Coptic Church of St Sergius and toured Ben Ezra Synagogue.

During her speech, she described visiting the church and nearby synagogue against the backdrop of the city's many mosques, some of which she toured Sunday.

"It gave me a vivid sense of the diversity that exists in this great country," she said. "Now that (diversity) can either be a source of division or a blessing. That is certainly how I view it in my own country."

Mrs. Clinton said even in the United States it had been necessary to fight intolerance shown in burnings of churches and racial discrimination. "Democracy is never perfected," she said.

Mrs. Clinton later left Cairo for Luxor for a three-day visit to the Valleys of the Kings and Queens and the Hatshepsut Temple, site of the November 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by Egypt's biggest Islamic militant group.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman said her speech was aimed at Egypt and the Arab region in general, citing Egypt's tradition of religious tolerance and alluding to more recent concerns, such as violence by Islamic militants against minority Coptic Christians and foreigners.

Mrs. Clinton emphasized how a country's ethnic or religious diversity can either work for or against it, citing examples of how neighbors turned against neighbors in Bosnia.

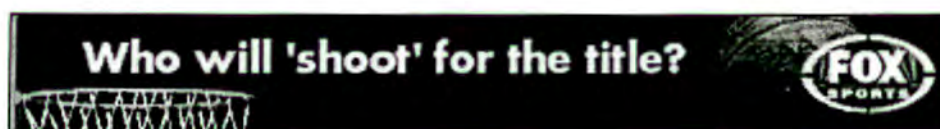
Hillary Clinton Urges Religious Tolerance

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0323/n_rt_0323_85.sml

She said ensuring freedom of religion and other basic rights and recognizing the "diversity of humanity" was a "daily struggle" in a democracy.

World leaders were more challenged than ever to prevent dissemination of prejudice because of new methods of communication, including the Internet, she added.

Mrs. Clinton said the White House now marked Islam's holy fasting month of Ramadan, just as the first family recognized Christmas and Hanukkah with trees and a menorah.



Mrs. Clinton treads carefully with talk of religious tolerance

8:49 a.m. ET (1350 GMT) March 23, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

CAIRO, Egypt (AP) — In a country where Islam is the state religion, Hillary Rodham Clinton has tiptoed a thin diplomatic line, staging a symbolic push for religious tolerance in the hushed, hallowed chambers of Egypt's oldest Jewish, Christian and Muslim landmarks.

She marveled at the air shaft of a 700-year-old pulpit used to keep the Muslim imam cool as he preaches. She stepped into the cellar of the Ben Ezra synagogue, whose foundations were laid in the 11th century on the site where tradition holds baby Moses was discovered among bulrushes.

And she peered into the mildewy crypt of St. Sargius Church, where Mary and Joseph were to have sheltered the child Jesus as they fled King Herod's tyranny.

Today, she put careful words to the pictures of religious diversity with an address — the first public speech of her 12-day North Africa tour — at the American University in Cairo.

"We have to reject the calls to violence and prejudice and discrimination," Mrs. Clinton said, noting that the United States has its own problems with church burnings and hate crimes.

"In every religion, there are those who would drape themselves in the mantle of belief and faith only to distort its most sacred teachings — preaching intolerance and resorting to violence against believers of other faiths."

She exhorted leaders and citizens to "work even harder to prevent religious discrimination."

Mrs. Clinton also celebrated the Israeli-Egyptian peace accord reached in 1978, but did not address the complicated issues that have hampered the peace process since.

"We will never and must never give up on the dream of peace that was really ignited by the Camp David accord," she said.

Tom Farkas, coordinator of the university's English language program, was underwhelmed by Mrs. Clinton's low-key approach, which he called predictable. "She's quite well known here for her comment on Palestine so I was hoping for a little more, something definitive."

He referred to an offhand remark Mrs. Clinton made about her support for a Palestinian state during a question-and-answer session with a group of young people from the Middle East attending a peace camp last year in Europe.

"It's not Mrs. Clinton's role" to criticize and lecture on the need for religious tolerance, said her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, describing the first lady's strategy as a gentle one. "Praise what they've done, encourage what they need to do."

In a meeting Monday with President Hosni Mubarak, which was scheduled as a 15-minute courtesy call but stretched to an hour, Mrs. Clinton voiced some concern about the treatment of his country's 6 million to 10 million Coptic Christians.

"She raised it. He was aware of it. He talked about efforts being made to investigate," said Melanne Verveer, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff.

The Washington-based Center for Religious Freedom, in a report due to be released next month, concluded that Egypt's minority Copts generally are able to practice their faith but are "threatened in varying degrees by terrorism from extreme Islamic groups, by the abusive practices of local police and security forces, and by discriminatory and restrictive Egyptian government policies."

The center reported abductions and forced conversions to Islam of Coptic girls; special government permits required to build or repair churches that do not apply to mosques; and slow response from local police to anti-Christian violence.

At the St. Sargius Church, with its unmarked, basement-level entrance off an alley in the Old Coptic Quarter, Bishop Yohanna cast the best light on the situation for his American visitors.

"We feel that we are brothers and friends," he said. "We are one unit and one country. We love them and they love us."

The troublemakers, he added, are "just a few religious fanatics."

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THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer



Clinton covers her head to enter the Citadel in Cairo.

BY PHIL KUB—ASSOCIATED PRESS

NOW YOU KNOW . . .

After landing in Cairo yesterday, first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and daughter **Chelsea** toured the alabaster Mohammed Ali Mosque within the Citadel, the monumental fortress that has towered over Cairo since 1176. Tomorrow they'll view Old Testament scrolls at Ben Ezra Synagogue and visit the Coptic Museum and other sites important to the Egyptian capital's minority Christian community.

Their 12-day North African trip is intended to highlight Islamic contributions to the world. "For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides," the first lady said before she left Washington. The trip, she said, will "help strengthen the

bonds of friendship among our nations."

■ At a time when political operatives of all stripes are cranking out kiss-and-tell memoirs, gray eminence **Bob Strauss** is shelving his.

The former Democratic Party chief and **George Bush's** ambassador to Moscow started the project last year with writer **Peter Ross Range**. Strauss, a partner in the law firm Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, was going to shop the book to a publisher only when it was finished.

"I got bored," Strauss, 80, told *The Source*. "The things I wanted to write are not things people wanted to read. I didn't want to gossip."



Reuters

North African itinerary

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea tour the Mohammed Ali Mosque in Cairo yesterday, with the minarets of another mosque visible in the distance. The Clintons are on the first leg of a 10-day visit that will also take them to Tunisia and Morocco.

First lady and daughter embark on 12-day tour of North Africa



By Zoraida Diaz, Reuters

Mother and child: Above, Hillary Rodham Clinton tours old Cairo, Egypt, on Sunday with daughter Chelsea, who is on spring break from Stanford University. Right, the first lady covers her head according to Muslim tradition before visiting a citadel. Starting a 12-day trip to Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, Clinton said she was pleased to be in Cairo on the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli accords.



By Khue Bui, AP

First Lady Begins N. Africa Tour

From Reuters

CAIRO—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton toured mosques and monuments and saw a mummy Sunday to open her 12-day North Africa trip, which is billed as a bridge-building visit to the Islamic world.

"We are delighted to start our visit here in Egypt, and here in the heart of old Cairo," the first lady said as she visited Islamic antiquities with her daughter, Chelsea, who is on break from her studies at Stanford University. Starting her tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, Mrs. Clinton aimed on her first day to highlight Islamic contributions to culture as a way to help dispel suspicions between East and West.

She is to visit the Coptic Christian area of Cairo today to call attention to Egypt's tradition of religious diversity, ahead of a speech the following day urging religious tolerance.

As Mrs. Clinton arrived at the Citadel, which has towered over Islamic Cairo since 1176, she apologized for running late because her plane was delayed by engine trouble in Washington and by poor weather in Ireland, which forced her plane to be diverted to England to refuel.



Associated Press

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton puts on a scarf before touring the Citadel of Salah al Din on Sunday in Cairo.

Clinton spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Sunday's visits also underscored the importance of preserving cultural treasures, one of Mrs. Clinton's favorite causes.

Mrs. Clinton is also expected to use her North African tour to promote the rights of women and children, call for religious tolerance and encourage democratic

advances.

She is to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak today and visit the New Horizons program for young women, which deals with issues such as reproductive health and female genital mutilation. Although such ritual mutilation is officially discouraged, it is widespread in Egypt.



EGYPTIAN ODYSSEY: Hillary and Chelsea Clinton yesterday salute those on hand to greet them in Cairo. Reuter

Hillary and Chelsea visit sacred Muslim sites during Cairo tour

CAIRO — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton toured old Cairo with her daughter, Chelsea, yesterday on the first leg of a North African tour that has been billed as a bridge-building visit to the Islamic world.

"We are delighted to start our visit here in Egypt, and here in the heart of old Cairo," said Mrs. Clinton as she visited Islamic antiquities, including the Mohammed Ali Mosque at the Citadel, where she and Chelsea wore headscarves as a mark of respect.

The First Lady stopped at the 11th-century Bab Zuweila gate during a trip highlighting the cultural contributions of Islam and

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries."

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

aimed at dispelling any suspicions between East and West.

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries," Mrs. Clinton said in an official statement issued immediately after her arrival.

She added that the visit was aimed at deepening dialogue and seeing "first-hand how Egyptians are moving towards the future while preserving their extraordinary culture and heritage."

"During my visit, I will have the opportunity to see Cairo and Luxor and experience both the diversity of your religious traditions and the breadth of

the civilizations past and present."

The head of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities Gaballah Ali Gaballah showed Mrs. Clinton inside al-Salih Tala'i Mosque, built in 1160, where she handed out certificates to craftsmen who helped restore the mosque's 700-year-old minbar, a pulpit from which an imam speaks.

Starting a 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, she said in the statement she was pleased to be in Cairo on the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, or Camp David accords of 1979, which "laid the foundation for regional peace and prosperity."

Reuter



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FOR A CHANCE TO WIN A LINCOLN FOR A YEAR!

Mrs. Clinton Sees Public Role, Undecided On Senate

REUTERS 8.36 a.m. ET (1337 GMT) March 22, 1999

CAIRO — As speculation about her possible bid for the U.S. Senate reached the bazaars of Egypt, U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Monday left everyone no wiser about her plans.

Answering questions on the issue for the first time, she told reporters: "I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on.

"But the form that will take I really can't predict at this time," Mrs. Clinton said after a speech at a surgery center in Cairo.

She was visiting the center on the second day of a 12-day tour through North Africa to promote social issues and closer relations with the Islamic world.

With an audience of health workers and government officials still in their seats, the first lady took the rare step of entertaining a handful of questions from reporters, almost all of which were about her Senate plans.

"I've talked to a lot of people in the last month and I will continue that when I return home, but right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt," the first lady said.

Her comments on her political future were her first since she acknowledged in a written statement in February that she was considering a run for a New York Senate seat in 2000. She has energetically consulted political advisers on the advisability of such a move.

But President Clinton told a news conference Friday: "I literally don't have a clue," whether she will run.

Intense public speculation on her plans had even made its way to Cairo.

On a narrow alleyway in the Khan El-Khalili tourist bazaar area of Cairo, shopkeeper Mona Abdel-Mageed and others waiting for a visit by the first lady were all for Mrs. Clinton making a run. "I will nominate her for sure," she said.

The first lady visited Abdel-Mageed's shop and that of others nearby to highlight a U.S. supported "microcredit" lending program that helped small business operators like Mageed get started.

Mrs. Clinton, in her remarks Monday, identified major issues of concern to her as "improving the lives of children, and giving more opportunities to people, particularly women, and improving relations around the world among democracies, and making it clear that we have a lot to learn and give one another in the world."

Abdel-Mageed and her neighboring shopkeepers declined to speak about

Mrs. Clinton Sees Public Role, Undecided On Senate

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0322/n_rt_0322_87.si

their views of the Clintons' relationship in the wake of the president's sexual liaison with Monica Lewinsky.

But veteran columnist Anis Mansour of Egypt's state-owned Al-Ahram newspaper weighed in with a thundering commentary reprinted Monday in the English-language Egyptian Gazette.

"Their relationship is completely over," he wrote. "The divorce proceedings will go very smoothly because the judge will not have to summon witnesses. Almost all the globe's population are witnesses on Clinton's infidelity."

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First lady says she's considering Senate run

7:50 a.m. ET (1251 GMT) March 22, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

CAIRO, Egypt (AP) — Acknowledging she is seriously considering running for the Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton said today she is certain she wants to continue having a public role on the issues she cares about.

But, she said, "The form that will take I really can't predict at this time."

For the first time since a campaign to draft Mrs. Clinton for the Senate was begun earlier this year, the first lady directly addressed the question.

At Cairo's El Basatine Clinic, Mrs. Clinton held an extraordinary news conference to take questions on the Senate speculation in an effort to keep American politics from dominating her 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

Mrs. Clinton said she has spent the last month speaking with friends, advisers and political consultants on her chances in a bid for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

"I will continue that when I return home," she said.

But she told the clinic audience of physicians and nurses that "right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the United States and Egypt."

She said keeping that focus "is in the best interest, long-term, of the people of both countries."

Mrs. Clinton only rarely takes questions from reporters in an organized on-the-record setting, although she has answered questions during occasional briefings on specific issues, such as child care and historic preservation.

Today she was asked by American reporters traveling with her that if she does not run for the Senate, what else might she consider after her husband leaves the White House.

"I don't know the answer to that but I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I've spent more than 25 years working on," she said.

"And any way that I can continue to do that, I intend to. But what form that will take I really can't predict at this time," she said.

On Sunday, Mrs. Clinton's campaign for historic preservation swept across 5,800 miles to the heart of old Islamic Cairo, where she and her wide-eyed daughter, Chelsea, visited treasures the United States is helping to restore.

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to

strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries, deepen our dialogue and see firsthand how Egyptians are moving toward the future while preserving their extraordinary culture and heritage," Mrs. Clinton said in a statement distributed as she and Chelsea, 19, disembarked from their 13-hour flight from Washington.

Struggling against the wind to tame a gauzy beige scarf over her hair, Mrs. Clinton indulged Egyptian news photographers clamoring for a pose at the hilltop Citadel and then entered the Mosque of Muhammad Ali in her stocking feet, as is required by Islamic tradition.

The Ottoman mosque, with alabaster walls and cylindrical minaret was built and named for the founder of modern Egypt. It is one of dozens of restoration projects under way by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

AID, whose cause Mrs. Clinton is here to champion, has at least \$15 million invested in Egyptian antiquities' preservation, with an additional \$771 million dedicated to helping Cairo eliminate sewage flooding into homes, mosques and other historical sites.

At the Mosque of Salah Talai, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea were given — to use "as paperweights or coasters," their tour guide offered — samples of the intricately carved balsam pieces of a 1290 minbar, Egypt's second-oldest surviving pulpit, from which a Muslim imam preaches at Friday prayers.

"You know all about conservation. I'm preaching to the converted," Gaballa Ali Gaballa, head of Egypt's antiquities council, told Mrs. Clinton.

The Clinton women, who were traveling during Chelsea's spring break from Stanford University while President Clinton remained in Washington, had a full day of appointments today.

They were calling on President Hosni Mubarak, saluting small businesswomen at the Khan al Khalili marketplace, discussing education at a youth center in Cairo's Telal Zeinhom neighborhood, touring the Ben-Ezra Synagogue and visiting the Coptic quarter of the minority Christian community.

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Mrs Clinton In Egypt Says Undecided On Senate Run

REUTERS 6:58 a.m. ET (1158 GMT) March 22, 1999

CAIRO — U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Monday she intended to continue speaking out on public issues, but had not yet decided how she would do that.

She was answering reporters' questions for the first time on her thoughts on running for a U.S. Senate seat.

"I don't know the answer to that, but I do know that I want to continue speaking out on behalf of the issues that I have spent more than 25 years working on," she said after making a speech at a Cairo health center.

Mrs Clinton defined issues of interest to her as improving the lives of children, expanding opportunities for people — especially women — and improving relations around the world among democracies.

She said she did not expect to make progress toward a decision on her political aspirations during her current 12-day goodwill tour of North Africa.

"I've talked to a lot of people in the last month and I will continue that when I return home, but right now I want to focus on the issues that are really at the base of this very important partnership and friendship between the U.S. and Egypt," she said.

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Mrs. Clinton Tours Monuments, Mosques And Mummies

REUTERS 1.25 a.m. ET (627 GMT) March 22, 1999

CAIRO — U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton toured mosques and monuments and had a close encounter with a mummy Sunday to open her 12-day North Africa trip billed as a bridge-building visit to the Islamic world.

"We are delighted to start our visit here in Egypt, and here in the heart of old Cairo," said Mrs Clinton as she visited Islamic antiquities with her daughter Chelsea, who is on break from her studies at Stanford University in California.

Asked by a reporter how it felt to be abroad, Mrs. Clinton said: "It feels wonderful." Aides have said Mrs. Clinton would take a break during her trip from consideration of a run for a U.S. Senate seat in 2000, the object of intense speculation in America.

Starting a 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, Mrs. Clinton was aiming on her first day to highlight Islamic contributions to culture as a way to help dispel suspicions between East and West.

She was to visit the Coptic Christian area of Cairo Monday to call attention to Egypt's tradition of religious diversity, ahead of a speech the following day urging religious tolerance.

As Mrs. Clinton arrived at the Citadel, which has towered over Islamic Cairo since 1176, she apologized for running late because her plane was delayed by engine trouble in Washington and by poor weather in Ireland, from where her plane was forced to divert to England to refuel.

The two Clinton women donned headscarves as a mark of respect and visited the Mohammed Ali mosque, a many-domed, alabaster-walled splendor which was built at the Citadel by Mohammed Ali, the 19th century founder of modern Egypt. They were guided by the head of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities, Gaballah Ali Gaballah.

Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea emerged from the mosque to gaze over the minarets and other buildings of the city through a dusty haze that dulled a heavy late-afternoon sun.

At the al-Sahlih Tala'i mosque, built in 1160, she dedicated a painstakingly restored, 700-year-old "minbar," or high pulpit of intricately tooled wood. She also strolled under the 11th century Bab Zuweila gate, once used as an execution site. U.S. assistance is helping to restore such sites of historical importance.

Mrs. Clinton got an after-hours tour of the world-renowned Egyptian Museum. There, she saw the solid-gold coffin and headdress of King Tutankhaman, and walked through the museum's mummy collection. One of ancient Egypt's greatest pharaohs, Ramses II, lay at rest in a wooden coffin, his leathery toes and fingers poking through a linen burial wrapping, and his

arms crossed peacefully over his chest.

Clinton spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Sunday's visits also underscored the importance of preserving cultural treasures, one of Mrs. Clinton's favorite causes.

Mrs. Clinton is also expected to use her North African tour to promote the rights of women and children, call for religious tolerance and encourage democratic advances.

Monday, she is to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and visit the New Horizons program for young women, which deals with issues such as reproductive health and female genital mutilation. Although such ritual mutilation is officially discouraged, it is widespread in Egypt.

Mrs. Clinton also will discuss "microcredit" lending to small businesses in a Cairo marketplace.



First lady, daughter begin tour at preservation site

1:17 a.m. ET (6:18 GMT) March 22, 1999

By Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press

CAIRO, Egypt (AP) — First, the Stars and Stripes. Now, the Mosque of Salah Talai.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for historic preservation swept across 5,800 miles Sunday to the heart of Old Islamic Cairo, where she and her wide-eyed daughter, Chelsea, visited treasures the United States is helping to restore.

The American first lady, beginning a 12-day tour of North Africa, added a foreign flavor to the drive she began last year at home with the restoration of the original Star-Spangled Banner: to rally public and private funds for the preservation of historic landmarks and artifacts.

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries, deepen our dialogue and see firsthand how Egyptians are moving toward the future while preserving their extraordinary culture and heritage," Mrs. Clinton said in a statement distributed as she and Chelsea, 19, disembarked from their 13-hour flight from Washington.

Struggling against the wind to tame a gauzy beige scarf over her hair, Mrs. Clinton indulged Egyptian news photographers clamoring for a pose at the hilltop Citadel and then entered the Mosque of Muhammad Ali in her stocking feet, as is required by Islamic tradition.

The Ottoman mosque, with alabaster walls and cylindrical minaret was built and named for the founder of modern Egypt. It is one of dozens of restoration projects under way by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

USAID, whose cause Mrs. Clinton is here to champion, has at least \$15 million invested in Egyptian antiquities' preservation, with an additional \$771 million dedicated to helping Cairo eliminate sewage flooding into homes, mosques and other historical sites.

At the Mosque of Salah Talai, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea were given — to use "as paperweights or coasters," their tour guide offered — samples of the intricately carved balsam pieces of a 1290 minbar, Egypt's second-oldest surviving pulpit, from which a Muslim imam preaches at Friday prayers.

"You know all about conservation. I'm preaching to the converted," Gaballa Ali Gaballa, head of Egypt's antiquities council, told Mrs. Clinton.

Across a narrow street and through the Bab Zuweila Gate, another restoration project and the spot where defeated sultans in the 1500s were nailed to the doors, the American visitors poked through the stone and wood cubbyhole where cupsful of water were once distributed through bronze grilles to passers-by.

First lady, daughter begin tour at preservation site

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0322/n_ap_0322_28.sml

Mrs. Clinton suggested to Dr. Gaballa that the antiquities council sell "books and other souvenirs for tourists" to raise additional restoration funds.

The Clinton women, who were traveling during Chelsea's spring break from Stanford University while President Clinton remained in Washington, had a full day of appointments today.

They were calling on President Hosni Mubarak, saluting small businesswomen at the Khan al Khalili marketplace, discussing education at a youth center in Cairo's Telal Zeinhom neighborhood, touring the Ben-Ezra Synagogue and visiting the Coptic quarter of the minority Christian community.

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FM: UPI

a0634

(UPI Focus)<

Hillary undecided on future role<

By ELIZABETH BRYANT=

CAIRO, Egypt, March 22 (UPI) As she tours Egypt's hospitals, youth programs and training centers for women, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is glimpsing a culture of profound contrasts, where the minority of women who hold positions of authority is overshadowed by the vast majority who do not.

Family planning methods have yet to make a sizeable dent on birth rates, even as Egypt's 62 million people are severely straining the country's resources. Less than half Egyptian girls finish high school, development experts say, and women continue to go without basic health and family planning services.

Moreover, Egyptian women are often ignorant of the rights they do have, according to Julie Hanson Swanson, director of the Centre for Development and Population Activities, a U.S. group working with Egyptian teenage girls.

"Oftentimes, women don't know their rights, don't know that they're entitled to have a birth certificate, that they're entitled to have a voting card," Hanson Swanson said. "And also their legal rights, as far as marriage and divorce is concerned. Ignorance in the sense of not knowing their rights is a major problem in Egypt."

Although the Egyptian government includes two women ministers and several female members of parliament, few women hold powerful jobs. Lawyer Fatima Lashin has battled for 10 years to become a judge. Rights granted to women by law such as alimony and child support are a struggle to obtain in practice. And Egyptian women must still ask permission from their husbands to leave the country.

Perhaps most troubling for many development workers here is the painful and highly controversial practice of female circumcision. A 1995 Egyptian government survey still considered the most authoritative source today found more than 95 percent of all married women had been circumcized, although some experts say that number has likely dropped.

The fallout reaches doctors like Dr. Nadia el Afifi, who has been offering health and family planning advice to poor women in Cairo and rural southern Egypt for the past 25 years.

"For some of women, they insist on circumscizing their daughters," said AIAfifi, an internist, who does not circumcize women, and is strongly against the practice. "They say it is a tradition, it's part of their marriage. But I argue their points one by one."

But experts are also quick to point out recent success stories. Since Egypt hosted a 1994 United Nations population conference, female circumcision is no longer a taboo subject. An array of Muslim and Coptic Christian clergy have publicly come out against it, saying it is not espoused by either religion.

One small town, Der el Barsha, in southern Egypt, has stopped the practice altogether, after a campaign led by religious leaders in this Coptic Christian community.

Hanson Swanson points to another success story. In another southern village, Beni Suef, fathers are pushing their daughters to go to school.

"The girls that are becoming educated are now, in fact, more marriageable," Hanson Swanson said. "Men want to marry educated women. Men want to marry women that take care of their families."

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 22, 1999 US-Hillary-Egypt lead 13:15 GMT

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 1140 words

HEADLINE: US pledges 34.4 million dollars for health care in Egypt

DATELINE: (ADDS quotes, details. Pictures)

BODY:

CAIRO, March 22 (AFP) - US First Lady Hillary Clinton on Monday pledged 34.4 million dollars for health care in Egypt after inaugurating a US-funded low-cost out-patient clinic here for the poor.

"First Lady Hillary Clinton announced 20 million dollars for family planning activities and 14.4 million dollars" to promote the health of mothers and babies in Upper Egypt, a US embassy spokeswoman in Cairo told AFP.

Earlier Monday, she met Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and his wife Suzanne, a staunch supporter of family planning and a reading-for-all programme in Egypt.

Clinton then toured the Khan al-Khalili bazar in Islamic Cairo to acquaint herself with four small businesses funded by the United States, including three owned by women, and a youth center also benefitting from US funds.

The US Agency for International Development (USAID) has financed construction of el-Basatin clinic, the Telal Zeinhom youth center and the small businesses.

Basatin and Telal Zeinhom are impoverished areas of northern Cairo near the capital's Christian and Moslem cemeteries.

Basatin clinic will provide "integrated maternity and child care, family planning and reproductive health services" as well as immunization for children, prenatal, delivery and post-natal assistance for mothers, a US embassy statement said.

The "new horizons" Telal Zeinhom youth project was founded by the Evangelical Coptic Church in Cairo, with USAID funds, to provide literacy and leadership skills to girls and young women.

"The message is the same all over the world that women should have equal opportunity to be well educated and help solve problems in the family and community," Clinton told young women at the center.

"If women are not educated society cannot develop," she said, adding that the United States was still grappling with the problem of illiteracy.

Agence France Presse, March 22, 1999

Since 1986, USAID has provided 31 million dollars for family planning activities and 45 million for maternal and child health services in Egypt.

It has also allocated 44 million dollars for a Small and Micro Enterprise Development Project (SMED) that has contributed to creating 100,000 jobs since 1989 as well as setting up seven self-sustaining business associations.

The funds have helped cut infant mortality rates by 45 percent from 1983 to 1995 and a child survival programme has prevented the deaths of 80,000 children, a US embassy statement said.

On the family planning front, the use of contraceptives doubled from their 1980 rate to an estimated 54 percent of couples in 1997 while the total fertility rate fell from 5.2 children in 1980 to 3.3 per woman in 1997.

According to official Egyptian statistics announced in February one Egyptian is born every 25.1 seconds and the rate could double the country's population of 62.68 million in 30 years.

Egypt's birth control efforts have been hampered by a widespread belief that contraception is against Islam.

Clinton, accompanied by her daughter Chelsea, arrived Sunday afternoon in Cairo on her first visit to Egypt ahead of stops in Tunisia and Morocco to campaign for women's rights, health care for children and promote Arab-US ties. She ends the tour April 1.

They have toured Cairo and will travel Tuesday to the southern resort of Luxor to visit pharaonic sites.

hkb/bsm

LOAD-DATE: March 22, 1999

Agence France Presse, March 22, 1999

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They have toured Cairo and will travel Tuesday to the southern resort of Luxor to visit pharaonic sites.

hkb/bsm

LOAD-DATE: March 22, 1999

First Lady's Plane Has Takeoff Troubles

WASHINGTON, March 20 (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea's 12-day trip to North Africa got off to a rocky start today, including an engine fire.

Their departure from Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland was delayed an hour because the Air Force Boeing 707 jet carrying them, aides and journalists was found to be over-

weight with cargo and luggage.

Then, as the plane raced down the runway, flames shot out the rear of the outboard engine of the left wing. The jet taxied back to the terminal, where Air Force personnel repaired what a crew member described as a minor engine compressor problem. The plane took off about 6:30 P.M., two hours late.

First Lady's Flight Delayed By Engine Fire, Cargo Weight

From News Services

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea's 12-day trip to North Africa got off to a rocky start yesterday, including an engine fire.

The planned departure from Andrews Air Force Base was delayed an hour because the Air Force Boeing 707 jetliner carrying the president's wife and daughter, staff aides and journalists was found to be overweight with cargo and luggage.

Then as the plane raced down the runway for takeoff, flames shot out the rear of the outboard engine of the left wing. The jetliner skidded to a stop and taxied back to the terminal, where a dozen Air Force personnel scrambled to repair what a crew member described as a minor engine compressor problem.

The engine was checked by Air Force mechanics and cleared for takeoff.

"They couldn't find anything wrong with it. . . . It seemed to be an air flow problem over an engine compressor," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's spokeswoman.

The plane took off about two hours after its originally scheduled departure time.



First lady, daughter in Egypt at start of North African tour

5:24 p.m. ET (2224 GMT) March 21, 1999

CAIRO, Egypt (AP) — America's first lady and her daughter arrived Sunday in Egypt on the first leg of a three-nation North African tour.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is scheduled to make several speeches, including an address about women's rights in Tunisia. She and her daughter Chelsea and will ride camels into the desert in Morocco.

Their first sightseeing tour in Cairo took them to the alabaster Mohammed Ali Mosque within the walls of Islamic Cairo's citadel.

On Monday, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea will see Old Testament scrolls at Ben-Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo and visit the nearby Coptic Museum and other sites of Egypt's minority Christian community.

During her four-day stay in Egypt, Mrs. Clinton will meet with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and his wife Suzanne, tour the Khan Khalili bazaar in Cairo and give speeches at a youth center and at the American University in Cairo.

On Tuesday, the pair will fly to the southern city of Luxor, home to many of the country's pharaonic temples and tombs.

Before she left the United States, the first lady said she intended her 12-day trip to Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia — whose populations together make up almost half of all Arabs — to dispel distrust that has strained relations since the 1991 Gulf War.

"For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides," she said. "It is my hope that this trip will help strengthen the bonds of friendship among our nations."

This trip, her 19th overseas without President Clinton, was to have included stops in Israel and Jordan.

But diplomatic sensitivities because of the upcoming Israeli elections and mourning over the death last month over Jordan's King Hussein forced postponement of both visits until later this year.

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Hillary And Chelsea Clinton Tour Old Cairo

REUTERS • 2:42 p.m. ET (1943 GMT) March 21, 1999

CAIRO, Egypt — U.S. first lady Hillary Clinton toured old Cairo with her daughter Chelsea Sunday on the first leg of a North African tour that has been billed as a bridge-building visit to the Islamic world.

"We are delighted to start our visit here in Egypt, and here in the heart of old Cairo," said Mrs. Clinton as she visited Islamic antiquities, including the Mohammed Ali Mosque at the Citadel, where she and Chelsea wore headscarves as a mark of respect.

The first lady stopped at the 11th century Bab Zuweila gate, during a trip highlighting the cultural contributions of Islam and aimed at dispelling any suspicions between East and West.

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries," Mrs. Clinton said in an official statement issued immediately after her arrival.

She added that the visit was aimed at deepening dialogue and seeing "first-hand how Egyptians are moving toward the future while preserving their extraordinary culture and heritage."

"During my visit, I will have the opportunity to see Cairo and Luxor and experience both the diversity of your religious tradition and the breadth of the civilizations past and present."

The head of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities Gaballah Ali Gaballah showed Mrs. Clinton inside al-Salih Tala'i Mosque, built in 1160, where she handed out certificates to craftsmen who helped restore the mosque's 700-year-old minbar, a pulpit from which an imam speaks.

Starting a 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, she said in the statement she was pleased to be in Cairo on the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, or Camp David accords of 1979, which "laid the foundation for regional peace and prosperity."

The five-day visit to Egypt comes at a time when Mrs. Clinton is facing intense speculation about both her marriage and her own political ambitions.

Expected to use the tour to promote the rights of women and children, call for religious tolerance and encourage democratic advances, Mrs. Clinton is said to be deliberating on whether to run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000.

"I will be meeting a wide variety of citizens who are working to improve the lives of their people by creating jobs through micro enterprises, empowering young girls with education and training, providing women with health care and family planning, protecting the environment and building an independent civil society," Mrs. Clinton said in her statement.

Hillary And Chelsea Clinton Tour Old Cairo

http://www.foxnews.com/news/wires2/0321/n_rt_0321_115.sml

Acknowledging that her arrival coincided with an important date in the Egyptian calendar, she wished a happy Mother's Day to the women of Egypt and of the Arab world.

Friday, President Clinton told reporters he and Hillary were "working hard" on strengthening their relationship amid the fallout from the president's affair with Monica Lewinsky and his impeachment trial.

Before Mrs. Clinton arrived at the Citadel, which has towered over Islamic Cairo since 1176, she apologized for running late because her plane was delayed by engine trouble in Washington and by poor weather in Ireland, from where her plane was forced to divert to England to refuel.

Protected throughout her visit by the U.S. secret services, Hillary Clinton was scheduled later Sunday to visit the Egyptian Museum, home to many of Egypt's most famous antiquities, including the mask of Tutankhamen.

Chelsea, who is on a break from her studies at Stanford University, often accompanies her mother on visits



Hillary Clinton In Egypt On Bridge-Building Tour

REUTERS • 8:33 a.m. ET (1333 GMT) March 21, 1999

CAIRO, Egypt — U.S. first lady Hillary Clinton arrived in Cairo with her daughter Chelsea Sunday on the first leg of a tour that has been billed as a bridge-building mission between the United States and the Islamic world.

The first lady was expected to tour the city's old Islamic quarter later in the day, stopping at the 11th century Bab Zuweila gate, during a trip highlighting the cultural contributions of Islam and aimed at improving U.S. relations with Muslim countries.

"I am here on behalf of my husband and of the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between our two countries, deepen our dialogue and to see first-hand how Egyptians are moving toward the future while preserving their extraordinary culture and heritage," Mrs. Clinton said in an official statement.

"During my visit I will have the opportunity to see Cairo and Luxor and experience both the diversity of your religious tradition and the breadth of the civilizations past and present."

Speaking at the start of a 12-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, she said she was pleased to be in Cairo on the 20th anniversary of a historic peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

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Hillary Clinton To Egypt On Friendship Mission

REUTERS 12.14 a.m. ET (517 GMT) March 21, 1999

WASHINGTON — First lady Hillary Clinton left for Cairo (on) Saturday for a 12-day visit aimed at improving the often mistrustful relations between the Islamic world and the United States.

The first lady will also get a break from daily speculation at home over her political future on the trip that will take her to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco.

The plane carrying Mrs Clinton experienced a minor problem as it taxied down the runway at Andrews Air Force Base. The Boeing 707 returned to the terminal where it was checked by Air Force mechanics and cleared for takeoff.

"They couldn't find anything wrong with it ... it seemed to be an air flow problem over an engine compressor," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's spokeswoman.

Shortly after arriving in Cairo Sunday morning, Mrs Clinton will tour the city's old Islamic quarter and stop at the 11th century Bab Zuweila gate, a visit highlighting the cultural contributions of Islam and underscoring her aim to dispel suspicions between Islam and the West.

Mrs. Clinton hopes to "reinforce the message that the president has been sending to the Islamic world, of respect for Islam and our belief that there is no clash of civilizations between Islam and the West," said a senior State Department official said.

"Her ability to convey that in a very personal way is going to be very important on this trip," the official said.

Mrs. Clinton has worked closely with Islamic groups in the United States and instituted a White House commemoration of Ramadan at the end of the holy month.

Her endorsement in May of the idea of a Palestinian state drew a quick reiteration from U.S. officials of U.S. policy that the issue could be decided only in final peace talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Despite the official clarification, she was enthusiastically received on a visit to the Palestinian-controlled Gaza Strip in December.

During her North Africa trip, Mrs. Clinton also is expected to promote the rights of women and children, call for religious tolerance and encourage democratic advances, aides said.

She will be too busy to pay much attention to her highly publicized deliberations on whether to run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000, her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said. The first lady is expected at some point to entertain questions on the issue from reporters during her tour but she will make no announcement on her plans, Berry said.

Friday, President Clinton told a news conference he did not "have a clue" on

whether she would run. And he said he and Mrs. Clinton were "working hard" on strengthening their relationship amid the fallout from the president's sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky and his impeachment trial.

While in Egypt, Mrs. Clinton also will visit Coptic Christian areas of Cairo (on) Monday, and (on) Tuesday she will give one of the major speeches of her trip. The address at American University is expected to highlight Egypt's historical tradition of religious tolerance, aides said.

Mrs. Clinton also will travel to Luxor, Egypt, to tour the ancient Valley of Kings and Queens. She will visit the Temple of Hatshepsut, site of the 1997 massacre of 58 foreign tourists by an Islamic militant group.

She will be protected by the U.S. Secret Service throughout her trip.

Mrs. Clinton travels to Tunisia Thursday and to Morocco Saturday, March 27. She returns to Washington on April 1.



First lady's plane has takeoff troubles

8:42 p.m. ET (143 GMT) March 20, 1999

WASHINGTON (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea's 12-day trip to North Africa got off to a rocky start Saturday, including an engine fire.

The planned departure from Andrews Air Force Base in suburban Maryland was delayed an hour because the Air Force Boeing 707 jetliner carrying the president's wife and daughter, staff aides and journalists was found to be overweight with cargo and luggage.

Then as the plane raced down the runway for takeoff, flames shot out the rear of the outboard engine of the left wing. The jetliner skidded to a stop and taxied back to the terminal, where a dozen Air Force personnel scrambled to repair what a crew member described a minor engine compressor problem.

The plane took off about two hours after its originally scheduled departure time.

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March 20, 1999; Saturday 11:28 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 711 words

HEADLINE: First Lady To Tour North Africa

BYLINE: SANDRA SOBIERAJ

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Hillary and Chelsea Clinton set off this weekend on an 'Arabian Nights' spring-break tour of camel rides across Saharan dunes and visits to the wonders of North Africa both ancient and modern.

In advance of her Saturday departure, the first lady said she intended her 12-day travels through Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, whose populations total almost half of all the Arabs, to dispel distrust that has strained relations with some Arab states since the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

'For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides. It is my hope that this trip will help strengthen the bonds of friendship among our nations,' Mrs. Clinton said.

Aides said she would make no announcement on her political future or the Senate candidacy in New York some Democrats are pressing her to pursue.

Mrs. Clinton planned to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Tunisia's remarkable record of educating women and girls and Morocco's experiment with political pluralism and religious tolerance.

To many Americans, Arabs are 'all bandits, bombers and billionaires,' said Wallace Sanders, development director for the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations. He said he is counting on Mrs. Clinton to 'disseminate the truth.'

This trip, her 19th overseas journey without President Clinton, was to have included stops in Israel and Jordan, partly to balance Arab interests with attention to the special U.S.-Israeli. But diplomatic sensitivities to the upcoming Israeli elections and mourning over Jordan's King Hussein forced postponement of both visits until later this year, Mrs. Clinton said.

Aides and administration officials were careful to underscore that Mrs. Clinton's meetings with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Morocco's King Hassan II and Prime Minister Abderrahmane Youssoufi were courtesy calls, 'not to negotiate Middle East peace.'

Officials from the White House National Security Council, State Department, three U.S. embassies and three foreign governments were marshaled in service to the mother-daughter tradition of making Chelsea's spring break from school

AP Online, March 20, 1999

(she is a sophomore at Stanford University) an exotic adventure combined with U.S. foreign policy.

As tents befitting an Ottoman sultan went up half a world away for the first lady's overnight stay deep in the Moroccan desert, her staff in Washington worked with the State Department on daily schedules tying Mrs. Clinton's sightseeing to themes of her official appearances:

An address on peace and religious tolerance will follow two days of touring the alabaster mosque of Muhammad Ali within the walls of Islamic Cairo's citadel; viewing Old Testament scrolls in Ben-Ezra Synagogue, Egypt's oldest; and visiting the nearby Coptic Museum and other sites of Egypt's minority Christian community.

A women's rights speech at Tunisia's parliament building, where women hold 7 percent of the seats, is tucked among stops at the half-ruined El Djem coliseum, where women in the Roman era watched the gladiators from segregated seating, and at a modern family-planning clinic.

In 1995, the Clintons' mother-daughter crusade to boost the status of women and children swept through southeast Asia. When Chelsea, now 19, was on spring break the next year, they dropped in on U.S. troops in Germany, Bosnia, Italy, Turkey and Greece. In 1997, the pair dazzled sub-Saharan Africans with a six-nation swing laying ground for the president's own trip to the continent last year.

The first lady's twin themes are human rights and the vitality of U.S. foreign aid despite its political unpopularity in Congress. As Brian Atwood, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, told Mrs. Clinton last week: "More than anyone, you have helped us tell our story."

During her husband's six years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton has visited 75 nations, venturing to corners as far-flung as Katmandu, Nepal, and Ulan Bator, Mongolia.

"In Mrs. Clinton, women all over the world have a friend and role model," said Edith Grace Ssempala, Uganda's ambassador to the United States. "This first lady has eloquently spoken to the needs of every human being."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 20, 1999

Daily Mail, Friday, March 19, 1999

NIGEL Dempster

Hassan makes room for Hillary



When in Morocco: King Hassan and Hillary

■ NORMALLY, King Hassan II of Morocco, who once famously kept the Queen waiting for almost an hour on her state visit to his country in 1980, does not allow anyone else to stay at the same place as him. He has, however, made a surprising exception for Hillary Clinton.

America's First Lady, who will be on her own from Saturday touring Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, herself demands separate hotel accommodation from her husband Bill in the wake of the Monica Lewinsky affair. 'I don't want to be in the same room as him, let alone the same bed,' she is reported as saying.

But both Hillary and Hassan are expected next week at La Mamounia, the famed Marrakech hotel, which was a favourite haunt of wartime leader Sir Winston Churchill. It was totally rebuilt at a cost of £60 million and reopened in 1986. A suite looking to the distant Atlas Mountains costs £497 a night.

So convinced is Hassan, 60, of his divinity — he claims to be descended from the Prophet Mohammed — that he closes cities and airports when he travels around Morocco. My long-standing Easter booking one year at the Gaxelle d'Or in Taroudant was summarily cancelled when Hassan said he might be staying there. He never turned up.

I am told: 'The King prefers to have rather a lot of space to himself and doesn't normally allow anyone to be where he is.' Obviously, the charms of Hillary, who may stand for the U.S. Senate contesting a New York seat next

year, have outweighed the superstitious monarch's prejudices.

When Hassan invited the Queen for a three-day state visit in 1980 after he had been feted in Britain, he embarrassed her by changing her programme at the last minute on several occasions, and one evening he arrived 54 minutes late for a banquet she was giving in his honour aboard Britannia in Casablanca.

As someone observed at the time: 'Now HM knows what it's like being a tourist.' Hassan eventually turned up with several uninvited guests, including some of his children and two servants carrying enormous refrigerated cases. He claimed that no discourtesy was intended.



Suite dreams: La Mamounia hotel in Marrakech

FM: Reuters

a3722

^BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-TRIP 2NDLD

^Mrs. Clinton to tour sands, souks of North Africa
(Updates with Clinton comments, paras 6-8)

By Randall Mikkelsen

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves Saturday for the sands and souks of North Africa, where she will take a break from speculation on her political plans and pursue a broad international agenda.

During a 12-day visit to Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, Mrs. Clinton will promote the rights of women and children, education and an expansion of democracy, while seeking to bridge suspicion between the Islamic world and the West.

As she takes in a sunrise from a desert encampment and the sunsets of Marrakesh, the first lady will relegate to the back of her mind her deliberations on whether to run for a New York Senate seat, aides said. Those deliberations have prompted intense interest among the American public.

"She's going to be concentrating on this trip ... There's a lot of issues that she's got to focus on," said Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. "Whether she will muse (about her Senate possibilities), one never knows."

Friends of Mrs. Clinton have said that long before she began entertaining the idea of a Senate run, she had an interest in serving in an international capacity, such as United Nations ambassador, after President Clinton leaves office in 2001.

President Clinton said Friday he had no idea if his wife would run for the Senate, but told a news conference the couple had discussed moving to New York after he leaves office in January 2001.

"I literally don't have a clue," Clinton said, adding: "She told me ... over a year ago ... that she thought we should move to New York when I left the White House."

As for the state of their marriage in the face of rumors of marital tumult after his affair with Monica Lewinsky, Clinton said that "we're working hard" to strengthen their union.

Mrs Clinton has taken some 20 foreign trips solo as first lady, in addition to her travels with the president. She canceled plans to travel to Central America with the president last week, fueling speculation about the state of their marriage after his impeachment trial. But aides said she needed to nurse a bad back ahead of her North Africa trip.

The Clintons' daughter, Chelsea, will accompany her mother to North Africa.

In a speech Tuesday in Washington, Mrs. Clinton said she hoped to bring America and the Arab world closer together.

"For too long, our close ties with the Arab world have been compromised by negative stereotyping on both sides," she said.

"With populations that total almost one-half of the Arab

world, these countries represent a diversity of cultures, ethnic groups, and histories, and provide us an opportunity to learn more about what they are doing, about their history, and to become closer friends and partners in building a better future," she said.

To this end, she will tour historic Islamic areas of Cairo and Egypt's ancient Valley of the Kings, visit a mosque and Roman ruins in Tunisia and explore the casbahs of Morocco. She will camp out in the Moroccan desert and visit rural villages.

The first lady will also deliver speeches promoting her international goals, as well as meet privately with leaders of the countries she visits, U.S. officials said.

On Tuesday in Cairo, she will talk about her experience with Islam in calling for religious tolerance, after a stop to highlight Egypt's minority Coptic Christians, who have faced attacks from Islamic fundamentalists.

In Tunisia next Friday, she is expected to cite the advanced status of women's rights in the country. She also is likely to subtly nudge Tunisia toward allowing greater political expression, aides said.

And in Morocco on March 29, she is to speak about the country's opening political system and religious tolerance.

Mrs. Clinton will also use stops at schools, health clinics and U.S. aid projects to highlight the importance of expanding education, particularly for girls, and of creating economic opportunities for women.

She will touch only gingerly on the Middle East peace process, mostly by commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. In May, Mrs. Clinton stunned many in the Israeli government and inspired Palestinians by endorsing the idea of an eventual Palestinian state.

A State Department official said Mrs. Clinton would not revisit the subject on her trip, and that she agreed with Clinton administration policy that the issue is to be decided in "final status" talks between Israel and the Palestinians.

During her stay in Morocco, Mrs. Clinton will have a chance to indulge in a travel fantasy she and the president have long shared. "The first lady and the president have always wanted to see the sunset in Marrakesh, so she'll get a chance to do that," a U.S. official said.

^REUTERS

RB-- 03/19/99 20:16:00



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Hillary's New Tour

Less Politics, More Foreign Aid

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves Saturday on a trip to North Africa with daughter Chelsea. (AP Photo)

By Ann Compton
 ABCNEWS.com

WASHINGTON, March 18 — The original idea was bold: Hillary Rodham Clinton tackling Middle East politics head-on with a dramatic tour of Israel, Jordan and Egypt beginning this weekend.

Then three things happened: King Hussein of Jordan died, leaving the country in mourning. Israel scheduled sensitive elections. And Mrs. Clinton started thinking about running for senator in New York — where her recent declaration of support for a Palestinian state did not go over well.

Nipped and Tucked

The impact has been to trim the itinerary and change the nature of the first lady's schedule.



The first lady will visit three countries in North Africa. (ABCNEWS.com/ Magellan Geographix)
 In fact, this 12-day trip could be called the Foreign Aid Tour. Mrs. Clinton's

SUMMARY

A trip by Hillary Clinton that was about foreign policy is now about foreign aid, health and women's issues.

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As for Mrs. Clinton's plan to make it to Israel and Jordan, her office says that will be rescheduled

destination is now North Africa — Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco, which are all part of the Middle East in State Department lists.

Her agenda of women's meetings and health clinic visits is typical of earlier trips to Asia and Africa, but more closely tied to projects run by the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps.

rescheduled for "later this year"—perhaps after she's decided on whether to run for the Senate.

Announcing Aid

She also gets to announce a small amount of new aid that was already in her husband's budget. And the first lady will give speeches putting a new emphasis on religious tolerance and the value of a civil society in developing countries.

Daughter Chelsea will be along during her spring break from Stanford University, and as on previous trips, she and mom will squeeze in some dramatic recreational stops. This time, according to a press release, they plan a tour of Luxor's Valley of the Kings "and Queens" — they added those two words to the locale's name — and will also "overnight in the desert to experience the striking views and the celebrated atmosphere of the Moroccan desert."

As for Mrs. Clinton's plan to make it to Israel and Jordan, her office says that will be rescheduled for "later this year" — perhaps after she's decided on whether to run for the Senate.

Ann Compton is ABCNEWS' White House correspondent. ■

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