

HRC Clips



Friday, March 19, 1999



By Leslie E. Kossoff, AP

Promoting reading: Hillary Rodham Clinton shows a McDonald's booklet at a meeting of the Association of American Publishers on Thursday in Washington. McDonald's will distribute 13 million copies of the Happy Meal booklet to show parents how to nourish their children's brains through reading, she says.

North Africa will give Clinton a break

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is taking a two-week hiatus from her intensive deliberations over whether to run for a Senate seat from New York. She is heading out Saturday on a long-planned trip to North Africa with her daughter.

The first lady and Chelsea, who will be on spring break from Stanford University, will visit Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco on a trip dedicated to "strengthening the bonds of understanding between the United States and the entire Arab world," her office said in a statement.

Later this year, Hillary Clinton will visit Israel and Jordan. Her office said those stops were not appropriate to make now because of the upcoming election in Israel and the mourning of Jordan's King Hussein, who died last month.

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady's trip to North Africa has been scheduled for about six months.

She said her boss will keep up a "grinding" schedule and doesn't plan to spend any time while she's away consulting with advisers about the possible Senate run.

She'll return April 1.

Complaining of a bad back, the result of a pulled muscle that she re-injured while skiing in Utah last month, Hillary Clinton did not accompany the president on his recent trip to Central America. Berry said her back is "much better" and she's looking for-

ward to visiting a part of the African continent that she hasn't seen.

A year ago, the first lady and President Clinton took a two-week tour of sub-Saharan Africa, visiting six countries, including South Africa. Two years ago, she and Chelsea made a similar trip together.

The latest trip comes when there is ongoing speculation about the state of the Clintons' relationship — speculation fueled by some news reports saying their marriage is in trouble after the Monica Lewinsky scandal and allegations that Clinton raped an Arkansas woman 20 years ago.

Berry dismissed the stories.

"There's nothing to it," she said. She said the Clintons' marriage remains "a work in progress," and added that there should be no question "they're committed to each other."

The trip also comes as the first lady is debating whether to run for the Senate in 2000.

Among the factors influencing her decision is how she could carry out her duties as first lady, which have included trips abroad as a goodwill ambassador for the United States, while running a campaign in New York.

In North Africa, the first lady's office said, Hillary Clinton will do what she has done on many trips: She will highlight efforts to provide health care to women and children, encourage the economic empowerment of women and promote human rights and education. At a clinic in Luxor, Egypt, she will announce new funds for family planning.

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1999 C3

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

White House Wears Green

It was a night for blarney, or maybe Freud. When former senator **George Mitchell** received the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House last night, he impishly referred to the first lady as "Senator Hillary . . . oops!" Audience members roared their approval and leapt to their feet.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is contemplating a bid for a Senate seat in New York, smiled sheepishly and shook her head at Mitchell. The Post's Chuck Babington reports.

About a thousand people, including many members of Congress, Kennedys, singer **Lt. Jang** and actors **Val Kilmer** and **Dylan McDermott**, came to what Mrs.

Clinton called "our small gathering," a St. Patrick's Day celebration honoring Irish Prime Minister **Bertie Ahern** and acknowledging Mitchell's work toward peace in Northern Ireland.

Capping a day of talks on the peace efforts, last night's party began with smoked salmon and other delicacies in the White House's East Room and Dining Room and ended in a huge tent on the South Lawn.

Ahern, declaring that "everyone here has been partying," noted: "There will be no food or drink left in the White House for at least a month."

It was 9:30 p.m. before **President Clinton** finally turned the evening over to an array of Irish entertainers, including flutist **James Galway**. By then the tent's bars had closed but hundreds stuck around for Irish drumming, dancing and singing.



From left, Mitchell, Ahern and Clinton applaud Hillary Clinton's remarks during last night's White House celebration.

BY SUSAN WALSH—ASSOCIATED PRESS

FIRST-RATE LADIES

Group salutes wives of presidents

It could have been hard to avoid the inevitable comparisons between **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and several of her illustrious predecessors at the National First Ladies Library's salute to outstanding first women Tuesday night.

And it no doubt was intended to be that way. During the post-dinner program at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, two of Mrs. Clinton's friends, actresses **Mary Steenburgen** and **Jane Alexander**, took turns giving dramatic readings from letters written by previous first ladies that caused murmurs of recognition from many of the clued-in guests.

Among the more memorable selections:

■ "I had an ambition to be 'Mrs. President.' That ambition has been satisfied. ... Trouble comes soon enough. Power and position do not ensure a bed of roses." — **Mary Todd Lincoln**

■ "I know what's best for the president. I put him there! He does well when he listens to me and poorly when he does not." — **Florence Harding**

■ "I am sick, sick, sick of public life. ... I expect to be vilified and abused with my whole family." — **Abigail Adams**

■ "I've been asked just about everything except how often I sleep with my husband, and if they ask me that, I'll tell them, 'as often as possible.'" — **Betty Ford**

A few minutes later, when Mrs. Clinton joined the actresses, narrator **Barbara Walters** and First Ladies Library founder **Mary Regula** onstage to accept her own award, she seemed pleased enough.

"I don't know about you," she told the crowd, "but I certainly enjoyed that reading. I identified with just a few of the things they said."

For historian **Carl Steenratta**, who chose the selections, there was nothing unusual about the similarity between past and present first ladies' White House experiences.

"Everything horrific seems new," he said, "but they've been going through the same things for 200 years."

Mrs. Clinton continued the adulatory aspects of the evening by singling out a few favorite first ladies who "used the platform history gave them to great advantage." Eleanor Roosevelt, for her civil rights legacy, and Lady Bird Johnson (represented at the event by daughter **Lynda Robb**), who championed beautification of the American landscape.

Mrs. Clinton saluted the other awardees for helping to break through "glass ceilings" throughout their careers: Secretary of State **Madeline Albright**, Supreme Court Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor**, former Rep. **Shirley Chisholm** (who was not



Mary Regula of the National First Ladies Library presents an award to poet Gwendolyn Brooks at the "First Ladies Salute First Women" dinner. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and program narrator Barbara Walters look on during the Tuesday night event.

present); poet **Gwendolyn Brooks**; and **Elizabeth Campbell**, 96, founder of public TV station WETA (Channel 26).

Except for Miss Brooks, who read a laudatory ode to Mrs. Clinton, the recipients made acceptance speeches that were notably brief and self-effacing, at least in Academy Award night terms.

The lack of babble may have prompted Miss Walters to tout what may prove to be her next ratings coup. Tune in tomorrow night on ABC for her chat with **Elizabeth Taylor**, who is "in remarkable shape, up, around and funny ... with platinum blond hair." It's a real scoop, she reported, because **La Liz** has spent most of the past two years in bed following treatment for a brain tumor.

The 300 guests were separated into two distinct dining areas by a red velvet rope. Corporate and other donors to the library sat on one side, Washington VIPs with connections to various honorees or organizers were on the other.

The VIPs included WETA Chairman **Sharon Percy Rockefeller** (who came especially to honor Mrs. Campbell), National Museum of Women in the Arts founder **Wilhelmina Holladay** (introducing Justice O'Connor) and Sen. **John Warner** (escorting Miss Walters). Also sighted were Smithsonian director **L. Michael Heymann**, porcelain queen **Helen Boehm**,



Letitia Baldridge, Frances Humphrey Howard, Janet Howard, Frankie Hewitt, Rep. John and Debbie Dingell, and Lloyd and Ann Hand.

The National First Ladies Library opened in June in Canton, Ohio, in the childhood home of President William McKinley's wife, **Ida**. The library boasts a large collection of books, letters, journalism articles, photographs and audio and videotapes on first ladies throughout the country's history. It also operates a Web site (www.firstladies.org) that contains a database of more than 40,000 items.

"The Web site has been getting a lot of hits lately," said Mrs. Regula's husband, Rep. **Ralph Regula**, who just happens to represent the library's hometown in Congress and, as a senior member of the House Appropriations Committee, got

Congress to support the project with \$1.4 million in federal funds.

"It's a bargain," he said, noting that the federal government spent huge sums on other presidential sites — President James Garfield's home, for example, which "cost millions more" than one devoted to all of the first ladies.

"And he was only in office for six months," Mr. Regula said.

One of the corporate sponsors, **Ray N. Ivey** of Consolidated Natural Gas, summed up the prevailing attitude rather well when he addressed the crowd earlier that evening.

"For years, women have heard about the founding fathers," he said. "Why shouldn't men be taught about the founding mothers?"

— **Kevin Chaffee**



Mrs. Regula, Jane Alexander and Elizabeth Campbell share the stage at a pre-dinner news conference (above left). Lynda Robb chats with Maryland first lady Frances Glendening (above). Secretary of State Madeleine Albright came to accept her award after a long day of foreign policy.

First Ladies' Night Out

Hillary Clinton Helps Honor 5 Women

By JENNIFER FREY
Washington Post Staff Writer

"I am sick, sick, sick of public life," actress Mary Steenburgen said as she gave a dramatic interpretation from the personal writings of a certain first lady last night at the "First Ladies Salute First Women" awards dinner at the Ronald Reagan Building.

Steenburgen may have spent the previous night at the White House—and part of the day with Hillary Rodham Clinton—but she was not quoting her dear personal friend. She was reading from the private papers of Abigail Adams.

Mrs. Clinton, however, could not help but laugh.

"I don't know about you," she told the gathering of several hundred a few minutes later, "but I identify with a few of the things they said."

On a night when such noted politicians as Maryland Gov. Parris Glendening and Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio) found themselves frequently referred to as "the husband of," the newly established National First Ladies' Library bestowed special honor on five women Clinton referred to as "glass-

See GALA, C10, Col. 1



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST
Mary Regula, founding chairwoman of the National First Ladies' Library, with Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barbara Walters at last night's awards gala.

Library Honors Five Achievers of the First Rank

GALA, From C1

ceiling breakers." In a ceremony emceed by Barbara Walters, awards were given to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Gwendolyn Brooks, former congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Elizabeth P. Campbell, the founder and vice president for community affairs of public television station WETA.

Clinton arrived late in the meal and was warmly introduced to the crowd by Walters, who is fresh off her ratings-grabbing interview with Monica Lewinsky. The two briefly clasped hands in greeting before the first lady made some remarks and returned to the White House for a live American Online question-and-answer session.

Her mere presence, though, provided a

room full of powerful women with one very hot topic of conversation: What is the current first lady going to do with herself once her husband's time in office is up? Specifically, is she going to run for the vacant Senate seat in New York?

Steenburgen, who has known the Clintons since their days in Arkansas, heartily endorsed her friend's possible candidacy.

"She's been an amazing first lady and I know that she's really weighing the different effects [a Senate race] would have on her life," Steenburgen said. "I'm sure she'll reach the right decision."

Steenburgen joined fellow actress and former NEA chief Jane Alexander in a selection of readings from the library's archives. "Pretty soon we're going to have a first husbands' library as well," Alexander joked. "We're going to have a woman president of the United States," she said. "It's going to happen pretty soon."

The National First Ladies' Library, which opened last June, is in Canton, Ohio, in the childhood home of the 20th first lady, Ida Saxton McKinley, in a building that has also been used as a tavern and a brothel, among other things.

The library, no repository for nice dresses and party invitations, houses its fair share of reference to White House scandal, current administration included; a bibliography of historical materials is maintained online at www.firstladies.org. Among the items listed is the discredited book "The Strange Death of President Harding," which purports that Florence Harding poisoned her husband. And a click on "Hillary Rodham Clinton" reveals several articles that refer to her role in White-water—articles with titles like "The Hillary Problem" and "Scenes From a Scandal."

Such works are candidates for the list "unless there is something truly vile or

utterly fictitious," said Carl Sferazza Anthony, the author and historian responsible for compiling the bibliography.

The archive is updated only through 1996, which means coverage of the recent White House scandal has yet to be catalogued. Already, though, Mrs. Clinton has generated one of the largest collections of articles in it—in part, as Anthony pointed out, because of the more comprehensive news coverage given to first ladies since the Kennedy presidency, and in part because of her very visible role at the White House.

"I'm really, really proud of my friend," said Steenburgen, who believes that the first lady has changed the office itself during her tenure. "I think she'd make an extraordinary senator."

And what kind of political spouse might her husband make? Steenburgen smiled.

"He'd just have to live up to her precedent," she said. "And I'm sure he'd do just fine."



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

The first lady and ABC's Barbara Walters chat at last night's gala.



Photo by Roger Richards/The Washington Times
A plaque erected by Agency for International Development hails the work of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

First lady trumpets vitamin A in cutting mother, child deaths

U.S. producers to fortify food exports with the nutrient

By Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Researchers believe they can reduce maternal deaths in childbirth in the Third World by 40 percent by giving inexpensive doses of vitamin A to expectant mothers.

Responding to that research, several American food producers, such as Kellogg's and Procter & Gamble, announced yesterday that they would fortify exports and overseas production with the vitamin.

"Vitamin A deficiency causes 1 million deaths and many more cases of blindness each year," said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who announced the plan at a luncheon hosted by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

"Today, we are collectively signing a declaration showing our commitment to reduce vitamin A deficiency worldwide... to save the lives of millions of children," she said.

AID plans to spend more than \$35 million this year to provide millions of children around the world with two vitamin A capsules a year costing 2 cents each.

That program began after researchers at Johns Hopkins University and elsewhere discovered in the late 1980s that it could reduce childhood deaths by up to 30 percent from ailments such as malaria, pneumonia and dysentery.

Estimates are that 250 million children are vitamin A deficient,

Cod-liver oil was the distasteful way Americans used to get the vitamin.

said Dr. Nils Daulaire, former senior international health official in the U.S. government and now head of the Global Health Coalition.

Johns Hopkins scientist Keith West said he had just completed a three-year experiment involving 44,000 women in Nepal, which produced the surprising discovery that maternal deaths are also linked to vitamin A deficiency.

The Nepal experiment, funded by AID, sought to reduce death rates among infants under 6 months who are not helped by vitamin A. AID distributed vitamin A to some of the women and others received placebos to see if the vitamin would pass to the infants.

The infant death rate was not reduced, Mr. West said, but the mothers' death rate was.

"Mortality among these women is 70 times higher than here — one in 15 women may die in childbirth," he said. The vitamins, distributed in villages in the Terai, the lowland plains bordering India, cut the death rate by 40 percent.

His findings were published two weeks ago in the British Medical

Journal.

While some vitamin A is found in milk, eggs, carrots, leafy vegetables and papayas, Third World children and adults do not eat enough of those foods to prevent deficiency. Cod-liver oil was the distasteful way Americans used to get the vitamin before American foods were enriched.

Vitamin A appears to work in two ways, Dr. Daulaire said.

"It mobilizes the body's immune system and makes it stronger," he said, "[and] it heals submicroscopic cracks between cells in the body's armor — the epidermis and intestine and lungs — which blocks invasion by outside organisms."

"Symptoms of vitamin A deficiency include night blindness. Children are unable to see when it gets to dusk," Dr. Daulaire said.

"Pregnant women also get it. More serious symptoms include clouding of the cornea, rupture of the cornea and blindness."

Dr. Daulaire said that the next step is to continue research to see if women in Bangladesh and other countries are also helped by vitamin A.

The pledge by private firms to spread the use of vitamin A "marks a new way of thinking about public health," he said. "AID is seeking partnerships with private-sector companies."

AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood said, "Congress, in its infinite wisdom, knew when it cut our budget by 40 percent, it would force us to go to the private sector."

Clinton Offers Debt-Relief Plan for African Nations

■ **Aid:** President will propose program to forgive \$70 billion owed by developing nations.

From Times Wire Services

WASHINGTON—President Clinton urged the world's richest nations Tuesday to relieve the debt burden of Africa's poorest countries.

Addressing a three-day conference at the State Department of African government officials from 46 nations, Clinton said he will propose a plan to forgive \$70 billion in debt held by developing nations in return for economic reforms when he goes to an annual meeting of the world's leading industrial nations in June.

"Our goal is to ensure that no country committed to fundamental reform is left with a debt burden that keeps it from meeting its people's basic human needs," Clinton said. "The more debtor nations take responsibility for pursuing sound economic policies,

the more creditor nations must be willing to provide debt relief."

The proposal was welcomed by the African officials, who have long said the debt makes it harder for them to build upon economic development that comes their way.

The president spoke as his wife—who paved the way for his visit to Africa last year—prepared to make her third trip to the continent. Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves Saturday for an 11-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

To finance the debt relief package, Clinton suggested selling gold reserves held by the International Monetary Fund, an idea the U.S. had not embraced before now.

Britain, Germany and France have proposed recently that 103 million ounces of IMF gold be tapped to provide funds for a debt relief initiative by the IMF and World Bank.

The gold reserve has a current market value of \$34 billion.



By Linda Spillers, World Wide

Dazzled: Hillary Rodham Clinton and singer/actress Brandy

Hillary focuses on future, not her own

By Ann Oldenburg
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton had lunch with pop star Brandy and dinner with Barbara Walters and capped her Tuesday with a live America Online chat about *Socks and Buddy*, the White House cat and dog.

Clinton cited "how terrific America's young people really are" at lunch, and at dinner praised women who are "glass-ceiling breakers." On line, she mentioned that the president is Buddy's best human friend.

In her speeches, she made no mention of her bad back, a rumored Senate bid, or headlines about supposed marital troubles in the White House.

"She's a phenomenal woman," gushed Brandy, 20, who met the first lady for the first time at the *Seventeen/Cover Girl* Volunteerism awards lunch honoring six young women. "I think she's the epitome of beauty. I think she's a strong woman. And listening to her speak, I just love her."

"My name came out of her mouth! She said, 'Thank you, Brandy, for being a positive role model.' Now that's going to motivate me to continue to be a positive role model."

Brandy said recent reports that she's being overworked weren't true. "I was a little sick," she said, but added: "It wasn't because I was over-

worked or anything. It was my fault. I don't get enough rest. I'll work all day and stay up all night."

She announced she's planning a tour in June and will have two months off from her TV show, *Moesha*, before that.

At the National First Ladies' Library dinner celebrating women of achievement, Walters and the first lady were in the same room for the first time since Walters' TV interview with Monica Lewinsky. Did she feel comfortable greeting Clinton?

"I like Mrs. Clinton very much. I have great admiration for her. Please don't make a thing out of nothing," she said.

Hillary pal Mary Steenburgen, who read from past first ladies' writings at the dinner, has stayed at the White House the past few days. How is her friend's back doing? "She's fine, she's great," the actress said.

Has Clinton been reading the papers — such as the *New York Post's* "Chillary" headline, prompted by her failure to accompany Bill Clinton to Central America? Steenburgen was close-mouthed. "I do know the meaning of friendship."

As for a Hillary run for the Senate: "I can't speak for her about that," Steenburgen said, "but I think she would be extraordinary."

► Whitewater testimony, 9A

THE TRUTH ABOUT CATS AND DOGS: Hillary Rodham Clinton will go on line Tuesday to answer questions about White House pets and her recent book, *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets*. White House pets are a favorite topic when children meet the first lady, Clinton spokeswoman Marsha Berry said. The session will be at 10 p.m. ET on America Online.

The book, published last year by Simon and Schuster, features photographs of Buddy the dog and Socks the cat, copies of children's letters to the pets and text by Clinton. Sales have lagged. Internet bookseller Amazon.com ranks the Socks and Buddy book 9,574 on its list of current best-sellers. Newly released memoir *All Too Human* by former White House aide George Stephanopoulos heads the list, and Andrew Morton's book on Clinton paramour Monica Lewinsky, *Monica's Story*, ranks seventh.

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY

Mrs. Clinton to answer questions online-about pets

By Randall Mikkelsen

WASHINGTON, March 14 (Reuters) - With interest in her political and personal life soaring, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will go online on Tuesday to answer questions -- about White House pets, her spokeswoman said on Sunday.

Mrs. Clinton was scheduled to appear in a live ``chat'' session on America Online on Tuesday at 10 p.m. EST (0300 GMT Wednesday), answering questions about her recent book, ``Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets,' ' said spokeswoman Marsha Berry.

``The topic is the book,' ' Berry said, ruling out any questions that have lately consumed Hillary-watchers, such as whether she will run for the U.S. Senate in New York, or the state of her marriage in the wake of President Bill Clinton's sex-and-perjury impeachment scandal.

The book, published late last year, features photographs of White House pets Buddy the dog and Socks the cat, copies of children's letters to the pets and text by Mrs. Clinton.

The book could use a little plugging from its author -- sales have lagged behind her previous, hugely successful book, ``It Takes a Village.' '

Internet bookseller Amazon.com ranks the Socks and Buddy book 9,574 on its list of current best-sellers, compared with the newly released memoirs ``All Too Human'' of former White House aide George Stephanopoulos, which headed the list, and Andrew Morton's book on Clinton paramour Monica Lewinsky, ``Monica's Story,' ' which ranked seventh.

But Berry said the White House pets were a favourite topic among children. ``Whenever she goes to a school or something, it's always the question (topic) that brings kids out of their shyness,' ' Berry said.

She said the book's publisher, Simon and Schuster, had been collecting questions submitted to AOL and would present selections to Mrs. Clinton on Tuesday. The questions will be answered live through a moderator at the online service. AOL has about 16 million subscribers.

The Clintons have given few clues to Mrs. Clinton's political plans -- other than to say she is carefully considering a Senate run -- or the state of their relationship.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to cancel plans to travel with her husband to Central America last week and her absence from a weekend trip to dedicate the president's boyhood home in Arkansas fuelled speculation the two were keeping their distance from each other. But the president late on Saturday suggested otherwise.

Asked if Mrs. Clinton, who aides said stayed home to nurse a sore back, had wanted to go to Arkansas with him, Clinton told reporters while returning to Washington on Air Force One, ``Oh yeah, bad. She wanted to go to Central America. She wanted to go to this.' '

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/14/99 at 14:04EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/15/99 at 08:51EST ****

Honor the Past, IMAGINE THE FUTURE

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

In a very special exclusive *for Woman's Day*, Mrs. Clinton shares some personal thoughts about the beginning of the new millennium—how far we've come and where we're going

As we approach the new millennium, our thoughts are riveted on the future. What will life be like in the 21st century? What new thresholds will we cross? What challenges will we face? I believe that the past holds at least some of the answers.

Take a moment to travel back in time with me. Imagine that it's July 1848. You are a 19-year-old glovemaker named Charlotte Woodward, and you live in a small town called Waterloo, New York. Every day you sit for hours sewing gloves together, working for small wages, with no hope of ever going to school or owning a home.

Then, one day you hear about a women's rights convention to be held in nearby Seneca Falls—a convention to discuss the social, civil and religious rights of women. How can this be? You run from one friend's house to another, finding other women who have heard the same news. Some are excited, others amused. Many are shocked by the idea that women may have rights separate from their husbands and fathers. A few agree to travel to Seneca Falls with you—at least for the first day—to see what all the fuss is about.

Early on the morning of July 19, you set off aboard a horse-drawn wagon. At first, the road is empty and you're worried that no one else will come. Then, as you reach a crossroads, you see other wagons and carriages. Among the travelers that day is the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who would later write of the event: "We were few in numbers, moderate in resources and very little known in the world. The most that we had to commend us was a firm faith that the right must ultimately prevail."

I often think about the incredible courage it must have

taken to join that procession. Yet these were ordinary men and women just like us. And just like those who have embarked on similar journeys throughout American history, seeking freedom or escaping religious and political persecution, speaking out against slavery or striving for workers' rights. Above all, they were motivated by dreams of a better life and a more just society.

At the end of the two-day convention, one hundred people—68 women and 32 men—signed the Declaration of Sentiments. Borrowing from the Declaration of Independence, the document boldly asserted: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal." It was a shout heard around the world and, if we listen, we can still hear its echoes today.

I've heard it in the voices of women from Belfast to Beijing, from Rwanda to Russia—the voices of women struggling to improve their lives and the lives of their families. I've even heard those voices here in our own country. Sometimes when I'm traveling around the world speaking to other women, I wish I could take groups of American teenage girls along with me, so they could hear the power and determination in those voices, too.

Keep the Stories Alive

To usher in the millennium, the President and I have chosen the theme "Honor the past and imagine the future." To honor the past, we must honor the men and women who lived it—those who fought so courageously for the rights we enjoy today. We must tell and retell, learn and relearn their stories. It's important to me to pass their stories on to my daughter, and I hope you do the same with your children, too.

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MRS. CLINTON AT THE WHITE HOUSE, PHOTOGRAPHED BY HARRY BENSON.

3/9/99 WOMAN'S DAY 51

IMAGINE THE FUTURE

CONTINUED

We must never forget that the rights and opportunities we enjoy as women today were not simply bestowed upon us. They were fought for, agonized over, marched for, jailed for and even died for.

Every time we buy, sell or inherit property in our own name, we honor their struggle. Every time we enter a profession of our choosing, we honor those who signed the Declaration of Sentiments.

Every time we vote, we honor the women and men of Seneca Falls, as well as the Suffragists who tirelessly fought to win passage of the 19th Amendment. Every time we elect a woman to office, we honor groundbreaking political leaders—everyone from Margaret Chase Smith to Bella Abzug—who proved that a

American women should count our blessings every day. I know how much change I have seen in my own lifetime. When I was growing up in the '50s and '60s, there were scholarships I couldn't apply for, schools I couldn't go to, jobs I couldn't have—just because of my sex. Thanks to federal laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX and the Equal Pay Act, my daughter and yours won't face the same legal barriers to equality.

But if we believe the fight in Seneca Falls is done, we miss the central point of the Declaration of Sentiments, which was, above all, a document about the future. As long as gaps remain between our ideals and our reality, our work will not be finished. This is part of the great

not just a symbol of equality, but a guarantee. It is the voice we use to express our political views, the means by which we hold our leaders and governments accountable, and the ticket to bridging the gap between what our nation is and what we want it to be.

So many women of the last century were silenced by someone else. Today we silence ourselves. But we have a voice, and we must make that voice heard.

What Will Our Daughters Say?

Fifty years from now, when our daughters celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Sentiments, what will they say about our stewardship? Will they say that we honored the struggle of our predecessors—that we saw their struggle as our struggle? Will they say that we created systems for education, employment, child care and health care that support and strengthen families? Will they say that we transcended distinctions of race and class and ultimately found strength in each other's differences?

Will our daughters say that women today supported each other's choices? Did we admit once and for all that there is no single cookie-cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman? Did we leave our children a world where all men and women are not only created equal but are *in fact* equal?

As we enter the new millennium, we know our daughters and granddaughters will face new challenges that we today cannot even imagine. But each of us can help prepare for that future by speaking out for justice and equality, knowing that eventually the causes we advocate will succeed. Why? Because they are rooted in the conviction that all people are entitled by their Creator and by the promise of America to the freedom, rights, responsibilities and opportunities of full citizenship.

This is what I imagine for our future. As we celebrate the millennium, I invite each of you to honor the past and imagine the future with me. Then we, too, can work together for a more perfect union. **WD**

For more information, see Sourceline, page 144.



woman's place is truly in the House, the Senate, and one day, even in the White House.

Every time we take another step forward for justice, we honor extraordinary women such as Harriet Tubman, who escaped from slavery, then risked her life time and again to bring other slaves to freedom. Harriet Tubman's role on the Underground Railroad was "keep going." With those words, she galvanized her followers, no matter how dangerous the course.

Don't Stop Here

We, too, must keep going. We travel the same road that the pioneers of Seneca Falls started down 150 years ago. They knew they probably would not live to see the changes they advocated. In fact, only Charlotte Woodward, the glovemaker, lived long enough to see American women finally win the right to vote. Those who signed that Declaration did so for their daughters and granddaughters—and for us.

I certainly believe that we as

beauty of the American experiment—we are always striving to build a better nation, to keep faith with our founding ideals and translate them into reality.

Imagine the Possibilities

So what kind of future can we imagine? I imagine a future where no American will ever again face discrimination on the basis of gender, race or sexual orientation. Women and children will be protected against domestic abuse and violence. All families will have access to safe, affordable, quality child care. And the education our children receive in America's schools will be the best in the world.

I imagine a future where every woman will receive equal pay for equal work. A full-time wage will lift people out of poverty, and all workers who retire will have financial security in their later years through guaranteed Social Security and pensions.

And I imagine a future where all Americans use the power of the vote to make their voices heard. The vote is

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

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton at a school in Manhattan yesterday.

girls' hearts can take that much exertion."

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

Second Front Page

Women Key in Rights Fight, First Lady Says

■ **Diplomacy:** Hillary Clinton singles out Afghanistan for criticism in address to U.N. conference.

By JOHN J. GOLDMAN
CONSTITUTION WRITER

UNITED NATIONS—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told a U.N. conference on equality Thursday that women stand on the front lines of the battle for human rights and that their voices must be heard.

The day after former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky painted a highly intimate portrait of her relationship with President Clinton for more than 48 million television viewers, the first lady received a standing ovation when she entered the large conference room at U.N. headquarters.

"It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural," she told more than 1,000 people who packed the room. "It should be called what it is—criminal."

Mrs. Clinton sharply criticized the militant Islamic Taliban rulers of Afghanistan, labeling their regime one of the world's worst abusers of women.

'It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural.'

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
At U.N. conference

"There probably is no more egregious and systematic trampling of fundamental rights of women today than what is happening in Afghanistan under the iron rule of the Taliban," she said, pointing out that women are barred from careers in medicine and teaching, and that schools for girls have been closed in that country.

"We have heard, all of us, the stories about women being flogged with metal cables because a bit of ankle would be showing," she said. "We have heard of women being taken from hospital to hospital and finally dying . . . because there were no women doctors and no male doctor could be permitted to treat the women."

Mrs. Clinton called for tougher laws against trafficking in women and girls, estimating that as many as 2 million are forced into prostitution, domestic servitude or enforced labor each year throughout the world.

The first lady's New York visit, complete with a tour of the city, will conclude with a speech at the U.N. on Friday.

Please see RIGHTS, A14



Reuters

Hillary Clinton, with U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, greets audience.

A14 FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1999 NA

RIGHTS: First Lady Speaks on Equality

Continued from A3

ing as she considered a run for the Senate here and as Lewinsky graphically described her relationship with the president, engendered enormous interest.

She took political soundbites and teased during a speech Wednesday about seeking the Senate seat but revealed nothing of her intentions. On the subject of the former intern, she was silent.

Some political consultants took a look at the other side of the coin: her greatest opponent for the Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"It's a real plus for Rudy," said David Garth, who ran Giuliani's first successful campaign for office. "It makes his campaign more important, which should bring a lot more money. Visibility means money. Who you are running against means money."

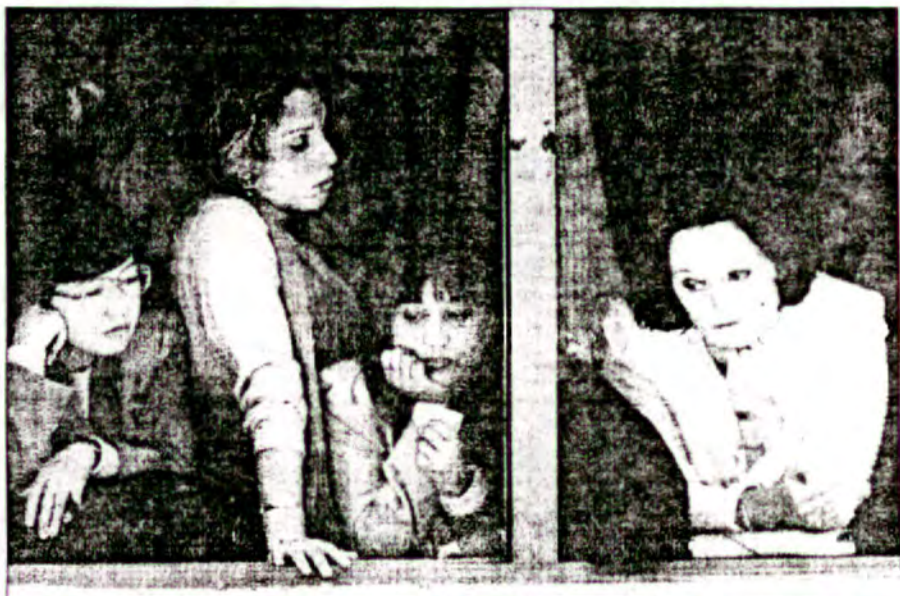
"Running against Hillary, the mayor would be the financial underdog," Garth predicted. "The other part of it is, if she doesn't

run, it appears Rudy has frightened her out of the race—which is another plus for him."

In addition, "by saying she is not going to declare until the summer," Garth said, "she deprives other Democratic candidates of the chance to leave the starting gate."

Mrs. Clinton ended her journey to New York on an inspirational note, appearing at a school in Manhattan with a group of famous female athletes, including Olympic gold medal winners gymnast Dominique Dawes and basketball player Nikki McCray, and Billie Jean King, the celebrated tennis player. "Not everyone will be a star athlete," she told the students. "But everyone, young women and men alike, can benefit from athletics and can be part of the great process of pushing yourself, and learning how much it takes to excel, to stay healthy, to do the best that we can at all points in our lives."

Lisa Meyer in The Times' New York Bureau contributed to this report.



Women listen to speech by Hillary Clinton at the U.N. She also visited a Manhattan school, accompanied by famous female athletes.

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-UN

Hillary Clinton blasts Taleban, trafficking in women

By Anthony Goodman

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton blasted Afghanistan's Taleban rulers Thursday as probably the world's worst oppressors of women.

In a speech at the United Nations marking International Women's Day next Monday, she also called for a worldwide campaign to halt international trafficking in women and children.

"There probably is no more egregious and systematic trampling of fundamental rights of women today than what is happening in Afghanistan under the iron rule of the Taleban," she said, referring to the extremist Islamist movement that controls most of the country.

Clinton said women once comprised almost half of Afghanistan's doctors and teachers but now were barred from both professions while the doors of girls' schools "are slammed shut."

"We have heard all of us the stories of women being flogged with metal cables because a bit of ankle would be showing. We have heard of women being taken to hospital after hospital and finally dying ... because there were no women doctors and no male doctor could be permitted to treat the women," she said.

It was no longer acceptable to claim that abuse and mistreatment of women was cultural. "It should be called what it is, criminal," Clinton said.

Clinton, who arrived more than half an hour behind schedule, was applauded loudly as she entered a large U.N. conference chamber accompanied by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, his wife Nane, and several senior women U.N. officials.

The packed meeting was organized by a group that campaigns for equal rights for women in the United Nations, which Annan conceded was "still short of the goal of full gender balance by the year 2000." But he said considerable progress had been made, citing appointments of women to a number of top posts.

Clinton also gave examples of women in many countries who were "finding their voice in new ways."

The First Lady, who is considering running for a U.S. Senate seat from New York next year, won a round of applause when she spoke of a woman in India who lost everything on the death of her father but regained her house and son after learning about her legal rights.

"And I am told she is even running for elected office in her community," Clinton added. But she made no reference to her own political prospects or to the sex scandal that has rocked the White House for the past year.

Calling for a "much stronger stand against the trafficking in women and girls," Clinton said an estimated one to two million every year were forced into labor, domestic servitude or sexual exploitation.

Referring to young girls in northern Thailand whose parents had sold them into prostitution for large sums, she said the homes of such families could often be identified "because they might even have a satellite dish or an addition built onto the house."

She had met the girls themselves when they returned home, "used up after they had contracted HIV and AIDS."

Clinton said she had also been told of young women in the Ukraine who had disappeared after answering advertisements promising "a much better future in another place. And they were never heard from again."

She urged strong support for an accord to be negotiated in Vienna next week on trafficking in women and children, as part of a convention on organized crime.

She expressed delight at the prospect of visiting Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco in a few weeks time "to see first hand the progress that women are making in that region of the world and to better understand the challenges

they continue to face.''

Citing a Chinese saying, reflected in other cultures, that ''women hold up half the sky,'' she said: ``Women cannot hold up half the sky if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families, if they are denied their basic legal rights.

``Women can only hold up half the sky ... if their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.''

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/04/99 at 13:42EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 13:43EST ****

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-TRIP

Hillary Clinton to visit Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced Thursday she would be visiting Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco shortly to speak to women on the progress they had made and the challenges they still faced.

She did not give a date in a speech at the United Nations to observe International Women's Day but Moroccan officials said the trip would be during the last week of March.

"I am delighted that in a few weeks I will be privileged to travel to Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia to see first hand the progress that women are making in that region of the world and to better understand the challenges they continue to face," she said.

"I am very much looking forward to that trip because I know that in those countries as in all others I have visited I will be inspired by and educated by and really transformed by the stories that I hear," she added.

Clinton, who spoke of child prostitution, female circumcision and domestic violence among the experiences of women she met in Asia and Africa, said: "We must continue to speak out on our own and to hear the voices of others."

"I will try as I travel to listen to those voices and amplify them," she said.

Clinton was making her first visit to New York since speculation soared that she may run for the U.S. Senate. Alternatively there has been speculation that she might take up

a post at the United Nations when her husband's term ends in two years but she gave no indication of this in her speech.

She last spoke at the United Nations in December 1997 to launch the 50th anniversary year of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/04/99 at 13:38EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 13:41EST ****



"You can prevent colon cancer, even beat it."

• HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON •

MAKE THE TIME TO GET A TEST THAT COULD SAVE YOUR LIFE.

Colon cancer is the second leading cancer killer and everyone aged 50 and older is at risk. More than 50,000 Americans will die from colon cancer and 131,600 new cases will be diagnosed this year.

Colon cancer is an equal opportunity disease that affects both women and men. This silent killer frequently begins without symptoms and those with a family history are at even greater risk.

Colon cancer is preventable—even curable when detected early. In fact, if cancer is found early enough, the patient has more than a 90 percent chance of survival.

Colon cancer screenings are safe and effective and are now covered by Medicare and an increasing number of other health providers. There's even a test that can be used in the privacy of your own home.

Talk to your doctor about getting tested.



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Hope, Thy Name Is Hillary, in One Hurting N.Y. Mill Town

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

SENECA FALLS, N.Y., March 2—Here in the birthplace of the women's rights movement, in a Republican stronghold that seemed to fall in love with Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit last July, the first lady's possible run for the Senate is not the big news. No, even in the homespun small town that was supposedly the model for Bedford Falls in the money-isn't-everything fable "It's a Wonderful Life," it's still the economy, stupid.

In fact, throughout upstate New York, it's the horrible economy, and whoever ends up running for Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat will ignore that at their peril. And it is the economy that could create an opportunity for Hillary Clinton, or any Democratic candidate, and turn this traditional bastion of the GOP into a crucial battleground in 2000. Early polls and interviews around Seneca Falls suggest that upstate voters are so desperate to join the nation's economic boom that they would consider anyone who cares about their problems.

Clinton will surely stir up a national media frenzy Wednesday when she visits thriving New York City. But fittingly, 300 miles away in Seneca Falls—where a wry sign in the town supervisor's office reads: "Due to the present economic uncertainties, the light at the end of the tunnel will be turned off indefinitely"—there is a more pressing matter at hand. The owners of the Seneca Knitting Mills, the town's second-largest manufacturer and most visible downtown landmark, have decided to shut down the 155-year-old factory. The workers—about three fourths of them women—have until Friday to rescue the plant.

"I'm just so tired of starting over," said Sandra O'Connor, 52, who has worked at the mill for 13 years. Before that, she had worked 12 years at a local television factory, until it shut down. Before that, she had worked four years for a local auto parts factory, until it moved to Kentucky. "Maybe Hillary can save

our jobs," she sighed.

O'Connor's plea could be applied throughout upstate New York, where the hard times have made George Bailey's cinematic jump off the bridge look like a walk in the park. Its manufacturing base has hemorrhaged well-paying jobs, and few communities have figured out how to replace them. General Motors and Miller Brewing shuttered plants in Syracuse. Republic Steel and Bell Aerospace abandoned Niagara Falls. Rochester absorbed massive layoffs at Kodak, Xerox and Bausch & Lomb. Last year, after the Buffalo News ran a seven-part series titled "Upstate: Downbound," the region added only 14,200 jobs, versus 113,400 downstate.

In the past, that might not have affected a Senate race. Traditionally, Democrats have dominated New York City. Republicans have owned the rural communities upstate, and the downstate suburbs have been up for grabs. For example, in 1992 and 1996, President Clinton coasted to comfortable victories statewide simply by running reasonably close to his GOP opponents upstate. In 1994 and 1998, Gov. George E. Pataki (R) won on the strength of huge upstate routs.

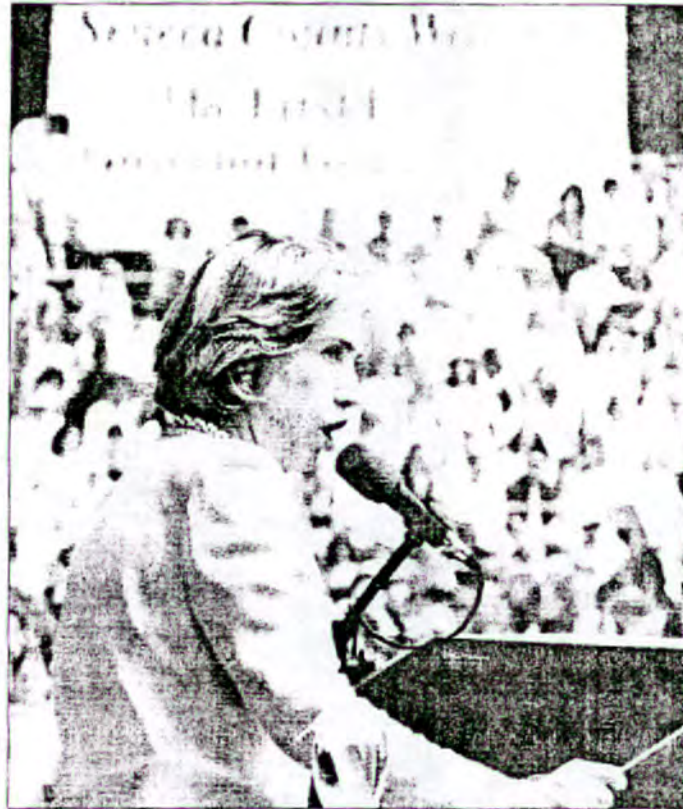
But if the race to replace Moynihan becomes a celebrity battle—pitting the first lady, voted the most admired woman in America in some polls, against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), hailed as the tough guy who tamed the Big Apple—the usual geographical calculus may be useless. Giuliani is more popular than most Republicans in the city and its suburbs, but less popular upstate, where a New York City address can be more harmful than Arkansas and Washington ones. Even GOP-dominated towns like Seneca Falls could be in play.

"I didn't like what Hillary did with the health care, but I'd probably vote for her," said Dick Marshall, a Republican who owns a used-car business here. "She's a smart lady. Hey, at least she came to visit. I don't see anyone else paying attention to this place."

After a Quinipiac College poll taken during last month's run-Hillary-run media blitz, the main storyline was the first lady leading Giuliani 54 to 36 percent. But the breakdown of the numbers showed how unpredictable that dream race could be: Giuliani won narrowly in the suburbs, while Clinton won big on Giuliani's city turf and even came out ahead upstate. Still, potential voters said Giuliani had a much better understanding of New York issues than the first lady, who has never lived in the state.

In interviews with about 30 voters in Seneca Falls, the refrain was almost always the same: They said they don't care about the first lady's role in the Travelgate firings, her Whitewater billing records or her cattle futures bonanza. They don't care about her husband's sex life or his testimony under oath. They said they just want a senator to feel their pain and do something to ease it.

Seneca Falls has a long history of being a mill town.



The first lady won many hearts in upstate Seneca Falls, N.Y., when she visited in July.

ington, the first lady seems to represent an almost non-ideological form of hope for many voters around here.

"This is a conservative area, and I think most of us would prefer someone from New York as a senator. But that doesn't mean we won't support her," said Janette Pfeiff, a Republican who is the first female town supervisor of Seneca Falls, where America's first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848. "The economy is the overwhelming issue. That comes first."

In some ways, Seneca Falls still resembles the picturesque mill town captured by "It's a Wonderful Life" in 1946, with its quaint Victorian homes and tidy downtown storefronts. The Women's Rights National Historic Park set an attendance record last year during its 150th anniversary and local wineries are attracting increasing numbers of tourists.

But the hand-hewn limestone knitting mill is not the only local institution unraveling like a ball of yarn. The county's largest manufacturer, Gould Pumps, has laid off 100 workers

since January. In the last year, a cafe, a newsstand, a deli, an art gallery, a furniture shop, an appliance store, a bakery and a historic hotel and restaurant have all gone out of business on Falls Street, the main drag. Unless the mill is saved, its Falls Street socks store will close soon. Meanwhile, the demise of a local Army depot has moved 3,000 military and 800 civilian jobs out of town. One resident recently posted a large sign on her house asking the last person to leave Seneca Falls to please turn off the lights.

There is some economic growth here, but most of it reflects the area's problems more than its promise. A 1,500-bed maximum-security prison is coming to the old Army base, along with a residential school for troubled youths. A new drug treatment center has opened. The county's landfill is about to expand, and its eight hog farms have all opened since 1994.

In this climate, to put it mildly, the 2000 Senate race is not exactly Topic A.

"Everyone just wants to know about the mill. That's people's lives, you know? That's

important," said Sharon Mannix, a manager of the Seneca Knit Mills sock store who was laid off last year from her job as a secretary at the Army depot.

When pressed, though, most Seneca Falls residents concede that politics can affect their lives. It was the federal government, after all, that shut down the depot. And it was Moynihan—after a chat two decades ago with George Souhan, the former owner of the knitting mill—who laid the groundwork for the 1848 convention site to become a national park. Some people here believe the first lady could work similar magic.

"I wish she knew more about our problems, but I'm sure she'd learn," said Republican Mary Lee Miller, a secretary in her husband's law office. "She's a real leader."

Hillary Clinton addressed 18,000 people here during the 150th anniversary celebration last July, and most of them cheered as she called for women to exercise their hard-won right to vote. That day, the women's rights park received more than four times as many visitors as it ever had before, and sold 16 times as much merchandise. But that doesn't necessarily mean the people here would vote for Clinton. Even Souhan, a former Democratic leader in the county, thinks she's wrong for the job. "I don't think she knows a damn thing about upstate New York," said Republican Bill Snyder, a local truck driver. "This place is dying. We need someone who understands that."

The employees of the Seneca Knitting Mills certainly do. There were once 240 of them, earning \$6 to \$15 an hour. It was hard work—winding, twisting, knitting, drying—but union leader Carole Thompson said they were always treated well when Souhan owned the plant.

In 1995, though, Souhan got sick, and had to sell his family's mill to a North Carolina firm. The new owners (who have not hired one female supervisor even though the work force is mostly women) posted cardboard signs with blue lettering on the shop floor: "Production Comes First." Employee grievances shot up to about 10 a week. Finally, after signing a new contract with the Seneca Falls workers, the firm announced it was eliminating their jobs.

"I have no idea what we're going to do," said Phyllis Beatty, a dryer who makes \$8.25 an hour after 37 years. Her husband is a supervisor; her son works on the line. "God knows there aren't any other jobs left in this town, except Burger King."

The workers need to come up with about \$5 million in financing by Friday to buy the mill themselves; federal loans and grants could help save the day. It's a long shot, but they say they know just the person in the White House who could help.

"Right now, Hillary is our best hope," said Thompson, an inspector whose daughter works at the plant as a knitter. "We know she cares about people like us."

Clintons End Ski Weekend A Day Early

PARK CITY, Utah, March 1 (AP) — With Chelsea Clinton returning to college, her parents decided to return home today, a day early, from a long weekend at a ski resort.

"We're going back a couple hours early so we can get a better night's sleep," President Clinton said.

Barry Tolv, a White House spokesman, said Chelsea was leaving today on schedule, to return to Stanford University.

The Clintons arrived on Saturday at the gated estate of the Hollywood executive Jeffrey Katzenberg in the exclusive Deer Valley Resort.

Doug Sosnik, the President's senior adviser, said, "He's just ready to go back, go back to work." The President is scheduled to fly to New Jersey for a fund-raiser in Newark on Wednesday.

In his only public outing here, the President strolled downtown and visited the Main Street Deli for coffee and peach yogurt.

His visit caused a commotion, stopping cars and causing crowds to gather on the street.

"Say hello to Hillary; we love her," a well-wisher shouted to Mr. Clinton.

"Thank you; we had a wonderful day," the President said.

He stopped at Dolly's, a book and record store, where he tried to pay for three books, including John



Chelsea Clinton took a chairlift yesterday with two Secret Service agents in Park City, Utah. She later returned as scheduled to Stanford University, and her parents also left, a day earlier than they had planned.

Grisham's "The Testament," with his American Express card — only to learn it had expired the day before.

"He was happy to pay cash," said Courtney Gannon, who waited on the President.

Mr. Clinton, who does not ski, had

spent Sunday reading by the fire while his wife, Hillary, and Chelsea were out on the slopes.

Saturday was Chelsea's 19th birthday, and she and her parents celebrated at home with a private dinner and cake.

With the unexpected decision to

leave Park City, there was a scramble to notify members of the President's entourage, who were spread out in dozens of condominiums and houses throughout the region. White House aides hurriedly tried to bring in a plane for the traveling press corps.

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

Who Says You Gotta Give Him Credit?

Rank doesn't always have its privileges.

Just ask **President Clinton**, who whipped out his American Express card at Dolly's Books in Park City, Utah, yesterday. But since the plastic in question had expired Sunday, the card was rejected and he had to pony up \$62.66 in cash to cover the four books he'd chosen.

Two were thrillers—**John Grisham's** "The Testament" and **Raymond Chandler's** "Playback"—**Courtney Gannon**, a Dolly's sales-clerk, told The Source. The other two were about the subcontinent—"India" by scholar **Stanley Wolpert** and "In Light of India" by **Octavio Paz**, the poet, author and former Mexican envoy to New Delhi.

Clinton was set to visit the world's largest democracy last year but canceled after India and Pakistan—longtime enemies—both detonated nuclear devices. The

White House has not yet

rescheduled the trip.

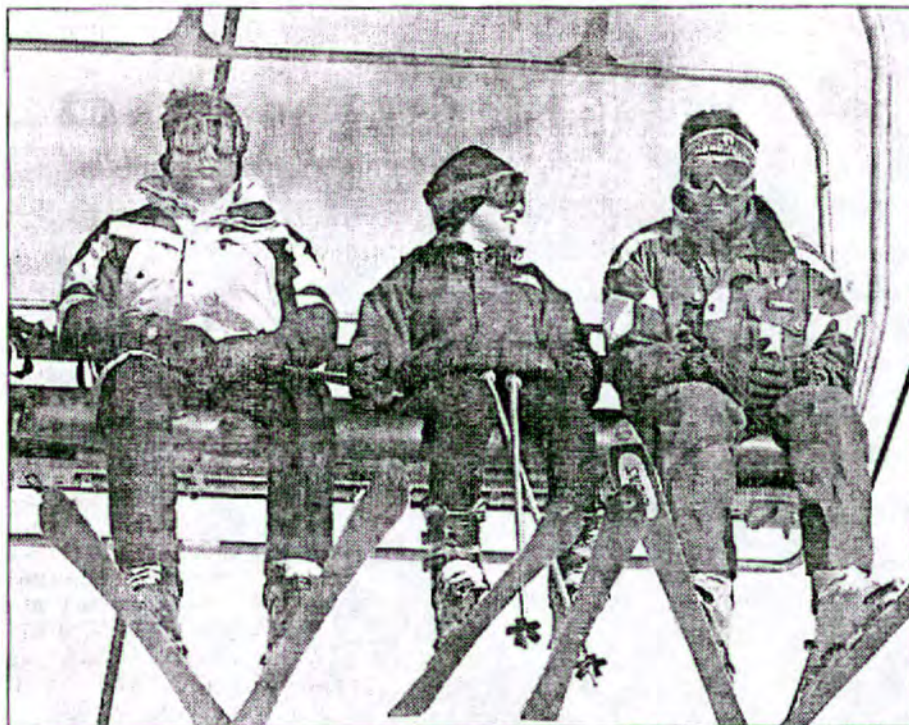
The president got a fifth book as a gift from Dolly's: "Park City Witness," an essay collection by local authors advocating the preservation of open spaces, reports The Post's Chuck Babington.

Consider it all airplane reading, since the president and **Hillary Rodham Clinton** left yesterday for Washington, while daughter **Chelsea** returned to Stanford

University.

As Clinton, sporting a leather jacket and jeans, worked the Main Street crowd before leaving, a reporter asked why they were leaving a day ahead of schedule. "I'm not," he replied. "We're going back a couple of hours early just so we can get a better night's sleep."

Perhaps the beds are lumpy at movie mogul **Jeffrey Katzenberg's** posh mountain getaway.



Work work work: Secret Service agents tough it out on the slopes with Chelsea Clinton.

First family cuts short vacation with Chelsea

President Clinton had to pay \$62.66 in cash at a bookstore in Park City, Utah, on Monday after his American Express card was rejected because it had expired Sunday. He reportedly borrowed the cash from an aide to buy four works at Dolly's bookstore: *The Testament* by John Grisham, *In Light of India* by Octavio Paz, *India* by Stanley Wolpert and *Playback* by Raymond Chandler. Earlier, Main Street Deli owner Mike Lindbloom rejected Clinton's offer to pay for a decaf coffee and peach yogurt. "I'll buy," Lindbloom said he told the president. "The economy's done great for me." The president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton cut short their three-day ski trip with daughter Chelsea and returned to Washington. The president said he wanted to go home early "so we can get a better night's sleep." The family was together for Chelsea's 19th birthday Saturday. She returned Monday to Stanford University.

— Mimi Hall

THE FIRST LADY

Hillary's Encounter with a Runaway Snow Bunny

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

RICH EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE/STGMA



Hillary at Deer Valley

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

POLITICS

A Senate Candidate Waiting in the Wings?

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

dent. Now there are hopes that he may reconsider and get in the race if Hillary decides not to. His father **MARIO CUOMO** was disappointed by his initial decision, and has let his feelings be known. "I certainly hope that he would reconsider if it turns out that Hillary doesn't get in the race,"

DENNIS COOK—AP



Cuomo

the former New York Governor told *TIME* last week. But his son says that he has not had any second thoughts and is still feeling good about his decision to stay out of the Senate race.

THE ACADEMY AWARDS

A Life Sentence And an Oscar Nod

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

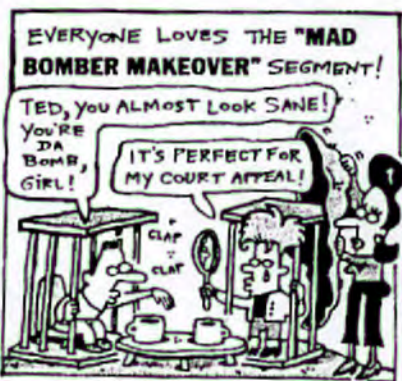
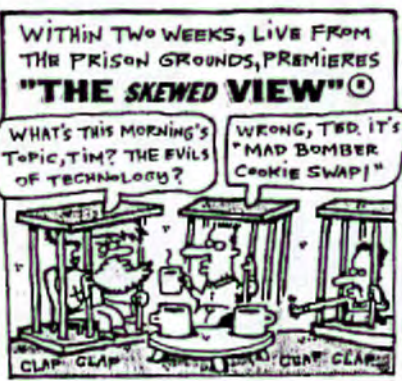
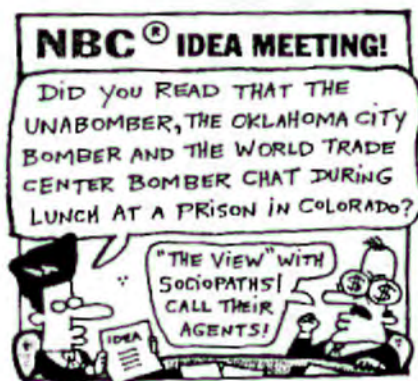


Rideau

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

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

THE DRAWING BOARD



The Shirt List

■ The relentless *will she? won't she?* buzz over **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and the New York Senate race has clearly gotten to Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

So he brought a little sartorial prop to the "Fox News Sunday" set yesterday with which to gig Sen. **Bob Torricelli** (D-N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and father of the first-lady-for-Senate boomlet.

"I've come up with a T-shirt for Bob that I think says it well," declared McConnell, holding up the "I ♥ NY" model. "Of course, the first lady doesn't live in New York. And if she chooses not to run in New York, she could run in New Jersey [deft use of flash-card produces Exhibit B, a T-shirt with the slogan "I ♥ NJ"]. And the Democrats, of course, have an open seat in Nevada [morph to Exhibit C, "I ♥ NV"]. She's sort of the Senate candidate for all states this year."



BY CHRIS KLEPONIS—FOX MORNING NEWS VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS
McConnell, making a case for Clinton?

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

In Utah, a Little Downhill Time

■ The weather was splendid—sunny and near 60—yesterday in Park City, Utah.

But that didn't tempt **President Clinton** into schussing down the slopes. Instead, he remained inside and read books at the lavish mountain retreat of movie producer **Jeffrey Katzenberg**. But **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and daughter **Chelsea** did the whole snow bunny number in the resort that is readying for the 2002 Winter Olympics.

The two women caused a brief stir among photographers, who were thrilled to capture them strapping on skis and getting on a lift near Bald Eagle Mountain, reports *The Post's* Chuck Babington.

White House spokesman **Barry Toiv** said he did not know what Clinton was reading, but allowed as how "work was low on the totem pole to him as far as his priorities." Clinton has stayed away from the sport since injuring his left knee in a 1984 skiing mishap in Idaho.

This is the second year Katzenberg has turned over to the Clintons his home 25 miles east of Salt Lake City. He was not there.

On Saturday night, the family celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday with a cake and dinner. No word on gifts.



BY RICK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

First daughter Chelsea Clinton carves up the slopes yesterday near Park City, Utah, where she and her family gathered to celebrate her 19th birthday on Saturday.

||| The Washington Post |||

Style

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1999



President Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana and his wife, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, flank their hosts at last night's state dinner.

BY GREG GIBSON—ASSOCIATED PRESS

At the White House, Time to Relax

Ghana's President Warms Up a Chilly Night

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and LAURA SESSIONS STEPP
Washington Post Staff Writers

Maybe it was the regal guest of honor. Maybe it was the star-studded guest list. Or maybe it was that the impeachment was finally, blessedly, over. But the atmosphere at last night's state dinner honoring the president of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings, was warm, ebullient and so celebratory that the receiving line took more than an hour due to all the hugs and kisses.

"Darling, I would have walked from North Carolina to be here

tonight," enthused poet Maya Angelou.

Angelou usually dominates any room she walks into, but last night she had plenty of competition: baseball legend Hank Aaron, actresses Angela Bassett and Cicely Tyson, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, Mayor Anthony Williams, Clinton confidants Betty Currie and Jesse Jackson, Olympic gold medalist Carl Lewis, singers Denyce Graves, Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds and BeBe Winans, and Minnesota Vikings Coach Dennis Green.

See DINNER, C9, Col. 1

White House Dinner

DINNER, From C1

But perhaps the most imposing figure was the guest of honor. Wearing a brilliant green satin shirt draped with yards of kente cloth, President Rawlings stood regally next to a visibly relaxed President Clinton. This state dinner was the first for a leader of an African nation since South Africa's Nelson Mandela was honored in 1994.

Ghana is a favorite destination for African Americans exploring history, genealogy and investments. Rawlings wants to further the ties between the two countries by extending dual citizenship to American descendants of African slaves, a proposal that was met with mixed interest among last night's guests.

"It's a great idea for people to connect to Africa, to maintain their African ties," said Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.). Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) was equally enthusiastic: "It's a marvelous idea. There's a growing interest in Africa."

But Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) wasn't so sure. "We have many more problems to focus on" here in the United States, he said.

The 52-year-old Rawlings was an impressive representative for his country. He was labeled a Marxist when he first seized control of the government in 1981, but his attempts at a state-managed economy failed. He then adopted free-market measures, rejuvenating the Ghanaian economy and creating one of the highest growth rates in Africa. Rawlings allowed popular elections in 1992 and has been returned to office twice. His move to a democratic republic has earned him plenty of fans—including Clinton, who made Ghana the first stop on his six-nation tour of sub-Saharan Africa a year ago.

In his toast before dinner, the president praised Ghana's progress in the past decade and called it "a proud, strong country." He then pledged his "commitment to making the bonds of our two nations stronger than ever."

Rawlings responded by saying that "Ghana can be secure and prosperous only when all of Africa is secure and prosperous," and he challenged developed nations to help leaders like him to get rid of the

"scavengers of diamonds and mercenaries of war."

There was much mutual affection in their remarks, and the Ghanaian leader continued his loyal support of his "brother and friend." When he came to the United States last fall, Rawlings dismissed the sex scandal rocking the White House: "You are oversaturating our ears with morality," the former fighter pilot told American executives at New York's River Club. "When it comes to national interest, morality does not count." He called the Lewinsky affair "the so-called sin of one individual. Who of us has not sinned? This should not distract you from doing the right thing."

The right thing, according to Rawlings, is to focus on global issues instead of sex scandals.

"He's done good things with his country," said Thomas Livingston, who went to Ghana in September 1961 to teach English as the very first Peace Corps volunteer. "He's the darling of the IMF and the World Bank because he pays his loans."

"I'm a big fan of his and what he's trying to do with his country," said Mayor Williams.

And Angelou had praise for both presidents and the women beside them. "They are two young men who have great hope for their countries—and great wives to help them," she said.

Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings wore a traditional dress to match her husband's attire. Mrs. Clinton wore a floor-length beaded black gown.

Despite the freezing temperatures outside, the decor and menu were designed to reflect the tropical climate of Ghana. Flowering quince and "Pink Ice" protea buds graced 21 tables in the East Room. Rawlings had requested food on the light side, and the White House kitchen complied with roast duck and papaya, followed by grilled yellowtail snapper. "When I was in Florida, the appearance of the yellowtail snapper signaled the arrival of warm weather," executive chef Walter Scheib explained.

The evening's entertainment was provided by jazz saxophonist Najee, a last-minute replacement for singer Patti LaBelle, who canceled on Tuesday. The White House had to scramble to find a suitable performer who



The first lady greets presidential secretary Betty Currie at the state dinner last night.

wasn't attending last night's Grammy Awards ceremony in Los Angeles.

Aides from the first lady's office called a friend of Mrs. Clinton's for help. Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds was asked if he could perform instead; he declined, but recommended Najee. After a mad dash to a nearby Tower Records for a Najee compact disc, the first lady's staff played it for Mrs. Clinton, who gave the nod.

"It would take me a year to prepare for the White House," the singer said. "Najee was ready."

The guest list for last night's dinner:

Vice President Gore and Tipper Gore
 Jerry John Rawlings, president of the Republic of Ghana
 Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, first lady of the Republic of Ghana
 Fati Habbu Jawila, Council of State
 James Victor Gbaho, minister of foreign affairs
 John Frank Abu, minister of trade and industry
 Kofi Bentsu Quansah, national security coordinator
 Cecilia Johnson, deputy minister of local government and rural development
 Mohamed Ben Chabbas, deputy minister of education
 Kofi Annan, ambassador to the United States, and Bertha Swannigan
 Victor Sekeles, deputy minister of finance
 Kofi Akrab, member of parliament and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs
 Kofi Annan, member of parliament and member of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs
 Kofi Annan, secretary general of the United Nations, and Nana Annan
 Dennis W. Archer, mayor of Detroit, and Judge Judy
 David L. Armstrong, mayor of Louisville, and Carol Armstrong
 Brian Atwood, administrator, Agency for International Development, and Susan Atwood
 Clarence Avant, chairman, Motown Records, and Jacqueline

Henry Aaron, senior vice president, Atlanta Braves
 Maya Angelou, writer and professor, Wake Forest University, and Gayle Glenn
 Vincent Anko, director, Cleveland Cancer Institute, and Cynthia Ferguson, National Summit on Africa
 Kofi Annan, secretary general of the United Nations, and Nana Annan
 Dennis W. Archer, mayor of Detroit, and Judge Judy
 David L. Armstrong, mayor of Louisville, and Carol Armstrong
 Brian Atwood, administrator, Agency for International Development, and Susan Atwood
 Clarence Avant, chairman, Motown Records, and Jacqueline

Dwight Bush, principal, Stuart Mill Capital Partners, and Antoinette Cook Bush, partner, Stadden, Arps, Stone, Menninger & Horn
 Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary, National Council of Churches, and Albert M. Pennington, association general secretary, National Council of Churches
 Myron M. Cherry, partner, Cherry & Flynn, Chicago, and Patricia Cherry
 Rep. Eric M. Clayton (D-N.C.) and Theodores Clayton, attorney
 Rep. John J. Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)
 Rep. Elijah E. Cummings (D-Md.) and Linda Thompson, Maryland Governor's Office for Children, Youth and Families
 Betty Currie, personal secretary to the president, and Robert Currie, environmental consultant
 Glen T. Davies, executive secretary, National Security Council, and Jacqueline Davies, attorney, Williams & Connolly
 Kenneth T. Dean, chairman and CEO, Owens Corp.
 Benjamin D. Dodoo, chairman of the board of directors, National Council of Ghanaian Associations, and Jane Dodoo
 Marian Wright Edelman, president, Children's Defense Fund, and Peter B. Edelman, professor, Georgetown University School of Law
 Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds, LaFace Records, and Tracey Edmonds, CEO, Edmonds Entertainment/Tab Fun Records
 Alfonso Michael Espartero, former secretary of agriculture, and Perita Ballard, senior human resources analyst, Shell Chemicals America
 Rep. Harold E. Ford Jr. (D-Tenn.)
 Mary Mall French, chief of protocol
 Mark D. Gossard, director, Peace Corps, and Mary Healy Gossard
 Dorcas Graves, opera singer, and David Perry, musician
 Carl Graves Jr., president, Black Enterprise Magazine, and Roberta Graves
 Dennis Green, head coach, Minnesota Vikings, and Maria Green
 Ernest G. Green, managing director of public finance, Lohman Brothers, and Phyllis Green
 C. Thomas Hendrickson, chairman, Triangle Environmental Inc., and M.D. Hendrickson, manager, Capital Club Properties
 Alek M. Herman, secretary of labor, and Charles Franklin
 Rep. Amory Houghton (R-N.Y.) and Prescilla Dewey Houghton
 John Ickle, World Bank, and Sabine Dulien
 Joseph L. Jackson, president and CEO, Rainbow-PUSH Coalition, and Jonathan Jackson, Rainbow-PUSH Coalition
 Rep. Shelia Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) and Howard Pyle Jr., director of legislative operations, Insight Energy
 Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.) and Andrea G. Jefferson, vice chancellor, Southern University at New Orleans
 Robert Remon Johnson, assistant to the president and director, White House Office on the President's Initiative for One America, and Jacqueline Johnson
 Sheila Johnson, executive vice president, Black Entertainment Television, and Shannon McCormick Davis, Davis Construction
 The Jones, co-host, "The View" and Gayle R. Jones, director of

president, Lucien Technicians, and Penny Lawrence
 Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.) and Carolea Scott, chief of staff for Rep. Barbara Lee
 Carl Lewis, Olympic gold medalist, and Carol Lewis
 Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) and Lilian Lewis
 David Levering Lewis, history professor, Rutgers University, and Ruth Ann Lewis, public affairs professor, Rutgers University
 Thomas J. Livingston and Georganna McGuire, Peace Corps, Ghana, 1962-1963
 C. Payne Lucas, president, African, and Freddie H. Lucas, president, Lodestar
 Leon Lynch, international vice president, United Steelworkers of America, and Doris Linda Lynch, manager of employee relations, Group Health Inc.
 George Madley and Herve Madley, Ghana Houston Association
 Richard L. Mays and Jennifer Mays
 Rep. James McDermott (D-Wash.) and Wanda E. Chivins
 Cheryl Mills, deputy assistant and deputy counsel to the president
 Myron Moore, assistant to the president, and William Practice Nelson
 Naam Rabinowitz, musician, and Fawcett Hagg, president, Fawcett Records
 Bob I. Nash, assistant to the president, and Janis Koenig, special assistant to the president
 Dean Omish, president, Preventive Medicine Research, and Molly Blackwell
 Rep. Donald M. Payne (D-N.J.) and Dennis A. Banks, deputy director for civil rights, Department of Agriculture
 Thomas H. Pickering, undersecretary of state for African affairs
 Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.)
 Susan E. Rice, assistant secretary of state for African affairs
 Linda Johnson Rice, president, Johnson Publishing, and Eugene H. Dibble Jr., senior vice president, Cardenas Foodservice & Associates
 John L. Richardson, partner, Seeger, Porter, Richardson, and Margaret M. Richardson, partner, Ernst & Young
 Kathryn D. Robinson, ambassador to Ghana, and Frank Young, U.S. Agency for International Development
 Sonya Ross, Associated Press, and Tavis Smiley, host, BET "Tonight!"
 Rep. Edward Royce (R-Calif.) and Marie Perle
 Enza Banks Ruggles, director of African affairs, National Security Council, and Taylor Ruggles, Turkish affairs, Department of State



Baseball legend Hank Aaron and his wife, Billye, above; and singer Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds and his wife, Tracey Edmonds, arrive at the White House.



representative to Africa
 Jane E. Smith, president, National Council of Negro Women, and Alfred M. Byrd, vice president, Kings of Groceries Washington
 Sam Okpoko J. Siewe (R-Maine) and John McKeown Jr., former governor of Maine
 Woodrow Utsey, mayor of Tulsa, Mich., and Rita Tinsley
 Robert Utsey, director, National Park Service, and David Tinsley
 John Stricker, president, Cook County (Ill.) Board of Commissioners, and Rita Stricker
 John Swanney, President, AFL-CIO, and Maureen Swanney
 Susan L. Taylor, assistant to the president, and Lawrence Swanney, and Khosro Bank, writer and editor
 Tracey Thomson, deputy assistant to the president for legislative affairs, and Peter M. Lutz, Texas businessman
 Michael Thompson, labor commissioner, state of Georgia
 Conly Tyson, actress, and Walter J. Leonard, Oxford University
 Carl Ware, president, Africa Group, and vice president, Coca-Cola Co., and Mary Ware
 Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) and Sidney Williams, former ambassador to the Bahamas
 Andrew Wills, mayor of Denver
 Todd Wink, secretary of veterans affairs, and Carl Wink
 Alan Whit, president, Whit & Associates, and Patricia Townsend, African National Congress (South Africa) vice president
 Leslie A. White Jr., federal co-chairman, Appalachian Regional Commission, and Timothy Scott Nova, co-chairman of the North Carolina General Assembly
 Anthony A. Williams, mayor, District of Columbia, and Dennis Simmons, D-R.I.
 Carol Wills Jr., director of community services, Connecticut National F. International, and David Wills



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TIME CQ

Clintons returning to Park City for family time on the slopes

February 23, 1999
Web posted at: 10:13 a.m. EST (1513 GMT)

WASHINGTON (AP) -- The first family is heading back to the ski slopes for daughter Chelsea's 19th birthday.

The White House announced Monday that after two days in Arizona and California pushing his fix for Social Security and raising money for Democrats, President Clinton will have three days of family time in Park City, Utah.

It is the second year in a row that the first family has chosen Park City for family time. Last year the president, who has skied only once in his life, was just getting over a knee injury and opted to read by the fire while Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea took to the slopes.

Clinton leaves Washington on Thursday for Tucson, Ariz., where he plans an address on his budget proposals for Social Security and education.

Later that night, he heads to San Francisco for a fund-raiser on behalf of House and Senate Democrats. Another fund-raiser is slated for Friday night in Los Angeles.

On Saturday, Chelsea's birthday, he heads to Park City, where he will remain until Tuesday, March 2.

For continuous breaking news, see [AP Newstream](#)

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Tuesday, February 23, 1999

- [Clinton and congressional leaders sit down for 'positive' meeting](#)
- [Chicago Mayor Daley poised to Rush back into office](#)
- [How to pass legislation: Give it a catchy name](#)
- [Clintons returning to Park City for family time on the slopes](#)
- [Administration, in policy reversal, rejects Hughes satellite export](#)
- [ABC set to air Lewinsky interview](#)

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Pooh Bear, who came with me from Cornwall, England, and is now enjoying his sunset years in Massachusetts. Both Pooh and I take great issue with Mr. Blackwell's quote, "[Linda Tripp] looks like a sheep dog in drag." We think this is an insult to sheep dogs.

MARIA HOLT
SHEFFIELD, MASS.

An Olympic-Size Problem

I AM SURE YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT THE Olympics scandal ("Go for the Greed," NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Jan. 25) will prompt responses from other citizens of Salt Lake City, too. We are the ones who polish the storefronts, clean the sidewalks and have created a place we are proud to call home. Maybe a small group of individuals sought to bend the rules and push the envelope to obtain the 2002 Winter Games. You need look no further than their personal greed to find the motivation. The Olympics are merely a potentially profitable business venture for them. In reality, that has little to do with the nearly 840,000 people who call this valley home. Salt Lake City and its residents are embarrassed by the acts of these individuals; however, I for one will not participate in their shame. NEWSWEEK's statement on Salt Lake City's need "to be a player on the world stage" doesn't

reflect our lives. We are too preoccupied with raising our families, earning a living and hoping the Jazz win the NBA title to worry about that. Frankly, we do not need the Olympics to tell us that we have it good here.

DAVID MARSHALL
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

IT DOESN'T SURPRISE ME THAT SCANDAL surrounds the Olympics as it does now. I am just surprised it is surfacing now, and not much sooner. The image of the Olympics has been tarnished since 1928—the year it elected to accept corporate sponsorship. The integrity was blemished further when officials decided to allow professional athletes to participate in the Games. As we've seen, these events are mere moneymaking schemes for a few select people. Any self-respecting amateur athlete should boycott the Games on principle.

ANTHONY MELITA
NEWTOWN, CONN.

More Cometh Soon ...

SOMETHING IS ROTTEN IN THE STATE OF NEWSWEEK ("Shakespeare in the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion," PERISCOPE, Feb. 8). Contrary to your "Buzz-O-Meter" report, "Shakespeare in Love" (still in limited release) is already quite successful. It had

a gross of \$31.5 million as of Feb. 1. Like its predecessor "The English Patient," it will receive a tremendous box-office boost from Oscar nominations and by doubling the number of theaters in which it's playing—all of which has it on track to be a hit. With results like these, all the buzz about "Shakespeare in Love" is hardly much ado about nothing.

MARK GILL, President
MARCY GRANATA, Executive VP, Marketing
and Publicity
Miramax Films
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Corrections

IN OUR JAN. 25 NEWSMAKERS ITEM ON Mark McGwire's 70th-home-run ball's fetching \$3 million at auction ("Horsehide Hysteria"), we reported that the highest price ever paid previously for a baseball was \$126,500. In fact, the most paid had been \$500,000.

OUR TIMELINE ON MICHAEL JORDAN'S life ("The Best Ever. Period," SOCIETY, Jan. 25) stated that Jordan's father, James, was murdered in South Carolina. While his body was found in South Carolina, the murder took place in North Carolina.

NEWSWEEK regrets the errors.

BY LINES

How to Help: A Guide to Mentoring

COMMITMENT MEANS STAYING WITH SOMETHING for the long haul. Last week Hillary Clinton brandished a copy of our special issue, "How to Be a Great Mentor," at a White House event promoting mentoring. The issue, produced by NEWSWEEK, Kaplan Educational Centers and the National Mentoring Partnership, represents nearly two years of planning. All three organizations donated their resources to put the issue together—and continue, through volunteer programs in the workplace, to support young people through mentoring.

"How to Be a Great Mentor" was conceived following the 1997 Presidents' Summit for America's Future chaired by Gen. Colin Powell. In the run-up to the summit, corporations were invited to pledge their help. NEWSWEEK chronicled those pledges in a recurring feature in our PERISCOPE section, and spotlighted the summit on our cover (April 28, 1997). But we weren't content to observe from the sidelines: Editor-in-Chief Richard M. Smith and Kaplan president Jonathan Grayer saw a chance to combine the magazine's and Kaplan's areas of expertise to show others how to get involved. The result is a practical guide

to making mentoring work, with stories about successful mentoring relationships, inspiration from concerned celebrities like basketball player Grant Hill and writer John Updike, and specific tips on the how, where and why of getting started.

The last—why mentor?—is the simplest to answer. There are an estimated 13.6 million young Americans (under 18) who seem headed for trouble, roughly half of whom are termed "very high risk" for delinquency, substance abuse and underachievement at school. One recent study showed that kids with mentors were nearly half as likely to use drugs and twice as likely to attend class than those without. As NEWSWEEK columnist Jonathan Alter writes in the issue's introduction, "Mentors not only touch someone's life, they have the

potential to touch and change the life of the nation." Many NEWSWEEK and Kaplan employees have discovered the power of mentoring firsthand. We hope "How to Be a Great Mentor" reflects the satisfactions that helping these young people can bring.

The issue can be ordered by calling 1-800-272-8306 or 703-803-8171. You can also find information at the National Mentoring Partnership's Web site at www.mentoring.org.



Hillary Clinton showcases the issue at the White House last week





Photo: Amarjit Sidhu

Nations Can't Tell Women to Give Birth

By Daniel J. Shepard

Hillary Rodham Clinton returned to The Hague Forum yesterday to reaffirm the United States' commitment to implement the Cairo Program of Action and to the promotion of women's human rights.

Clinton, who left The Hague on Sunday after addressing NGOs and youth representatives to attend the funeral of King Hussein of Jordan, told delegates from 180 countries that her husband's administration is determined to work with other countries and NGOs toward the full implementation of the Cairo agenda.

At a time when declining resources from the United States have increasingly been viewed as a sign that American interest in population strategies have waned, Clinton's address left little doubt that she, and her country, are still resolved to support the post-Cairo process. Taking heed of Cairo's critics, she made a point of denouncing the use of coercion in population programs, such as in China and Romania under the old regimes.

And through examples, she sought to convey the idea that

she is intimately concerned about the status and conditions of women in developing countries.

Addressing the issue of assistance, Clinton maintained that the US had spent \$13 billion so far in population assistance and said that an additional \$2.5 billion was allotted for economic and social development in the year 2000 budget. The President had also requested US\$25 million to restore funding to UNFPA and said, "I hope our Congress will support that request." She added, "The restoration of funding to UNFPA would send a strong signal that the US supports population programs."

"I realized that there will never be full agreement on some issues," she said, noting that there are people of good faith on both sides of the issues. "But I am sure of one thing," she continued, "government has no place in the personal decision of a woman to bring a child into the world."

Government does have a critical role, she said, in helping women lead full and meaningful lives. She emphasized that government especially has a duty to

Continued on page 6

Clinton

Continued from page 1

provide the poor with access to family planning services. "Wealthy and well connected women always have access to the services we need. What we need is access for all women." She also said, "We must create an environment in which all children are wanted and all pregnancies are planned."

In attacking coercive measures that have been associated with population programs in the past, Clinton recalled how under the former dictatorship in Romania, at a time when the government wanted to increase the population, women were subjected to intrusive medical checkups to determine whether they were pregnant.

But she then applauded the new program UNFPA has developed for China since it would bring China's population policies

into conformity with the Cairo agenda.

On a tour of the developing world, Clinton reported on a number of successes, from Indonesia where thousands of trained midwives have helped women make informed decisions on reproductive matters, to Nepal, where a 13-cent kit has helped make the delivery of babies safer. The project shows, she said, "that women do not have to die in childbirth."

And in Kazakhstan, the establishment of clinics, she said, has contributed to between a one-third to one-half increase in the use of contraceptives, while at the same time, abortion rates have declined dramatically.

Clinton repeated her husband's often repeated position on abortion in the US, which is to make abortion safe, legal, and rare.

She said the abortion rate in the US had fallen by 12 percent under the Clinton administra-

tion, and that levels of teen-age sexual activity had also declined.

"We have made progress," she said, but added that there were areas, such as education, where there is still work ahead. "This is no time to question our investment in education. No nation can hope to succeed if its people are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty."

Reaction to the Clinton's speech was favorable, and several NGOs said the first lady stressed some themes forcefully for the first time.

Amy Coen of Population Action International said, "the US Congress should heed the first lady's call for refunding UNFPA in the year 2000. It is unconscionable that, less than a year away from the start of a new millennium, the US is not supporting an agency that is in the forefront of efforts to make quality reproductive health care accessible and available to all who need them."

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 Ardayio 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 Ardayio. "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 Ardayio 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 Ardayio. 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 Ardayio.

"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.

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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.

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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.

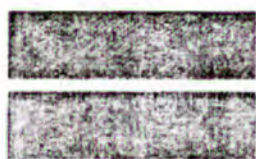
first grant recipients of the Turner Foundation when it was set up in 1994. According to Perkin, even though considerable interest had been expressed by NGOs at The Hague on hearing of the additional \$2.2 billion available for grants, no other ICPD+5 proposals were being considered.

"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 mortality, cervical cancer and childhood immunization will be priorities for future funding."

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.

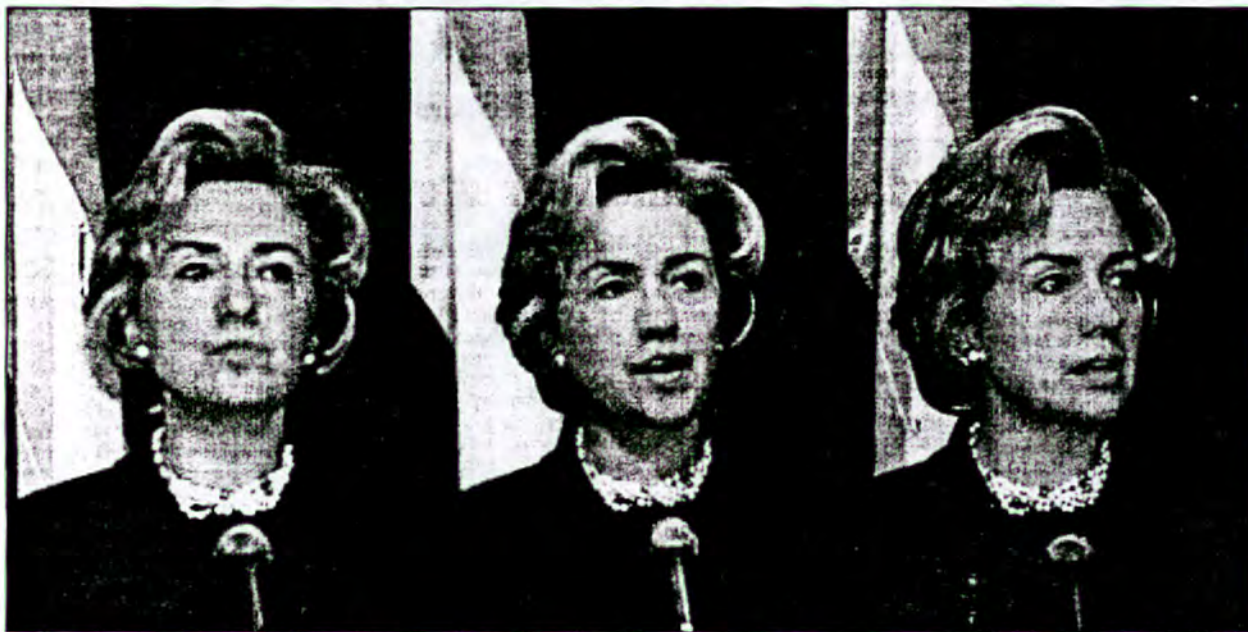
It was a time when the pill had just been introduced to the neighboring country of India, she said, a development that Nepalese women expressed great interest in. She petitioned the US Agency for International Development to get involved in a project to distribute the pill to the women in Nepal, and says she was working for USAID before she knew what hit her. She subsequently moved to PATH, where she was vice president of administration, before moving to the Gates Foundation.



THE EARTH
Times

http://www.earthtimes.org

Produced in cooperation with The New York Times Fax



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



LOUIS SILVERSTEIN / THE EARTH TIMES

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 be 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, but at a reduced rate. "If you provide people with choices—which is what this conference is all about—that is beneficial," she said. Clark said she finds The Hague Forum heartening. Her foundation's program, she explained, "is grounded in the Cairo program of action. I'm reassured that we can continue as we've been going. We should all," she added, "be working hard at pushing the agenda forward."

—JACK FREEMAN

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. But, he added, this week's meeting is a technical review of programs undertaken to implement Cairo—not, as several government officials have said, a place to announce increased aid commitments.

Krumbein said Germany made a "very certain



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 DM 489.3 million—or the equivalent of about \$310 million—an almost one-third increase since 1994.

Germany currently holds the

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 RABIA 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 Leiras, 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 Rabia Nizam

New warnings issued on reproductive health

BY C. GERALD FRASER

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HILARY BURKE / THE EARTH TIMES

Dr. Mahmoud Fathalla greeting Hillary Clinton Sunday.

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13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

February 10, 1999, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; CULTURE, ET CETERA; Pg. A2

LENGTH: 895 words

HEADLINE: Population found dropping in U.S. and other nations;
Depopulation issue for 21st century, some experts say

BYLINE: Cheryl Wetzstein; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

While a stellar lineup of delegates including first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke in the Netherlands this week on ways to reduce world population, American social policy experts point out fertility rates are already falling here and in dozens of other modern nations.

"The population issue of the 21st century is not going to be overpopulation, but depopulation," says Allan Carlson, president of the Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society in Rockford, Ill.

Mr. Carlson and others who worry about shrinking populations think modern prosperity helps stifle fertility in a country where only 11 states, led by Utah, had fertility rates of more than 2.1 children per woman. They say couples who have disposable incomes, higher education, access to contraception and a wife in the work force have interests that compete with raising children.

And, demographically speaking, "pregnancies delayed - to some extent - are pregnancies denied," American Enterprise Institute scholar Ben Wattenberg wrote in his book on depopulation, "The Birth Dearth."

In the United States, where 28 years of subpar fertility rates have been offset by an influx of young immigrants, social policy experts worry about the long-term consequences of anti-family and anti-marriage policies.

They say family growth - especially among married couples - could be stimulated with tax policies that favor families who are raising children.

The country could also use a new national attitude that says children are valuable to society and large families should be celebrated, Mr. Carlson says. Workplace changes are also key, says Danielle Crittenden, author of "What Our Mothers Didn't Tell Us: Why Happiness Eludes the Modern Woman."

A lot of American women who got jobs, married late and had children in their 30s now say, "They're getting the worst of both worlds," she says. "They're trapped in their jobs, and then they go home and they're exhausted by the demands of motherhood."

Mrs. Crittenden's advice? Follow Grandma's example and marry younger, have babies sooner, and pursue a job after the children are in school. She

The Washington Times, February 10, 1999

suggests that corporations encourage this cultural shift by welcoming back these educated, skilled mothers and allowing more flexible work schedules for parents.

Getting momentum for cultural reforms to increase fertility won't be easy, however, while people are still arguing over whether overpopulation or depopulation is the main problem.

The world's population is expected to reach 6 billion this year and 8.9 billion by 2050.

In The Hague this week, hundreds of delegates at The Hague forum on population and development are discussing how far the world has come since the 1994 population conference in Cairo, where many reproductive goals were set. A second major meeting on the issue is set for next month in New York.

Fertility rates, which track women's childbearing over their lifetimes, are key indicators of population.

To replace itself, a population needs each woman to have an average of 2.1 children over her lifetime to replace herself and her mate, excluding immigration.

Those who worry about overpopulation note that two-thirds of the world's nations have "replacement-level" or higher fertility rates.

Yemen, for example, leads the world with a fertility rate of 7.6 children per woman, the United Nation's Population Division estimates. Several other countries have similarly high rates.

But those who worry about depopulation note that 58 of the world's countries have less-than-replacement fertility rates. Five of these countries - Bulgaria, Italy, the Czech Republic, Romania and Spain - have a rate of 1.2 children per woman, and other countries, such as Japan, are only slightly higher.

In the United States, only 11 states have replacement-level populations, according to the National Center on Health Statistics. The rest have below-replacement fertility rates, including rates of 1.9 in the District, 1.8 in Maryland and 1.7 in Virginia.

****BOX

A BIRTH DEARTH

Twelve years ago, author Ben Wattenberg laid out the probable causes for the ongoing decline in populations. He says fertility tends to drop when:

- * Families move to urban settings, away from rural settings.
- * Young women in college prepare for careers, not marriage and family.
- * Personal wealth increases.
- * Women of childbearing age enter the labor force.

The Washington Times, February 10, 1999

- * Women have easy access to abortion and contraception.
- * Homosexuality is present.
- * Marriage is delayed, because it reduces the years a woman is likely to bear a child in wedlock.
- * First births are delayed.
- * Divorce occurs, because it typically removes, sometimes forever, a woman from the pool of likely mothers.
- * Women age, because their decreased fecundity makes conception and pregnancy more difficult.
- * There are high numbers of unmarried women and cohabiting couples.
- * There are high rates of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that marriage and raising a family aren't necessarily priorities in a woman's life.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that raising a child is costly.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that "too many people" create pollution, drain resources and cause poverty.

Source: "The Birth Dearth," 1987, by Ben J. Wattenberg, American Enterprise Institute

GRAPHIC: Box, A BIRTH DEARTH, By The Washington Times ; Chart, IRREPLACABLE YOU, By The Washington Times ; Map, WHERE THE BABIES ARE, By The Washington Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 10, 1999

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* Average annual total returns reflect the actual performance of the Fund without taking sales charges into account. SEC standardized returns reflect the Fund's contingent deferred sales charge (Class B shares), which applies only if the shares are sold within six years of purchase.

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LETTERS



A Campaign of Her Own?

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

FRANCES L. BODE
Rocky River, Ohio

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

TED GROB
West Des Moines, Iowa

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

MARIANO PATALINJUG
Yonkers, N.Y.

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

WILLIAM R. PRITCHETT
Midland, Mich.

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

RICHARD S. ABRAHAM
Oak Brook, Ill.

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

MARTIN FREUND
New York City

THE ADVICE TO HILLARY FROM FORMER Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, “Do what's best for you,” is very telling. It is descriptive of much of the attitude of

both Clintons. No one is raising the issue of what's best for the citizenry. Therein lies the problem: it's all about selfishness—not selfless service.

PETER V. HUISKING
Sierra Vista, Ariz.

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

ROBERT HIGGINSON
Orem, Utah

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

ROGER CHAPIN
San Diego

THE POLK AWARD

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

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

RONALD R. STELZEN
Mondovi, Wis.

SENATOR HILLARY CLINTON. THE VERY thought petrifies me!

EUGENE POOLE
Marina del Rey, Calif.

The Hunt for Ocalan

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

ILYAS BOTAS
Paterson, N.J.

GO, HILLARY!



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

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Should She Go for It?

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

EVA CHIRAPONGSE
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

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

MARC B. ZELOOF
KEW GARDENS, N.Y.

I CANNOT UNDERSTAND ALL THE 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.

THERESA 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 off what they purchased on credit?

TODD E. HINE
FRANKLIN, IND.

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

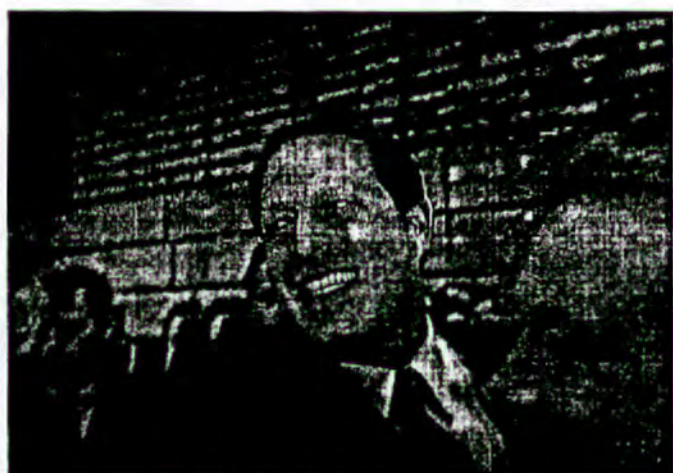
WARD LYNDALL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Many Shades of Gray

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

CAMPAIGN 2000

Gore Rides High on the Hog



The vice president officially hits the campaign trail this week

WHAT DO HOGS have to do with Al Gore's presidential campaign? One word: Iowa. The vice president officially hits the campaign trail for the first time this week, with forays into New Hampshire and Iowa. Though the New Hampshire primary has historically spelled trouble

for front runners, Gore advisers say they aren't worried. His real concern, the advisers say, is Iowa, the site of the all-important caucuses. That system favors highly motivated (read: angry) voters, and the Gore team fears the veep's only challenger, former senator Bill Bradley, could get a foothold. "We can't let Bradley get any

momentum there," says a top Gore aide.

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

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



Bono at home with Chastity

MONEY

Sonny's Son?

SONNY BONO DIED WITHOUT a will, so by law his assets go to his widow, Mary, and his children. Trouble is, it's not clear how many kids he left behind. A California man says he's Bono's natural son and he's ready to take a DNA test to prove it. Sources close to the case say Mary Bono's lawyers will ask the coroner this week for a sample of Sonny's blood to determine whether the estate will be split among four offspring—Christy (by his first wife), Chastity (by Cher), Chastity and Chianna (by Mary)—or five.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Electoral Dysfunction Edition

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

C.W.

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

HILLARY WATCH

'She's Doing Her Homework'



Gathering facts and opinions

WORD LEAKED LAST week that Bill Clinton was hinting his wife's decision on a New York Senate bid may be imminent. Not so fast, caution friends of Mrs. Clinton. "[Hillary's] doing her homework," says one confidant.

She wants to be scrupulous about following campaign-finance rules. Advisers say she's looking into the legal issues raised by a run from the White House and mulling the need to form an exploratory committee to avoid any appearance of impropriety. Meanwhile, she's getting conflicting advice. Clinton loyalist James Carville and Liz Moynihan, wife of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, are cautioning against a bid. But California Sen. Barbara Boxer, New York Rep. Charles Rangel and longtime friend Harold Ickes are encouraging her to run. "Even if she decided yes right now," says a friend, "there would be no announcement until the fall."

Call by Call, Hillary Clinton Queries New York Leaders

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Pigeon said that Mrs. Clinton told him that she did not want

her delay in making a decision to hurt the ability of other potential Democratic candidates — like Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester — to raise money.

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on Page A19

Call by Call, Mrs. Clinton Queries New York Democrats

Continued From Page A1

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

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

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

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

Mr. Silver said Mrs. Clinton told him that her remarks were a "reflec-

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Ickes said that Mrs. Clinton

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

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

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

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

Mr. Alpert also said that he and Mrs. Clinton talked about friends and

colleagues they had in common in Westchester — Ronald H. Brown, the late Secretary of Commerce, who was a Democratic district leader in Mount Vernon in the 1970's, and Toby Nussbaum, a former county Democratic finance chairman who is married to Bernard W. Nussbaum, a former White House counsel.

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

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

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

46TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

March 19, 1999, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1102 words

HEADLINE: Frisking Policy Of the Police Faces Scrutiny

BYLINE: By BENJAMIN WEISER

BODY:

An investigation by Federal prosecutors into the tactics of the New York Police Department will be expanded to focus increased scrutiny on the Street Crime Unit, the elite police squad that includes four officers who fatally shot Amadou Diallo, the Justice Department announced yesterday.

The new phase of the inquiry, to be conducted by the United States Attorney in Manhattan, Mary Jo White, will focus on whether members of the Street Crime Unit have systematically deprived people of their constitutional rights through "stop and frisk" tactics and other practices. Ms. White's inquiry will broaden an investigation by Zachary W. Carter, the United States Attorney in Brooklyn, which began 18 months ago after the suspected police torture of a Haitian immigrant, Abner Louima.

Officials did not say last night why Ms. White was joining Mr. Carter's investigation. Ms. White's prosecutors have tried major police corruption and civil rights cases in the past, and Mr. Diallo's death took place in the Bronx, one of the boroughs in her office's jurisdiction.

City officials were formally notified of the expanded investigation earlier this week. On Wednesday, State Attorney General Eliot L. Spitzer said he would review assertions that officers routinely stop people on the streets and frisk them without justification, and earlier this month the United States Commission on Civil Rights said it would hold hearings on the city's police.

Last night, Colleen Roche, a spokeswoman for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, questioned the motives of Federal officials in expanding the investigation to the Street Crime Unit.

"The timing of this is very curious. Janet Reno makes this announcement on the same day that Hillary expresses an interest in Amadou Diallo," referring to Hillary Rodham Clinton's inquiries to Democratic officials in the city about the case, "and one day after they are scooped by Eliot Spitzer's announcement of his investigation, which is very similar.

"We just hope that all of the Clinton Administration officials and Democratic Attorney General Spitzer don't bump into each other as they rush to conduct their investigations," Ms. Roche added.

The New York Times, March 19, 1999

Marilyn Mode, a spokesman for Police Commissioner Howard Safir, said last night, "We will fully cooperate with this investigation, just as we have with all of the other investigations." She added "If this investigation is conducted fairly, it will demonstrate that the N.Y.P.D. is truly one of the most restrained police forces in the county."

Michael D. Hess, the city's Corporation Counsel, declined comment yesterday on Ms. White's investigation, but said the Police Department had worked diligently to fulfill the requests from the United States Attorney's office in Brooklyn. "We have been in contact," Mr. Hess said. "We've cooperated fully, and we were happy to provide information that was requested."

The Justice Department last night portrayed Ms. White's focus on the Street Crime Unit as an expansion of the original investigation authorized by the agency under a 1994 law that allows Federal officials to investigate whether "patterns or practices" in police departments deprive people of their civil rights.

The Street Crime Unit, based on Randalls Island, sends teams of officers into neighborhoods to hunt down suspects and seize illegal guns. It has been roundly criticized by civil rights groups who contend that its members stop and search tens of thousands of people, based on their race, without arresting the vast majority of them. Ms. White's investigation is likely to focus on the unit's stop-and-frisk policies, as well as on the screening and training of officers.

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures, and court decisions interpreting it have held that police officers must have a specific reason to suspect a person has committed a crime, not just a vague suspicion of someone, to justify a search of that person.

For the last 18 months, Mr. Carter has been conducting the broad investigation into the department's patterns and practices. That inquiry was spurred by the beating of Mr. Louima.

Mr. Carter's prosecutors have focused on the charges of brutality and have sought to determine "whether incidents of excessive force were the product of systemic deficiencies in police operations, including possible failures of complaint intake and investigation, discipline, and supervision," the Justice Department said in a statement last night. Mr. Carter's staff has sifted through thousands of Police Department files concerning abuse complaints and discipline.

After the Diallo shooting, Mr. Carter's office also opened a review of records that contain accounts of when police officers fire their weapons, to determine whether there has been a pattern of abuse in the use of deadly force.

Mr. Carter, who had declined to discuss his investigation, said in a brief interview last Friday: "We have made substantial progress toward concluding this inquiry."

Under the 1994 "pattern or practice" law, if the Government finds that there has been systematic abuse of civil rights by the police, it may sue in Federal court, seeking an injunction to compel the department in question to reform its operations.

The New York Times, March 19, 1999

In the two cases involving police departments where the Justice Department found civil rights violations -- Pittsburgh and Steubenville, Ohio -- the Government negotiated consent decrees in which local authorities agreed to reforms.

Representative Jose E. Serrano, in whose Bronx district Mr. Diallo was killed, said yesterday's announcement was welcome because it showed that the Federal authorities were willing to focus more broadly than on the investigation of individual incidents.

He said: "This is great. This is exactly what we've been asking for. We've been trying to get the Justice Department, with its power, if you will, and its weight to come in and conduct this kind of investigation."

"Now we finally have somebody," he said, "with the power to ask questions that must be answered."

The Justice Department, in the statement from Ms. White, Mr. Carter, and Bill Lann Lee, Acting Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, said both Federal prosecutors in New York City would work together in the investigation, which it portrayed as an expansion of Mr. Carter's inquiry into excessive force.

The Justice Department is also conducting a separate "pattern or practice" investigations into whether the State Police in New Jersey have been stopping motorists illegally on the basis of race.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 19, 1999

Los Angeles Times

National
Edition

ON THE INTERNET: WWW.LATIMES.COM
CIRCULATION: 1,095,007 DAILY / 1,385,373 SUNDAY

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1999
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DAILY 50 CENTS
AN EDITION OF THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Prosecutor Says He Drafted an Indictment of First Lady

■ **Courts:** Top Starr attorney, testifying in McDougal trial, discloses tack made during Whitewater inquiry.

By ERIC LICHTBLAU
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The top prosecutor in independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's Arkansas operation revealed on the witness stand Thursday that he came to doubt the truthfulness of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Whitewater statements several years ago and even drafted an indictment against her.

The disclosure, made grudgingly by prosecutor W. Hickman Ewing Jr. as he testified at the contempt trial of Whitewater figure Susan McDougal in Little Rock, Ark., shed new light on the Starr team's aggressive but thus

far fruitless attempt to press criminal charges against the Clintons in Arkansas.

And it threatened to complicate the first lady's possible run for the

■ NO BAR TO STARR PROBE

Judges don't have power to halt Justice Dept. probe of independent counsel. **A3**

U.S. Senate in New York by reviving interest in a scandal that has dogged the Clintons for five years.

"There's nothing good that can
Please see CLINTON, A12

CLINTON

Continued from A1

come of this for her," said Lee Miringoff, director of New York's Marist College Poll, which shows Mrs. Clinton leading the prospective race. "The more it sounds like 'here we go again with the Clintons,' the less welcome her candidacy becomes."

The indictment apparently was drafted sometime in 1996. At the time, there was widespread speculation in Washington that Mrs. Clinton might be indicted because of her statements about investments that she held with McDougal and McDougal's late husband, as well as legal work she did on the Castle Grande land development, which siphoned money from the McDougals' savings and loan.

The mysterious discovery at the White House in 1996 of billing records belonging to the first lady, which had been subpoenaed by Starr but had vanished, only fueled rumors of a possible indictment. Starr's team, however, had never acknowledged the possibility—before Thursday.

David E. Kendall, the Clintons' personal attorney, was quick to ridicule Ewing's testimony. "The mere fact that this prosecutor drafted a frivolous indictment himself has no significance whatsoever except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

The day's events marked another unexpected twist in the trial of McDougal, a onetime business partner of the Clintons who is charged with contempt and obstruction of justice for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury looking into the Clintons' role in the failed Whitewater real estate development in Arkansas before his election as president. She maintains that Starr's office wanted her to lie to the grand jury.

On Thursday, Los Angeles defense attorney Mark Geragos adopted the unusual tactic of subpoenaing Ewing, Starr's chief prosecutor in Arkansas, and calling him as his lead witness.

Geragos said in an interview that McDougal had learned from "a reliable source" that Starr's office had drafted an indictment of Mrs. Clinton several years ago but never pursued it. Geragos said he wanted to question Ewing on the stand about the issue to show that "they went into this thing with the idea that they had a culprit and they were looking for a crime."

Ewing sought to downplay the significance of the draft indictment, testifying that it is not unusual for a prosecutor to draft such a document to explore whether a case might be brought. "You're always thinking about... what possible crime might it be," he testified.

Indeed, Joseph E. diGenova, a



Associated Press

Deputy Independent Counsel W. Hickman Ewing Jr., subpoenaed by Susan McDougal's defense attorney, walks to the Little Rock, Ark., federal building Thursday.

former independent counsel, said in an interview that prosecutors often use draft indictments as a tool to explore legal theories or even to show to a criminal target to get a suspect to cooperate. But he stressed that such drafts are usually reserved for someone who is being "seriously considered" for prosecution.

Ewing testified that, after he drafted the indictment against Mrs. Clinton, he showed it to several people in his office. Ewing did not say what charges were included or why prosecutors did not seek a formal indictment. He said simply that "no charges were ever presented to the grand jury."

Ewing said he was bothered by doubts about the Clintons' credibility after several sworn statements they gave in connection with the Whitewater investigation in 1995.

On the question of Mrs. Clinton's legal work, for instance, Ewing said: "I had a concern that the president and the first lady were perhaps not telling it like it was."

Ewing was asked whether he had ever referred to the Clintons as liars.

"I don't know if I ever used the L-word or not. But I certainly ex-

pressed internally that I had problems with some of their answers," he said, according to an Associated Press account.

During one conversation with fellow Starr staff members, Ewing said, he graded the Clintons on their responses to questions, giving the president a 'C' and Mrs. Clinton an 'F.'

That statement came after the first lady had said, "I don't recall," about 50 times during a deposition in July 1995, Ewing testified.

Officials in Starr's office said Thursday that they would just as soon have kept silent about the existence of the draft indictment.

Prosecutors in the McDougal trial objected repeatedly to Geragos' questions about the issue, and Ewing said initially that he could not be certain if an indictment was drafted. Under questioning, he went into further detail.

"Obviously Mr. Ewing felt the answer was called for, but it was only given after the judge had twice overruled the objections of the government," said Edward Page, a spokesman for Starr's office. "We're just saying that it's irrelevant to the case."

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1999

■ First Lady Hillary Clinton asked city Comptroller Alan Hevesi about the case in an hourlong, one-on-one meeting at the White House.

Hevesi, one of the city's top Dems, refused to criticize the mayor's handling of the matter — noting Giuliani offered to meet with the family and pay funeral expenses, and attended Diallo's memorial service.

"I think substantially in this case the mayor has acted appropriately — except he's a lightning rod," the comptroller said.

HAUNTED BY WHITEWATER

HILLARY'S CLOSE ESCAPE



NOTHING TO TELL: President Clinton and First Lady Hillary both swore that they knew next to nothing about the Whitewater land scam. AP

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST *Post Correspondent*

WASHINGTON — One of Kenneth Starr's prosecutors testified yesterday that he drafted — but never sought — a Whitewater indictment of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Prosecutor Hickman Ewing's revelation in the Susan McDougal trial in Little Rock could haunt the First Lady if she decides to run for the Senate in New York.

Ewing said he "had problems" with some of her statements to investigators in April 1995 and drafted an indictment shortly after September 1996. He said he showed it to other prosecutors in Starr's office but went no further.

"You're always thinking about ... what possible crime could it be," Ewing said, explaining that it's routine for prosecutors to draw up draft indictments.

Ewing was called to testify by McDougal's lawyer, Mark Geragos, in the obstruction-of-justice trial to try to demonstrate that Starr is obsessed with nailing the Clintons.

McDougal has refused to answer Starr's questions, saying she doesn't trust him.

Sources said the draft indictment dealt with Mrs. Clinton's statements denying — or claiming she couldn't remember — legal work that she performed for Madison Guar-

Indictment was drafted



MAN WITH A PLAN: Prosecutor Hickman Ewing considered bringing charges against the First Lady. *Times*

anty, a thrift owned by Jim McDougal.

Mrs. Clinton has said she doesn't remember doing work for Madison on a shady land deal known as Castle Grande.

But a 1996 report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. shows that calendar notes, billing records and a witness — a Madison loan officer — confirm that she worked on the project.

"She was in conflict with interviews we had already done with several people in the Rose Law Firm," Ewing said.

Mrs. Clinton's billing records disappeared shortly after the 1992 election. More than a year after Starr subpoenaed them, the records mysteriously showed up in the White House near Mrs. Clinton's office.

Mrs. Clinton could face more Whitewater trouble in June, around the period she's tentatively planning to announce her decision on the Senate race, according to sources.

She has a "good chance" of being called as a witness in Webster Hubbell's Whitewater trial, according to a lawyer close to the case.

David Kendall, the Clintons' defense lawyer on Whitewater, is preparing for the First Lady to testify in the trial, which is scheduled to start on June 14, sources said. Both sides must trade witness lists by April 14.

Kendall downplayed the news of the draft indictment, saying "The mere fact that this prosecutor's office drafted a frivolous indictment three years ago has no significance whatsoever — except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

Earlier this week, Starr's prosecutors called Mrs. Clinton to the stand as a video witness in the McDougal trial. In a taped Q&A recorded last April, Mrs. Clinton claimed she didn't review Whitewater documents.

But testifying as a live witness in the upcoming Hubbell trial "could be a moment of real peril for her," said Bob Guiffra, who was counsel on the Senate Whitewater Committee.

"In the first Whitewater trial, it was Bill Clinton's conduct that was at issue. In this trial, it's the extent of Hillary Clinton's work for Madison."

Starr has charged Hubbell, a former partner of Mrs. Clinton's at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, with lying to Congress and to federal regulators when he denied the firm did any work for Madison.

Prosecutors charge that Mrs. Clinton performed legal work for Madison, arranging cover papers for sham payments of \$300,000 to Hubbell's father-in-law, Seth Ward, in the Castle Grande deal.

Experts split on how it hits Senate bid

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — News that Hillary Clinton had a close call with a criminal indictment probably won't hurt her much if she runs for Senate, many analysts say.

But others warned it tarnishes her post-Sexgate halo and should make New York Democrats think twice — and maybe a lot more than twice — about whether they should be so wild about Hillary.

"I don't think it will hurt her because she's already very polarizing ... it will probably just hype her supporters," said Republican strategist Eddie Mabe.

"It would hurt anyone else — but those two people [the Clintons] are out there in another class."

ANALYSIS

They truly have this insulation that no other candidate I know has."

Democratic strategist Bob Shrum said: "I don't think that more nonsense from Ken Starr will have any influence. People assume it's political. He's not a star — he's a black hole. Stuff goes in but nothing comes out."

But Post pollster John Zogby, whose latest poll shows Mayor Giuliani leading Mrs. Clinton in a Senate matchup, said the news is a warning for Democrats.

And so is the risk that she may be called as a witness for the prosecution in the upcoming trial of her pal Webster Hubbell.

"It would be significant if not fatal because she would be dogged, even in places like Watertown and Binghamton, about everything from the Castle Grande real estate deal to her billing records, and she would find it difficult to deliver a campaign message above that clutter," Zogby said.

"If I'm a Democratic leader, I have to wonder if I want the risk of that or a safer candidate like Nita Lowey [D-Westchester]. It changes the debate over the next month or so and should give pause to all those New Yorkers making the pilgrimage to convince her to run."

Zogby said he doesn't think Mrs. Clinton has any real intention of running for Senate — "I think this is a great diversion, and a great way of en-

gaging New York Democrats."

GOP pollster Ed Goens said it's impossible to test how all this could affect Mrs. Clinton's potential candidacy because Sexgate-weary voters don't want to hear about scandal now — but that could change next year.

"She lives under a protective shield right now, but if she becomes the candidate that shield disappears, and I'd like to think she's no different from everyone else," Goens said.

Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, also a GOP pollster, added: "Hillary Clinton is in the same place as Al Gore. You may not want to return something you bought and are unhappy with, but do you go back and buy more stuff at that same store?"

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THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1999

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VIII No. 51,465

Poll Indicates Fierce Struggle In a Clinton-Giuliani Face-off

By JAMES DAO with MARJORIE CONNELLY

As Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani test the waters for Senate campaigns next year, a New York Times/CBS News poll shows that New York State voters hold strongly partisan opinions, but also nagging reservations, about both politicians, indicating that a contest between them would be highly competitive.

The survey shows Mrs. Clinton leading Mr. Giuliani in several categories at this early juncture. More voters view her favorably, saying they think she is more caring and would probably be more effective than the Mayor, a Republican. When asked which candidate they would vote for if the election were held today, 48 percent said Mrs. Clinton and 39 percent said Mr. Giuliani.

Still 20 months away from the election, most voters' opinions about the race are fluid and are likely to have

been influenced by factors that may have no bearing on the final outcome, from name recognition of the potential candidates to recent events like the shooting of Amadou Diallo by the New York City police and the impeachment trial of President Clinton.

The poll also suggested in several ways that Mr. Giuliani might not be quite as vulnerable as the figures indicate, and that Mrs. Clinton might not be quite as strong.

For instance, the survey showed that a significant number of voters, 4 out of 10, think that the First Lady would not be an effective representative for New York in the Senate because she has never lived in the state.

Republicans have already said they would make Mrs. Clinton's residency a campaign issue, and the poll indicates that a vigorous effort to portray the First Lady as a carpet-bagger could work with some voters.

"It doesn't seem right that just

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Continued on Page A22

Poll Shows Fierce Fight if First Lady Faces Giuliani

Continued From Page A1

because she's the President's wife that she can suddenly decide that she can run for Senate from this state," Sherry Groff, 24, a Democrat from the town of Copenhagen, north of Syracuse, said in a follow-up interview. "It's as if she's got her pick of all 50 and decided New York will be the one."

The poll also showed that 6 out of 10 voters north of the New York City suburbs were unable to give an opinion of Mr. Giuliani, more than double the number for Mrs. Clinton. The upstate region has historically been a Republican stronghold, and Mr. Giuliani would be widely expected to win a higher percentage of that bloc of voters.

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted March 8 to 14 with 1,859 adults throughout the state. Of those, 1,469 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges across the state. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region of the state, race, Hispanic origin, sex, age, and education.

In addition, the question about voting

preference if the year 2000 election for United States Senate were being held today is based on "usual voters." Usual voters are those who say they voted in 1996 or 1998, further weighted so that those who reside in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups, the potential sampling error is larger.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for instance, can lead to somewhat varying results.

Mayor's job-approval rating, which has been hurt in the city by concerns about police brutality and race relations. Conversely, Mrs. Clinton is basking in high ratings that stem in part from voter sympathy for her stoic handling of the Monica Lewinsky affair and the President's impeachment trial.

Mrs. Clinton has also probably benefited from her husband's 75 percent job-approval rating in the state, which is down just slightly from his all-time high of 78 percent last October. And because she has never run for office before, Mrs. Clinton has yet to endure the level of campaign stress and scrutiny from the news media that can cause a candidate's approval ratings to drop.

The Times/CBS News poll was conducted by telephone March 8 through Sunday and surveyed 1,469 registered voters across the state. The margin of sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points.

Though Mrs. Clinton's aides say she is far from a decision, she has been studying the race with extraordinary care, having met with or telephoned scores of state Democratic leaders and county chairmen.

Representative Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester, has said she would probably enter the race if Mrs. Clinton decided not to run. Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican, has said he may run whether or not Mr. Giuliani becomes a candidate.

Other recent public opinion polls have produced a wide range of results for a Clinton-Giuliani contest, indicating that voters have not thought much yet about the race or its potential candidates. On one end of the scale, a poll by Zogby International released this week showed Mr.

Giuliani leading by 11 points; at the other end, a Quinnipiac College poll conducted last month had Mrs. Clinton ahead by 18 points.

According to the Times/CBS News poll, 52 percent of all state voters had a favorable opinion of Mrs. Clinton, while 22 percent had an unfavorable opinion and 26 percent were undecided or did not know enough about her to offer a viewpoint.

New Yorkers were more evenly divided in their views of Mr. Giuliani: 34 percent had a favorable opinion of the Mayor — down from 43 percent last October — 28 percent had an unfavorable opinion, and 38 percent were undecided or did not know enough about him to formulate an opinion.

In follow-up interviews, people with favorable opinions of Mrs. Clinton often praised the way she coped with her husband's ordeals last year, while those with favorable opinions of Mr. Giuliani almost invariably credited him with reducing crime in the city.

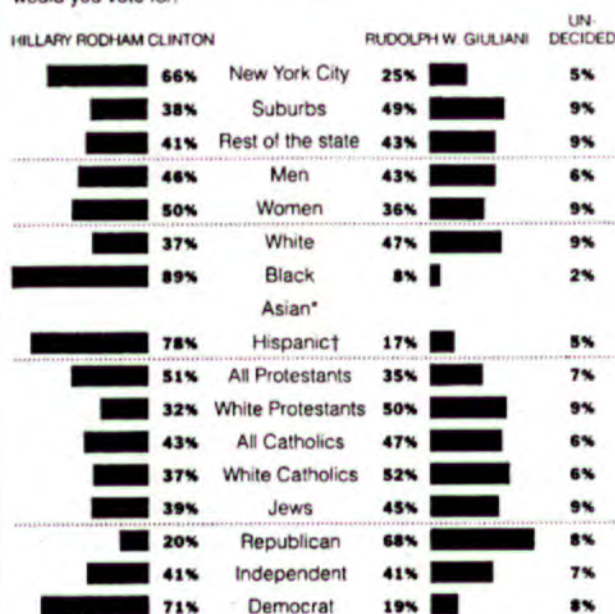
"What she's endured with her husband, the philanderer, has endeared her to a lot of people," said Thomas Phelan, 50, a Suffolk County Republican who likes Mrs. Clinton. "She has toughness."

The poll showed Mrs. Clinton drawing the vast majority of her support from core Democratic groups: black and Hispanic voters, liberals and New York City voters. Mr. Giuliani is strongest in the suburbs and among white Catholic voters, according to the poll.

The difference between the two was starkest among voters who are members of minorities: 89 percent of black New Yorkers and 78 percent of Hispanic voters said they would support Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Giuliani.

Early Preferences for Senate

If the 2000 election for United States Senate were being held today, would you vote for:



Based on interviews with 1,270 registered voters who voted in 1996 or 1998 conducted throughout New York State by telephone March 8 to 14. Numbers may not add up to 100 percent because those who said they would not vote or would vote for another candidate are not shown.

*Not enough in survey to break out separately.

†May be of any race.

ani. White Catholics favored the Mayor by 52 percent to 37 percent.

In New York City, where Democratic statewide candidates have historically needed about 70 percent of the vote to win, voters favored Mrs. Clinton by 66 percent to 25 percent. In the suburbs, 49 percent of all voters said they would vote for Mr. Giuliani, against 38 percent for Mrs. Clinton. The two almost evenly split the upstate region.

The poll showed that Mrs. Clinton has stronger support among women, with 50 percent saying they would vote for the First Lady, compared with 36 percent for the Mayor. Men were almost evenly split between the two: 46 percent favored Mrs. Clinton to 43 percent for the Mayor.

The poll suggested that a Giuliani-Clinton race would be a fiercely partisan affair. Roughly 7 in 10 Democrats said they would support Mrs.

Giuliani. Republicans divided in almost identical ratios in supporting Mr. Giuliani.

In a clear indication of how close the race might be, independent voters — often a barometer of which candidate is ahead — were evenly split between the two politicians, with 41 percent saying they would vote for each.

Slightly more people said they thought Mrs. Clinton would be an effective senator, with 61 percent saying she would be good at getting things done for the state, and 54 percent saying the same of Mr. Giuliani. Half of all voters said Mrs. Clinton had the right experience to be a senator, while 56 percent said they thought Mr. Giuliani did.

Asked if Mrs. Clinton cares about the needs and problems of "people like yourself," 63 percent answered yes; 42 percent answered yes for the

188TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 18, 1999, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 6; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 388 words

HEADLINE: Who Leads, and by How Much, Varies From Survey to Survey

BYLINE: By MARJORIE CONNELLY

BODY:

Although the election is 20 months away, and neither candidate has formally declared an intention to run for United States Senate, several polling organizations have asked voters in New York State about their preference if Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani were paired in the contest. Their results have varied.

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll showed Mrs. Clinton leading by 9 percentage points over Mr. Giuliani. But in the poll conducted by Zogby International with 708 likely voters during the same period, Mr. Giuliani was ahead by 11 points. Earlier this month, the Marist College Poll of 702 registered voters showed Mrs. Clinton ahead by 5 percentage points.

Two polls conducted last month also showed Mrs. Clinton leading Mr. Giuliani. In the Quinnipiac College Poll of 1,270 registered voters, Mrs. Clinton was ahead by 18 points. A poll of 819 adults conducted for Time and CNN by Yankelovich Partners showed Mrs. Clinton leading by 9 points.

There can be a variety of reasons for differences in polls, including how the questions are worded, the order in which the questions are asked, the timing of the poll, how the sample of respondents is drawn and how the responses are adjusted.

The Times/CBS News poll was based on registered voters who voted in the 1996 Presidential election or in the election for United States Senate last year, adjusted to reflect the 1996 voter turnout in New York City, the suburban counties around the city and the rest of the state.

Other organizations base their results on different types of respondents. Zogby International's likely voters, for example, are registered voters who voted last year, have some party identification and said they were likely to vote in November 2000. The percentages are also adjusted to reflect usual turnout in New York City, and turnout by race and by religion based on previous voting patterns.

On the other hand, the results from the Time/CNN poll are based on all adults, whether or not they said they were registered to vote.

Both the Marist Poll and the Quinnipiac Poll are based on registered voters with adjustments to take into account the traditionally lower voter turnout in

The New York Times, March 18, 1999

New York City.

The margin of sampling error of these polls was three or four percentage points in either direction.

GRAPHIC: Chart: RECENT POLLS: A Potential Senate Race"

The New York Times/CBS News Poll
March 8-14

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 39%
HILLARY CLINTON: 48%

Zogby New York Poll
March 10-12

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 48%
HILLARY CLINTON: 37%

Marist College Poll
Feb. 28 - March 1

RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 46%
HILLARY CLINTON: 50%

Time/CNN Poll
Yankelovich Partners
Feb. 17-18
RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 43%
HILLARY CLINTON: 52%

Quinnipiac College Poll
Feb. 16-22
RUDOLPH GIULIANI: 36%
HILLARY CLINTON: 54%

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 18, 1999

Dems wonder if Sen. Hillary wants to stay in White House — as prez

SUDDENLY, a lot of Democratic insiders are starting to ask each other if Hillary Rodham Clinton wants to run for New York senator as a stepping stone to the presidency.

Otherwise, they ask, why on earth would Mrs. Clinton want to risk a tough New York campaign to become senator — a job that's a big step down from First Lady in perks, prestige and raw power?

The First Lady's closest allies don't say no when asked if she has Oval Office dreams — instead they play it cute.

"I don't rule anything out in politics," said the First Lady's pal Harold Ickes, the ex-White House deputy chief who's the prime driving force behind her Senate explorations.

Ickes said Mrs. Clinton has never raised the idea of running for president with him — but he left the door wide open, re-

marking: "In this business, it's one step at a time."



DEBORAH ORIN
INSIDE
WASHINGTON

Asked about a Hillary-for-president scenario, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Marsha Berry, said: "She's never indicated that to me."

In any case, Oval Office ambitions don't seem anything new for Hillary Clinton, who once mulled running to replace her husband as Arkansas governor when he got bored with the job.

Betsey Wright, Bill Clinton's Arkansas chief of staff, touched off a flap in 1994 when *The New Yorker* magazine reported she'd said: "There are a great many people talking very seriously about [Hillary] succeeding him" as president and called it "a very viable plan of action."

Wright howled she'd been misquoted — but *The New Yorker* stood by its story, written more than a year before Monica Lewinsky was a gleam in Bill Clinton's eye and Sexgate boosted Mrs. Clinton's popularity.

The Hillary scenario now making the rounds says her White House ambitions are why Mrs. Clinton can't wait for 2004 when she could run for Senate in her home state of Illinois where her Chicago Cub loyalties would be an asset, not a worry.

"The only way she can run for president in 2004 is to run for the Senate now," says a Democratic activist. "Otherwise, if Al Gore loses in 2000, she's just an ex-First Lady in 2004."

After all, polls now show Gore trailing GOP front-runner George W. Bush by nearly 20 points.

Sure, polls change, but it's obviously a distinct possibility that Gore could be a loser, leaving the Democratic field wide open in 2004.

And, so the scenario goes, Mrs. Clinton can't risk letting another Dem run in 2004 and win — because then the next opening wouldn't be until 2112 when she'd be 65 and there'd be a lot more competition from rising star women in the Democratic party.

Sound nutty? Well, consider all the weird twists and turns that Sexgate has taken over the past year. Would this be any weirder?

There's another scenario making Democratic rounds: That Mrs. Clinton is floating her name for senator because she really wants to be Al Gore's running mate next year.

Not exactly what Gore needs as he tries to cut himself away from Bill Clinton's apron strings, perhaps. But could he say no if Mrs. Clinton and her allies — and his boss, her husband — pushed for it? What if the liberals who'll dominate the 2000 convention try to draft her?

"Obviously we think she is a tremendous First Lady but it would be very presumptuous and premature for us to engage in such hypothetical speculation," said Gore spokesman Chris Lehane.

One reason Mrs. Clinton's name comes up: The Dems are short of qualified women for veep. What will they do if Bush is the GOP nominee and taps Elizabeth Dole as his running mate?

Or suppose Bush manages to persuade his dad's old pal, Colin Powell, to be his running mate? Could Gore, if he's the Dem nominee, tap another white male as his veep?



HILLARY CLINTON

Pals don't rule it out.

The list of Dem women who could be veep is minuscule. New Hampshire's popular Gov. Jeanne Shaheen, arguably Mrs. Clinton, and then?

Forget the talk about Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.). Her husband's real-estate dealings kept Walter Mondale from tapping her in 1984, she has been a defender/apologist for China and she's known as the exact opposite of a team player.

Indeed, the list of high-profile Dem women is so short that some talk about Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend for veep. As it happens, she's a close Gore friend.

The Hillary chorus in performance

That Hillary Clinton should generate excitement as a potential Senate candidate in New York is so obvious to most people that it requires no explanation.

She has star power, that is clear. Her very name causes big donors in Manhattan to swoon. But based on what? Her liberalism? Every Democrat in New York is a liberal, and most have clearer records than she.

Mrs. Clinton is best known for her Rube Goldberg health reform plan, which was defeated and arguably led to the worst electoral disaster for the Democratic Party in 50 years. Still, among liberals, it was a valiant cause. And great honor goes to the soldier who stumbles while holding the standard aloft. But as to most of the rest of the liberal agenda, the first lady has not been heard from. Did she support the welfare reform bill of 1996 that so many liberals opposed and her husband signed? Does she support the death penalty as he does? Would she support racial and sexual preferences? Does she agree with Al Gore that the next great challenge for our time is traffic control?

Since Mrs. Clinton's policy views are more presumed than known, her appeal must lie elsewhere. She is more loved, it seems, for what she has endured than for what she has accomplished. In that sense, she is America's Diana.

It is a measure of the pathetic state of official feminism that their chief heroine is

now the woman scorned. Health care notwithstanding, Hillary Clinton's most important and visible role in her partnership with Bill Clinton has been to play the wronged but loyal wife. Whenever his despicable, reckless and utterly compulsive use and abuse of women has gotten him into political trouble, the lovely and articulate Hillary steps forward to say, in effect, "If it's OK with me, it should be OK with you." If the point of feminism was to destroy the traditional family, this may be a great stealth strategy.

But the public pose was one of a loving couple. If Mrs. Clinton had not appeared on the "Today Show" in January 1998 to say that the Monica Lewinsky story was a tissue of lies concocted by a right-wing cabal, who knows what trajectory the scandal might have assumed? When it became indisputable that the story was true (The Dress), Bill Clinton faced impeachment, but Hillary's reputation suffered no diminution for her contribution to the cover-up.

Though each new chapter of their relationship is analyzed the way Kremlinologists once studied the May Day seating chart on Lenin's tomb, it is impossible and,

in fact, not terribly interesting to guess at what goes on between the two Clintons in private. There have been reports — some perhaps correct — of gothic scenes in the private quarters.



On the other hand, these reports of private torment may be disinformation designed to help us forget that Hillary is Bill Clinton's chief apologist and co-conspirator. Surely Paula Jones and Juanita

Broadrick and who knows how many others must believe Hillary Clinton climbed to the first ladyship by stepping on their heads.

So why in the world does this compromised figure set the pulses of liberal New Yorkers racing? How, exactly, does Hillary fulfill feminist fantasies? Or has Bill Clinton's ascendancy confounded all of the familiar categories? All the women who truly were his victims — Paula Jones, Kathleen Willey, Juanita Broadrick — have been disdained and dismissed not just by Bill Clinton but by most leading feminists. And yet the wife who served as enabler and apologist is hailed for her "courage" and "fortitude."

The Hillary canonization marks the sure slide into drawing all the wrong conclusions from the crisis of the past year. Rather than resent every aide (George Stephanopoulos very much included), pundit and wife who helped sell this defective product to the electorate in 1992, we seem determined to conclude all over again that character doesn't matter. Mrs. Clinton stood by and stood for one of the worst men ever to sit in the White House. A smidgen of honesty from her at any of several key moments could have spared the nation much pain. And the proper reward for this is a Senate seat?

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1999

Sinking Hillary

New Yorkers apparently like Hillary Rodham Clinton better as a wronged wife than as a political candidate.

Ever since Mrs. Clinton announced her interest in seeking a U.S. Senate seat from New York, her poll numbers have been plummeting.

The latest evidence comes in the form of a Zogby International poll that shows New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican, besting Mrs. Clinton by more than 11 percentage points in a Senate matchup.

The poll of 709 likely voters, taken last week, found the mayor favored, 48.4 percent to 36.9 percent.

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

Giuliani," pollster John Zogby told the New York Post.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Making wifely abuse a diplomatic incident

KATMANDU, Nepal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Not a senator

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rudy zooms past Hillary in new poll

By FREDRIC U. DICKER
State Editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



HILLARY CLINTON

Now trailing by 11½ points.

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

Can Rudy Beat the White House?

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

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

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

Now why would the president, who has no responsibility for any local police force, choose to speak out on such a topic? Is it just a coincidence that his remarks hit home to New Yorkers worried about the police under Rudy Giuliani? Could the president be trying to sully the image of his wife's putative opponent for the United States Senate?

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

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

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

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



DICK MORRIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By using a combination of speeches, conditions attached to federal funding, regulatory action and lawsuits, the federal government can basically be used to run a negative campaign against the mayor. We have often seen political rivalry between the mayor and the governor — whoever they may be — turned to the city's disadvantage at budget time, but the sight of the full power of Washington being turned on New York City's government will not be pretty to behold.

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

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

First lady seeks best platform for next career

A number of options available; each has advantages, drawbacks

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What are they?

'Social entrepreneur'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Madame Secretary?

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



By Bebevo Matt

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

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

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

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

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

Heading a Cabinet agency such as the Education Department also

might have appeal.

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

James Pfiffner, author of *The Tergic Presidency* and a Georgetown University political scientist, "the political dimension" of a pointment could be tricky.

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

Speaking out

Forget *Monica's Story*. Lit agent Judith Regan says *Hill Story* would be the most valuable book of the Clinton years, "

Hillary Rodham Clinton's career opportunities

Head of a foundation

Salary: Up to \$600,000 a year

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

Problems: Partisan activity such as campaigning for candidates generally discouraged



By Suzanne Plunkett, AP

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



By Mark Humphrey, AP

Cabinet member

Salary: \$151,800 a year

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

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

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

Author/lecturer

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

Perks: Her own boss, free to speak her mind

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

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



By G.J. Gunther, AP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I see best actress going to

Gwyneth Paltrow for *Shakespeare in Love* in what might be the night's closest vote (I wish they announced the vote

tally). Best supporting actor will be **Billy Bob Thornton** for *A Simple Plan*. He absolutely owned that role.

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

and **Andrea Bocelli** sing it together.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Larry King's People
News & Views

This column appears every Monday.

Introspective Hillary

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

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

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

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

Oh, what a relief

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

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

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

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

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

The Washington Times

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1999 ★

Flying north?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Soul-searching time for Hillary

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST

Post Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Reuter

Hill is shopping New York-style

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

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

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

► As sometimes happens in politics, there's

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

Hillary edges closer

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

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

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

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



Political Roundup

Hillary May Form Senate Exploratory Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

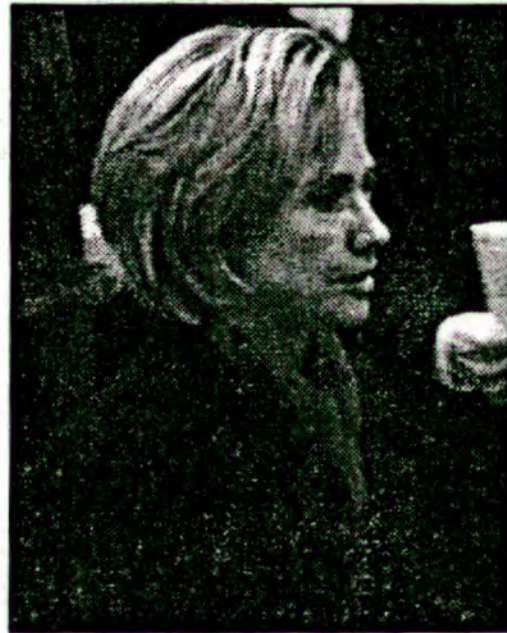
If the person formally becomes a candidate, these contributions and expenditures must be disclosed when the first campaign committee reports are filed.

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

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

CHILLARY

IS IT DIVIDE



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

AP

Hill boosts Senate odds by ditching Bill: experts

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

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

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

New York Democratic consul-

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

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

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

See **HILLARY** on Page 20

AND CONQUER?

Experts say split with prez boosts Hill's Senate hopes

HILLARY from Page 6

she's leaning toward running.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is "very angry" with her husband.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New York Democrats still courting Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate

By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

potential Democratic candidate who has never lived in the state.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As for Clinton, if she runs, she will find the going much rougher than some political dietitians think it would be. Being a candidate requires different skills and a different temperament than being a first lady, and voters evaluate people in the two roles differently.

But New Jersey is, in some ways, the most interesting case: Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman** (R) obviously is the biggest name mentioned in that race, and she looks to have the most inflated reputation of the "800-pound gorillas."

Whitman initially made her name in winning 47 percent of the vote against then-Sen. **Bill Bradley** (D) in 1990, and her reputation as a political powerhouse comes from two terms as governor.

But Whitman's showings in her 49 to 48 percent 1993 victory over then-Gov. **Jim Florio** (D) and her 47 to 46 percent 1997 reelection win over little-known state legislator **Jim McGreevey** (D) suggest political vulnerability as much as they do strength.

Whitman beat Florio, surely one of the most controversial governors of his day, by just 26,093 votes out of 2.5 million cast, even though Florio's tax hike destroyed his party in the legislature and gave him terrible poll numbers.

Four years later, Whitman, who began the election year with a 62 percent job approval rating, looked as if she would cruise to an easy re-election victory over McGreevey (she led

58 to 22 percent in a February media survey). The governor mishandled a couple of key issues — including automobile insurance rates and property taxes — and barely won, this time by 25,426 votes, proving once again that Whitman can turn any easy win into a cliffhanger.

And, of course, conservatives are likely to put a third-party candidate up against the governor if she runs, and Rep. **Frank LoBiondo** hasn't ruled out taking Whitman on in the GOP primary.

Whether she'd face Rep. **Frank Pallone** (D) or Florio, Whitman couldn't afford to take anything for granted.

At the end of the day, none of the current crop of 800-pound gorillas is likely to cruise to victory the way Ohio Republican **George Voinovich** or Indiana Democrat **Evan Bayh** did last year.

CAMPAIGNING
By Stuart Rothenberg

AM-Mrs Clinton Senate,500

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK: Mrs. Clinton may form Senate committee

By RON FOURNIER= AP Political Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BC-POLITICS-HILLARY -

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

By Ellen Wulffhorst

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Hillary Clinton leads in the polls, supporters promise ample campaign funds and her name recognition reaches off the charts.

The marks of of a dream campaign for the U.S. Senate seat from New York? Not exactly, experts say.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

crime rate in New York City.

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

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

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

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

REUTERS

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

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

Kennedy, D'Amato in bipartisan coalition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Jeannie Williams

News & Views

This column appears Tuesday through Friday.

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

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

self, and should be released "any day now," spokeswoman

Leslee Dart said Tuesday, and back on his feet next week, ready for the Oscars (he missed the nominees lunch, Screen Actors Guild Awards and ShoWest in Las Vegas)....

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

WHO'S AFRAID OF HILLARY CLINTON?

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

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

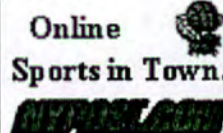
Have you folks lost your minds?

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

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

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

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



Please.

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

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

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

Former, current first ladies' advisers cut from same cloth

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

There are remarkable parallels between the two women.

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

lar to the possibilities being suggested for Clinton.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Washington Times

★ TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1999

Heavy carpetbag

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Are We Ready to Elect First Woman President?

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

By MARTIN MILLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bill Would Bar Hillary From Running In The Empire State

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOP introduces anti-Hill bill to nix Senate bid

ALBANY — Call it "Hillary's Law."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

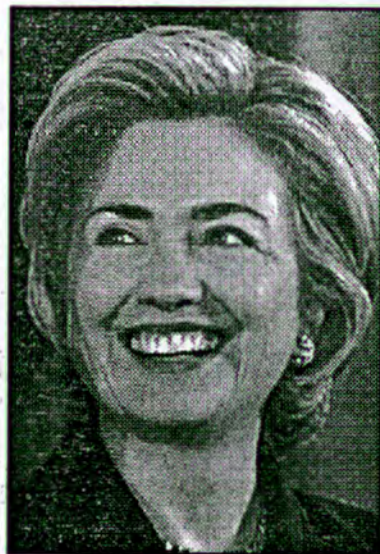
By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

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

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

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

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



HILLARY CLINTON
Has never lived here.

candidate, but he has not announced his decision yet.

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

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

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

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

bc-MGRwed

Anderson column

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

For advance March 10, 1999

By JACK ANDERSON

And JAN MOLLER

United Features

NEW YORK CITY -- Hillary Rodham Clinton will not run for the Senate next year from this state, according to White House sources.

The prospect has been a wonderful distraction and ego uplift for the first lady, but it is not going to happen, these knowledgeable sources told our associate Dale Van Atta.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ning for the Senate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

can do the job for us," he said.

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

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

Groans of disappointment all around.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Politics

By Richard Benedetto

First lady gauges support on possible foe's home turf

BY SUSAN ROTH
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

NEW YORK — At Intermediate

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

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

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

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

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

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First lady

• Continued from Page 1A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But her audiences last week included only her obvious supporters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton at a school in Manhattan yesterday.

girls' hearts can take that much exertion."

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

JUDY MANN

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

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

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

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

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

The "but clause" comes now.

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

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

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

and they met last week.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Hillary leaves N.Y., leaves them guessing

Pol's, pundits seek clues on Senate bid

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It seems to be she was setting

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DECISIONS, DECISIONS, DECISIONS

Hillary rolls home on wave of cheers

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

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

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

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

Only Sofia Totti, a Lab School

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

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

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

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

A source close to the First

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

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

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

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



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

Friday, March 5, 1999

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

The first lady talks up the town

By Alexandra Marks

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor



NEW YORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This, clearly, was Hillary's crowd.

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

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

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

While they roared in approval as Sen. Charles Schumer

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yorkers are not known for their patience.

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

But the sense of disappointment was momentary.

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

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

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

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

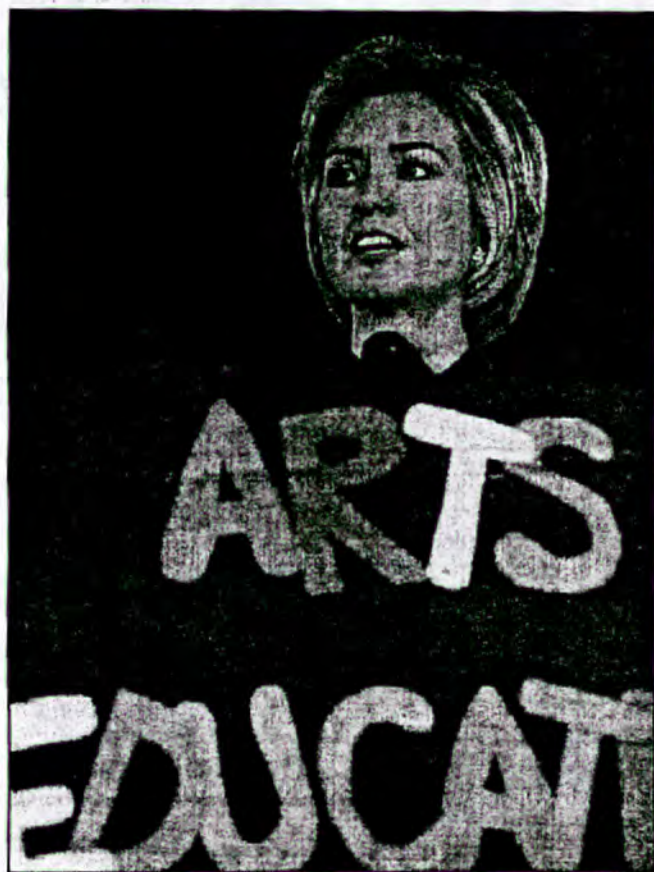
For a city known for its liberal leanings, the speech hit the perfect note.

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

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

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

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



SUZANNE PLUNKETT/AP

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



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

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

New Yorkers Hear First Lady and See a Candidate

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on Page A22

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

Continued From Page A1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fred R. Conrad/The New York Times

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

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

national report about the benefits of arts education.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hillary Clinton Plays Coy, Wows New York

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

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton looks over her shoulder at the Women's Leadership Forum in New York, with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

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

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

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

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

The Democrats say
please, please,
please, please.

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

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

The crowd at the Plaza consisted of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON

Players on the public stage

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

In New York, first lady extols joys of politics

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aides say it will be a couple of months before the first lady decides.

She was scheduled to have dinner



By Mike Segar, Reuters

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

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

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

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

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

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

1:00 P.M. ET

Hillary remains mum on Senate bid

Offers no hints at fund-raiser

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By a twist of fate, Mr. Giuliani



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It was a very intellectual speech," said Vivian Degan. "I wanted to hear her view on Palestinian statehood, especially they seem to be changing day." Mrs. Clinton's comment springing that the Palestinian served a homeland of the could come back to haunt the state where the Jewish vote is considered key to a Democratic victory.

During Mrs. Clinton's visit, signs of the Monica Lewinsky scandal were abundant. A page New York Post headline "Monica Phone Sex Shock" and local papers carried heavy view coverage of the Miss New York's television interview last night, as well as revelation of the forthcoming as-told-to "Monica's Story," by Andre

COY ON CANDIDACY



Reuters

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

Slip in a poll greets Mrs. Clinton in New York

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senate run by her.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By SIDNEY ZION

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

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

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

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

There is a difference here be-

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

Politically ambitious

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

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

Imagine a Democrat who



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

trol and immigration.

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

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

Uphill battle

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

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

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

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

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

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

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

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

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

Mrs. Clinton has talked voting statistics with Sen. Daniel

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

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

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

FIRST LADY: The Non-Candidate Emerges

Continued from A1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While her husband, traveling

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Talks like a candidate? Walks like a candidate? Must be, . . . Well, not necessarily.

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

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

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

But will she run?

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

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

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



Associated Press

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

THE FIRST LADY

Hillary's Encounter with a Runaway Snow Bunny

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

RICK EGGAN/SAFARI LANE PUBLICATIONS



Hillary at Deer Valley

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

POLITICS

A Senate Candidate Waiting in the Wings?

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

dent. Now there are hopes that he may reconsider and get in the race if Hillary decides not to. His father **MARIO CUOMO** was disappointed by his initial decision, and has let his feelings be known. "I certainly hope that he would reconsider if it turns out that Hillary doesn't get in the race,"



Cuomo

the former New York Governor told *TIME* last week. But his son says that he has not had any second thoughts and is still feeling good about his decision to stay out of the Senate race.

THE ACADEMY AWARDS

A Life Sentence And an Oscar Nod

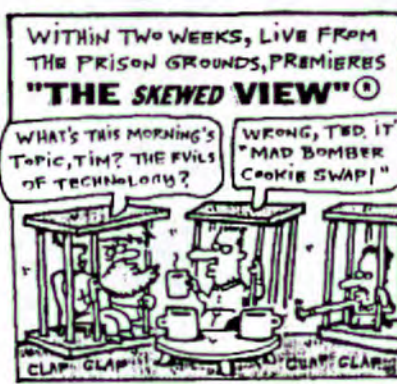
IT DOESN'T FAZE CONVICT-JOURNALIST **WILBERT RIDEAU** that he won't be able to attend this year's Oscars, even though his searing look at the hopelessness of prison life, *The Farm: Angola, USA*, is up for an Academy Award as best documentary film and will be encored on the Arts & Entertainment Network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



Rideau

Farm examines the bleak struggle of six convicts lost in a living graveyard where few ever get out. Rideau, who taught himself to read and write while on death row for 11 years, kept his story out of the film because, he explains, "it's the only way to get credibility—people listen to you better." He has no illusions that his own long legal struggle for freedom will succeed. "If the courts go by the law, I'll win. If not, I'll lose. It is that simple." As for the Oscars, Rideau says, "it would be nice to be there. But if I don't go this time, there will be another time. I still have a lot of creative juices left in me." —By Richard Woodbury/Denver

THE DRAWING BOARD



\$adv07

For Release SUNDAY, March 7 and thereafter

The factors of Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision

Eds: Moving on news and political circuits

An AP News Analysis

By MARC HUMBERT= AP Political Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

End Adv

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



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

A big hint in the Big Apple?

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

MSNBC STAFF AND WIRE REPORTS

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

"Politics" - Complete Coverage
Pat Buchanan's populist promise
Bush, Buchanan alter GOP race
A new Bush aims for the presidency

"You're hired."



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEASING THE AUDIENCE

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

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

Some in the audience groaned.

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

First families A look at family members bitten by the political bug

CLICK ON A NAME FOR MORE DETAILS

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



White House

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

Source: Associated Press

COMMANDING LEAD IN THE POLLS

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

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

The telephone poll of 702 registered voters conducted Sunday and Monday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found Clinton favored by 50 percent of voters with Giuliani the choice of 46 percent. The gap was the same as the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Clinton has held a commanding lead in the polls over Giuliani, a potential but also unannounced Republican rival for the Senate seat. A recent poll from Quinnipiac College Polling Institute gave Clinton an 18-point lead over Giuliani in a hypothetical race.

Quinnipiac pollster Maurice Carroll said Wednesday's visit wasn't likely to boost her polling numbers because "they're already off the charts."

'Maybe if she could jump in the East River and rescue a drowning baby her numbers might get higher.'

— POLLSTER
MAURICE CARROLL

"Maybe if she could jump in the East River and rescue a drowning baby her numbers might get higher," Carroll said. "I can't think how else."

WHAT CLINTON MAY CONSIDER

Before deciding whether to run, Clinton likely will take a hard look at her party's chances to gain ground in the Senate, where Republicans now hold a 55-45 edge.

When word first surfaced weeks ago that Clinton might consider a Senate run, it was considered at least a possibility that Democrats might capture up to six new seats to control the chamber.

Now, with at least two Democrats — Sens. Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey and Richard Bryan of Nevada — announcing they will not run for re-election, such Democratic hopes appear far less plausible. So, at best, Clinton might be jumping into a bitter, intensely covered campaign for a chance to be a junior senator in a minority party.

VISITS MIDDLE SCHOOL

Earlier in the day, she was greeted at a Queens middle school with raucous applause from students, education officials and local politicians. She spoke about the importance of arts education and announced a new report that cites the school, I.S. 25 in Flushing, for its attention to the arts.

Students in the chorus, fidgeting nervously in a hallway before performing for the first lady, said they hoped she would run.

"She's cool, she's not snotty, she's like a real, regular person," said 14-year-old Tiffany Mance.

"Some students don't learn well just sitting and listening," Clinton said in the school auditorium. "They need to move, they need to use their hands, and then ... the arts are a part of who we are," she said.

She also met with nine students in one of the classrooms. Some were sketching with pastels; others performed a short interpretive dance for her.

On Wednesday night, she was to dine at the home of Roger Altman, a Wall Street financier.

On Thursday, she was to talk at the United Nations about the forthcoming International Women's Day.

The Associated Press and Reuters contributed to this report.



Hillary's Silence Speaks Volumes

I am reminded that the first trip Hillary Clinton made from Washington as an official First Lady was to New York City. She took the morning shuttle, Delta, and then got a ride to a school on 177th St., where she waded among children. It was a moment spilling with promise, in January 1993.



Yesterday, she arrived by Air Force jet, rode armored limousines and her distance from the public was measured in the following advisories given to the press by the White House.

"Lighting and a mult is provided. Throw is approximately 80 feet."

In English, this means that her words would be carried over a cable to the media machines that would then broadcast them to the world.

The "80-foot throw" meant that the closest she would come to an actual question is 80 feet. This is standard stuff, issued for all White House trips, which is why politics is so infernally boring. This is called the bubble, and it is meant to keep people in public life safe from the lunatic fringe. It also happens to make up the mechanics of official lies and silence.

And now it is imagined that Hillary Clinton is supposed to float in on the bubble from Washington, one that she did not invent but must live in, and be the senator from New York.

Some people believe that holy statues cry or move, and others think Hillary Clinton is going to run for the U.S. Senate next year.

You are well advised to wait to see any of these things before putting an iota of faith in them.

If she did run, Hillary Clinton would be the first person in the United States to make Rudy Giuliani look accessible.

She has had a bad job, First Lady, and it is not her fault that

she is supposed to say virtually nothing and vanish into the wallpaper of pleasant manners.

The harsh fact remains. Bending down to look at children's arts-and-crafts projects, then murmuring, "Oh great, that's really nice" doesn't add up to much of a credential for the U.S. Senate.

She begins with her greatest asset, which is her celebrity, which arises from her biggest problem, which is her husband. No matter what the polls say, the whole Clinton package — him, his dirty laundry, her excuses for it — is stale and tiresome.

A politician in Westchester County, Jeanine Pirro, is supposed to be burned toast now that her husband got indicted for some kind of tax flimflam. No more politics for Jeanine Pirro! The same week the Pirro household got into trouble, Hillary Clinton's husband was slapped with an accusation of rape from a woman, Juanita Broaddrick, whose story is at least plausible.

Of course, this has nothing to do with her being a United States senator. Still, if she were sent to Washington by the people of New York, her job would be to look after our interests and not her husband's. Would she try to overturn the federal health care cuts for New York City that Bill Clinton personally made, and which are tremendously damaging to the medical research that goes on here?

Does she think the welfare bill he signed, cutting off food stamps from immigrants, is a fine idea?

One of these days, she will have to answer a question and can't walk off trailing yards of bland palaver.

Gabe Pressman, who remembers everything, spent the day trying to shoot a question at her for his television station, WNBC. He also is the president of the Press Club, and is better than we deserve.

"In 1964, Bobby Kennedy first ran, we could interview him on any subject right on the sidewalks," said Pressman. "One time, his press guy Frank Mankiewicz tried to shove me away when I was asking a question, but I got in there. Kennedy said, 'You're asking me for 30 seconds on Vietnam. That's a pretty complicated question.' "

Of course, they were only talking about a matter of war on a sidewalk. When it comes to discussing the Clintons' personal mess, the original Capitol Hillbillies, there will be an 80-foot wall of silence. So far, she hasn't run for anything but cover.

Original Publication Date: 03/04/1999

Related Stories

Rudy erases most of her lead: poll

By FREDRIC U. DICKER *State Editor*

ALBANY — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton arrived in New York yesterday to ominous new polling data showing her in a virtual dead heat with Mayor Giuliani.

The Marist College poll found Mrs. Clinton barely ahead of Giuliani in a possible race for the U.S. Senate next year, 50 to 46 percent, or just within the poll's 4-point margin of error.

The results were a sharp improvement for Giuliani, who trailed Mrs.

Clinton 49-38 percent in a Marist poll two weeks ago.

"We're seeing the transition from Celebrity Clinton to Candidate Clinton," said Marist pollster Dr. Lee Miringoff.

The telephone poll, which surveyed 702 self-described registered voters Sunday and Monday, is the first conducted after public disclosure of Arkansas nursing home operator Juanita Broaddrick's allegations of being raped by Bill Clinton in 1978, when he was Arkansas attorney general.

The poll found New Yorkers believe Mrs. Clinton was more likely than Giuliani to work with others in the U.S. Senate and to "care about people like me."

But it also found voters believe Giuliani would fight harder than Mrs. Clinton for New York.

Giuliani led Mrs. Clinton 52 to 43 percent upstate and 51 to 44 percent in the suburbs in the new poll.

Mrs. Clinton was ahead among heavily Democratic New York City voters, 64 to 33 percent.

Hillary's mum on Senate, but sounds like candidate

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and TOM TOPOUSIS

First Lady Hillary Clinton yesterday tantalized 900 supporters at The Plaza, saying she hasn't decided on running for the Senate — before giving a talk that sounded every bit like a stump speech.

"I am told there were some who thought that I might have an announcement to make," she said, pausing for effect. "But I don't."

The First Lady also made the audience wonder whether she was referring to herself when she said it's important for women to remain politically active.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas. We cannot say, 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity,'" she said.

Earlier in the day, Mrs. Clinton visited a Queens middle school to promote arts education, the subject of a new report by a presidential panel.

Former Schools Commissioner Ramon Cortines, forced out by Mayor Giuliani,



FRIENDLY FACE: Sen. Charles Schumer gives the First Lady a warm welcome yesterday at The Plaza hotel luncheon.

N.Y. Post: David Rentas

ani, wrote the report's introduction.

Accompanied to IS 25 in Flushing by Queens Rep. Gary Ackerman and Borough President Claire

Shulman, Mrs. Clinton made a pair of thinly veiled digs at Giuliani when she spoke of overcrowding and construction problems in city schools.

"As we were walking in, Claire said to me, 'You know, this is a beautiful school, but I'm worried because we have so many young people, so many children in this borough now. I'm not sure we'll have enough seats and places for all of them in the years to come,'" recalled Mrs. Clinton.

The First Lady and the mayor are potential opponents in a race for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Giuliani, in Washington yesterday, was asked by MSNBC, "In the deepest part of your soul, wouldn't you love to run against Hillary Clinton?"

"Yes," he said, adding in a later interview, "I'd rather do it if she's in the race. It makes it more intriguing. More interesting."

Mrs. Clinton's arrival from Washington with Ackerman was marred when their limo broke down and they were forced to arrive in a car with a police sharpshooter.

PM-Mrs Clinton, 660

Hillary Clinton's could-be campaign tour launches into second day
Eds: U.N. speech at 10 a.m.; will be led; also moving on national lines
By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

NEW YORK (AP) Dropping a hint about a call to civic duty, Hillary Rodham Clinton is tantalizing New Yorkers who look at the first lady and see their next senator. But so far she's just keeping them guessing.

On her second day in New York, Mrs. Clinton was giving a speech at the United Nations today about the upcoming Women's Rights Day and later was previewing an HBO documentary on women in sports at a school in Chelsea.

Mrs. Clinton's visit to the Big Apple had the feel of a campaign rally even as she remained coy on whether she will be a candidate. Democrats used her visit Wednesday her first to New York since saying she was giving careful thought to a Senate bid to woo the fence-sitting first lady.

And some of her supporters were anything but subtle.

"Don't you think it's time for a woman to represent New York in the United States Senate?" Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., blared to an overflow crowd of about 900 mostly female donors who plunked down up to \$1,000 apiece to soak up the Hillary phenomenon at a Democratic National Committee luncheon.

Mrs. Clinton, standing behind Schumer, smiled as the crowd erupted in applause.

Although her aides sought to portray her jaunt to New York as just another of many forays here, Mrs. Clinton's words were just vague enough to stoke her boosters' hopes.

"We cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas," Mrs. Clinton said. "We cannot say 'I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity. I don't like all of the ads on television.'"

She alluded only once to the Senate race.

"I was told that there were some who thought that, uh, I might have an announcement to make," she said, pausing and holding the crowd in breath-catching suspense.

"But I don't."

Groans followed.

The aura of mystery surrounding Mrs. Clinton's political flirtation is spawning a parlor game in Democratic circles. The buzz after her speech placed odds on her running.

"If she's not running she's giving a good impression of someone who is," New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone said. "I think every indication now is that she runs."

Until she does decide, she is a huge cash draw for the Democrats. Wednesday's luncheon raised \$500,000, a record for the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum.

Even political veterans marveled at the sea of awestruck supporters, cameras and clamoring reporters hanging on the first lady's every word.

"I could not believe the amount of press," said former Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, who once ran as vice president on the Democratic ticket and lost to Schumer in the Democratic Senate primary last year. "It's like a presidential announcement."

Mrs. Clinton began Wednesday with a visit to a middle school in the Queens, where she discussed the virtues of arts education, and capped the day with a private dinner at the home of Roger Altman, a former Treasury Department official whose deep pockets could be crucial to financing a New York campaign.

Mrs. Clinton's visit came as Monica Lewinsky's face was again plastered on the covers of New York City's tabloids in anticipation of the former White House intern's interview broadcast Wednesday night about her affair with the president.

Although Mrs. Clinton would be a formidable candidate, she would also face what looks to be a tough battle against her most likely Republican opponent,

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Her lead against Giuliani, which had surged into the double digits in earlier polls, shrank to just four points, equal to the margin of error, in a survey released Wednesday by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion.

And not everyone was gushing. One man outside the Plaza Hotel held aloft a placard reading ``Hillary Clinton: Doormat of the Year.''

**** filed by:APW-(ar) on 03/04/99 at 03:44EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 07:57EST ****

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(ATTN: National editors) (Includes optional trims)

She's Not a Candidate Yet but She's Acting Like One (New York)

By James Gerstenzang= (c) 1999, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK This being a story about an out-of-towner in New York, let's start with the bottom line: Hillary Rodham Clinton is not running for the U.S. Senate. Not officially. Not yet.

But beginning a two-day flirtation with the city on Wednesday, she played her time here from the far reaches of Queens to the heart of Manhattan (the Plaza Hotel, no less) just like a candidate.

What she offered, gushed a very important fan, City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, came "very close to an open declaration" of candidacy.

Clinton has talked voting statistics with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. From Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, she has gotten the hard sell as he seeks to line up candidates. She has heard the pleas of union leaders and party fund-raisers.

But it wasn't until Wednesday that the boomlet got real on the streets of New York with all the celebrity-sighting glam that New York can turn out.

From the steps of the Plaza one could barely see the Fifth Avenue display windows of F.A.O. Schwartz, all but hidden behind television satellite trucks parked bumper to bumper.

"I haven't seen so many photographers since the last Victoria's Secret show in the fall," muttered one woman working her way into the Plaza's Grand Ballroom.

The cause of all the ruckus was a seemingly off-hand comment Torricelli made on "Meet the Press" early in January, suggesting that with Moynihan's announced retirement, Hillary Rodham Clinton might consider running for the seat in 2000.

Ever since, she and President Clinton have masterfully teased the matter as she gives it, by all accounts, serious thought.

Marveling at the crowd that had gathered to hear her luncheon speech to the Women's Leadership Forum, an arm of the Democratic National Committee, she said at the outset: "I'm told some had thought I might have an announcement to make."

She paused, and then added: "I don't."

But she then proceeded to address every reason why politics is a noble profession, what political action had accomplished during the past six years (of the Clinton administration) and how much more it could accomplish in the future.

"Politics," she said, "is how we get along with one another. Politics ... in good times and bad times is really the lifeblood of a democracy." And, she said, "Women have taken their rightful place in the political landscape."

Consider, she said, the problems that have been addressed in recent years gun control, raising the minimum wage, health care, child care and education. In each, she said, politics made a difference.

As for the future, she said, decisions remain on protecting patients' treatment by health maintenance organizations, addressing the need for more teachers in the nation's schools and acting "fiscally responsible" with the federal budget surplus.

"These are not decisions we should leave to someone else," she said.

And with that, having spent part of her morning at an intermediate school in Queens (where 18 television cameras all lined up to record the event) and having accepted at the luncheon a St. John's University sweatshirt (the NCAA basketball tournament looms for the local favorite), she spent more than 10 minutes shaking hands after her speech.

Talks like a candidate? Walks like a candidate? Must be a candidate?

Well, not necessarily.

Everything she said and each stop she made were typical of an activist

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first lady and, indeed, each would serve to support the candidacy of Rep. Nita Lowey, a New York Democrat considered the most likely candidate for the party's senatorial nomination if Clinton does not run.

(Begin optional trim)

``She spoke to all the women in the audience about their role in politics, and that it's important for us to get behind these ideas,'' said Lynn Kirsch, who came in from Westport, Conn. for the speech. ``I didn't hear her make a commitment. What I heard was, `if I run or not all of us have a very important role.' ''

Mark Green, New York's public advocate, a top consumer protection official, heard it the same way: ``It was a speech to promote the audience more than herself.''

But will she run?

``Talmudic I'm not,'' said Roy Romer, the party's general chairman, a former Colorado governor picking up the patois of New York.

No need to rush the decision, said Charles Schumer, who in November defeated Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, with major campaign help from the first lady.

``Think this one through, and then if you decide you want to be a candidate, we will support you and we will be resolute,'' he said, not shying from the topic of the day as he introduced her to the 500 people in the audience.

(End optional trim)

Thursday, it will be more of the same. She is speaking to a United Nations International Women's Day forum and visiting a school in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan to talk about women in sports.

While the first lady spent the day in New York, the Republican seen as the most likely candidate for the Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, spent the day in Washington, testifying before a House of Representatives committee on government reform and taping an interview for a television talk show.

Public opinion surveys show a slight tightening of the non-race.

The Marist Institute for Public Opinion, at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., found that a roughly 11-point Clinton lead in a statewide poll last month (49 percent to 38.1 percent) had narrowed to four points. (49.7 percent to 45.5 percent).

**** filed by:LAWP(--) on 03/04/99 at 03:00EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 07:58EST ****

Clintons' Arkansas Roots Transplant Easily to New York

By JAMES DAO

They cause traffic jams of epic proportions. They hold so many Manhattan fund-raisers that even their democratic allies complain. They have endorsed policies that have infuriated labor unions, hospital officials, advocates for the poor, immigrants and, oh yes, Republicans.

So why is it that Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton seem so popular in New York?

That is a question many New Yorkers may be asking themselves these days as they watch Mrs. Clinton's very public exploration of whether to run for the United States senate from New York next year.

They may also be pondering the question as they sit in midtown traffic awaiting Mrs. Clinton's motorcade to pass today and tomorrow. The First Lady is in town to deliver speeches before the Women's Leadership Forum and the United Nations, meet with local Democratic supporters and tour public schools in Queens and Manhattan.

In many ways, the idea that New Yorkers would embrace a former governor of Arkansas and his Illinois-born wife still seems a bit improbable. Neither has lived or worked in New York, and except for occasional excursions to Manhattan or the Hamptons, they have not even vacationed here much. Most of their visits have been to campaign or to raise money. And they have feuded with a host of local officials, including the Democratic senior Senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring next year.

Yet their connection to New York is strong for a range of reasons, including their deep base of support among major Democratic voting groups, the large number of New Yorkers in their inner circle, distrust of their conservative opponents and the sense among some people that they radiate New York-style panache and sophistication.

A consensus of New York pollsters say both Clinton's ratings tend to be several points higher in New York State than nationwide. Mr. Clinton's job approval ratings in New York have been hovering in the 60 percent range for more than a year now. And recent polls show Mrs. Clinton scoring between 60 and 70 percent favorable ratings statewide.

Voters seem to respect her even in Republican strongholds in the suburbs and upstate. "New Yorkers like the Clintons," said John Zogby, a pollster from Utica. "Period."

The clearest reason is that New York is a Democratic state — registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by a ratio of 3 to 2 — and the Clintons, despite their many scandals, have been the most successful national Democratic politicians in a generation.

But it is more than that, political analysts assert. New York, they say, has higher concentrations of voting groups that are the Clintons' most ardent supporters nationwide: professional women, homosexuals, Jews and black and Hispanic residents.

"These are groups that are important to the Democratic Party nationally," said Philip Friedman, a Democratic public relations consultant in New York. "But they are absolutely central to the New York State Democratic Party."

Not all of those groups were big fans of the Clintons during the early years of the Administration. But through politics and policies, the Clintons have won them over. Many Irish-Americans, a major New York voting bloc that is no longer reliably Democratic, like Mr. Clinton for his role in helping to broker peace in Northern Ireland. Jewish-Americans have come to view the Administration as a stalwart defender of Israel.

And a preponderance of blacks view Mr. Clinton as not only sympathetic to their concerns about racism, but also extraordinarily in tune with their culture, black politicians and intellectuals say.

"Bill Clinton is functionally an Af-



Pat Lieberman, left, an assistant art director at District 25 in Queens, met yesterday with students at Intermediate School 25 as they prepared for a visit from Hillary Rodham Clinton.

For First Lady's Visit, 'Intense' Expectations

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

The trip was planned months ago as just another visit of the First Lady to a favorite city. But when Hillary Rodham Clinton arrives in New York today to give speeches, meet with supporters and tour schools, the visit will instantly be seen as the first exploratory trip of a potential Senate candidate from New York.

Attention from the news media will rival, if not surpass, that for a Presidential visit, officials said. "I think this is probably as intense for us as it's gotten," said Marsha Berry, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary.

Yesterday, organizations that do not routinely cover the First Lady's travels — networks, news-magazines and the foreign press — deluged the First Lady's office with questions about the trip. A secretary at a school in Queens that Mrs. Clinton planned to visit this morning described the atmosphere there as "crazy," while Laura G. Ross, the head of a fund-raising group that Mrs. Clinton was scheduled to address at lunch, said the event sold out two weeks ago at 900 people and that there was still a waiting list of several hundred. The Secret Service, she said, will not allow any more people in the room.

"She's always a draw, but this is bigger than ever," Ms. Ross said. Ticket prices for the event range from \$10,000 to \$150. For \$10,000, for example, a donor can partici-

pate in a "round-table discussion" with Mrs. Clinton and 49 others before lunch. For \$1,000, the donor gets a picture taken with the First Lady. Ms. Ross said the event had raised more than \$500,000 for the Democratic Party.

Mrs. Clinton, who said two weeks ago that she was giving "careful thought" to the possibility of running for the Senate seat that

described as a gathering of 15 people, not a fund-raising event, that would include business executives and leaders of nonprofit groups.

On Thursday morning, Mrs. Clinton is to give an address at the United Nations to commemorate International Women's Day, and on Thursday afternoon will speak about Women's History Month and female athletes at the Lab School at the O. Henry Learning Center in Manhattan.

"It's very much like all the trips she does where she tries to highlight issues that are important to families and the general public," Ms. Berry said.

At I.S. 25, Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to release a study by the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities describing how school districts can improve arts education. District 25 in New York, which includes I.S. 25 and 30 other schools in Flushing, Bayside, College Point and Whitestone, is one of eight districts nationwide that the report singled out as exemplary in the arts.

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is also considering running for Senate from New York, said this week that Mrs. Clinton was highlighting a school program, Project Arts, that he had announced financing for in his State of the City speech two years ago. He joked that he hoped she would bring a check for the program from Washington.

More than usual attention for a trip by Mrs. Clinton.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan will vacate in 2000, planned to speak this morning on arts education at Intermediate School 25 in Flushing, Queens, then tour a classroom. Afterward, she planned to appear at the Plaza Hotel in Manhattan for the fund-raising lunch.

Mrs. Clinton planned to spend the afternoon in "private time" at the Waldorf-Astoria, where she is staying. In the evening she expected to attend a dinner at the Upper East Side home of Jurate Karickas and Roger C. Altman, an investment banker who was Mr. Clinton's Deputy Treasury Secretary and whose firm bought The National Enquirer and Star magazine two weeks ago. The dinner was

Wall Street barons who like the Administration's economic policies may be uncomfortable with Mrs. Clinton's more expansive view of government. Centrist Democrats and Republicans may view her as too liberal on crime or social issues.

"She is identified ideologically with the left," said Mitchell Moss, the director of the Taub Urban Research Center at New York University. "That helps her in New York City, and it mobilizes her core constituency. But New York State has not been electing liberals for a long time."

Republicans and some pollsters also say that the moment Mrs. Clinton becomes a candidate, her poll numbers will drop as she is pressured to explain her positions in de-

tail and demonstrate her understanding of New York, a place where she has never lived. State law requires only that she be a resident as of Election Day next year to seek the Senate seat.

Politics aside, the Clintons clearly have a social affinity for the city, one that many New Yorkers relish. There was the whirlwind birthday party for their daughter, Chelsea, a couple of years ago, complete with stops at performances on Broadway.

And the visits to the Hamptons, featuring the omnipresent shoulder-rubbing with society and Hollywood types. After all, even places as chic as the Hamptons and as sophisticated as Manhattan like the validation conferred by a visit from the

First Family

What amazes some analysts is the fact that the Clintons have received such loyal support from core Democratic groups despite having taken positions that have angered those groups on numerous issues.

Many blacks objected vehemently to the 1994 crime bill that expanded the Federal death penalty and established mandatory sentences for many crimes. Black and immigrant politicians in New York were also furious with the President for signing the sweeping welfare bill in 1996 that sharply curtailed benefits.

New York hospital officials perennially fight proposed Administration cuts in health care spending. Most labor unions hated the North American Free Trade Act, which the President championed. Gay-rights advocates were deeply disappointed in 1996 when he signed legislation allowing states to outlaw same-sex marriages.

But what has helped the Clintons overcome anger with their positions on certain issues has been an even greater antipathy among New Yorkers toward the First Couple's opponents, many political analysts say.

"The Republican revolution of '94 and '95 really just scared the hell out of New Yorkers, including moderate Republicans," Mr. Zogby said.

Mr. Marable said, "Even though African-Americans have had many criticisms of this Administration, from the crime bill to the welfare bill, on balance, in the era of the Contract With America, in the era of the Christian Coalition, in the period of attacks on affirmative action, Clinton looks almost like a positive good rather than a necessary evil."

The Clintons' enemies may have helped them on another issue: impeachment, which appears to have solidified Mr. Clinton's support in New York and raised Mrs. Clinton's favorable ratings, analysts say. The First Lady has long been popular among professional women. But her stoic, steadfast defense of her husband last year won her additional support among more traditional, conservative women, pollsters say.

"I think the year softened her image," said Lee M. Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. "People can, in different ways, identify with the trauma she's gone through."

Judith Hope, chairwoman of the New York State Democratic Party, said Mrs. Clinton should therefore benefit in a Senate race against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican who is considering running. "I think New Yorkers see her as the personification of the new woman in transition," Ms. Hope said. "That she juggled a child, a job and a loss of personal privacy with such style and grace really inspires women."

But there may be vulnerabilities hiding inside Mrs. Clinton's apparent strengths on the impeachment issue. While many people like Mrs. Clinton for standing by the President, a smaller but still substantial number of people seem to dislike her for exactly the same reason.

Some analysts say Mrs. Clinton may benefit from the competition between New York City, a place she professes to love, and Washington, town she seems to despise. Many New York politicians assert that their hometown is more sophisticated than the nation's capital, more drawn to independent women, less upset by sexual scandals. It may also help that some of her closest advisers are New Yorkers, including Harold M. Ickes and Susan Thomases.

For that reason, Manhattan might be the ideal place for both Clintons to settle after he leaves office, whether she runs for the Senate or not.

"New Yorkers love people who live near the margins," said M. Moss, the N.Y.U. political scientist. "The very qualities that make people like Billy Martin or Joe Namath helps explain why they like the Clintons. New Yorkers like risk takers."

THE NATION

N.Y. race hasn't begun, but Clinton already slipping

By Rick Hampson
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — New Yorkers, who for weeks puffed hot air into Hillary Rodham Clinton's senatorial trial balloon, may be cooling to the idea.

When the first lady visits today for the first time since her future became a national obsession, she'll find that some of the euphoria that surrounded her potential candidacy is evaporating.

"I think she's peaked," Rich Eisenberg, a computer technician from Poughkeepsie, said Tuesday. "I don't think she's going to run. If she does, she won't win."

Two polls support his assessment of Clinton's political momentum:

► A Marist Institute Poll set for release today will show that her lead over a possible Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has narrowed.

► A Fox News/Opinion Dynamics Poll taken Friday found that Clinton's national favorable rating has dropped from 63% to 53% since late January, when she was touted as a successor to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who has announced that he won't seek reelection next year.

"The closer she gets to an actual candidacy, the more her popularity fades," Dick Morris, President Clinton's former political adviser, wrote in Tuesday's edition of the *New York Post*.

He added, "When you get your face on the cover of *Time* and *News-*

week and your ratings drop, something is wrong."

But Clinton remains popular here, judging from her continued lead over Giuliani in the polls and from New Yorkers' comments this week.

"She's a canny woman. You'd have to be canny, or stupid, to put up with him," Manhattan accountant Kent Taylor said, referring to the president.

Polls show Clinton is still very popular with registered voters. Last month, she increased her lead over Giuliani in the Quinnipiac College poll from 9 percentage points to 18 percentage points.

Clinton has never held elective office and never lived in New York State. Giuliani is a two-term mayor who has cracked down on everything from murder to drunken driving to unleashed dogs.

Is her candidacy merely what *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson calls "one of the weirder runaway fantasies of our time"?

Is the first lady taking New Yorkers for a little bit of a ride?

That was the suggestion of Doris Eggersham, an elementary school teacher in Brooklyn: "I don't think she really plans to run. But she's stretching it out. The attention from the Democratic Party must be flattering."

And, now that people are beginning to press for a decision, "I think she's getting a little cold feet," said Israel Acosta, a hotel worker who lives in Ozone Park.

Others were confident that the first

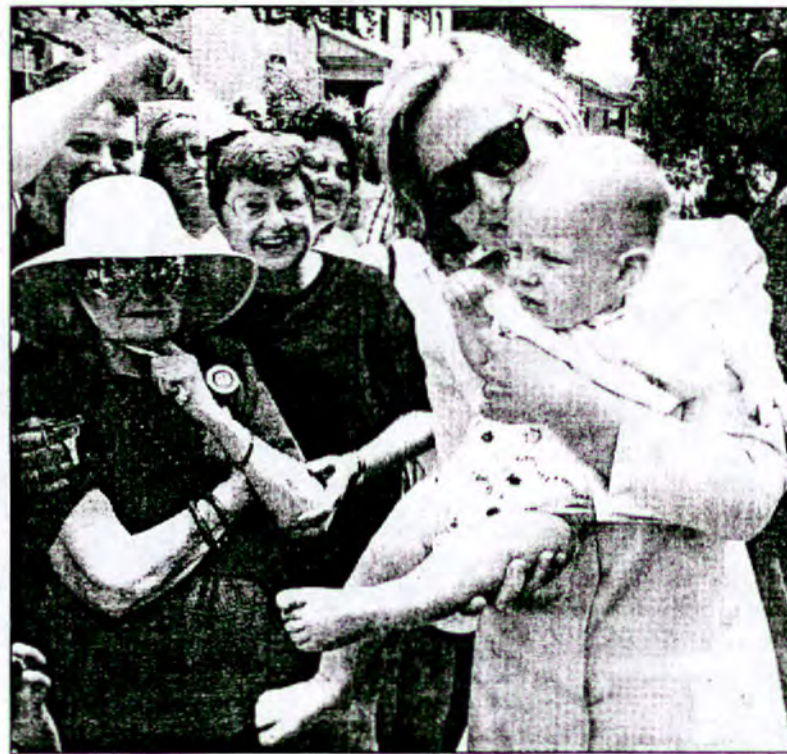


By Stephen Jaffe, Agence France-Presse

'Careful consideration': Hillary Rodham Clinton visits New York today for the first time since she said she'd think about running for Senate.

lady is serious. "I don't think she's playing games," said Bill Blackwell, a Yonkers steamfitter. "I think she wants to run because she's interested in helping the country. I think she actually needs more time if she asks for more time."

But Barry Posner of Great Neck, a lawyer, said that his friends and colleagues are beginning to separate Hillary Rodham Clinton the first lady — the celebrity, the stalwart wife, the victim — from Hillary Rodham Clin-



By Doug Mills, AP

Looking like a candidate: Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a baby while visiting Auburn, N.Y., in July, before speculation began about her running for Senate.

ton the senatorial candidate.

And the candidate, he said, is not as politically attractive.

"The fact is, she'd be a carpetbagger who wants a Palestinian state," he said.

Clinton's statement — "I think it will be in the long-term interests of

the Middle East for Palestine to be a state" — already has been mentioned by Giuliani as a political liability in a state that contains many Jewish voters.

But several Jewish voters said they would not hold that against her. "The Palestinians are not going to decide

the election," Eisenberg said. He has other concerns. "People are interested in education, transportation. What does she know about the Thruway, the subway?"

In her two-day visit to New York City, Clinton is to visit two schools, meet potential financial supporters and address the Democratic Women's Leadership Forum.

She'll make a speech in the grand ballroom of the Plaza Hotel, which has been expanded to accommodate 900 people at \$150 a head. The Democratic National Committee says it has filled every seat and has a waiting list of 300.

Since announcing two weeks ago that she would give "careful consideration" to running, Clinton has talked with many New Yorkers about such a race, but has not actually visited her could-be constituents.

They're eager for a look; even in the latest Week of Monica, many New Yorkers couldn't stop talking about Hillary. They're gossiping about where she'd live — East Side or West Side — how she'd deal with upstate issues, what she'd say about Israel and the Palestinians.

"I think she's trying to find out what the public opinion is before she commits," said Jeana Paulus, who works for an international fruit shipping company in Manhattan.

She added: "I think she's going to run. ... I think she's doing it on her own. As soon as she unloads some dead weight, she'll be fine."

Contributing: Christine Sparta

Hope, Thy Name Is Hillary, in One Hurting N.Y. Mill Town

By MICHAEL GRUNTALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

SENECA FALLS, N.Y., March 2—Here in the birthplace of the women's rights movement, in a Republican stronghold that seemed to fall in love with Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit last July, the first lady's possible run for the Senate is not the big news. No, even in the homespun small town that was supposedly the model for Bedford Falls in the money-isn't-everything fable "It's a Wonderful Life," it's still the economy, stupid.

In fact, throughout upstate New York, it's the horrible economy, and whoever ends up running for Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat will ignore that at their peril. And it is the economy that could create an opportunity for Hillary Clinton, or any Democratic candidate, and turn this traditional bastion of the GOP into a crucial battleground in 2000. Early polls and interviews around Seneca Falls suggest that upstate voters are so desperate to join the nation's economic boom that they would consider anyone who cares about their problems.

Clinton will surely stir up a national media frenzy Wednesday when she visits thriving New York City. But fittingly, 300 miles away in Seneca Falls—where a wry sign in the town supervisor's office reads: "Due to the present economic uncertainties, the light at the end of the tunnel will be turned off indefinitely"—there is a more pressing matter at hand. The owners of the Seneca Knitting Mills, the town's second-largest manufacturer and most visible downtown landmark, have decided to shut down the 155-year-old factory. The workers—about three-fourths of them women—have until Friday to rescue the plant.

"I'm just so tired of starting over," said Sandra O'Connor, 52, who has worked at the mill for 13 years. Before that, she had worked 12 years at a local television factory, until it shut down. Before that, she had worked four years for a local auto parts factory, until it moved to Kentucky. "Maybe Hillary can save

our jobs," she sighed.

O'Connor's plea could be applied throughout upstate New York, where the hard times have made George Bailey's cinematic jump off the bridge look like a walk in the park. Its manufacturing base has hemorrhaged well-paying jobs, and few communities have figured out how to replace them. General Motors and Miller Brewing shuttered plants in Syracuse, Republic Steel and Bell Aerospace abandoned Niagara Falls, Rochester absorbed massive layoffs at Kodak, Xerox and Bausch & Lomb. Last year, after the Buffalo News ran a seven-part series titled "Upstate: Downbound," the region added only 14,200 jobs, versus 113,400 downstate.

In the past, that might not have affected a Senate race. Traditionally, Democrats have dominated New York City. Republicans have owned the rural communities upstate, and the downstate suburbs have been up for grabs. For example, in 1992 and 1996, President Clinton coasted to comfortable victories statewide simply by running reasonably close to his GOP opponents upstate. In 1994 and 1998, Gov. George E. Pataki (R) won on the strength of huge upstate routs.

But if the race to replace Moynihan becomes a celebrity battle—pitting the first lady, voted the most admired woman in America in some polls, against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), hailed as the tough guy who tamed the Big Apple—the usual geographical calculus may be useless. Giuliani is more popular than most Republicans in the city and its suburbs, but less popular upstate, where a New York City address can be more harmful than Arkansas and Washington ones. Even GOP-dominated towns like Seneca Falls could be in play.

"I didn't like what Hillary did with the health care, but I'd probably vote for her," said Dick Marshall, a Republican who owns a used-car business here. "She's a smart lady. Hey, at least she came to visit. I don't see anyone else paying attention to this place."

After a Quinnipiac College poll taken during last month's run-Hillary-run media blitz, the main storyline was the first lady leading Giuliani 54 to 36 percent. But the breakdown of the numbers showed how unpredictable that dream race could be: Giuliani won narrowly in the suburbs, while Clinton won big on Giuliani's city turf and even came out ahead upstate. Still, potential voters said Giuliani had a much better understanding of New York issues than the first lady, who has never lived in the state.

In interviews with about 30 voters in Seneca Falls, the refrain was almost always the same: They said they don't care about the first lady's role in the Travelgate firings, her Whitewater billing records or her cattle futures bonanza. They don't care about her husband's sex life or his testimony under oath. They said they just want a senator to feel their pain and do something to ease it. And despite her liberal reputation in Wash-



The first lady won many hearts in upstate Seneca Falls, N.Y., when she visited in July.

ington, the first lady seems to represent an almost non-ideological form of hope for many voters around here.

"This is a conservative area, and I think most of us would prefer someone from New York as a senator. But that doesn't mean we won't support her," said Janette Pfeiff, a Republican who is the first female town supervisor of Seneca Falls, where America's first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848. "The economy is the overwhelming issue. That comes first."

In some ways, Seneca Falls still resembles the picturesque mill town captured by "It's a Wonderful Life" in 1946, with its quaint Victorian homes and tidy downtown storefronts. The Women's Rights National Historic Park set an attendance record last year during its 150th anniversary and local wineries are attracting increasing numbers of tourists.

But the hand-hewn limestone knitting mill is not the only local institution unraveling like a ball of yarn. The county's largest manufacturer, Gould Pumps, has laid off 100 workers

since January. In the last year, a cafe, a newsstand, a deli, an art gallery, a furniture shop, an appliance store, a bakery and a historic hotel and restaurant have all gone out of business on Falls Street, the main drag. Unless the mill is saved, its Falls Street skys store will close soon. Meanwhile, the demise of a local Army depot has moved 1,000 military and 800 civilian jobs out of town. One resident recently posted a large sign on her house asking the last person to leave Seneca Falls to please turn out the lights.

There is some economic growth here, but most of it reflects the area's problems more than its promise. A 1,500-bed maximum security prison is coming to the old Army base, along with a residential school for troubled youths. A new drug treatment center has opened. The county's landfill is about to expand, and its eight hog farms have all opened since 1994.

In this climate, to put it mildly, the 1996 Senate race is not exactly Topic A.

"Everyone just wants to know about the mill. That's people's lives, you know? That's

important," said Sharon Mannix, a manager of the Seneca Knit Mills sock store who was laid off last year from her job as a secretary at the Army depot.

When pressed, though, most Seneca Falls residents concede that politics can affect their lives. It was the federal government, after all, that shut down the depot. And it was Moynihan—after a chat two decades ago with George Souhan, the former owner of the knitting mill—who laid the groundwork for the 1848 convention site to become a national park. Some people here believe the first lady could work similar magic.

"I wish she knew more about our problems, but I'm sure she'd learn," said Republican Mary Lee Miller, a secretary in her husband's law office. "She's a real leader."

Hillary Clinton addressed 18,000 people here during the 150th anniversary celebration last July, and most of them cheered as she called for women to exercise their hard-won right to vote. That day, the women's rights park received more than four times as many visitors as it ever had before, and sold 16 times as much merchandise. But that doesn't necessarily mean the people here would vote for Clinton. Even Souhan, a former Democratic leader in the county, thinks she's wrong for the job. "I don't think she knows a damn thing about upstate New York," said Republican Bill Snyder, a local truck driver. "This place is dying. We need someone who understands that."

The employees of the Seneca Knitting Mills certainly do. There were once 240 of them, earning \$6 to \$15 an hour. It was hard work—winding, twisting, knitting, drying—but union leader Carol Thompson said they were always treated well when Souhan owned the plant.

In 1993, though, Souhan got sick, and had to sell his family's mill to a North Carolina firm. The new owners (who have not hired one female supervisor even though the work force is mostly women) posted cardstock signs with blue lettering on the shop floor: "Production Comes First." Employee grievances shot up to about 10 a week. Finally, after signing a new contract with the Seneca Falls workers, the firm announced it was eliminating their jobs.

"I have no idea what we're going to do," said Phyllis Butte, a dryer who makes \$8.25 an hour after 37 years. Her husband is a supervisor; her son works on the line. "We know there aren't any other jobs left in this town, except Burger King."

The workers need to come up with at least \$5 million in financing by Friday to buy the mill themselves, federal loans and grants could help save the day. It's a long shot, but they say they know just the person in the White House who could help.

"Right now, Hillary's our best hope," said Thompson, an inspector whose daughter works at the plant as a knitter. "We now care about people like us."

PunditSpeak

By JoAnn Kelly

'Should Hillary Clinton run for the Senate?'

Carolyn Lochhead
Washington correspondent
San Francisco Chronicle

"That's obviously entirely up to her, but it would be interesting to see her as her own politician accountable to the voters, rather than as a power behind the throne. She would have to face voters, political opponents and the press, including the New York press. Certainly a race between Hillary Clinton and [New York Mayor] Rudolph Giuliani would be a thing to behold, not only for the clash of personalities but as a true ideological contest offering voters very different options. Why she would want to do this is another question. She's been first lady for six years with celebrity status, which is very different from being an in-the-trenches politician."



Katrina vanden Heuvel
Editor
The Nation

"It's her decision to make, but wouldn't Hillary Clinton be a happier and more politically satisfied person heading a foundation or writing a column championing the issues she's passionate about? New York is not a village. She's likely to face a brutal race against Emperor Giuliani (who makes [Independent Counsel] Kenneth Starr look like Mr. Chips), and the New York media will pummel her with tough scandal-related questions. New York and New Jersey's Democratic Party leaders may lust after Hillary Clinton's ability to raise pots of money, but they should advise the first lady that celebrity politicians haven't fared too well in New York state."



Bonnie Erbe
Columnist, Scripps Howard Newswire
Host, CBS series "To the Contrary"

"Yes, because the Democrats need her to hold that seat. But while she's their best hope, she'll have to answer a lot of questions, starting with what allegiance New York voters owe to a woman who was born in Illinois and spent most of her life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C. Her popularity right now is sky-high because America likes to see her standing by her man. But, when she was out front on progressive issues, such as universal health care and abortion rights, her numbers were closer to those of former Speaker Newt Gingrich [R-Ga.] when he was pushing for the Contract With America. All this means, even for New York, a hard-line feminist pushing a progressive platform will have a very hard time trying to win office."



Eleanor Clift
Contributing editor
Newsweek

"Unless Hillary really wants to be a senator, she shouldn't run. These last two years in the White House will not be easy, and if she's a candidate, she'll have to answer lots of questions she could otherwise avoid. Does she really want to spend the next 20 months explaining her positions on statehood for Palestine and children suing their parents? James Carville, the most loyal of the Clinton loyalists, has advised her to take a few years off, write a book, make speeches and make money. And this isn't Mrs. Clinton's last chance. She could credibly challenge Republican Sen. Peter Fitzgerald in 2004 in Illinois, her home state."

The Shirt List

■ The relentless *will she? won't she?* buzz over **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and the New York Senate race has clearly gotten to Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

So he brought a little sartorial prop to the "Fox News Sunday" set yesterday with which to gig Sen. **Bob Torricelli** (D-N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and father of the first-lady-for-Senate boomlet.

"I've come up with a T-shirt for Bob that I think says it well," declared McConnell, holding up the "I ♥ NY" model. "Of course, the first lady doesn't live in New York. And if she chooses not to run in New York, she could run in New Jersey [deft use of flash-card produces Exhibit B, a T-shirt with the slogan "I ♥ NJ"]. And the Democrats, of course, have an open seat in Nevada [morph to Exhibit C, "I ♥ NV"]. She's sort of the Senate candidate for all states this year."



BY JAMES HAMILTON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST
McConnell, making a case for Clinton?

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

In Utah, a Little Downhill Time

■ The weather was splendid—sunny and near 60—yesterday in Park City, Utah.

But that didn't tempt **President Clinton** into schussing down the slopes. Instead, he remained inside and read books at the lavish mountain retreat of movie producer **Jeffrey Katzenberg**. But **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and daughter **Chelsea** did the whole snow bunny number in the resort that is readying for the 2002 Winter Olympics.

The two women caused a brief stir among photographers, who were thrilled to capture them strapping on skis and getting on a lift near Bald Eagle Mountain, reports The Post's Chuck Babington.

White House spokesman **Barry Toiv** said he did not know what Clinton was reading, but allowed as how "work was low on the totem pole to him as far as his priorities." Clinton has stayed away from the sport since injuring his left knee in a 1984 skiing mishap in Idaho.

This is the second year Katzenberg has turned over to the Clintons his home 25 miles east of Salt Lake City. He was not there.

On Saturday night, the family celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday with a cake and dinner. No word on gifts.



BY ROCK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE/PA ASSOCIATE PRESS

First daughter **Chelsea Clinton** carves up the slopes yesterday near Park City, Utah, where she and her family gathered to celebrate her 19th birthday on Saturday.



Political Roundup

Duke Predicts Victory In Louisiana

■ **GOP HOUSE ASPIRANT** David Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan leader, predicted late last week that he would win the seat vacated by former **House Appropriations Chairman Livingston**, the *Baton Rouge Advocate* reported.

"In this race we don't have to worry about that black bloc vote. We have a great chance for victory," Duke told the Jeffersonians, a Baton Rouge political club.

Duke, the St. Tammany Parish GOP chairman and former state representative, said his statewide runs for Senate and governor failed because of opposition from a 30 percent black voting bloc in the state. But he said the 1st District, which wraps around New Orleans, has only about 9 percent black voters.

"I carried the 1st District before in statewide races, and the district since that time has been made more amenable to our principles and ideals," Duke said.

A May 1 special election to replace Livingston, who left Congress at the end of last week, will likely include at least four other declared Republican candidates: former Gov. Dave Treen, state Rep. David Vitter, attorney/New Orleans Zephyrs owner Rob Couhig, and ophthalmologist Monica Monica. Qualifying occurs March 17-19.

Fourteen Years Later, A Rematch In New Mexico

■ **FORMER LT. GOV. MIKE RUNNELS**, a Democrat, next year plans to challenge Rep. **Joe Skeen**, R-N.M., for the seat once held by his father — the late Rep. **Harold Runnels**, D-N.M., according to the *Associated Press*.

A Skeen-Runnels race would be a rematch of the 1986 contest — in which Skeen handily beat Mike Run-

nels by 63-37 percent. Said Runnels: "Things change over the years, and people change over the years. I've learned to work effectively with people of diverse interests. ... And I think the Democratic Party deserves a candidate who can reach across those diverse interests."

Skeen first won the seat in 1980 following Harold Runnels' death — as a write-in candidate in a three-way race. He was re-elected with 58 percent of the vote last November, following a 56-44 percent victory two years earlier.

Signs Point To Late Decision By Hillary In N.Y. Race

■ **SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER**, D-N.Y., late last week said that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton could take until June to make up her mind about running for the Senate from New York. And former Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato**, R-N.Y., whom Schumer defeated last fall, suggested that if Clinton is set to run, she could announce as late as September, *Newsday* reported.

All of which points to a decision later, rather than sooner, for the first lady — who has been at the center of a speculative political swirl over the 2000 race for the New York seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**.

Schumer's newfound advice that Clinton weigh her decision carefully contrasts with his earlier call that she make a quick decision. Schumer — who was among several New York politicians whom the first lady invited last week to the White House for consultation — said afterward that Clinton did not appear close to a decision.

While Schumer acknowledged that he had initially called on Clinton to decide by spring, he said last Thursday: "Spring could mean

[waiting] till June 20. It's not productive to put a time frame on it."

And D'Amato said the longer Clinton delays her decision, the more likely it is that she will run.

"If she's going to run, she can wait until September," D'Amato said. "Money is not a problem for her, bringing the entire party apparatus behind her is no problem. And she doesn't encounter the withering kind of inspection and questions that would take place as soon as she announces by the media."

Top Lobbyists Host Gingrich PAC Fundraiser

■ **SOME OF WASHINGTON'S** top lobbyists are co-chairing an April 14 fundraiser here for former **House Speaker Gingrich's** new Friends of Newt Gingrich PAC, the *Associated Press* reported.

The event will be not only a salute to Gingrich, but also a fundraiser for the PAC — designed to aid GOP candidates — as well as a benefit for the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation, one of Gingrich's favorite charities.

Among those organizing the event are former White House aide Nicholas Calio, whose firm's clients include Anheuser-Busch and Sears, Roebuck and Co.; former Rep. **Vin Weber**, R-Minn., who represents AT&T Corp. and Microsoft Corp.; former Rep. **Robert Walker**, R-Pa., whose firm represents American Airlines and Visa; and former Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour, who counts CBS Inc. and Philip Morris Cos. Inc. among his clients.

While Gingrich has not ruled out eventually running for president or another office, he has said he would not do it in 2000. In the meantime, he plans to give speeches and set up a consulting firm.



Pallone Announces Senate Exploratory Committee

■ LESS THAN A WEEK after Democratic Sen. Frank Lautenberg's surprise retirement announcement, Rep. Frank Pallone, D-N.J., Tuesday said he is forming a committee to explore a Senate bid.

"I have run extremely tough races before — in traditionally non-Democratic areas," said Pallone, first elected to Congress in 1988, "and I believe that my records on taxes, education and welfare are reflective of New Jersey voters. Now, I am deciding whether this agenda can be better served in the Senate."

Pallone is not the only New Jersey Democratic House member interested in Lautenberg's seat: House Democratic Caucus Vice Chairman Robert Menendez is also reported to be lining up support.

DNC Seeks Appeal Of Ruling On 'Hard Dollar' Spending Limits

■ THE DEMOCRATIC National Committee is calling on the FEC to appeal last Thursday's decision by a district judge in Colorado who ruled that certain limits on the amount of "hard dollars" that a party committee may spend on behalf of a candidate are unconstitutional.

"We are disappointed that the court struck down the limits, and we hope and expect that the FEC will appeal the decision," said a DNC spokesman.

The case dates back to 1986, when the Colorado GOP spent money on radio ads aimed at then-Rep. Timothy Wirth, D-Colo., — who eventually won an open Senate seat that year.

In June 1996, the Supreme Court ruled that the Colorado GOP had not violated election laws — but remanded the case back to the district court for further argument on whether there should be any limits

on the coordinating spending by party committees.

"It is a great victory for the First Amendment and common sense," said Republican attorney Jan Baran. "This decision encourages parties to raise more hard money and reduces the political value of soft money."

Baran declined to predict that the ruling would cause the major GOP campaign committees to reduce the amount of soft money they will raise for the 2000 elections.

New Poll Shows Hillary Widening Lead Over Giuliani

■ A NEW POLL shows First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton widening her lead over New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican, in a potential 2000 New York Senate race matchup.

The survey, from Quinnipiac College's Polling Institute, had the first lady favored by 54 percent of 1,270 registered voters polled — with Giuliani the choice of 36 percent, an 18 point lead. The poll was conducted last Tuesday — the day Clinton said she would give the race "careful consideration" — and has a 3 point error margin.

An earlier Quinnipiac poll, conducted Jan. 26-Feb. 1, had Clinton leading Giuliani by 9 points, 51-42 percent.

Senate Minority Leader Daschle said Tuesday he has spoken with Clinton about a Senate bid, but said he "would be very surprised if she made a decision in the next six months."

Gambling Foe Enters Race To Succeed Talent

■ A FOURTH REPUBLICAN has entered the race to succeed Rep. James Talent, R-Mo., who will run for governor in 2000.

State Rep. Todd Akin, a conservative who has gone to court to chal-

lenge the legality of Missouri's gambling boats and a 1993 education tax increase, announced Monday he will enter the race in the suburban St. Louis district, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported.

Akin vowed to make his priority in Congress the adoption of a national version of Missouri's tax limitation law — even if it requires a constitutional amendment.

Besides the three other Republicans who have already announced — state Sens. Steve Ehlmann and Franc Flotron, and former St. Louis County Executive Gene McNary — at least two others are looking into it. They are state Sens. Betty Sims and David Klarich.

Two Democrats, state Sen. Ted House and Webster University Business School Dean David Harpool also have announced they will run in the predominantly GOP district.

California GOP Officials To Kasich: Stay Home

■ A TIFF INVOLVING the California GOP dating back to 1997 continues to dog House Budget Chairman Kasich's presidential campaign.

The flap occurred during the last election cycle, when Kasich initially planned to attend an event for his friend, Rep. Gary Condit, D-Calif.

After state party members complained, Kasich backed off.

Now, although most other GOP presidential contenders have been invited to speak at the party's spring convention this year, Kasich did not make the cut.

"We are sorry that they are still upset about a two-year old incident which never took place," said a spokesman for Kasich's presidential exploratory committee, adding, "We look forward to working with the new incoming chairman to raise money for the party and stump for California Republican candidates."

Off to the RACES

Suddenly, GOP Opportunities Arise In The Senate

By Charlie Cook

■ WHAT A DIFFERENCE a week makes! Early last week, while some overzealous Democrats were boldly talking about winning control of the Senate in 2000, almost all neutral analysts — and most realistic Democratic and GOP veterans — were privately suggesting there would likely be little net change in the Senate.

Before last week, each side had one incumbent in extreme jeopardy: Democrat **Charles Robb** in Virginia and Republican **John Ashcroft** in Missouri. Robb trails former GOP Gov. George Allen while Ashcroft runs behind current Democratic Gov. Mel Carnahan. The next risky spot for Democrats was in New York, where **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan** is retiring.

The early picture in the Empire State is muddled, depending upon go/no go decisions by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and **Rep. Nita Lowey** on the Democratic side and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, **Rep. Rick Lazio** and former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato** on the GOP side.

Although most have all but given Giuliani the nomination, it is important to note that the Republican primary vote is not in New York City — and that the Pataki-D'Amato wing of the party has no use for Hizzoner. Lazio, from Long Island, does not carry the baggage of hailing from the city and yet is moderate enough to be plausible in a general election. The first lady would be a slight favorite over Giuliani, while she would start off a strong favorite over D'Amato or Lazio. Giuliani would be a big favorite over Lowey, who would only get into the race if Mrs. Clinton does not run. In the unlikely event that both Clinton and Giuliani did not run, a Lowey-Lazio matchup at this point would look to be fairly even.

Beyond these three races, everything else in the Senate looked to be *status quo*. However, the outlook changed dramatically last week when Democrats got hit with both barrels of the retirement gun. The first blast came Wednesday when **Sen. Frank Lautenberg** of New Jersey announced he was not going to run, rescinding a decision last fall that he would seek a fourth term.

The other barrel was fired Thursday when Nevada **Sen. Richard Bryan** announced he would retire. Like Moynihan, both Lautenberg and Bryan were heavy favorites for re-election — not just because Senate incumbent re-election rates have risen over the last decade to over 70 percent, but also because their potential top-tier opponents seemed highly unlikely to run. GOP Gov. Christine Todd Whitman

seemed unlikely to take on Lautenberg while former GOP **Rep. John Ensign**, the 1998 Senate nominee, seemed unwilling to take on his close friend, Bryan.

■ NOW, ALL THAT HAS CHANGED. Whitman, who came within three percentage points in 1994 of upsetting then-**Sen. Bill Bradley**, now looks all but certain to run, and is a strong favorite over what could be a divided but decidedly second-tier field of Democrats. Whitman is very likely to carry the Republican torch — while Democrats potentially choose among former Gov. Jim Florio, ousted by Whitman in 1993; **Reps. Bob Menendez, Frank Pallone** and **Robert Andrews**; and Cherry Hill Mayor Susan Bass Levin, a prominent Democratic fundraiser.

Some Democrats worry that based on name recognition alone, Florio would have a big edge in a primary — but that he remains badly damaged goods from his ill-fated tenure as governor. The GOP begins the race favored to pick up the seat.

In Nevada, the GOP nomination is most likely to go to Ensign, who has already said he is running. GOP **Rep. Jim Gibbons**, who has also expressed interest in the race, could challenge Ensign if he decides to jump in. Ensign came within a few hundred votes of upsetting Bryan's colleague, **Sen. Harry Reid**, last November. Gibbons' district contains the half of the state's population with the highest turnout level overall — and the overwhelming majority of voters in a GOP primary.

On the Democratic side, the nomination seems most likely to go to former Gov. Bob Miller or Las Vegas Mayor Jan Laverty Jones, the party's 1998 gubernatorial candidate. Miller, who served as lieutenant governor under then-Gov. Bryan, assumed the top job in January 1989, finishing out the last two years of Bryan's term and easily winning election in his own right in 1990 and beating Gibbons by 12 points in 1994. The race starts off roughly a 50-50 contest with Bryan not running for re-election.

In sum, these three open seats where Democrats had

70-95 percent chances of winning have fallen into the 40-55 percent range. Democrats have more seats in immediate jeopardy, while Republicans have more that are potentially at risk — with tough challenges dependent upon strong Democratic recruiting, a continued favorable political climate and some lucky breaks. After the tumultuous past week, Democrats could sure use them.

■ **Charlie Cook's "Off to the Races"** appears every Tuesday in **CongressDailyAM**. During weeks when **CongressDailyAM** does not publish, "Off to the Races" can be accessed on National Journal's web-site: www.cloakroom.com. "The Cook Report" appears Fridays in **National Journal**.



AP photo

President Clinton leads Hillary Rodham Clinton down the steps of the Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington on Sunday. The first lady still has not announced whether she would run for the Senate.

GOP 'relishing' idea of Clinton

First lady likely to face nasty N.Y. race for Senate

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's reputation for toughness and political smarts would be put to a full test if she decides to run for a Senate seat from New York, politicians in both parties warned her Sunday.

Former GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, a potential rival for the seat, said Republicans "are actually relishing the battle."

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive to seek the Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view," Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition."

With the impeachment over and Congress not yet back in full gear, the possibility of a Clinton-Giuliani race in New York dominated the Sunday news programs. The topic is the cover story for Time and Newsweek this week.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch, a Democrat, predicted that Mrs. Clinton would win if she runs for the seat being vacated by four-term Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat. But "it'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk," he said on CBS' "Face the Nation."

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close. A Time/CNN poll of New York residents put Clinton, an Illinois native, ahead of Giuliani 52 percent to 43 percent, but Giuliani said, on ABC's "This Week," in the end "we are looking at a 2 or 3 percent race."

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. Time magazine reported that Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), who is urging Clinton to run, had discussed her candidacy with President Clinton

'Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing from my point of view.'

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani

and that he was enthusiastic about her running. Publicly, the president has said only that she would make a good senator, and that he would support whatever decision she makes.

Weighing against a run is New York's notoriety for expensive, no-holds-barred, negative politicking. House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) said that even as a person familiar with tough Chicago politics, "I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics."

Former New York Rep. Susan Molinari, a Republican, said her gut feeling was that the first lady won't enter the race. "This is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into," she said on CNN. Giuliani "is going to be an extremely formidable candidate and will beat her."

Geraldine Ferraro, in Time, recalled how she twice lost bids for a New York Senate seat, "and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family."

Ferraro said she hopes Clinton would run, but another Democrat, former White House aide George Stephanopoulos, writing in Newsweek, advised otherwise. "Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back," he wrote. "Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure?"

Giuliani said he had no intention of attacking Clinton over the impeachment of her husband or accusing her of being a carpetbagger who doesn't live in New York.

But, when asked on ABC about the first lady's statements last year that she favored an independent Palestinian state, he noted that he agreed with the official White House position that the status of Palestinian-controlled lands are to be negotiated. "Mrs. Clinton is out there much more heavily favoring the Palestinians," he said.

Koch said most American Jews are for a Palestinian state. "For Giuliani to raise that [issue] shows you how low a blow he's willing to strike," the former mayor said.

One Democrat who expressed enthusiasm for Clinton's candidacy was New York Rep. Nita Lowey, whose own decision on whether to enter the senatorial race has been put on hold as a result of the first lady's possible entry. "Hillary Clinton is in a very special class of her own," she said on CNN and Fox.

D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last November after a nasty campaign against then-Democratic Rep. Charles Schumer, said Republicans aren't afraid of a Clinton candidacy and are "actually relishing the battle."

In addition to Giuliani, he said, New York moderate Reps. Jack Quinn and Rick Lazio would be strong contenders. Asked on Fox if he would consider running, D'Amato said it was "very tempting." He said it would be a race that those who enjoy politics "kind of salivate over."

Dear Hillary: If D.C. is the frying pan, N.Y. is the fire

ELLEN GOODMAN

Am I the only one in my homeroom class who thinks that Hillary would have to be nuts to run for the Senate?

My fellow media majors are all salivating at the prospect of what they have collectively dubbed "The Battle of Titans." They actually want to see first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wrestle Mayor Rudy Giuliani for the same seat.

Doesn't anyone else remember what happened to the original Titans? The giant children of Uranus and Gaea set out to rule heaven and ended up overthrown by Zeus and his family in a disaster of, well, Titanic proportions.

Ever since Hillary acknowledged, as a kind of thank-you note to her supporters, that she was giving the race "careful thought," I've had a feeling that HRC was being set up as a gladiator. She's being urged into the coliseum for the amusement of the masses. Or at least the mass media.

She doesn't get to choose between the lady and the tiger. She gets the possibility of being the senator from New York and the certainty of being mauled within an inch of her life.

I ain't in the advice biz, and, as "Dear Abby" demurred this week, "the most unwelcome advice is that which is unsolicited." I don't know what makes HRC keep ticking or what internal muscle lets her hold her chin up. If I were HRC, I would have spent the last year in bed — and not Bill's bed.

Yes, there are attractions in an Empire State campaign — chief among them finding a legitimate reason for being a Metroliner away from Washington.

The transformation from wronged wife to front-runner would be good for the soul. After years as the

freebie in a two-for-the-price-of-one package, it would be a relief to run on her own. Instead of being psychoanalyzed by *Vanity Fair* — "a long-suffering, lamp-throwing wife and her straying husband" — she could have her position papers scrutinized by policy wonks.

Add to that the delicious prospect of watching Bill do a thousand hours of community service as a political spouse. If she won, he'd have to work to pay off the family debt while she went to the Capitol. (Memo to the Prez: See those brackets around your net worth? That's means debit.)

I have no doubt, after last fall's performance, that Hillary has the name recognition and the skills in fund-raising and crowd-pleasing. But New York? Now?

Dear Hillary: If Washington is the frying pan, New York is the fire. If Ken Starr is the frying pan, Rudy Giuliani is the fire. Those folks who are urging you to run, aren't they the same cheerleaders who waved their pompoms for Geraldine "Head-handed-to-her" Ferraro?

New York isn't a village, it's Bosnia. "Giuliani," says Ed Koch, the formidable former mayor of the Big Apple, "will run the most ruthless, vile, loathsome, defamatory campaign he's capable of." There will be some gnome at every stop with a Monica mask and a Whitewater map.

New Yorkers have a way of cutting newcomers — with or without carpetbags — down to size. Did you check the New York Post editorial last week that warned: "No cozy sequestrations of the sort that ac-



DEAN ROHRER ILLUSTRATION

crue to all first ladies. No more Matt Lauer softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does."

Only in New York would they think she's had a "cozy" old time in D.C. As Koch says, "I wouldn't suggest this to someone who didn't have steel in their spine."

Well, nobody doubts Hillary's mettle. But by the fall of 2000, the first lady's stardust may have faded in the country's exhausted desire to end the entire Clinton melodrama.

But there's another, less calculating reason for passing this up. HRC is at one of those moments when the right question is not what the New York Democratic Party wants. It is: What do you want to do with the rest of your life?

For decades, Hillary Clinton has been interested in both the politics of nuts and bolts and the politics of meaning. She's a Methodist and a pragmatist, a big thinker and a strategist, the woman who can inspire a UN conference and complain about a right-wing conspiracy. Which way now?

Even if she runs and wins, has Hillary given up the chance for a world stage to worry about the potholes in Queens? Or has she chosen a powerful seat at the table of policy-makers? Eleanor Roosevelt, where are you?

Anyway you look at it, this is not the time to run. The motto of the Hillary Fan Club has always been, "You go, girl." How about: "You go slow, girl."

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

Hillary's choice

To run or not to run? That is the question facing Hamlet-like Hillary Clinton: Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous New Yorkers in a race for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's soon-to-be-vacated Senate seat or take up arms against some other sea of troubles when she leaves the White House.

Politicos up and down the Hudson pant at the thought of a race between Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the consummate pragmatic problem solver, versus Hillary, the idealistic, liberal Democrat who is more associated with what might have been.

Hillary Clinton is of a transitional generation of women. She is where she is because of her husband, but she longs for a role of her own, which she should have. She burst on the national consciousness by saying she was not some Tammy Wynette character, standing by her man, but ended up adored for being exactly that.

The co-presidency, the "two for the price of one" that Hillary may have envisioned, was never on. There can never be a co-presidency. Her stewardship over health care reform was an unmitigated disaster — but she learned a great deal about

politics and the art of the possible from that defeat. No one doubts that Hillary Clinton is razor-smart, strikingly articulate, with a strong vision of her own about where America ought to go — a vision that is a bit to the left of the one her husband has put into practice.

To run in New York will not be easy. All the old unanswered questions about the propriety of the Rose Law Firm and cattle futures will be regurgitated. In Gotham there will be questions about her support for a Palestinian state. In addition, she has never before run for public office — but then, Moynihan had little elective experience and Robert Kennedy none before he ran for the Senate in New York.

"Would be an enterprise of great pith and moment, a run for the Senate, and a worthy challenge to one who has, by necessity, had to hold her opinions and her politics back. So, unlike our columnist on the opposite page, we say it is an opportunity for Hillary Clinton that may not come again, and given the realities of politics, she should declare her candidacy soon rather than lose the name of action.

White House in a New York state of mind

First lady talks politics with senator; president urges delay

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton met yesterday with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at the White House to discuss a possible Senate bid by the first lady, a few hours before her husband cautioned that the momentum building around her potential run for Moynihan's seat in 2000 may be "a little premature."

In their 90-minute meeting, Moynihan, a New York Democrat who will retire next year, brought to the White House a synopsis of his four Senate races, including statistics reflecting the unpredictability of New York voters.



Political godfather: Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan spent 90 minutes with the prospective candidate.

But even as the first lady and a top political adviser explore the idea of a Senate run with campaign consultants and national labor leaders, President Clinton sounded a cautionary note yesterday.

At a news conference,

Clinton pledged his support for the first lady, "just as she's helped me for the last 20-plus years." But he warned against stoking the campaign fires too vigorously, too soon.

"I think some time needs to be taken here," Clinton said. "I also think that even in a presidential race, it's hard to keep a kettle of water boiling for almost two years. It's a little premature, and I would like to see her take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument and decide exactly what you think is right to do."

The first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the meeting with Moynihan was purely exploratory.

"She wants to talk to people who have ideas and thoughts about it, and certainly Moynihan is one of them," Berry said. "She is a methodical person, and she will want to [See Senate, 4A]

First lady talks politics with New York senator

[Senate, from Page 1A]

look at all the different factors in making a decision like this."

Moynihan, who won the largest statewide victory in New York history in 1988 and is something of a godfather in New York politics, is an outspoken supporter of the first lady. On NBC's "Meet the Press" last Sunday, the four-term senator said he hoped that she would bring that "magnificent young, bright, able Illinois/Arkansas enthusiasm to New York, which probably could use a little."

Hillary Clinton said this week that she was giving "careful thought" to the race and would announce her decision later this year. But New York Democrats are urging her to decide by April so that another candidate can get an early start on fund raising should she decide against running. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City is expected to run hard for the seat for the Republicans and has already started raising money.

On CNN's "Inside Politics" yesterday, Giuliani sounded eager for a Senate race against a first lady — which would be a first in American history.

"I think probably one of the things that pitches you a little bit more toward doing a thing like this is it would be a great challenge," Giuliani said. "You would be creating new ground. This has

never happened before."

As pressure rises on Hillary Clinton to make a decision, Harold Ickes, her political adviser and a veteran of New York politics, floated the idea of the first lady's candidacy to several consultants who have had success in that state's bruising campaigns.

David Doak, a media consultant in David N. Dinkins' two New York City mayoral races, said he made clear to Ickes this week that he would want to sign on should the first lady run.

"I doubt there's anybody more suited to that kind of rough-and-tumble politics than her," said Doak, a campaign adviser with Doak, Carrier & O'Donnell and a friend of Hillary Clinton's for more than 20 years. Also, Doak said, the first lady can attract the money necessary in that state's hugely expensive campaigns.

"She brings an unbelievable ability to raise financial backing," he said.

Ickes attended the AFL-CIO's executive council meeting in Miami this week, talking with labor leaders about the first lady's prospects in a Senate campaign in New York.

Next week, Hillary Clinton will reportedly meet with several labor leaders, including AFL-CIO President John Sweeney. She is also expected at several New York appearances in coming months and



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Decision to make: Hillary Rodham Clinton is coming under pressure to announce her political intentions by April.

is planning to meet next week with Sen. Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, who heads the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

For now, the first lady's possible candidacy is the talk of New York politics. Longtime New York political consultants say that should she decide not to run, Giuliani's position will be even stronger for her having tested the idea and then withdrawn.

"It's not going to be a cakewalk if it's Rudy Giuliani; it's not going to be an easy time — he is a very, very good candidate — he may be abrasive, but he's good," said David Garth, a veteran adviser who worked on Giuliani's first victorious mayoral campaign. "Obviously, if she doesn't run, she's helped Rudy immensely — the obvious reason being that he must have driven her out."

Across the nation

FROM TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

First lady, Moynihan discuss running for his seat in Senate

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton met with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan on Friday about whether she should run for his New York Senate seat.

Afterward, Moynihan said they discussed New York voting patterns and demographics in Senate and presidential campaigns. "They're more complex than you might think," said the senator, who has said he won't seek a fifth term in 2000.

Moynihan said the numbers "look very good for her but New York is a big demographic problem." Asked if it were more likely now that Clinton would run, he said, "She's very much involved in that decision." He said he did not give her advice but said, "Of course I'd support her."

"It's a listening meeting, an opportunity to explore thoughts," said Marsha Berry, Clinton's press secretary, before the meeting.

President Clinton said Friday that he will "be strongly supportive of whatever decision the first lady makes" and was encouraging her to "take some time, get some rest, listen to people on both sides of the argument."

Hillary Clinton has met previously with Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth, Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), Senate Democratic campaign committee Chairman Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, and a few female senators, including Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.). She is to meet next week with AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

Hillary's greatest liability as candidate is her husband

JOHN ELLIS

It is impossible to overstate the humiliation Hillary Rodham Clinton has endured this past year. No one in her position has ever experienced anything quite like it. There were days when simply maintaining her composure seemed to require every ounce of her will. And it never ends. Yesterday, her husband was credibly accused of rape in *The Wall Street Journal*.

So it should come as no surprise that when Mrs. Clinton looks north toward New York, she sees greener pastures. What began as a daydream has become a serious consideration, holding out the promise of a new and perhaps better life. And on a number of levels, it makes sense. New York is the place you go when there's no place else called home.

She would be a formidable candidate for the United States Senate. She is intelligent, disciplined, hard-working, and tough. She's also a bit of a crackpot, but New York is nondiscriminatory in this regard. It frequently nominates crackpots for high office and occasionally elects them. It is understood that you have to be a little crazy to live there.

Mrs. Clinton has other assets. They include 100 percent name recognition and the ability to raise all the money she could ever need in a matter of months.

In addition, she would have the executive branch of the federal government at her beck and call. In addition to that, the Democratic nomination would be hers the day she announced, which may be the most important asset of all.

It is a thousand times easier to wage a coherent general election campaign if one's march to the nomination is

unimpeded. Chat show experts say that this moment is as high as her kite can fly, that the process, the press, and the pressure of the campaign would gradually diminish her. Not necessarily. The fact is that any Democrat with no primary opposition and \$25 million in the bank would be a 50-50 bet to win the Moynihan Senate seat. In a two-way general election race, Hillary Clinton would always be in the hunt, never out of it. In a three-way race, she would be even more formidable. New York's demographics have shifted since the 1980s, as any GOP pollster will attest. It is again a Democratic state.

She would, however, face competent and compelling opposition in the general election. New York City's May-

How can she stand up to the tough questions she will face?

or Rudolph Giuliani has done what many thought was impossible; by sheer doggedness and determination he has reversed the city's civic fortunes. New York is livable again. It is clean again. It is safe again. Walking down the city's streets, one can actually feel Giuliani's accomplishment, and it is considerable.

Historically, Democrats win statewide elections in New York by racking up huge margins in the city, splitting the suburbs, and holding on for dear life upstate. Giuliani changes that formula; he would at least break even in the city. As a result, Mrs. Clinton would have to spend most of her time outside of Manhattan — on Long Island, in Westchester, and in the counties bisected by

the New York State Thruway. The campaign would be what professional golfers call a "grind." And she would be competing with an opponent at the top of his game.

But her real opponent would be her apparently ceaseless humiliation.

Yesterday's story in *The Wall Street Journal* alleges that in 1978, her husband raped a woman named Juanita Broaddrick in a Little Rock hotel room.

According to sources at NBC News, where I used to work, four contemporaneous witnesses and reams of supporting detail support Mrs. Broaddrick's story. Lawyers for President Clinton have to date refused all comment on these new allegations.

How much more of this can Mrs. Clinton endure? What does she say when some hostile reporter from the *New York Post* asks her to explain her position on tougher sentencing laws for rapists? How does she explain her complicity in all the coverups of her husband's extramarital activities? How can she champion women's rights when her husband is widely believed (based on substantial and credible evidence) to be a sexual predator? Hypocrisy is part and parcel of politics. But hypocrisy on this scale is untenable. And unlike normal hypocrisy ("So good to see you!"), this kind of hypocrisy sears the soul.

Mrs. Clinton will find solace in New York if she goes there. After the initial flurry of interest, no one will bother her, just as no one bothered Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. But she won't find solace there if she runs for the Senate. Her humiliation will continue unabated. Which is why people who know her believe that, in the end, she will forgo the race. One hopes, for her sake, that they're right.

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — You can hear it in the voice of every local politico and columnist who brings up the subject — a tremble of excitement, a wavelet of giddiness, the palpable thrill that comes with the hope or dread of witnessing history.

Hillary Rodham Clinton versus Rudolph W. Giuliani, for the title of US senator from New York: The notion of such a fight, once the puffery of daydreams, has suddenly taken on the hard edge of possibility.

Polls, furthermore, show Mrs. Clinton leading the mayor, 51-42. But these are early polls. Election Day 2000 is still 18 months away. The question that many are starting to contemplate — not least Giuliani and Clinton, neither of whom has yet declared can-



AP PHOTO

The Clintons conferring yesterday during a program on Social Security.

didacy — is what kind of campaign would be involved and whether she would really win.

Some are skeptical of the flushed optimism displayed by many Democrats, eager to send one of their own to fill the seat of their senior senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who announced last fall he would not

HILLARY, Page A21

Handicapping Empire State's dream race

■ HILLARY

Continued from Page A1

run for another term.

Joseph Mercurio, a leading Republican consultant, said yesterday: "She could become the Geraldine Ferraro of the next Senate race." Ferraro, the TV personality and former vice presidential candidate, was thought to be a shoo-in when she entered last fall's Senate race — and then lost the primary, to Charles E. Schumer, by 25 points.

Mercurio predicted that, like Ferraro, Mrs. Clinton could start out very big in the polls, partly because of fame. Then she's fleshed out on issues; she has no set of accomplishments you can point to, and so she starts to slide."

Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, which took the survey showing Mrs. Clinton beating the mayor, said, "It's probably true" that her ratings now are as high as they will get.

"Her negatives are plenty," Carroll said. She will have to walk "a difficult tightrope" if her husband — who would still be president during the campaign — took a position unpopular with many New Yorkers. And there is her widely quoted statement of favoring a Palestinian state, which would alienate many Jewish voters.

John Faso, a Republican state assemblyman, said Mrs. Clinton's own bag of scandals will be fair game — her involvement in Whitewater and the suspiciously quick fortune she once made in trading cattle futures.

Finally, there is the carpetbag issue. "Why should we elect someone who's never lived in New York?" Faso asked.

The New York Observer, a weekly paper far friendlier to Mrs. Clinton, raised the same point in yesterday's issue: "What does she know about Utica and White Plains and the F train?"

On the other hand, even her critics acknowledge that Mrs. Clinton would come to the race with many strengths.

Foremost is her fame and popularity. President Clinton enjoys very high ratings all over the state and his wife seems, if anything, even more admired. Last fall, when she campaigned for Schumer in his successful race against the incumbent Republican senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato, her speeches were big hits at corporate luncheons and union rallies alike.

On Monday, Moynihan said "she'd be welcome and she'd win."

She would have the strong support of women, without — at least so it seems in New York — alienating many men. The Quinnipiac Poll shows her leading Giuliani among both genders.

She would have the overwhelm-

ing support of minorities, who might turn out at the voting booths in greater numbers than usual.

Some Democrats also reject the idea that Mrs. Clinton would be hurt by being from out of state. "What did Bobby Kennedy know about New York?" former New York Mayor Edward I. Koch asked rhetorically. Kennedy won the state's Senate seat in 1964 without living here. "That's not an issue."

Finally, the polls show her creaming Giuliani in New York City — 64 to 31 — and at least doing well elsewhere, tying him upstate and trailing by 5 points in the suburbs.

Giuliani's own popularity may be heading south. A citywide Quinnipiac poll released yesterday shows the mayor's positive ratings declining from 60 percent last November to 44 percent last week. His negative ratings, over the same period, have gone from 33 percent to 47 percent.

Carroll speculated that the mayor's handling of the Amadou Diallo shooting — in which four policemen fired 41 bullets at an unarmed African immigrant in his own Bronx doorway — may be partly responsible for the decline. But he added, "It's not just Diallo. It's his whole fortress attitude toward governing."

John Podhoretz, the conservative editorial-page editor of the New York Post, said Tuesday night, at a panel on mayoral politics sponsored by The New Yorker magazine, that Giuliani might not even run for Senate if Mrs. Clinton entered the race. Asked why, he replied, "Because I don't see any way that she doesn't win — to my regret."

However, a Republican with ties to the mayor said yesterday: "If Hillary runs, Rudy will be more inclined to run. He will relish Hillary Clinton. She's unproven, she's never run for office. Bring her on!"

The Republican, who spoke in condition of anonymity, said Giuliani would see the contest as a "philosophical" battle, which he enjoys confronting.

Also, the source said, "By betting her, he would be one of the leading, if not one of the top two or three, Republicans in the country."

Another Republican, who also asked not to be identified, dismissed this as "tough talk" and expressed doubts that the mayor would run any race that he had a serious chance of losing.

The mayor, for some time, has been courting Texas Governor George W. Bush, a leading prospect for the Republican presidential nomination, and many have speculated he might prefer being his vice president or a Cabinet officer. One might prefer to wait until George Pataki gets tired of being New York governor and run for that job. One could even wait till 2005 — four years after his second and, by law, final

consecutive term as mayor expires. By sitting out four years, he could run for mayor again.

Everyone, of whatever stripe, agrees that if Giuliani runs and Mrs. Clinton does not, then Giuliani probably cannot be beat. Similarly, if

Mrs. Clinton runs and Giuliani does not, then she probably cannot beat. This may be another reason why the politically interested — eager for drama, if nothing else — are hoping that both join up for what would be a battle of titans.



USA

Why a Senate bid entices the first lady

■ It would give her a more professional profile, but it could also reopen scandals.

By Linda Feldmann

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON — Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) of New York?

At first, the speculation began as idle chatter. The New York Democratic Party began blue-skying about having the first lady run for Senate. Then Sen. Robert Torricelli (D) of New Jersey, chairman of the Senate's campaign committee, began talking it up. He's told Mrs. Clinton (read: begged) that he wants her on the ballot.

Then pollsters discovered that Clinton would have a good shot at winning the seat that's being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Early this month, Quinnipiac College Polling Institute in Hamden, Conn., showed Clinton beating New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (R), who's thinking of running, 51 percent to 42 percent.

Now Clinton has addressed the matter: She's giving it "careful thought," she said in a statement Tuesday, and will make her final decision "later this year."

The timing of her decision could be a bit troublesome to New York Democrats, and to other possible Democratic candidates, who want to get going now raising money and preparing for a bruising battle.

very large pros and cons. On the plus side, a run for the Senate allows her to break loose and become a serious political figure in her own right, not just as the spouse of the president. It also allows her to move beyond the humiliation of the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

"She's very, very popular right now, but it's not the image she wants," says political analyst Bill Schneider. "She has the image of a victim ... but she wants to be seen as an independent professional woman who has her own career."

As a Senate candidate, she would already have what most political wannabes can only dream of: universal name recognition and awesome fund-raising ability. If she won, she would have a platform from which to push her favorite policy issues, such as helping children.

And as a member of the Senate, she would also be well positioned to run for president. The current president opined early this week that she'd be a "great" senator.

Six more years

On the minus side, Clinton would have to think long and hard about signing up for six more years in Washington after her husband's term expires



ANDY NELSON — STAFF

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said this week she is giving 'careful thought' to the idea of running for an open Senate seat in New York. She said she'll decide later this year.

here and is leery of the press. If anything, the New York press corps is tougher than Washington's. All the old scandals would come back — her role in Whitewater, the White House travel office fiasco, the missing legal files — as well as her husband's various misadventures.

A big negative of life in the Senate is that it would limit her ability to make money, an important consideration in light of her and her husband's enormous legal bills (reportedly at more than \$3 million and rising). Senators

limited in their outside income.

As a footloose former first lady not tied down to a day job, Clinton would have the world at her feet: She could give highly lucrative speeches, serve on corporate and charitable boards, travel the world, and earn millions on her memoirs.

She would also be largely unavailable to help the Democrats campaign around the country, as the party tries to retake control of the House and Senate and keep the White House. If she were to run, she'd have to spend most of

election in November 2000.

New York has lax residency rules for officeholders, but New Yorkers wouldn't tolerate a run for the Senate in absentia, analysts say.

If Clinton were to win, she'd be following in the footsteps of two other illustrious last-minute New Yorkers: Sen. Robert Kennedy (D) in 1964 and Sen. James Buckley (R) in 1970.

Timing isn't everything

Some New York political observers poo-hoo the idea that Clinton has to announce soon if she's going to run at all.

"It makes no sense for her to declare now," says Maureen Connelly, a New York political consultant who works for both parties. "The usual reason you declare early is to raise money. Should she declare, she'd be able to raise the funds in a snap. All this does is give your opponents and detractors time to take potshots at you."

Of course, any delay in a decision not to run puts any other Democratic candidates at a disadvantage. So far, of New York Democrats, Rep. Nita Lowey has made the most serious noises about running.

But Ms. Connelly has little sympathy for the New York state Democratic Party. "She didn't seek them out," she says. "They sought her out."

■ Alexandra Marks in New York

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

By Morton M. Kondracke

A Woman Could Be President — In 2004, Not 2000

With Elizabeth Dole on one presidential ticket, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) on another and Hillary Rodham Clinton running for Senate, 2000 could be another "Year of the Woman" — big time. Having seen men make total fools of themselves this year, Americans probably are more willing than ever to see women at the top of the political system.

And why not? Women have proved they can run state and city governments, corporations and major federal agencies. Now that the Cold War is over — and with memories of the Monica Lewinsky scandal still fresh — the traditional demand for testosterone in the Oval Office is reduced.

Moreover, the issues now at the top of the nation's agenda — education, health care, retirement security — are stereotypically more "feminine" than in the past.

According to a recent poll by Celinda Lake, 76 percent of Americans say they could vote for a woman for President and Dole has quickly leapt into the first tier of Republican candidates.

Still, Dole is probably the frontrunner for the GOP vice presidential nomination rather than a serious contender for the top spot, partly because she's never held elective office before and partly because Republicans usually don't break new cultural ground.

But the GOP does hold its nominating con-

If women occupy the No. 2 slots on both tickets, the woman on the losing side is likely to be a bona fide presidential contender in 2004.

vention first next year, so if Dole gets the No. 2 spot, Democrats would be under considerable pressure to match the GOP to avoid losing their traditional advantage among women.

Feinstein also would improve Vice President Al Gore's chances of carrying California, so her selection would be a natural choice despite their apparent difference of opinion about the character strength of Gore's hero, President Clinton.

If women occupy the No. 2 slots on both tickets, the woman on the losing side is likely to be a bona fide presidential contender in 2004.

If Gore loses, Hillary Clinton could be a candidate for President whether or not she runs in New York next year.

My hunch is, she won't want to run for the Senate. She'll prefer to make millions per year between 2001 and 2003 writing, speaking and serving on corporate boards instead of being a junior Senator at \$136,700 and hounded by New York tabloids.

If Gore is elected, she could even spend more time making money, raising money and trumping Eleanor Roosevelt as a political force and then run in the 2008 primaries against Feinstein.

What about Gore's picking Mrs. Clinton instead of Feinstein next year? You could see the Democratic National Convention in 2000 going crazy for this, but it would freight poor Gore with more baggage than he could possibly carry.

But, what about Dole? Why can't she win the GOP nomination? I think it's cultural with Republicans. They can't stop being the primogeniture party. In the past, the rule was, "The oldest male in line gets to be king."



Photo by Laura Patterson

Elizabeth Dole won't win the GOP nomination but she could grab the No. 2 spot on the ticket.

This time, the two frontrunners aren't that old, but they have pedigrees — the lead candidate, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, is a son-of-Dole, Dole is a wife-of. My guess is, son-of takes precedence. Besides, he's a governor.

If Bush were to falter, my guess is the GOP still wouldn't go for Dole this time simply because she's a woman.

I'd love to be proved wrong, but Dole herself would have to help the process along by really fighting Bush and other males for the nomination while bringing new female voters to the polls in primaries. Usually, GOP primary voters are 52 to 54 percent male, according to GOP pollster Linda DiVall.

Dole also has to confront an identity problem. Is she a moderate who'll attract pro-abortion rights women in the primaries and the general, or an anti-abortion religious conservative?

Her initial speeches leave this in doubt, but aides who worked for her husband in 1996 say she's about as anti-abortion as he was — "near-beer, not 100 proof."

On religion, she's devout, but the Doles until 1995 were members of Foundry Methodist Church, where the Clintons worship. They quit after Pastor Philip Wogaman blasted the GOP "Contract with America," but Christian conservatives ask, "What were they doing there in the first place?"

In the Reagan White House, Dole argued for preserving affirmative action. One of her key campaign advisers, Kieran Mahoney, is associated with the anti-right Republican Leadership Council.

In her early campaign speeches, Dole repeatedly refers to herself as a Reagan conservative and she advanced a few-specifics agenda of lower taxes, local control of schools and a hard line against drugs.

Yet she also said, "Most Americans prefer solutions to soundbites. This makes us naturally suspicious of what I call either/or politics. Liberal versus conservative. Public school versus private school. Us versus them."

She says she believes in the free market, but not at the expense of the environment or cultural values. She wants the GOP to be "inclusive."

That's wonderfully moderate, sort of like Bush's "compassionate conservatism," but it's likely to be fiercely attacked by right-wingers and Dole is going to have to fight back.

My guess is, America — and especially the GOP — isn't ready for a female President until she proves she's as tough as Margaret Thatcher, Golda Meir or Indira Gandhi. Or unless she's first served as Vice President.

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Ruth's

RUTH FENDEL
FOUNDER



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CAMPAIGNING

By Stuart Rothenberg

In Running for Senate,
Mayor Giuliani May
Find His Job Is a Drag

The frenzy over the much anticipated Rudy Giuliani-Hillary Rodham Clinton Senate contest, pitting the Republican mayor of New York City against the Democratic first lady, is obviously unprecedented and probably says more about the post-Monica Lewinsky news environment than anything else.



I really don't know whether Clinton will run, but we'll all find out soon enough. My word to the wise on the race is this: It could happen, but don't bet the farm on it.

On the GOP side, Giuliani, of course, would be the frontrunner for his party's Senate nomination, assuming he wants it. But he couldn't count on a coronation. Even if former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) decides against the race, Giuliani might have a tougher time than you think with Rep. Rick Lazio, who is an all-but-announced candidate for the GOP Senate nomination.

For in spite of all the hype about Giuliani, the popular mayor could face the old "New York City problem." You see, his job has become one of the deadest of dead ends in American politics. Put another way, more Hempstead town supervisors than mayors of the Big Apple have been elected to the Senate since the Great Depression.

Ed Koch couldn't win a 1982 Democratic primary for governor against Mario Cuomo, even though the mayor began with a huge lead. John Lindsay, who served as a Repub-



Photo by Maureen Keating

Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio (above) could be a tough primary opponent for Giuliani.

lican mayor, sought the Democratic Senate nomination but never won another election after he won the mayor's office. Then-Mayor Robert Wagner was the Democrats' Senate nominee in 1956 but lost to Republican Jacob Javits. And others — including Abe Beame (D), David Dinkins (D) and even Jimmy Walker (D) and Fiorello LaGuardia (R) — also dead-ended at City Hall.

The situation facing any Republican mayor is particularly staggering. Just look at the numbers. Any idea what percentage of New York Republicans live inside New York City's five boroughs? How does 17.6 percent sound? (That percentage is based on numbers reported by the New York State Board of Elections as of Nov. 1, 1998.)

Just 548,000 Republicans reside in Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island, while a little more than two million Republicans reside elsewhere in the state. The largest concentrations of New York Republicans are in Nassau County (about 379,000) and Suffolk County (333,000), part of which is represented by Lazio.

In other words, there are many more Republicans on Long Island than in Giuliani's city. Another 160,000 Republicans live in Westchester County, to the north of the city.

And that doesn't even include upstate. The total number of registered Republicans in just five upstate counties — Erie (which is centered in Buffalo), Monroe (Rochester), Onondaga (Syracuse), Saratoga (Saratoga Springs) and Oneida (Rome and Utica) — exceeds the number of registered Republicans in all of New York City.

Upstate New Yorkers traditionally have held an unflattering view of New York City, and many of the people who live in Long Island and Westchester moved out of one of the five boroughs because of concerns about education, safety and other quality of life issues. Giuliani would have to overcome the resistance of some of those Republicans to voting for a New York City candidate.

Lazio, the Suffolk County Congressman, has about \$2 million in the bank for his Senate bid, and he has begun spending plenty of time upstate. It's hard to believe he would actually enter the race if D'Amato (who also comes from Long Island) runs, but, in any case, it appears very likely that if Giuliani runs, he will face a Long Island candidate for the nomination.

Giuliani, of course, is much better positioned to move to higher office than other mayors have been. That's because he has revamped New York City's reputation, cleaning up Times Square and taking steps to lower crime. So, unlike previous politically ambitious mayors, Giuliani has earned a reputation as someone who succeeded in taming the New York City beast and making the city work. That should make him much more acceptable to Republicans outside the five boroughs.

Giuliani shouldn't have any trouble raising money, and there is a star quality to him that many other mayors haven't had. Moreover, he looks like the closest thing the GOP has to a winner, a not insignificant consideration given the stakes.

Lazio would need to raise millions more than he currently has, and that would be a challenge, especially against the mayor. In addition, almost no one outside of his Congressional district knows who Lazio is — the flip side of his geographical advantage.

But a Giuliani-Lazio primary race would have some interesting elements. Both Republicans are moderates (Lazio, for example, voted against repealing the assault weapons

ban, against conservative changes to the Clean Water Act and for an increase in the minimum wage), but, unlike Lazio, Giuliani endorsed Cuomo for governor in 1994 against Republican nominee (and now Gov.) George Pataki.

Not surprisingly, Giuliani has had cool relations with Pataki for months and probably can count on the governor quietly helping Lazio (or D'Amato).

As for Clinton, while she has finally indicated that she is considering the race, I have no idea how serious she is. I think she would be formidable if she runs, if only because of the money she could raise, but don't get ready to crown her just yet, either.

I've seen so many celebrities mentioned as statewide candidates in the past that I have an uncompromising policy of skepticism. Basically, I'll believe it when I see it. Not before.

Over the years, I've heard that Burt Reynolds was going to run in Florida, Alec Baldwin in New York, Robert Redford in Utah, basketball star Charles Barkley and former Green Bay Packers quarterback Bart Starr in Alabama and football stars Brent Jones in California and John Elway in Colorado. None of them ran.

Some "celebrities," of course, have taken an electoral fling without paying their political dues. Nancy Kulp (D), from "The Beverly Hillbillies," ran unsuccessfully for Congress, while basketball star Bill Bradley (D) won a Senate seat in New Jersey and "The Love Boat" star Fred Grandy (R) won a House seat in Iowa. Bobby Kennedy (D) looks like the model for the first lady's possible bid.

Since the Great Depression, more Hempstead town supervisors than mayors of New York have been elected to the Senate.

Baseball star and now-Sen. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), in contrast, was a city councilman and state Senator before he ran for Congress and the late Rep. Sonny Bono (R-Calif.) was a mayor as well as an entertainer. John Glen (D) was elected to the Senate without holding lower office, but he lost his first statewide primary (to Howard Metzenbaum in 1970).

Remember one final point about a Hillary Clinton Senate candidacy: The first lady numbers in New York now are about as good as they are ever going to be. She has no place to go but down.

The only reason I can see for Clinton running for the Senate would be to credential herself for a presidential bid. Otherwise, a Senate run doesn't make a lot of sense. Then again, if the White House wanted to get people to forget Monica and start talking about something else, Hillary for Senate buzz would fit the bill. A maybe that's all that matters at the moment.



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Talk of the Town

N.Y. Democrats Urge First Lady To Make Decision Soon

By Rachel Van Dongen
and Alexander Bolton

Democratic Members of the New York House delegation are eager to see Hillary Rodham Clinton be their standard bearer in the 2000 Senate race, and they think she would easily prevail over New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) in a general election.

"I think she'll whoop the pants off him," pronounced freshman Rep. Gregory Meeks.

Said Rep. Anthony Weiner, a former New York City councilman who often butted heads with the mayor, "I think Rudy doesn't run if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs. He's a smart politician and wouldn't be interested in running a losing campaign."

"She would beat him like a rented mule," Weiner predicted.

"I have three words. It's 'Run, Hillary, run.' I think it would be fantastic," enthused Rep. Eliot Engel. "I think she's a winner and I think that she would be an important step in the Democrats taking back the Senate in 2000."



First lady Hillary Clinton said she was "gratified" by speculation about a Senate bid.

"Let me put it this way: Because of her popularity in New York state, [Democratic Sen.] Chuck Schumer got elected," agreed Rep. Nydia Velázquez, referring to the first lady's efforts on behalf of then-Rep. Schumer in the 1998 campaign. "Knowing how much people admire and respect her in New York, and knowing how knowledgeable she is on the many issues important to us, she will be a perfect candidate."

Despite their heady talk, however, interviews with several New York House Members revealed that while they think the first lady is the best possible candidate to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), many are skeptical about whether she will ultimately enter the race.

"I think that she would be a great candidate for Democrats. She would bring a lot of instant credibility to the table for New York state, even as a junior Senator," Meeks said. But as to whether the first lady will actually enter the contest, Meeks admitted, "My real gut is no."

"She would just be a great candidate and she would revitalize, if anything, the party in New York. She would just give us a boost that would be incredible," said Rep. Jose Serrano. But asked whether he thought she would run, Serrano replied, "My guess is as good as yours."

The first lady stoked the firestorm of
Continued on page 12

New York Members: First Lady's Got the Right Stuff

Democrats Confident Hillary Clinton Can Beat Giuliani, But Worry About Timetable for Decision

'Let me put it this way: Because of her popularity in New York state, Chuck Schumer got elected.'

Rep. Nydia Velázquez

'I think she'll whoop the pants off him.'

Rep. Gregory Meeks

'I think Rudy doesn't run if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs. He's a smart politician and wouldn't be interested in running a losing campaign. She would beat him like a rented mule.'

Rep. Anthony Weiner



Photo by Rebecca Roth



Photo by Rebecca Roth



'I have three words. It's "Run, Hillary, run." I think it would be fantastic. I think she's a winner and I think that she would be an important step in the Democrats taking back the Senate in 2000.'

Rep. Eliot Engel



Photo by Christopher Martin

Continued from page 9
speculation about a possible Senate bid this week by confirming, for the first time, in a short statement that she was indeed weighing whether a run for elected office was plausible.

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan," read the statement.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

"I'm more hopeful now than I was a month ago. We thought that it was a long shot at best. Now it's certainly something that she's considering. She's never said, 'Oh no, don't be silly,'" Engel said.

But indications that Clinton might not make a decision until "later this year" set off alarm bells among some state Democrats. Led by Rep. Charlie Rangel, Democrats have been busy putting together a package that, in Rangel's words, the first lady "can't refuse," including the promise of no primary and solid labor and business support.

But Democrats are becoming increasingly worried that a late decision by the first lady will paralyze their party, making it harder for

other candidates to raise the necessary money and garner support for a tough race. Rep. Nita Lowey is the only other prominent Democrat expressing interest in the contest, but has made it clear she will withdraw if Clinton runs.

"[The first lady is] keeping her own counsel right now," said Rep. Mike McNulty. "Frankly, the situation in New York is that the field is frozen until she makes up her mind. If she decides not to run, a real possibility, a probability, it is better for her to make the decision soon."

"If she runs, I think all the Democrats will say 'Hallelujah,'" he added.

Said Engel, "I would hope that she would make the decision by the spring, by April."

House Members argued that Clinton's astronomical popularity in New York, her demeanor throughout the impeachment process and her ability to rally Democrats would far outweigh any negatives in a Senate race.

"She certainly has grace under pressure," said Rep. Jerrold Nadler, who pointed out there have been unconfirmed reports the first lady is looking for an apartment in his district. "It would be lovely," he said.

Nadler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee that wrangled over impeachment, said the first lady could only benefit from the

presidential scandal, even if her husband's image suffered.

"If the charges were that he had plotted with the army to overthrow Congress, that baggage would go to anyone associated with him," he said. "But the charges are that he engaged in a surreptitious sexual affair and covered it up. The one person who doesn't carry any of that baggage is his wife. No one blames the wife if the husband dallied on the side."

"I think the way she comported herself during the whole impeachment issue and beforehand speaks very well of her character and her fortitude, and people are very impressed."

But the first lady has been involved in her own share of scandals, including investigations into both Whitewater and Travelgate. She could also be vulnerable to attacks that

she is a carpetbagger, and for being too liberal, especially for voters upstate.

"You might have some people who would like very much to run against her the way they've been running against the President for the last six years. But on the other hand, there are positives," Serrano said.

"I think that both of them have been a little bit of attack because people just want the issues that they are discussing discussed," he added. "Those folks won't be on her case, but the majority" would support her.

"New York numbers were almost rousing in support of the President [and] against impeachment. I think people would want to vindicate all of us by electing her."

Engel contended that attacks on the first lady would only backfire.

"I think people are fed up with scandals, the attacks against the Clintons," he said. "I think Hillary would be welcomed with arms."

The House Members surveyed all thought that Giuliani, who has clearly been eyeing a Senate bid when his second term as mayor expires in 2000, will think twice before challenging the first lady.

"Yeah, he'll run. He'll run out of the state," Meeks quipped. "I may very well back because he knows he can't beat Hillary."

"I think he will run twice and she will beat him," predicted Velázquez.

But the notoriously combative Giuliani issued a number of strongly worded comments in recent days, indicating a race with the first lady might be enticing to pass up.

"It would be to say no to a race with the first lady," said Giuliani's communications director Cristyne Laty. "Mrs. Clinton would be the one unifier of the state, nationally."

Samantha Lugones, the mayor's deputy secretary, said it would be "premature" to respond to comments about a non-existence campaign.

"It's a hypothetical race at this point. It wouldn't be fair to

if these things at this point. It would be advantageous for both sides to wait until something more concrete comes up."

But even Democrats acknowledge the mayor would be a formidable candidate.

"I think that Hillary is the one person who would probably start off as the favorite," Engel said. "I think anybody else probably starts off as the underdog."

He added, "We don't know if [Giuliani] gets a challenge that he would necessarily be a primary. A compelling case [against Giuliani] can be made even for people in New York City. If they like the job he did in New York, in Washington, he would be a Republican who would vote for [M. Leader] Trent Lott's [R-Miss.] right anti-New York [policies]."

"Nothing is guaranteed in life. But the overwhelming likelihood is that she will win," Nadler observed.

First lady leaves open Senate door

Clinton takes positive step
by not saying 'no' outright

By Lisa Anderson
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Creating the most delicious political anticipation here since former Gov. Mario Cuomo dithered over a run for the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton has Democrats drooling and Republicans reeling over the question: Will she run for the U.S. Senate from New York?

As rumors reached a frenzy Tuesday, the first lady addressed the issue in a two-sen-



Hillary Rodham
Clinton again spurs
speculation.

tence statement, saying she would give "careful thought" to making a bid for the seat to be vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Promising to announce a decision this year, she said she was gratified by "the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running."

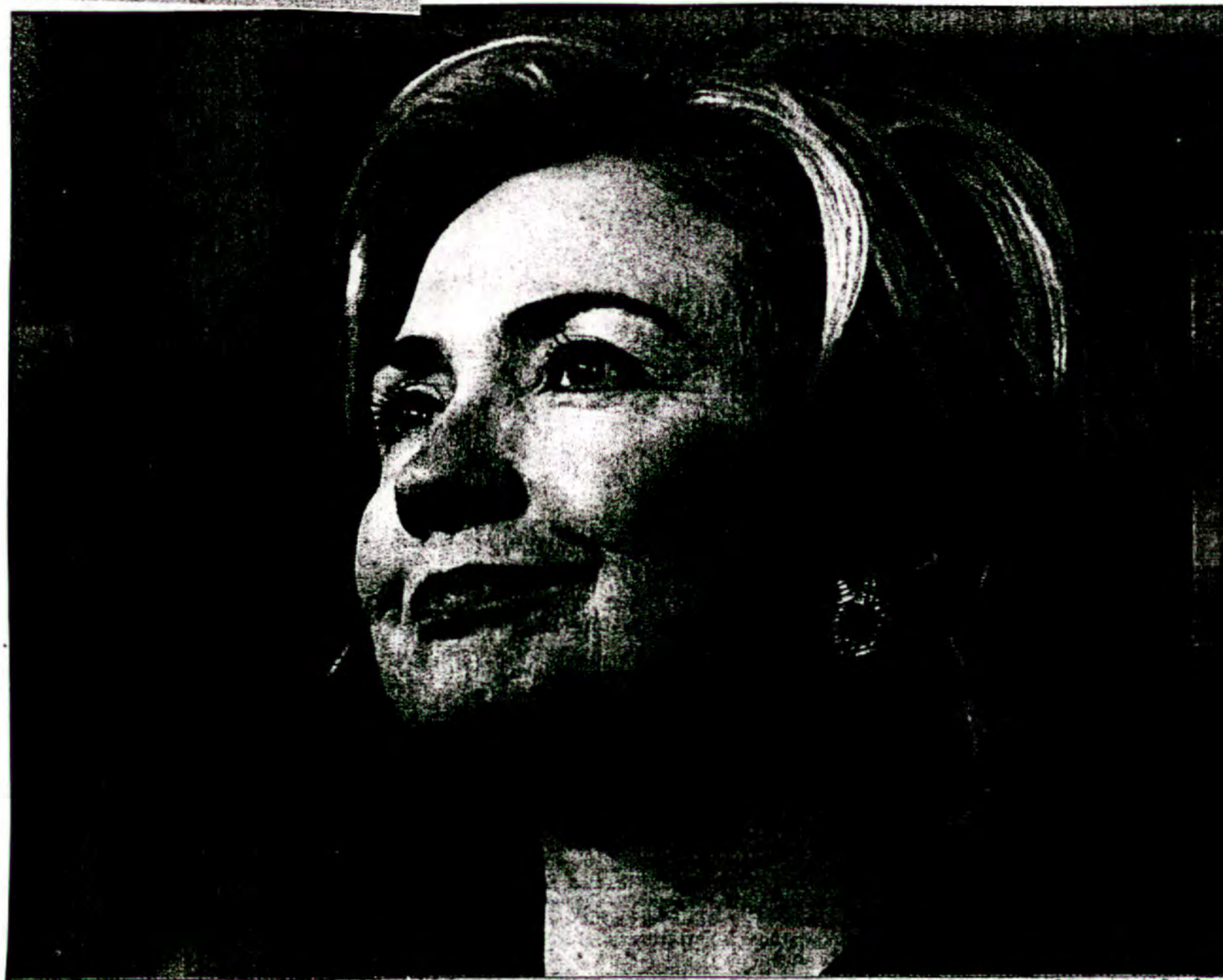
It wasn't much, but it was more than enough to keep the campaign fires burning.

Whether they see her as a carpetbagging outsider or an avenging crusader who can hold Moynihan's seat against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the probable GOP candidate, everyone seems to have something to say about it.

President Clinton himself fanned the speculative sparks Monday during his visit to Mexico. His wife, he said, would make a

SEE FIRST LADY, BACK PAGE

Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, February 17, 1999



Tribune photo by Pete Souza

Hillary Rodham Clinton attends an announcement Tuesday for Central American disaster relief at the Old Executive Office Building in Washington.

First lady looking beyond White House

Amid rising speculation, a poll indicates New York voters would favor Mrs. Clinton over Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"terrific" senator, but the decision to run is up to her.

In an effort to persuade her, U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, a veteran Manhattan Democrat, dangled the assurance that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would be unopposed in a Democratic primary. And should she run in 2000, Moynihan himself predicted, "She'd win."

Not so fast, cautioned former Democratic Mayor Ed Koch.

"I think she would win, but she should understand it's not a cakewalk, that Giuliani and the Republicans will use every loathsome opportunity to throw mud at her," said Koch, echoing the concerns of many of Mrs. Clinton's friends and supporters.

David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic consultant from Chicago, is one of them. "From the standpoint of New York Democrats, she's a splendid candidate. ... As someone who really likes and admires and knows her, I hope she will not do it," he said. "Do you want to put yourself through the mixmaster of New York politics with the ultimate attack dog on the other side? I don't think that is an elevating experience."

Axelrod said he thought she would win, "because I see her on a different level than Giuliani. It would be like a match between a champion and a club fighter. But

club fighters also hit below the belt and you have to be prepared for bruises."

New Yorkers are duly mesmerized—and divided—over the prospect of the political equivalent of Clash of the Titans, an almost inevitably bare-knuckled battle between the charismatic, liberal, out-of-stater Mrs. Clinton, and the pugnacious, starchily conservative, home-grown Giuliani, the man who tamed New York City.

"I think she would be the perfect person to replace Mr. Moynihan because she's a lady, she has charisma and I admire her," said Jorge Delgado, a taxi driver. "She can count on my vote."

Not so for Joe Russo, a dry cleaner. "I'd vote for Rudy, because he's from here and I like the job he's doing. I'd like to have somebody right here, from the state itself. They seem to know more about what's going on around here."

If Mrs. Clinton does enter the race, it would be the first time a current first lady has run for elective office, but it hardly would be the first time an out-of-stater has made a bid for a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

Most notable was former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who moved from Washington, D.C., and barely had his bags unpacked in New York when he was elected to

the Senate in 1964. In 1970, Republican James Buckley, a recent transplant from Connecticut, was elected to the seat vacated by Kennedy, who was assassinated while running for president in 1968.

Like Kennedy's candidacy, Mrs. Clinton's would come at a time when New York Democrats desperately need it. The party's most likely other contender for Moynihan's seat is Rep. Nita Lowey, who has represented the Westchester County suburbs since 1988 but registers virtually no name recognition in the state.

Speculation also has risen that Mrs. Clinton, a native of Park Ridge, Ill., might make a run for the U.S. Senate in Illinois in 2004, when Republican Peter Fitzgerald's seat comes up. Axelrod favors that idea.

"With all due respect to Illinois, a Senate seat from New York is a hotter political ticket than a Senate seat from Illinois," said Jay Severin, a GOP consultant.

Particularly if you are, as Bobby Kennedy was, looking for yet higher office. "This is a stepping stone to the presidency. I have absolutely no doubt that this is in her mind," said Severin, who considers Mrs. Clinton "Colin Powell in a skirt."

No question that New York is a big, highly visible and accommodating stage. It has no residency

requirement beyond an address in the state by Election Day. Even a hotel suite will do, though Mrs. Clinton might raise awkward questions by moving out of the White House before her husband does.

While the carpetbagger tag may rankle some voters, for others, many of them newcomers themselves, it matters little. "She doesn't need to be from New York," said Delgado, an immigrant. "She knows very well the New York people and she understands our needs."

Moreover, as Delgado pointed out, Giuliani may be popular, but he has alienated a significant number of New York City residents, ranging from taxi drivers and street peddlers to many in the minority community.

Mrs. Clinton is well known, respected and popular in the state. Her many visits were credited with helping Democrat Charles Schumer defeat longtime GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November. Sharing her husband's strength with minority voters, her greatest challenge may be reaching out to Jewish voters, some of whom were offended by her stated support for a Palestinian state.

Nonetheless, early opinion polls generally have been encouraging for her. In the most recent Marist poll, released Jan. 26, Mrs. Clinton beat Giuliani handily, 53 percent to

42 percent, among all registered voters. She did particularly well in New York City, upstate New York and among women voters. Her softest spot seemed to be among suburban voters.

Although Republicans hold the statehouse, Democrats hold a sizable advantage in registered voters. President Clinton carried the state overwhelmingly in 1992 and 1996.

Said Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center: "There are three things you should know: Hillary Clinton has enormous appeal because New York has never elected a woman to a statewide office except as lieutenant governor. She'd get the women's vote. Secondly, she would have no difficulty raising money, because she could draw upon a national pool of donors. And in a presidential year, the Democratic turnout is usually higher here by at least a million votes. That would also be to her advantage."

But as Axelrod said, there remain two threshold questions the first lady must answer: "Does she want to go the electoral route and, if she does, when and where is it best to pursue it? Is New York the right place and is 2000 the right time?"

the Senate in New York

If First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton were to run for U.S. senator from New York, she would have to fulfill these constitutional requirements:

- Be 30 years of age.
- Be a U.S. citizen for 9 years.
- Live in the state where she is running.

The New York Board of Elections interprets the residency requirement as living in the state for any period of time—even just one day—up to the day of the election.

The state process

■ Mrs. Clinton must be nominated by her party or collect 15,000 signatures from registered Democrats. To be nominated, state Democratic Party rules say a candidate must receive 25 percent of delegates' votes at the party convention in May 2000.

■ If a Democratic opponent emerges, a primary election is held in September. The winner goes on the November ballot.

State voters

Number of registered New York voters by party as of 1998:

Democrat	4,997,773	(46.5%)
Republican	3,114,832	(29.0%)
Unaffiliated	2,164,121	(20.1%)
Other parties	464,062	(4.3%)

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not total 100

The strength of the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1996

■ Won 52 out of 62 New York counties.

Hillary Clinton ponders N.Y. race

She promises to give 'careful thought' to bid for Moynihan's seat

Would be 1st race for office

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton sent speculation about her bid for the Senate into overdrive yesterday with a formal acknowledgment that she would give "careful thought" to pursuing the New York seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

President Clinton stoked the issue Monday when he told reporters in Mexico that his wife would make a "great" senator.

The first lady took her cue yesterday, releasing a three-sentence statement that she was "deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate."

She added, "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

The Democratic nomination appears to be hers for the taking. Empire State Democrats vying to succeed Moynihan, a Democrat first elected in 1976, have all but said they would step aside to give the first lady a clear path to the nomination. After that, she almost certainly would face a difficult race against a well-financed Republican, possibly New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

But Democrats are clearly enlivened by the prospect of snagging a candidate of the stature of the first lady. The idea of a Clinton run was floated last month by New

Jersey Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and a strong Clinton supporter, who reiterated his backing for her yesterday.

The offhand suggestion quickly took hold. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, an influential New York Democrat, started a recruitment push, and Moynihan on Sunday spoke of her "magnificent, young, bright, able Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm."

"It would [See Clinton, 4A]

First lady vows to give 'careful thought' to bid

[Clinton, from Page 1A]

certainly be a thrilling experience, and we are all hoping she will decide this is a very good choice for her," said Judith Hope, the New York state Democratic Party chairwoman.

But the first lady faces any number of challenges that could keep her from the race. She has never held elective office, and New York would be a brutal place to

start her career in electoral politics. The tabloid press appears to be salivating at the prospect of a Clinton-Giuliani race, just two years after the bloody campaign of 1998, in which Democratic Rep. Charles E. Schumer fought tooth and nail with Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato and ultimately defeated the famed "Senator Pothole."

New York newspapers are gearing up to sift through all the scandals of the Clinton presidency that touched the first lady, including the Whitewater land deal, the firings in the White House travel office and the FBI personnel files controversy.

"No more ... softball interviews. She can expect to get the rough-and-tumble treatment that every other candidate does," promised the *New York Post* in an editorial yesterday. "When she drops a prickly pear, like suggesting a Palestinian state, she won't be able to hide in the White House while others haul out the damage-control team."

She will almost certainly be painted as a carpetbagger with no real ties to a state that has famously looked after its own interests. Moynihan's seat is no stranger to outsiders, however. It was once held by Robert F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Connecticut's James Buckley.

"Over 50 percent of New Yorkers were born someplace else. We are the melting pot," Hope insisted. "We pride ourselves for welcoming people of talent who are willing to work hard."

Moreover, the Clintons face daunting financial challenges. Next week, the president's legal trust is expected to disclose the magnitude of the family's legal debts, which are likely to be in the millions of dollars. And Hillary Clinton has long been the family's main breadwinner.

"The rumor is that she is really and truly tempted [to run] but that she realizes it would be a crazy thing to do," said a Democratic pollster, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "The Clintons are just about the poorest people in America, outside some majorly leveraged real estate developers."

And it is not clear whether the first lady would want the job, once she seriously considered what it entails. After the cloistered world of the White House, she would find



AGENCE FRANCE-PR

Speculation: Hillary Rodham Clinton prepares to announce a relief program for hurricane victims in Central America and the Caribbean

herself a junior senator, probably in the minority party, attending tedious committee meetings, confronting a press corps with far more access to her, and dealing with the mundane tasks of fund raising and constituent service.

"I think she would find it frustrating," said a longtime friend. "She has many other opportunities to be effective in a way that gives her more flexibility. A chamber runs on its own schedule. She has many other things she can do outside that arena, given her command over her own life and schedule."

The friend said Clinton currently enjoys a kind of power not found in the Senate.

"You have that bully pulpit which commands attention," the friend said. "You have to like the legislature and all the compromises and coalition-building — and a part of her does. But another part of her had experience in the executive branch, where you're more in charge."

For now, at least, the first lady is being greeted only by hosannas from the Democratic Party. Democrats such as Rep. Nita M. Lowey have been waiting for years for Moynihan's retirement and an opportunity to run. In the past month, Lowey has visited Syracuse, Newburgh, Albany and Buffalo.

Yet her chief of staff, Howard Wolfson, said Lowey would gladly step aside if Clinton decided to run.

"If she runs, [Lowey] will support her enthusiastically," Wolfson said.

The first lady may be pleading for time to make her decision, but she does not have long. Democratic hopefuls have been practically frozen in their tracks by the speculation about her run, not wanting to raise and spend campaign cash if they will have to step aside. Meanwhile, Republicans are running hard.

Still, the first lady appears to be enjoying the attention and playing it for all it's worth.

Yesterday, a platoon of reporters showed up to hear her announce a \$958 million relief package for Central American Caribbean nations clobbered year by Hurricanes Mitch and Georges — an event they probably would not have covered normally.

When the event ended, a porter shouted out the question that most of the journalists wanted to ask: When will you make a decision about the Senate bid?

She simply smiled and walked as she left the stage.

The question was, after a welcome respite from the Monica Lewinsky-related issues that had dogged the first lady for more than a year.

"People should respect the important professional decision Hillary Rodham Clinton has made," Torricelli cautioned.

"I hope her friends will give advice and encouragement, but also hope they will give her corroboration and time."

Sun staff writer Ellen Gorman contributed to this article.

Her statement

"I am deeply gratified by the large number of people who have encouraged me to consider running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Senator Dan Patrick Moynihan.

"Until now, I have not been able to do so, but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year.

"In the meantime, I intend to continue to focus my attention on the issues central to the president's agenda and on what we have worked together for many years."



Political Roundup

Another Democrat Takes A Pass On N.Y. Senate Race

■ ADD ANOTHER leading New York Democrat to the list of those who have decided against seeking the seat of retiring Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan** next year.

New York Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman late Monday issued a statement announcing he will not run — saying he wants to spend time with his children and continue work on state issues.

Bragman, a Democrat from upstate Syracuse, said he thought the race would be within his reach "from an organizational and financial standpoint."

But he added: "... This discussion comes at a time when [GOP Gov. George Pataki] has released an executive budget that would be devastating to working families across New York state. I believe there is much more that can be accomplished in the weeks and months ahead. All of that would have to be put off during a Senate campaign."

Bragman joins a lengthy list of prominent Democrats who have bowed out of the race — including HUD Secretary Cuomo, state Comptroller H. Carl McCall and environmental lawyer Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

The recent buzz in the race has centered on whether First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might enter. **Rep. Nita Lowey**, D-N.Y., and New York City Public Advocate Mark Green — who lost last year's Democratic primary to now-**Sen. Charles Schumer** — are also eyeing the contest.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the frontrunner should he decide to enter the race.

Reps. Rick Lazio and **Peter King** are also interested, and former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato** — defeated in November by Schumer in

a bid for a fourth term — has not ruled out running.

Poll: Congress Should Pay More Attention To Public's Views

■ IN A SENTIMENT that extends beyond the impeachment debate, the American public thinks Congress should pay more attention to its views when making decisions, according to a poll released Tuesday by the Center on Policy Attitudes.

"Elected officials who assert that the public has given them a mandate to do what they think is right are, to put it bluntly, wrong," said COPA Director Steven Kull.

The poll, which questioned 1,204 respondents from Jan. 26-31, has a 3 point error margin; it found 84 percent of those interviewed felt the public should have more influence on Congress, while 4 percent said the public should have less and 8 percent preferred no change.

Kull said 68 percent thought public opinion is generally more important than House members' views, while 25 percent said members' opinions count more.

"This view is not simply due to the effect of the impeachment debate. When *Time* [and] CNN asked this same question in February 1993, the exact same number said the voters should take precedence," he said.

Kull said it is not particular roll call votes that engender public dissatisfaction, but a feeling that special interests drive federal decision making.

Isakson Outraises Opponents By Tenfold

■ GEORGIA BOARD of Education Chairman Johnny Isakson, a Republican running to succeed **House Speaker Gingrich**, claims to have \$1.5 million in campaign funds and expects to spend at least

\$470,000 on television, cable, radio and direct mail ads before the Feb. 23 special election, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* reported.

Of the seven other candidates, only one has raised a tenth as much as Isakson — former House historian Christina Jeffrey, also running as a Republican.

The Jeffrey campaign claims to have raised \$200,000, some of it through appeals to pro-gun groups.

Isakson, a former state senator, already has television spots running, depicting him as a pro-business supporter of education who also supports a 10 percent tax cut.

Jeffrey campaign manager Tom Campbell said the campaign may start airing ads this week, but may use most of the money toward the end of the campaign.

Isakson campaign manager Heath Garrett said, "If Christina Jeffrey goes negative, we can respond."

NRCC Set Announce Staff Promotions

■ THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN Congressional Committee is expected to announce today the promotion of two key staffers as the committee puts together its team for the 2000 election cycle, according to an NRCC staff member.

Terry Nelson, who served as the NRCC's national field director during the 1998 cycle, will become political director. In turn, Nelson will be replaced by Mike McElwain, who was the NRCC's Southern field director last cycle.

Nelson and McElwain join Executive Director Scott Hatch, **House Majority Whip DeLay's** former floor assistant; Finance Director Abigail Perlman, the former U.S. Chamber of Commerce corporate development director; and Press Secretary Jill Schroeder, who comes from Ralph Reed's Century Strategies.

Court Told of Draft Indictment That Included the First Lady

By STEVE BARNES

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Mar. 18 — Hillary Rodham Clinton was named in an indictment drafted by a top aide to Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel, but the document was never presented to a grand jury and no charges were brought against the First Lady, the aide testified in Federal District Court here today.

The disclosure came from the deputy independent counsel, W. Hickman Ewing, who was subpoenaed as the first witness for the defense in the contempt-of-court trial of Susan H. McDougal, a former business partner of the Clintons.

Mr. Ewing was not asked what charges he had specified in the draft indictment he drew up against Mrs. Clinton, but he suggested that he considered her responses to questions put to her under oath as less than forthcoming.

Mr. Ewing, who is in charge of the Arkansas phase of the Whitewater inquiry headed by Mr. Starr, testified that he wrote the indictment in late 1996 after becoming persuaded that Mrs. Clinton had not been truthful in discussions with Mr. Starr's staff. The independent counsel has been investigating the Clintons' involvement in a complex series of loans and land deals that collectively have come to be known as Whitewater.

Ms. McDougal and her late former husband, James B. McDougal, were partners of the Clintons in the Whitewater venture. Mr. McDougal died last year in a Federal prison, and Ms. McDougal has twice refused to answer questions from a grand jury about their financial dealings. By calling a Starr prosecutor, she was attempting to show that she was pressured to falsely implicate the Clintons, an assertion the prosecutors have insisted is bogus.

That Mr. Starr's office had drafted the indictment against Mrs. Clinton

has been known for months, but details were never disclosed.

"The O.I.C. illegally leaked this information a long time ago," David E. Kendall, the Clintons' lawyer, said in a statement today after Mr. Ewing's testimony. "The mere fact that this prosecutor's office drafted a frivolous indictment three years ago has no significance whatsoever, except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

"She was in conflict with other interviews that we had already done," Mr. Ewing said of Mrs. Clinton's answers to questions from prosecutors in two meetings, including an April 1995 session at the White House. Mr. Ewing said the conflicting information came from interviews with some of Mrs. Clinton's former partners at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock.

Mr. Ewing testified that based on what he knew at that point he had questions about what Mrs. Clinton was saying.

"You had doubts?" asked Mark J. Geragos, Ms. McDougal's lawyer.

"That is correct," Mr. Ewing responded. "The same was true of the President," he continued, referring to an interview with Mr. Clinton conducted by prosecutors the same day.

"Did you tell people you thought she was lying?" Mr. Geragos asked.

"I don't know if I used the 'L' word, but I certainly expressed internally that I had some problems with some of the answers of the President and the First Lady," Mr. Ewing said.

"Did you have a draft indictment?" Mr. Geragos asked.

"I can't say positively," Mr. Ewing said, but Mr. Geragos persisted until Mr. Ewing added, "I would say yes, but qualify that."

Mr. Ewing said it was not unusual for prosecutors to circulate proposed indictments, whether or not a charge was ever brought. "You're always



Associated Press

W. Hickman Ewing, a Starr deputy, testified yesterday.

thinking about what possible crime could it be," he said.

Asked if he had ever graded Mrs. Clinton's testimony, Mr. Ewing recalled that he had, in a reference to one of Mrs. Clinton's interviews with the independent counsel's staff. He said he had given her an "F" because "she had used the words 'I don't recall' about 50 times."

No charges have been brought against the Clintons in the Whitewater investigation. Ms. McDougal is charged with blocking the inquiry by refusing to testify to a grand jury about Whitewater-related matters despite a judge's order to do so and a grant of limited immunity.

Mr. Ewing insisted today that Mr. Starr's team was interested only in obtaining the truth, even as he acknowledged that the Clintons were potential targets of their inquiry.

"We wanted any information she had, including the Clintons," Mr. Ewing affirmed, referring to Ms. McDougal. "It was our duty to investigate whether the Clintons did anything illegal."

Starr Aide Tells of Questioning Clintons' Credibility

By PETE YOST
Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, March 18—Kenneth W. Starr's deputy testified today that he had questioned the truthfulness of President Clinton and the first lady inside the prosecutor's office and had even drafted an indictment of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Asked if he had ever referred to the Clintons as "crooks and liars," W. Hickman Ewing Jr. said, "I believe I

made that statement in-house ... [but] I don't believe I used the L-word or the C-word. I certainly expressed internally that I had problems with some of their answers."

Subpoenaed as the leadoff defense witness at the trial of Susan McDougal, one of the Clintons' former Whitewater partners, Ewing revealed some of the inner workings of Starr's office.

McDougal, on trial for refusing to answer grand jury questions, is try-

ing to demonstrate that prosecutors wanted to use her to get to the Clintons, whether or not there was sufficient evidence to charge them.

She is charged with criminal contempt and obstruction of justice.

While McDougal's lawyers called Ewing to the stand in an effort to focus on the conduct of the independent counsel's office, his testimony is the type of attention the first lady would like to avoid as she tests the waters for a possible Senate bid in

New York in 2000.

Ewing said that at dinner one evening with other Starr staff members, he graded the president and first lady on their responses to questioning by Whitewater investigators.

"I said the president [got] about a 'C' and Mrs. Clinton about an 'F,'" Ewing testified. He said his remark followed his observing her during a July 1995 deposition, in which she

See McDOUGAL, A11, Col. 1

Starr aide: Indictment of first lady was readied

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

One of Ken Starr's top deputies confirmed publicly Thursday that he drafted a proposed indictment of Hillary Rodham Clinton in 1996 and that it was reviewed by other prosecutors in the independent counsel's office.

Starr deputy Hickman Ewing, called as a defense witness in Susan McDougal's contempt trial in Little Rock, said he "had problems" with some statements President Clinton and the first lady made to investigators in 1995.

"She was in conflict with interviews we had already done with several people in the Rose Law Firm," Ewing testified Thursday. "I don't know if she was telling the truth or not."

Ewing said he drafted the proposed indictment sometime after September 1996. Starr never sought a grand-jury indictment, primarily because he did not have an overwhelming case against her, people with knowledge of his probe have said.

Although USA TODAY and other news organizations have reported that Starr's office drafted prosecution memos, Ewing's testimony was the first public acknowledgment that it took concrete steps toward what would have been the first indictment of a first lady.

Ewing's testimony came as Clinton is weighing a possible race for the U.S. Senate from New York.

"(Starr's office) illegally leaked this information a long time ago," David Kendall, Hillary Clinton's lawyer, said Thursday. "The mere fact that this prosecutor's office drafted a frivolous indictment three years ago has no significance whatsoever, except as a possible violation of the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995."

Clinton is referred to numerous times in an indictment of Webster Hubbell, the former No. 3 Justice Department official. She is listed as a possible prosecution witness in that trial, scheduled to begin in June in Washington.

On Thursday, federal District Judge James Robertson dismissed the charge that Hubbell made false statements to conceal his and Clinton's work on Castle Grande, a fraudulent Arkansas land development. Nine counts remain.



By Jim Yates, AP

Ewing: Deputy independent counsel says he 'had problems' with the truthfulness of some of Hillary Rodham Clinton's answers to his questions.

Starr's office investigated Clinton for alleged obstruction of justice in connection with law firm records related to Castle Grande, making false statements before the Whitewater grand jury, conspiring to cover up sham land sales and her role in the firing of White House travel office employees.

She has denied any wrongdoing.

Whitewater prosecutors originally questioned Clinton under oath in April 1995 about the work her law firm had done for James and Susan McDougal's savings and loan, Madison Guaranty.

Susan McDougal is on trial for refusing to answer questions about the Clintons before the Whitewater grand jury last April. She was convicted of Whitewater-related felonies in May 1996 in connection with a \$300,000 federal loan she obtained illegally.

McDougal's lawyer, Mark Geragos, called Ewing to the stand as part of his effort to show that Starr's office is out to get the Clintons.

Asked Thursday whether he had ever referred to the Clintons as "liars," Ewing told Geragos, "I don't know if I used the L-word or not. But I certainly expressed internally that I had problems with some of their answers."

Ewing said that at dinner one evening with other Starr staffers, he graded the president and first lady on their responses to questioning by Whitewater investigators.

"I said, the president about a 'C' and Mrs. Clinton about an 'F,'" Ewing testified.

Contributing: The Associated Press

Hillary tape played at McDougal's trial on contempt charge

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton testified on videotape played yesterday that she "never spent any significant time at all" monitoring records of the Whitewater land deal she and President Clinton shared with James and Susan McDougal.

Mrs. Clinton also said on the tape, played at Mrs. McDougal's trial, that she was unaware of a \$27,600 loan for Whitewater taken out in Mr. Clinton's name a decade before he became president.

Forty minutes of the first lady's grand jury testimony, recorded at the White House last April, were played for the jury in the federal trial of Mrs. McDougal, who is charged with criminal contempt for refusing to answer independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's questions about the loan and other aspects of the couples' Whitewater business dealings.

In the tape, Mrs. Clinton told prosecutors repeatedly that she had little information.

"I have never seen these documents before and have no information about them," she said when asked about a 1982 Clinton loan that prosecutors say is linked through a series of transactions to a fraudulent \$300,000 loan to Mrs. McDougal 3½ years later.

Mr. Clinton testified at the McDougals' trial in 1996 that he had never borrowed from the savings and loan the McDougals owned in the 1980s. Three months later, Mr. McDougal told Mr. Starr's office that Mr. Clinton had signed documents for the transaction. Mr. McDougal has since died.

Mrs. Clinton's deposition was taped at the White House on April 25, 1998, and played for the Whitewater grand jury four days later.

When shown a Nov. 15, 1982, cashier's check for \$27,600 made payable to "Bill Clinton," Mrs. Clinton said, "I'm sorry, Mr. Ewing, I don't know anything about this. . . . I never spent any significant time at all looking at the books and records of Whitewater."

Mr. Starr's office is using Mrs. Clinton's videotape in an attempt to convict Mrs. McDougal of criminal contempt and obstruction for refusal to cooperate with prosecutors.

Given Mrs. Clinton's assertions that she knows little or nothing about the matters in question, prosecutors told U.S. District Judge George Howard Jr. that they have nowhere to turn for answers but to Mrs. McDougal, who watched the videotape intently.

After seeing the videotape, Mrs. McDougal's attorney, Mark Geragos, said if he had known what was on it he would have introduced it himself as evidence. He had objected to showing the video.

Prosecutors "weren't doing anything here but stalking the president and first lady, and they were using Mrs. McDougal to get to that," Mr. Geragos said.

"I don't see that there's anybody that can follow" the complex financial transactions that Mr. Ewing walked Mrs. Clinton through, he said. Prosecutors "spent and wasted taxpayers' money of \$40 million on absolutely nothing."

Mr. Ewing questioned Mrs. Clinton on several subjects:

- A check for \$5,081.82 signed by Mrs. McDougal and bearing the notation "payoff Clinton." The check was used to make a payment on the Clinton loan. Mrs. Clinton said "I do not know" anything about the check.

- Mrs. Clinton's law firm billing records that indicate she spoke with Mrs. McDougal on July 18, 1985, at a time when the McDougals were desperately trying to save their foundering S&L. Mrs. Clinton said "I do not" know anything about the conversation revealed in the billing records, which turned up inside the White House in 1996 two years after prosecutors subpoenaed them.

The president has never been questioned about the \$27,600 loan, which was not discovered until late 1996 when an FBI agent who works for Mr. Starr found a micro-filmed copy of the cashier's check. The original turned up in 1997 in the trunk of an abandoned car.

In 1996, Mr. Starr's office gave Mrs. McDougal limited immunity in order to compel her to testify. She still refused and was jailed for civil contempt. Then she was charged with criminal contempt because Mr. Starr deemed her a crucial witness.

THE NATION

First Lady Stars Via Videotape in McDougal Trial

■ **Court:** Prosecutors use deposition to show that the defendant should testify.

By ERIC LICHTBLAU
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Jurors in Susan McDougal's contempt trial heard from a surprise witness Tuesday as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified in a videotaped deposition—never before shown publicly—that she and the president had virtually no active role in the failed Whitewater real estate deal.

"We had no involvement in the running of the business and didn't know anything about what went on on a day-to-day basis," the first lady testified in a deposition taped last April at the White House and played a few days later for a grand jury collecting evidence in independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's investigation of the Ozarks land development.

Starr's prosecutors used the deposition to make the case that, if Hillary Clinton could answer questions under oath about Whitewater, McDougal also should be expected to do so. McDougal and her late husband were partners with the Clintons in the Whitewater development.

McDougal, who now lives in Redondo Beach, is on trial in federal

court for contempt and obstruction of justice for refusing to answer questions about Whitewater dealings at two grand jury appearances. She has maintained that Starr's prosecutors want her to lie.

Hillary Clinton Says She Wasn't Involved

Although Starr's deputies have said repeatedly that they are not seeking to put the Clintons on trial in the McDougal case, the first couple was once again the center of attention on the trial's fourth day of testimony.

The videotape's release could prove awkward for Hillary Clinton, whose possible run for the U.S. Senate in New York has been the subject of intense speculation in recent weeks.

Starr's deputies fought successfully Tuesday to introduce the deposition into evidence, despite the objections of McDougal's defense attorney, Mark Geragos, who said that it was being sprung on his client at the last minute.

After three days of listening to dry and often complicated evidence about years-old financial transactions, several jurors appeared to perk up when they learned that they would be watching the first lady's grand jury testimony.



Associated Press

Jurors watch Hillary Rodham Clinton's videotaped deposition Tuesday in an artist's rendering from the Little Rock, Ark., courthouse.

Prosecutors played 35 minutes of excerpts from the deposition as Hillary Clinton answered more than two dozen questions from deputy independent counsel W. Hickman Ewing Jr. about Whitewater transactions.

Starr himself was present for the deposition. The Clintons' dogged pursuer opened the proceeding with a somewhat strained note of appreciation, telling Hillary Clinton that "it is a beautiful spring day on the outside and so we are all the more grateful to

you" for agreeing to testify. After a few introductions, he turned the questioning over to Ewing, who advised the first lady that her statements could be used against her in any criminal proceeding.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Clintons and the McDougals were partners in the failed residential development project. Prosecutors believe that some improper funds, including a fraudulent, government-backed \$300,000 loan that McDougal received, may have been funneled into the project and

they have sought to find out what the Clintons knew of several key transactions.

James B. McDougal, Susan McDougal's husband, died last year in prison.

Hillary Clinton's tone on the videotape was polite, but she maintained that her knowledge of the project was minimal. She acknowledged that the Clintons and the McDougals were 50-50 partners in the project but said that James McDougal "ran the corporation."

She "never spent any significant time at all looking at the books and records of Whitewater," she said.

Asked About 1983 'Payoff Clinton' Check

At one point, the first lady was questioned about a 1983 check for \$5,081 from Susan McDougal to the savings and loan company that the McDougals operated. Asked whether she knew why McDougal would have written "Payoff Clinton" in the note section at the bottom of the check, Hillary Clinton said: "I have no information whatsoever."

Nor, she said, did she know anything about a \$27,600 cashier's check made payable to Bill Clinton in 1982, which was apparently used to pay off part of the Whitewater debt. "I'm sorry, Mr. Ewing,

I don't know anything about this," she testified.

Outside the courthouse after the videotape was played, Ewing refused to comment on the substance of Hillary Clinton's testimony or to say whether prosecutors have any reason to doubt the credibility of her account.

"We want everyone's version," Ewing said.

But Geragos said that the testimony added nothing of value to the case. Starr's prosecutors "weren't doing anything here but stalking the president and the first lady and they were using Mrs. McDougal to get to that."

Hillary Clinton's deposition was not the only fireworks for the day in the McDougal trial.

During one break, prosecutor Mark Barrett angrily confronted Geragos in the hallway, saying that he was "sick of" McDougal making comments during testimony that could be heard by jurors.

He was angered by an episode during which a witness was searching for words to describe his feeling toward the independent counsel's office. "Scared," McDougal said from her seat.

Geragos later acknowledged that his client had made the remark, but he said the prosecutors had also been whispering repeatedly during testimony. The judge admonished both sides not to let it happen again.

Hillary Clinton Said She Spent Little Time on Whitewater

Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, March 16—In a grand jury videotape made public for the first time today, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified that she "never spent any significant time at all" monitoring records of the Whitewater land deal she and President Clinton shared with James B. and Susan McDougal.

Hillary Clinton also said on the tape, played at Susan McDougal's trial, that she was unaware of a \$27,600 loan for Whitewater taken out in Bill Clinton's name a decade before he became president.

Forty minutes of the first lady's testimony, recorded at the White House last April, were played for the jury in the trial of Susan McDougal, who is charged with criminal contempt for refusing to answer independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's questions about the loan and other aspects of the couples' Whitewater business dealings.

The new attention comes at a sensitive time for Hillary Clinton, as she is considering a run for the Senate from New York.

The Clintons' lawyer, David E. Kendall, had no comment on Starr's use of the first lady's videotaped testimony. In it, Clinton told prosecutors repeatedly that she had little information to give.

President Clinton testified at the McDougals' trial in spring 1996 that he had never borrowed money from the savings and loan the McDougals owned in the 1980s. Three months later, James McDougal told Starr's office that Clinton had signed documents for the transaction. McDougal has since died.

Hillary Clinton says she didn't know about loan

By Pete Yost
The Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK — In a grand jury videotape made public for the first time Tuesday, Hillary Rodham Clinton testified she "never spent any significant time at all" monitoring records of the Whitewater land deal she and President Clinton shared with Jim and Susan McDougal.

Clinton said on the tape, played at Susan McDougal's trial, that she was unaware of a \$27,600 loan for Whitewater in Bill Clinton's name a decade before he became president.

Forty minutes of the first lady's testimony, recorded at the White House last April, were played for the jury in Susan McDougal's trial. McDougal is charged with criminal contempt for refusing to answer independent counsel Ken Starr's questions about the loan and other aspects of the two couples' Whitewater business dealings.

The attention comes at a sensitive time for Hillary Clinton, who is considering a run for the U.S. Senate from New York.

The Clintons' lawyer, David Kendall, had no comment on Starr's use of the first lady's videotaped testimony. In it, Clinton repeatedly told prosecutors that she had little information to give.

"I have never seen these documents before and have no information about them," she said when asked about a 1982 Clinton loan that prosecutors allege is linked through a series of transactions to a fraudulent \$300,000 loan to McDougal 3½ years later.

President Clinton testified in spring 1996 that he never borrowed money from the savings and loan the McDougals owned in the 1980s. Three months later, Jim McDougal told Starr's office that Clinton had signed documents for the transaction. Jim McDougal since has died.

Hillary Clinton appeared on two television monitors in the federal court Tuesday. Her deposition was taped at the White House on April 25, 1998, with her lawyers present. The tape was played for the Whitewater grand jury four days later.

During the questioning, she often put on reading glasses to review documents shown to her by Starr deputy Hickman Ewing Jr., at one point complaining, "I can't see anything anymore."

Ewing underscored the event's seriousness by reminding Clinton of her constitutional rights: "You . . . have the right to refuse any question if the truthful answer would tend to incriminate you. Do you understand that?"

"Yes I do," Clinton replied.

When shown a Nov. 15, 1982 cashier's check for \$27,600 made payable to "Bill Clinton," Hillary Clinton said, "I'm sorry, Mr. Ewing, I don't know anything about this."

After another question about the loan, she explained, "I never spent any significant time at all looking at the books and records of Whitewater."

Starr's office is using Hillary Clinton's videotape in an attempt to convict Susan McDougal of criminal contempt and obstruction for refusal to cooperate with prosecutors.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1999

White House Woes: The White House denies news reports that Bill and Hillary Clinton are in a trial separation and says Hillary left their ski vacation a day early and then didn't accompany the president to Central America because of a back injury. "Probably caused by the weight of that last straw." (Steve Voldseth)

White House Woes II: According to Fox News, Bill and Hillary got in a huge shouting match during their ski vacation. "In fact, they say it is the first time ever that Clinton has screamed out her name." (Jay Leno)



HILLARY CLINTON
Not very enlightening.

McDougal jury sees video of First Lady

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton was called as a video witness in Susan McDougal's Whitewater trial yesterday as the past came back to haunt the First Lady.

"I never spent any significant time at all looking at the books and records of Whitewater," Mrs. Clinton insisted on the video, shown publicly for the first time in Little Rock.

The video was made for the Whitewater grand jury last April.

McDougal is on trial for refusing to answer Starr's questions. Her lawyer claimed Starr's team never bothered to ask the First Lady those same questions — but the video shows they did.

The First Lady is seen wearing a yellow suit. She looked serious and nodded as she was handed the \$27,600 check in her husband's name and claimed she'd never seen it.

The \$27,600 check was issued in Bill Clinton's name by the bank owned by Susan McDougal and her late husband Jim — and partly repaid by an illegal \$300,000 taxpayer-funded loan to Susan McDougal.

The president has sworn under oath that he never got any loans from the McDougals' bank.

Hillary tape will be played

McDougal prosecutors want to hear about Madison loan

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's prosecutors said yesterday they hope to play part of Hillary Rodham Clinton's videotaped testimony to a grand jury at the trial of her former Whitewater partner, Susan McDougal.

Starr deputy W. Hickman Ewing Jr. said outside the courthouse at the end of the day's testimony that prosecutors want to play "perhaps 30 minutes" of the first lady's testimony, as early as today.

In a court filing prepared by prosecutors and obtained by the Associated Press, Mr. Starr's office suggests that Mrs. Clinton's testimony makes it even more vital for Mrs. McDougal to cooperate with the criminal investigation.

The prosecutors' court papers say that "the videotape will show that the first lady testified that she had no knowledge or information

about either" a \$27,600 loan made in Bill Clinton's name or a \$5,081.82 check signed by Mrs. McDougal and used to pay off part of the Clinton loan.

The AP obtained the papers, which had not been filed with the court as of the close of business yesterday, from a person familiar with the case.

The prosecutors say the tape "will establish ... the importance of questions posed to, and answered by, the first lady and prepared for" Mrs. McDougal.

The defense opened the door for prosecutors to present Mrs. Clinton's testimony when defense attorney Mark Geragos questioned FBI agent Mike Patkus, who works for Mr. Starr's office.

Agent Patkus said last Thursday that he did not know if prosecutors had asked Mrs. Clinton a series of questions about a \$27,600 loan in

the name of Bill Clinton from the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan owned by Mrs. McDougal and her late ex-husband, James McDougal.

Prosecutors say the Clinton loan is connected to a fraudulent \$300,000 loan made to Mrs. McDougal in 1986. She is charged with contempt of court and obstruction of justice.

Mr. Ewing said prosecutors want to "clear up misimpressions" left last Thursday when Agent Patkus testified that he was not sure Mrs. Clinton had been questioned about the transactions.

The prosecutor's interest in showing Mrs. Clinton's testimony from April 25, 1998, arose at the end of the day's trial testimony, when prosecutor Julie Myers, with Agent Patkus still on the witness stand, went through the testimony the agent had given last week.

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1999

First Lady's Testimony Sought in McDougal Trial

From Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's prosecutors said Monday they hope to play part of Hillary Rodham Clinton's videotaped testimony to a grand jury at the trial of her former Whitewater partner, Susan McDougal.

Starr deputy W. Hickman Ewing Jr. said outside the courthouse at the end of Monday's testimony that prosecutors want to play "perhaps 30 minutes" of the first lady's testimony, as early as today.

McDougal's lawyer, Mark Geragos, was expected to object at a hearing today before the trial resumes.

The defense opened the door for prosecutors to present Clinton's testimony when Geragos questioned FBI agent Mike Patkus, who works for Starr's office.

Patkus said Thursday he did not know if prosecutors had asked Clinton a series of questions about a \$27,600 loan in the name of Bill Clinton from the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan owned by McDougal and her former husband, James B. McDougal.

Prosecutors allege that the Clinton loan is connected to a fraudulent \$300,000 loan made to Susan McDougal in 1986. She is charged with contempt of court and obstruction of justice.

Ewing said prosecutors want to "clear up misimpressions" left when Patkus testified that he wasn't sure Hillary Clinton had been questioned about the transactions.

Clinton gave the videotaped testimony at the White House on April 25, and it was played several days later to the Whitewater grand jury in Little Rock.

Earlier Monday, Starr's office put one of its own prosecutors on the witness stand to fight McDougal's allegation that Whitewater investigators pressured her to tell lies about the Clintons.

Starr's office only asked for



Associated Press

Whitewater figure Susan McDougal walks to the Little Rock, Ark., federal courthouse Monday as her trial continues.

the "total and complete truth," former prosecutor Amy St. Eve insisted.

The independent counsel's office has been thrown on the defensive by the strategy of Geragos, who is accusing the prosecutor's staff of a pattern of misconduct—including urging McDougal to give testimony that falsely implicates the Clintons.

"Absolutely not," St. Eve replied when Myers asked her whether McDougal had been asked to lie.

Trying to show close ties between the Clinton camp and

some lawyers for major figures in the inquiry, St. Eve read to the jury portions of a memo written by another prosecutor. It said one of McDougal's lawyers had contacted President Clinton's lawyer David E. Kendall after discussion of a cooperation agreement between Starr's office and McDougal's legal team.

Geragos attacked the memo, eliciting from St. Eve that the document was dated Oct. 11, 1996, two months after conversations it was memorializing had occurred.

The Washington Times

★★ TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1999

Lovebirds

"The White House hastened last week to stifle gossipy tales that the first lady was leaving her leading man — not that anyone would blame her," writes Paul Bedard in the "Washington Whispers" column of U.S. News & World Report.

"But frustrated aides stumbled over how to show that the duo still have eyes for each other, short of inviting cameras into their chambers," he writes.

"In the end, all they could offer Whispers was that the Clintons still plan to host official events together, such as this week's St. Patrick's Day reception. Ah, political love."

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



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 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 chew—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 Jennifer: "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.

AM-Clinton, 730

Arkansas homecoming cold, a bit lonely for president

By SONYA ROSS= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Arkansas' Democratic faithful were finished paying tribute to retired Sen. Dale Bumpers. Dinner long had been eaten. The hugs and handshakes tapered off and the clock ticked ever closer to midnight.

Still, President Clinton, set to fly back to the White House after the festivities ended, lingered among his friends late Saturday night, joking that he hung out so long, ``we've doubled the price of rice.''

So long that the crowd had dwindled from several hundred to just nine, and the lights began going out in Little Rock's cavernous Statehouse Convention Center.

Clinton ventured near the television cameras, getting more hugs that create the warm-fuzzy footage associated with the private moments of legendary people.

``Hello guys,' ' Clinton called to the TV crews waiting to accompany him to Washington. ``Let's GO, Mr. President!' ' came the reply from a lone voice in the back.

It was a bittersweet weekend return to his roots, full of rain and solitude, for a man whose visit was built around the dedication of his birth home in Hope.

His brother and childhood pals were there, but his wife and daughter were not, and Clinton looked a little lonely. The visit was cut short by a day, and the nearly constant rain left Clinton's schedule loose and somewhat aimless.

``The weather was sad, but otherwise it was OK,' ' was Clinton's assessment of the trip, as he ambled back to Air Force One's rear galley for a beverage during the flight to Washington.

Clinton's daughter Chelsea, a sophomore at Stanford University, remained at school. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was in Washington, sidelined still, the president said, by the back injury that also led her to skip his Central American trip last week. She needs the rest so that she and Chelsea can tour North Africa later this month, the president said.

``She wanted to go to Central America, she wanted to go to this,' ' Clinton said. ``I've got to make sure, she's got to make sure, she's a little bit healthier for Africa.''

After capping his Friday stop in Hope by paying a water-sogged visit to his mother's grave, Clinton went to Texarkana, Texas, to help raise money for Rep. Max Sandlin, a supporter during impeachment. He spent the night on the Wamba, Texas, cattle ranch of businessman Truman Arnold.

Saturday, it was too rainy and cold for him to play golf so Clinton lounged at Arnold's home.

In the afternoon, Clinton flew to Little Rock, got off his plane in a gust of wind and a layer of rain on the tarmac. ``Cold!' ' he shouted and went directly to the home of his mother-in-law, Dorothy Rodham.

He watch his beloved Arkansas Razorbacks take on Iowa in the NCAA basketball tournament.

Arkansas lost.

Clinton then attended a \$200,000 Democratic National Committee reception before the Bumpers event, and mingled with folks who told him their confidence in him was never shaken.

At the Bumpers dinner, Arkansas' politicians worked to make up for Clinton's lack of immediate family. Sen. David Pryor called Clinton before he left Arnold's ranch, and Clinton asked Pryor to fill him in on the crowd he would be addressing.

``I said, 'Mr. President, this is your family. These are your people, and these are the people who love you,' ' Pryor said.

A somber tone in his voice, Clinton said he understood that it was evident in the spirited defense summation that Bumpers delivered before the Senate at Clinton's impeachment trial.

Though they have long known each other, Bumpers and Clinton were not

considered extremely close.

In his first Senate primary in 1974, Bumpers defeated Clinton's mentor, Sen. William Fulbright. During his first presidential term, Clinton turned more often to Pryor for advice.

Clinton said he and Bumpers had been through ``all kinds of adversity'' together, and that he would miss being able to reach out across town to Bumpers ``when I get real low.''

``Mr. President, I may not be your best friend in the Senate,''' Bumpers said Saturday night. ``But you're the best friend I've had in the Oval Office.''

Saturday night, Clinton and Bumpers put their heads together in conversation as the lights dimmed for a video tribute. Suddenly, the president stopped talking and nodded in time with a song playing over a montage of images from Bumpers' long career:

``Count on me and I'll count on you ... Now and always we will be good friends.''

When the song ended, Clinton turned to Bumpers and resumed their chat.

**** filed by:APW-(al) on 03/14/99 at 18:06EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/15/99 at 08:50EST ****

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1999

Richard Cohen

When a Deal Has Been Struck

On Sept. 10, 1998, Bill Clinton met with his Cabinet—and got upbraided. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala told him he had failed to provide moral leadership. He countered, according to reports, by saying his public policies were more important than his personal behavior. Afterward, neither the president nor Shalala had anything to say on the subject. They just went on with their relationship.

Sound familiar? Of course. This is how we envision the Bill Clinton-Hillary Rodham Clinton relationship: a confrontation, a blowup and then a determination to soldier on. For them, too much is at stake: a marriage, a child and, of course, their dual careers. Come, take my hand. It's time to board the helicopter.

Is this how it is? I don't know. The only mystery greater than my own marriage is someone else's. Who knows what goes on? But it appears to many that in the Clintons' case, some sort of deal has been struck. Bill Clinton's personal behavior, as bad as it has been, is not sufficient to end the relationship. Everything else—or something else—is too important.

Clinton's Cabinet made a similar deal. Not a single member resigned after the president admitted he had lied to them and the American people about not having a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Not a single one quit when that admission meant Clinton had lied under oath to Paula Jones's lawyers—and, it seems to many, to Ken Starr's grand jury as well. Not a one.

Had any of the Cabinet quit back in January 1998, Clinton might not have been able to hold on. Had the Cabinet not remained loyal back in August when he

admitted he had lied about not having a sexual relationship with Lewinsky, he certainly would have had a mighty difficult time staying in office. At that point, just about every newspaper in the land—not to mention oodles of columnists—was calling for his resignation.

I was not one. I loathed what Clinton had done, but I loathed Ken Starr more. I

Everyone had a "reason" to stick with Clinton.

balanced things. Clinton had done wrong. Starr had done bad. One repulsed me, the other scared me. I'd stick with Clinton.

Everyone had a reason. For the American people, it seemed to be the economy: Let's keep things as they are. Others simply declared Clinton's personal life off-limits. Let him do what he wants as long as the stock market keeps going up. The Democratic Party made the same deal. As long as Clinton's numbers were high, the party was high on Clinton. This is the pragmatic morality of politics.

Then came Juanita Broaddrick's 21-year-old rape charge. This was not mere womanizing. This was alleged thuggery. She seemed credible. I was disturbed. Yet while I wondered out loud about what sort of man occupied the White House, I did not call for his resignation. No one did, as I recall.

Shalala, once again winning the Miss Candor contest hands down, allowed that

she took Broaddrick's charges "very seriously." She was not one to compartmentalize, she said, to make a distinction between the president's private morality and his public one. Nevertheless, she remains in the Cabinet, serving "the nation and the president," she said. In other words, she has good reasons not to quit.

I do not quibble. I don't know what I would do under similar circumstances. The rape charge is credible but unproved. Would I demand proof? Should I demand proof? What should Treasury Secretary Bob Rubin have done that day in August when Clinton acknowledged an "inappropriate relationship" with Lewinsky? Russia devalued the ruble the same day. Rubin's resignation might have triggered a financial panic. Where's the morality in that?

The more you ask yourself such questions, the more you understand that the mystery of Hillary Rodham Clinton is no mystery at all. She is sort of a Cabinet member herself, with public policy goals that mean a lot to her. She fought long and hard to get to where she is, not only with countless speeches and countless rallies but also with private humiliations we can only imagine. She is a wife and mother, too.

Hillary Clinton may well be, as some have called her, an enabler. But if that's what she is, then that's what many of us are, too. She lives, as many of us now have to, in a world of few moral absolutes, with a bottom line that somehow keeps receding. Maybe that explains her high standing in the polls: When it comes to Bill Clinton, she is one of us.

Clinton's Souvenirs

While **Hillary Clinton** was at the Washington Opera Wednesday evening, her husband was in Antigua, Guatemala, shopping for baubles. (The first lady bailed out of his Central America trip to nurse a bad back, her office said earlier this week.)

In Antigua, the quaint and touristy old colonial capital, **President Clinton** dropped into Jades, a jewelry factory and upscale boutique. After much browsing and sampling, Clinton bought some coffee, three Mayan-style clay pots, and two necklaces (one lilac jade, the other with 10 million-year-old stones), said the store's **Maria Elena Streicher**. Clinton frequently shops for gifts for his wife and daughter when he travels.

Streicher wouldn't say how much he spent, but Clinton told her he'd had to pay cash two weeks ago at a Utah bookstore when he discovered his American Express card had just expired.

He handed her what he called "good" plastic; she warned him that sometimes late in the day it was difficult to get approval. "I thought," Streicher said, "will the young person looking at the computer screen recognize who W.J. Clinton is? I was holding my breath."

No problema.

Two 'Sly' Guys

■ Two tenors, it seems, are more than enough.

Placido Domingo and **Jose Carreras**—two-thirds of the world-famous tenor trio—created a near-riot Wednesday night at the Washington Opera's opening of "Sly." The mere sight of the middle-aged heartthrobs caused more than one Washington socialite to swoon like a rock-star groupie.

The occasion was the last production of the company's season. Artistic Director Domingo persuaded his friend Carreras to star in the little-known opera and persuaded his wife, **Marta Domingo**, to direct the North American premiere. **Hillary Rodham Clinton** invited both Domingos and Executive Director **Pat Mossel** to share the presidential box in the Kennedy Center Opera House and led the standing ovation, but skipped dinner in the Atrium after the performance, reports The Post's Roxanne Roberts.

The first lady was perhaps the only female in the room who didn't find some excuse to chat with Domingo and Carreras, who is appearing in his first starring role in Washington since he recovered from leukemia 10 years ago. Cameras flashed constantly; "Three Tenors" CDs and books were not-so-shyly

proffered for autographs.

But all the adoration didn't result in an impromptu late-night concert. "Don't worry," Carreras assured the dinner guests. "We're not going to sing." What was that moaning sound coming from the Kennedy Center? Only the collective sigh of disappointment.

Go Ahead, Ask Him. We Dare You.

■ He is a business consultant (everything from damage control to image burnishing), a Fox News Channel commentator, a TV talk show hopeful. And now this: "Ask Alfonse."

Former senator **Alfonse D'Amato** will dispense political advice in *George* magazine beginning in May.

"I think it will be fun and interesting, and I will be captivating and provocative," the New York Republican bragged to *The Source* of his new gig, being billed as "the world's first political advice column." Having spent 18 years on Capitol Hill—he lost last fall to Democrat **Chuck Schumer**, whom he derided as a "putzhead"—D'Amato will

answer readers' questions on government, politics and how Washington really works.

But he isn't dishing much about himself. How much is he being paid to dispense such nuggets as whether **Hillary Rodham Clinton** should run for the Senate (only if she wants "to make a difference to the people of New York")?

"Not really enough for the attention and sparkle and wit" it will generate, he said.

Asked about his blonde of the month, sometime sex columnist **Candace Bushnell**, D'Amato said he is dating and has "a number of friends, but none particularly serious."

MARY McGRORY

'All Too' True?

Those who thought the Monica marathon with Barbara would put a period to the whole Lewinsky era were wrong. It wasn't even a comma. Linda Tripp resurfaced on ABC television Sunday morning, announcing that her appetite for vindication was unsated—Monica was just an hors d'oeuvre; she intends to devour Hillary next. Bulletins from London had Monica having the vapors while legions queued up for her autograph on Andrew Morton's vapid book about her. And at the height of it all, to the intense regret of the author, George Stephanopoulos's memoir of life with Bill appeared—amid cries and murmurs of "ingrate."

George's critics had only the Newsweek excerpts to go by, and it seems to me their complaints are based more on their raw post-impeachment feelings than on what they read. George is generous with insights and vignettes, but dispenses no bombshells. So much has been written about the president's character that it is hard to think of what further injury could be done to his reputation. His picture of the president is very much like that of "Primary Colors," the novel by anonymous, later identified as Joe Klein. Clinton is smart, seductive, the eye of the storm of the first term. Hillary is like Emma Thompson, who played her in the movie—sharp, assertive and a fool for her guy.

Whole pine forests have gone into paper to print analyses of their marriage, often depicted as a cold and businesslike merger of two herculean ambitions. George shows a marriage of true minds, and many hugs and kisses. If the Clintons could bring themselves to read their faithless courtier's memoir, they might at least like how they come off as Mr. and Mrs. It's not likely. A cold rage about "All Too Human" has set in, and sensible people do not mention Stephanopoulos around the Oval Office or the East Wing.

Full disclosure—of which there is so much going around these days—requires me to divulge that George is a friend who used to help me with my garden and stay for Sunday night supper. And I think I would have told him, if he had asked me, that he might do better to put off publication. His answer when I put it to him before writing this, was that he had put it off—until after impeachment. He is, of course, sorry that his book is being launched in a climate of recriminations and talk of "traitor" among his old pals at the White House.

"They should read the book," he says,

"and see if it is a fair and accurate picture of Clinton and his first term as president." He wishes they would suspend judgment until they have read his "Epilogue," which details his feelings of betrayal as the sordid saga of Monica unfolded. Here is a splendid summation of the liberals' lament:

"The ultimate rationale for getting my hands dirty and doing what it took to win—from attacking Gennifer Flowers to working with Dick Morris to accepting welfare reform—was not just the thrill of the fight... but also my belief that progressive ideals would be better protected as long as Clinton was president... Clinton didn't have the right to betray those of us who had put our trust in him."

But the prevalent feeling among Democrats is that "just for a handful of silver, he left us," Sen. Jack Reed of Rhode Island said dryly. "He could have waited—this is a sitting president—but of course the market value of his book would have gone down."

White House employees still like George in spite of everything and don't want to go on the record. What seems to bother them is not that he has made it so big as a TV commentator and personality or that he has written about Clinton, but what he has written about himself. They understand about the confessional compulsions of the '90s and all that, but they found certain passages presumptuous to the point of delusional. He writes at one point of Clinton that "he did not create me."

He has a point. George was the most talented member of the inner circle, the one most able to read Clinton's mind. His years as the right hand of Democratic leader Richard Gephardt had made him quiet and self-effacing, qualities much appreciated in the "hellzapoppin" ambiance of a presidential campaign and the early Clinton White House.

But George's head could have well been turned by his White House experiences. He became a cult figure, a sex symbol to the girls of Hollywood and Broadway. His wispy hair, his soulful gaze, his small sinewy physique made him a big turn-on and a celebrity. Says Harold Ickes, former deputy chief of staff, "Clinton may not have created him, but he sure put him on the map."

And it didn't give him the right, another staff man said, to write that Clinton "didn't have the right to compromise my compromises." Please, says the staffer. He could establish his own identity without that kind of talk.

Clinton 'shouting match' reported

Things heat up
on ski trip, Fox says

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

It was the screech heard around the world. Connubial bliss may be in short supply at the White House if one hair-raising report is true.

Wednesday night, the Fox News Channel went public with the details of a mighty row between Bill and Hillary Clinton during their family ski trip to Utah last week.

"The two had a shouting match that ended with Hillary Clinton storming out of the room and saying she wanted her bags," the Fox report said.

The story broke even as Mrs. Clinton ponders a brave new life as a U.S. senator. She meets today with New York Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, who has encouraged the first lady to run for office.

The Utah trip was indeed cut short by a day, but not due to a domestic melee, her press office said. Mrs. Clinton had hurt her back which also kept her from accompanying her husband on his Central American trip this week.

Not so, say unnamed insiders, who are the sources of the Fox report.

"I don't want to be in the same room with him, let alone the same bed," Fox reported Mrs. Clinton had said, adding that she refused to go on the trip because she couldn't get her own bedroom.

"If Mrs. Clinton hadn't injured her back, she'd be in Guatemala right now," said spokeswoman Marcia Berry yesterday. "She will be meeting with New York Democrats tomorrow, but there will be lots more meetings and conversations with people before she makes any hard decisions."

Fox, however, stands by its story. "We had good sources, and more than one source on this story," said Fox bureau chief Brit Hume yesterday. "The sources are friends of both the Clintons, and they were not spinning the story."

The information, Mr. Hume said, made a viable news story. It was "plausible" in light of the travails of both Clintons in the past year. "The implausible side of this is the White House attempting to show the Clintons as the happy couple."

White House spokesman Joe



AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton, on the slopes in Utah on Feb. 28, reportedly threatened to pack her bags during the ski trip.

Lockhart tersely dismissed the story as tabloid fare.

"I would suggest that those who deal in this sort of rumor and gossip and innuendo should go back to journalism school and do a little more work," he said yesterday from Guatemala.

Charting the Clinton marriage has been a national pastime since the days of Gennifer Flowers' very public revelations of her 12-year affair with the president. A hard-edged Mrs. Clinton went on "60 Minutes" to boast: "I'm not sitting here as some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette."

The 14-month impeachment scandal actually gave Mrs. Clinton a forum for her most polished media personas, including diplomat, steadfast wife and humanitarian.

Despite a half-dozen photo opportunities of the Clintons holding hands, dancing and strolling contentedly during scandal prime time, the pleasant patina faded toward year's end.

Mrs. Clinton went on a four-day mission to Eastern Europe on the couple's 23rd wedding anniversary in October and was in San Francisco during the president's final apology over the Monica Lewinsky matter from the Rose Garden.

In mid-December, Mrs. Clinton gave her husband "the cold shoulder felt round the world." TV cameras accidentally caught her shrinking from her husband's touch.

She was, as NBC noted, "no longer the president's defender in chief." It was the "icy graveyard brushoff" according to the New York Post, which incidentally called Mrs. Clinton "Chillary" yesterday. Vanity Fair also features a story this month on the health of the Clinton marriage.

CHILLARY

Stephanopoulos thinks Bill fed Hill lies

By ANDY GELLER

President Clinton probably didn't come clean when he first told wife Hillary about his affair with Monica Lewinsky, former top aide George Stephanopoulos says.

In his new book, "All Too Human," the former White House spinmeister says he believes Clinton told the First Lady he slipped but didn't fall.

Stephanopoulos says the president probably told Hillary this story:

"He befriended a troubled girlfriend of [secretary] Betty Currie's, but it got a little out of hand because the girl was insecure, infatuated and slightly crazy.

Didn't own up to Monica affair at first

"She came on to him and began to imagine an affair. It got so bad she started to stalk him and repeated her fantasy to friends.

"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."

Stephanopoulos, who teaches at Columbia University, says he doesn't believe Hillary knew about Monica until Clinton

came home on Saturday, Jan. 17, 1998, after giving his deposition in the Paula Jones sex suit.

That night, the Clintons canceled plans to have dinner with friends and Hillary later said they had spent much of the weekend "cleaning out closets."

The Sexgate scandal broke the next week.

Why did the First Lady buy the president's story?

"How could she not. The alternative was too painful to admit — and not only because she cared about their political survival," Stephanopoulos writes.

"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."

Stephanopoulos says that during the first presidential campaign, Hill's love for Bill was clear.

"Hillary adored him despite himself, 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," he writes.

"In playful moments, Clinton called for her in baby talk, 'Hee-a-ree, Hee-a-ree,' he adds.

One night when Clinton was hoarse and cranky, Stephanopoulos writes, he went up to their suite and found Hillary on the couch with Clinton, legs over his lap, feeding him lemon slices dipped in honey.

Hillary was the only person who could calm Clinton down when the Gennifer Flowers scandal broke during the New Hampshire primary in 1992. He finally managed to reach her from a pay phone near the men's room at the Manchester airport.

But when the couple fought, it wasn't pretty, Stephanopoulos says.



STEPHANOPOULOS
Has new book out.

"She lit into him when she thought he wasn't being tough enough on himself or the people around him," he says.

One morning during the New York primary, Stephanopoulos walked in to find Hillary "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."

AM-BRF--Mrs Clinton-Back, 2nd Ld-Writethru, a0743,180

Mrs. Clinton's absence from trip sets off speculation

Eds: Subs 6th graf, Those who, to clarify attribution of Lockhart quote.

WASHINGTON (AP) Was it pique or a bad back that kept Hillary Rodham Clinton home?

Fox News reported this week that Mrs. Clinton decided not to accompany President Clinton to Central America because of a disagreement not the officially cited reason of an aggravated back injury.

The report was denied by Marsha Berry, the first lady's spokeswoman and was disparaged by Joe Lockhart, Clinton's press secretary.

Clinton, chatting with a few reporters Tuesday night, said his wife, even in pain, probably would have joined him on the Central America trip to view damage from Hurricane Mitch, but she didn't want to risk ``completely ruining her back for Africa.''

The first lady and the Clintons' daughter are scheduled to leave March 20 for a tour of Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco.

``Those who deal with this sort of rumor and gossip and innuendo should go back to journalism school and do a little more work,' ' Lockhart said.

Berry called the speculation ``not true.''

``She wanted to rest up so she could go (to Africa),' ' Berry said.

**** filed by:APE(--) on 03/11/99 at 18:33EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/11/99 at 19:13EST ****

Clintons to figure greatly in case

McDougal tried for obstruction

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — One of Kenneth W. Starr's prosecutors opened the latest trial of Susan McDougal yesterday by charging that her refusal to testify before a grand jury has kept investigators from determining whether President Clinton lied under oath about his business dealings.

Associate independent counsel Mark Barrett mentioned the president and Hillary Rodham Clinton 10 times during a 35-minute opening statement that signaled the first family's conduct will be a key focus of the latest Whitewater trial.

In the absence of Mrs. McDougal's testimony, "the other two people who might know about these events . . . reside in the White House," Mr. Barrett told the jurors.

But the attorney for Mrs. McDougal told the jurors that Mr. Starr's tactics will also be on trial and that he will show his client is being "used as a pawn . . . to get the president or the first lady."

"She was not going to cooperate with an investigation that was totally flawed and corrupt," attorney Mark Geragos said, adding his client will testify in her own defense and make clear she is concealing no crimes.

Mrs. McDougal, 44, who along with her late former husband, James, formed the Whitewater land venture with the Clintons two decades ago, is charged with obstruction of justice and contempt for defying a judge's order that she answer Mr. Starr's questions before a federal grand jury investigating Whitewater.

It is the third trial for Mrs. McDougal in three years. She was convicted of fraud charges



Whitewater figure Susan McDougal and her brother, Bill Henley, arrive at court in Little Rock, Ark., yesterday.

brought by Mr. Starr in 1996 and sentenced to prison and more recently was acquitted of embezzlement in a California state trial.

Mr. Barrett told the jurors that Mrs. McDougal refused to testify about financial transactions that he charged undercut Mr. Clinton's sworn testimony at the 1996 trial of Mrs. McDougal, her former husband and then-Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker.

"Bill Clinton said, 'I never received a loan from' " the McDougals' failing savings and loan, Mr. Barrett told the jury. In fact, prosecutors now have a \$27,600 cashier's check from the McDougals' S&L made payable to "William Jefferson Clinton," he charged.

The prosecutor pointed to a \$5,081 check bearing the words "payoff Clinton" and said the money had been partial payment of the \$27,600 check, which was used to pay off a Whitewater debt. The \$5,081 came from an account under Mrs. McDougal's control, Mr. Barrett said.

Prosecutors plan to call as witnesses some of the grand jurors

who wanted to question Mrs. McDougal as part of their investigation of the Clintons.

Mr. Geragos called Mr. Barrett's theory "nonsense," and said Mrs. McDougal will describe the treatment she received from Mr. Starr's office.

In a 1996 conversation with Mrs. McDougal, Mr. Starr's prosecutors told her: "You know who we want, and you know what we want," Mr. Geragos told the jury.

"These are sophisticated lawyers," Mr. Geragos said of Mr. Starr's office.

Sitting at the table behind Geragos, Mrs. McDougal repeatedly nodded in agreement at her attorney's comments and periodically shook her head in disagreement with Mr. Barrett's accusations.

Prosecutors wanted Mrs. McDougal to testify in September 1996 and again in April 1998, after the original \$27,600 cashier's check made payable to Mr. Clinton turned up in the trunk of an abandoned car struck by a tornado south of Little Rock.

Mr. Barrett said "we vigorously

and categorically deny that" Mr. Starr's office had sought perjured testimony to force Mrs. McDougal to lie just to implicate the Clintons.

During a hearing on two motions under seal, attorneys alluded to the pending issue of what the defense can introduce regarding prosecutorial misconduct. U.S. District Judge George Howard Jr. made it clear that he would consider the issue later in the trial.

Judge Howard said last week that any evidence of "prosecutorial vindictiveness" is irrelevant. The judge's order left uncertain to what extent, if any, others critical of Mr. Starr, such as former White House intern Monica Lewinsky, could testify.

Mrs. McDougal served 18 months for civil contempt after her September 1996 refusal to testify. That came after she was convicted of four counts of fraud in May 1996 regarding a fraudulent \$300,000 loan. She served 3½ months of a 24-month term before Judge Howard, the same judge presiding at this case, freed her because of a bad back.

Hurt Hill will skip Hurricane Mitch trip

By VINCENT MORRIS
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton isn't accompanying her husband on a goodwill tour of Central America.

An errant skier slammed into the First Lady during her recent holiday in Utah, giving her a wrenched back and convincing her to skip the tour.

Although the First Lady is staying behind, President Clinton is going forward with a four-day tour of Central America to see the ravages wrought by Hurricane Mitch, which killed at least 9,000 people, left millions homeless and devastated crops across the region.

Mrs. Clinton aggravated a previously injured back muscle when another skier crashed into her while they were on the slopes, spokeswoman Marsha Berry said yesterday.

Berry said she was unsure who exactly it was that crashed into the First Lady, but that her back was sore enough to prevent her from accompanying the president on his trip to Central America.

"She's going to stay off her feet for a few days," Berry said. "She wants to rest it."

The First Lady hurt her back last year around Christmastime. While that injury had gotten slightly better, it started to hurt again after the ski mishap. Berry said she was unsure how the original injury occurred.

Worse, said Berry, was that the First Lady maintained a busy schedule last week, zipping around New York as part of her ongoing flirtation with a Senate race in the year 2000.

MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1999

■ **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, who had planned to accompany her husband on a four-day tour of Central America, is staying home to nurse a bad back.

Skiing last week in Utah with her daughter, **Chelsea**, the first lady re-injured a back muscle she first hurt a year ago, said her press secretary, Marsha Berry. The first lady did not have time to properly recover before today's trip, Berry said. All that faux-stumping in New York last week probably didn't help.



Despite 'staggering' debt, Clintons aren't so bad off

■ The president's supporters step up their giving, easing millions in legal bills.

By James N. Thurman
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON - With \$10 million in legal bills, Bill Clinton for a time had little more than a failed legal defense fund and a comparatively small income to assure his many lawyers that he could pay off his legal debts.

His income amounted to the \$200,000 paycheck from the American people, and \$76 dollars in royalties he still gets for playing the saxophone on the Arsenio Hall show during the 1992 presidential campaign.

Yet the gap between what Mr. Clinton makes and what he owes - he is the most indebted presi-

dent in history - is persuading thousands of sympathetic Americans to grab their checkbooks to support him one more time.

In fact, the picture of a destitute president hobbled forever by legal bills incurred while doing the "people's business" may not be fully accurate. Most experts say the president and first lady will have more potential earning power once they leave office than perhaps any of their predecessors - reducing the personal toll the scandal has taken on their finances.

"It won't take them long to dig their way out. They'll be making big bucks fast," says Ryan Baril-

leaux, a political scientist at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. "They'll pay it off in a few years either through contributions or with their own earning power."

Indeed, a recent direct mailing from a second legal defense fund, citing the first family's "staggering personal debt," garnered more than \$4.5 million, helping to erase more than half of the president's legal bills.

Even with the crisis of the impeachment trial past, an event that catalyzed target donors, Clinton supporters forecast a robust flow of donations. They think a payoff of the legal debt once believed to be his personal ruin may now be in sight. "I think it's reachable," says Anthony Essaye, di-



BLAKE SELL/REUTERS

HELPING HAND: A recent fund-raising drive to help pay off the debts of Hillary Rodham and Bill Clinton has netted \$4.5 million, roughly half the amount of their bills.

rector of the Clinton Legal Expense Trust. "We are pleased with our success so far."

The current legal trust has paid the debt down to \$5.2 million, according to recently released documents. That includes \$800,000 raised from a previous legal defense fund and the recent money taken in by the second

group. The president owes the money to attorneys at three law firms who have defended him in the Whitewater investigation, the Paula Jones sexual-harassment suit, and most recently, in the Senate impeachment process.

Still, a number of factors are at work that may not only help the Clintons pay off their debts shortly after leaving office, but may help them retire in the millionaire club.

The Clintons are still a powerful draw, deft in the art of soliciting donations for either themselves or the party. In Los Angeles Friday, Clinton pulled in

\$200,000 for the Democratic National Committee. The first lady will raise big money for the party this week in New York.

Both are expected to be better positioned than others who retired from politics with debts, including astronaut hero John Glenn who still owes money from a 1984 presidential bid.

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1999



BY ROBERT GIBSON—REUTERS

Give the lady a hand: Clinton reaches for his wife as they arrive at church.

A Talking-To About Love

■ President Clinton and stalwart spouse Hillary went to church together yesterday, after a week in which she stayed home to nurse a sore back, her aides said, while he went off to South America and the dedication of his boyhood home in Arkansas.

The sermon the couple heard was about "disciplines of love."

Philip Wogaman, the pastor of Ffoundry United Methodist Church

and a spiritual adviser to the president, focused on the admonition from Corinthians that "love is patient; love is kind. Love is not envious. . . . It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things."

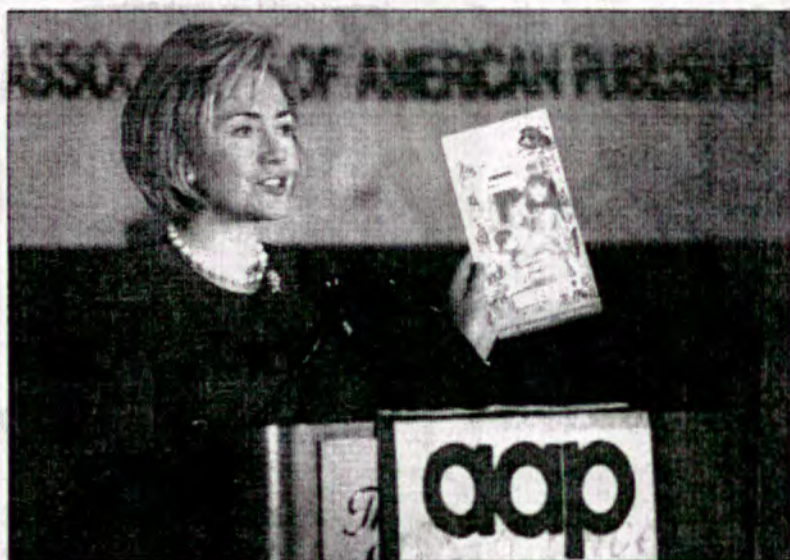
The minister helpfully clarified for his flock the part about "believes all things."

"That doesn't mean love is a sucker for anyone's version of the truth," he said, but instead allows for the possibility of hope.

HRC Clips



Friday, March 19, 1999



By Leslie E. Kossoff, AP

Promoting reading: Hillary Rodham Clinton shows a McDonald's booklet at a meeting of the Association of American Publishers on Thursday in Washington. McDonald's will distribute 13 million copies of the Happy Meal booklet to show parents how to nourish their children's brains through reading, she says.

North Africa will give Clinton a break

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is taking a two-week hiatus from her intensive deliberations over whether to run for a Senate seat from New York. She is heading out Saturday on a long-planned trip to North Africa with her daughter.

The first lady and Chelsea, who will be on spring break from Stanford University, will visit Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco on a trip dedicated to "strengthening the bonds of understanding between the United States and the entire Arab world," her office said in a statement.

Later this year, Hillary Clinton will visit Israel and Jordan. Her office said those stops were not appropriate to make now because of the upcoming election in Israel and the mourning of Jordan's King Hussein, who died last month.

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady's trip to North Africa has been scheduled for about six months.

She said her boss will keep up a "grinding" schedule and doesn't plan to spend any time while she's away consulting with advisers about the possible Senate run.

She'll return April 1.

Complaining of a bad back, the result of a pulled muscle that she re-injured while skiing in Utah last month, Hillary Clinton did not accompany the president on his recent trip to Central America. Berry said her back is "much better" and she's looking for-

ward to visiting a part of the African continent that she hasn't seen.

A year ago, the first lady and President Clinton took a two-week tour of sub-Saharan Africa, visiting six countries, including South Africa. Two years ago, she and Chelsea made a similar trip together.

The latest trip comes when there is ongoing speculation about the state of the Clintons' relationship — speculation fueled by some news reports saying their marriage is in trouble after the Monica Lewinsky scandal and allegations that Clinton raped an Arkansas woman 20 years ago.

Berry dismissed the stories.

"There's nothing to it," she said. She said the Clintons' marriage remains "a work in progress," and added that there should be no question "they're committed to each other."

The trip also comes as the first lady is debating whether to run for the Senate in 2000.

Among the factors influencing her decision is how she could carry out her duties as first lady, which have included trips abroad as a goodwill ambassador for the United States, while running a campaign in New York.

In North Africa, the first lady's office said, Hillary Clinton will do what she has done on many trips: She will highlight efforts to provide health care to women and children, encourage the economic empowerment of women and promote human rights and education. At a clinic in Luxor, Egypt, she will announce new funds for family planning.

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1999 C3

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

White House Wears Green

It was a night for blarney, or maybe Freud. When former senator **George Mitchell** received the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House last night, he impishly referred to the first lady as "Senator Hillary . . . oops!" Audience members roared their approval and leapt to their feet.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is contemplating a bid for a Senate seat in New York, smiled sheepishly and shook her head at Mitchell, *The Post's* Chuck Babington reports.

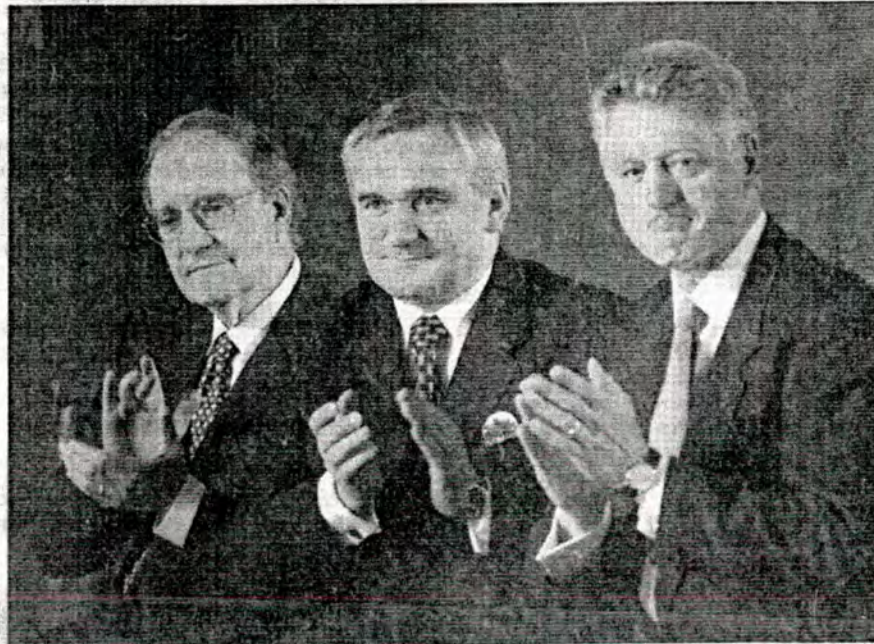
About a thousand people, including many members of Congress, Kennedys, singer **K.d. lang** and actors **Val Kilmer** and **Dylan McDermott**, came to what Mrs.

Clinton called "our small gathering," a St. Patrick's Day celebration honoring Irish Prime Minister **Bertie Ahern** and acknowledging Mitchell's work toward peace in Northern Ireland.

Capping a day of talks on the peace efforts, last night's party began with smoked salmon and other delicacies in the White House's East Room and Dining Room and ended in a huge tent on the South Lawn.

Ahern, declaring that "everyone here has been partying," noted: "There will be no food or drink left in the White House for at least a month."

It was 9:30 p.m. before **President Clinton** finally turned the evening over to an array of Irish entertainers, including flutist **James Galway**. By then the tent's bars had closed but hundreds stuck around for Irish drumming, dancing and singing.



From left, Mitchell, Ahern and Clinton applaud Hillary Clinton's remarks during last night's White House celebration.

BY SUSAN WALSH—ASSOCIATED PRESS

FIRST-RATE LADIES

Group salutes wives of presidents

It could have been hard to avoid the inevitable comparisons between **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and several of her illustrious predecessors at the National First Ladies Library's salute to outstanding first women Tuesday night.

And it no doubt was intended to be that way. During the post-dinner program at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, two of Mrs. Clinton's friends, actresses **Mary Steenburgen** and **Jane Alexander**, took turns giving dramatic readings from letters written by previous first ladies that caused murmurs of recognition from many of the clued-in guests.

Among the more memorable selections:

■ "I had an ambition to be 'Mrs. President.' That ambition has been satisfied. . . . Trouble comes soon enough. Power and position do not ensure a bed of roses." — **Mary Todd Lincoln**

■ "I know what's best for the president. I put him there! He does well when he listens to me and poorly when he does not." — **Florence Harding**

■ "I am sick, sick, sick of public life. . . . I expect to be vilified and abused with my whole family." — **Abigail Adams**

■ "I've been asked just about everything except how often I sleep with my husband, and if they ask me that, I'll tell them, 'as often as possible.'" — **Betty Ford**

A few minutes later, when Mrs. Clinton joined the actresses, narrator **Barbara Walters** and First Ladies Library founder **Mary Regula** onstage to accept her own award, she seemed pleased enough.

"I don't know about you," she told the crowd, "but I certainly enjoyed that reading. I identified with just a few of the things they said."

For historian **Carl Stepien**, who chose the selections, there was nothing unusual about the similarity between past and present first ladies' White House experiences.

"Everything horrific seems new," he said, "but they've been going through the same things for 200 years."

Mrs. Clinton continued the adulatory aspects of the evening by singling out a few favorite first ladies who "used the platform history gave them to great advantage": **Elleanor Roosevelt**, for her civil rights legacy, and **Lady Bird Johnson** (represented at the event by daughter **Lynda Robb**), who championed beautification of the American landscape.

Mrs. Clinton saluted the other awardees for helping to break through "glass ceilings" throughout their careers: Secretary of State **Madeleine Albright**, Supreme Court Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor**, former Rep. **Shirley Chisholm** (who was not



Mary Regula of the National First Ladies Library presents an award to poet Gwendolyn Brooks at the "First Ladies Salute First Women" dinner. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and program narrator Barbara Walters look on during the Tuesday night event.

present), poet **Gwendolyn Brooks**; and **Elizabeth Campbell**, 96, founder of public TV station WETA (Channel 26).

Except for Miss Brooks, who read a laudatory ode to Mrs. Clinton, the recipients made acceptance speeches that were notably brief and self-effacing, at least in Academy Award night terms.

The lack of babble may have prompted Miss Walters to tout what may prove to be her next ratings coup. Tune in tomorrow night on ABC for her chat with **Elizabeth Taylor**, who is "in remarkable shape, up, around and funny. . . with platinum blond hair." It's a real scoop, she reported, because **La Liz** has spent most of the past two years in bed following treatment for a brain tumor.

The 300 guests were separated into two distinct dining areas by a red velvet rope. Corporate and other donors to the library sat on one side, Washington VIPs with connections to various honorees or organizers were on the other.

The VIPs included WETA Chairman **Sharon Percy Rockefeller** (who came especially to honor Mrs. Campbell), National Museum of Women in the Arts founder **Wilhelmina Holladay** (introducing Justice O'Connor) and Sen. **John Warner** (escorting Miss Walters). Also sighted were Smithsonian director **I. Michael Heymann**, porcelain queen **Helen Boehm**,



Letitia Baldridge, Frances Humphrey Howard, Janet Howard, Frankie Hewitt, Rep. John and Debbie Dingell, and Lloyd and Ann Hand.

The National First Ladies Library opened in June in Canton, Ohio, in the childhood home of President William McKinley's wife, **Ida**. The library boasts a large collection of books, letters, journalism articles, photographs and audio and videotapes on first ladies throughout the country's history. It also operates a Web site (www.firstladies.org) that contains a database of more than 40,000 items.

"The Web site has been getting a lot of hits lately," said Mrs. Regula's husband, Rep. **Ralph Regula**, who just happens to represent the library's hometown in Congress and, as a senior member of the House Appropriations Committee, got

Congress to support the project with \$1.4 million in federal funds.

"It's a bargain," he said, noting that the federal government spent huge sums on other presidential sites — President James Garfield's home, for example, which "cost millions more" than one devoted to all of the first ladies.

"And he was only in office for six months," Mr. Regula said.

One of the corporate sponsors, **Ray N. Ivey** of Consolidated Natural Gas, summed up the prevailing attitude rather well when he addressed the crowd earlier that evening.

"For years, women have heard about the founding fathers," he said. "Why shouldn't men be taught about the founding mothers?"

— **Kevin Chaffee**



Mrs. Regula, Jane Alexander and Elizabeth Campbell share the stage at a pre-dinner news conference (above left). Lynda Robb chats with Maryland first lady Frances Glendening (above). Secretary of State Madeleine Albright came to accept her award after a long day of foreign policy.

First Ladies' Night Out

Hillary Clinton Helps Honor 5 Women

By JENNIFER FREY
Washington Post Staff Writer

"I am sick, sick, sick! of public life," actress Mary Steenburgen said as she gave a dramatic interpretation from the personal writings of a certain first lady last night at the "First Ladies Salute First Women" awards dinner at the Ronald Reagan Building.

Steenburgen may have spent the previous night at the White House—and part of the day with Hillary Rodham Clinton—but she was not quoting her dear personal friend. She was reading from the private papers of Abigail Adams.

Mrs. Clinton, however, could not help but laugh.

"I don't know about you," she told the gathering of several hundred a few minutes later, "but I identify with a few of the things they said."

On a night when such noted politicians as Maryland Gov. Parris Glendening and Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio) found themselves frequently referred to as "the husband of," the newly established National First Ladies' Library bestowed special honor on five women Clinton referred to as "glass-

See GALA, C10, Col. 1



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Mary Regula, founding chairwoman of the National First Ladies' Library, with Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barbara Walters at last night's awards gala.

Library Honors Five Achievers of the First Rank

GALA, From C1

ceiling breakers." In a ceremony emceed by Barbara Walters, awards were given to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Gwendolyn Brooks, former congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Elizabeth P. Campbell, the founder and vice president for community affairs of public television station WETA.

Clinton arrived late in the meal and was warmly introduced to the crowd by Walters, who is fresh off her ratings-grabbing interview with Monica Lewinsky. The two briefly clasped hands in greeting before the first lady made some remarks and returned to the White House for a live American Online question-and-answer session.

Her mere presence, though, provided a

room full of powerful women with one very hot topic of conversation: What is the current first lady going to do with herself once her husband's time in office is up? Specifically, is she going to run for the vacant Senate seat in New York?

Steenburgen, who has known the Clintons since their days in Arkansas, heartily endorsed her friend's possible candidacy.

"She's been an amazing first lady and I know that she's really weighing the different effects [a Senate race] would have on her life," Steenburgen said. "I'm sure she'll reach the right decision."

Steenburgen joined fellow actress and former NEA chief Jane Alexander in a selection of readings from the library's archives. "Pretty soon we're going to have a first husbands' library as well," Alexander joked. "We're going to have a woman president of the United States," she said. "It's going to happen pretty soon."

The National First Ladies' Library, which opened last June, is in Canton, Ohio, in the childhood home of the 20th first lady, Ida Saxton McKinley, in a building that has also been used as a tavern and a brothel, among other things.

The library, no repository for nice dresses and party invitations, houses its fair share of reference to White House scandal, current administration included; a bibliography of historical materials is maintained online at www.firstladies.org. Among the items listed is the discredited book "The Strange Death of President Harding," which purports that Florence Harding poisoned her husband. And a click on "Hillary Rodham Clinton" reveals several articles that refer to her role in White-water—articles with titles like "The Hillary Problem" and "Scenes From a Scandal."

Such works are candidates for the list "unless there is something truly vile or

utterly fictitious," said Carl Sferazza Anthony, the author and historian responsible for compiling the bibliography.

The archive is updated only through 1996, which means coverage of the recent White House scandal has yet to be catalogued. Already, though, Mrs. Clinton has generated one of the largest collections of articles in it—in part, as Anthony pointed out, because of the more comprehensive news coverage given to first ladies since the Kennedy presidency, and in part because of her very visible role at the White House.

"I'm really, really proud of my friend," said Steenburgen, who believes that the first lady has changed the office itself during her tenure. "I think she'd make an extraordinary senator."

And what kind of political spouse might her husband make? Steenburgen smiled.

"He'd just have to live up to her precedent," she said. "And I'm sure he'd do just fine."



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

The first lady and ABC's Barbara Walters chat at last night's gala.



Photo by Roger Richards/The Washington Times

A plaque erected by Agency for International Development hails the work of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

First lady trumpets vitamin A in cutting mother, child deaths

U.S. producers to fortify food exports with the nutrient

By Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Researchers believe they can reduce maternal deaths in childbirth in the Third World by 40 percent by giving inexpensive doses of vitamin A to expectant mothers.

Responding to that research, several American food producers, such as Kellogg's and Procter & Gamble, announced yesterday that they would fortify exports and overseas production with the vitamin.

"Vitamin A deficiency causes 1 million deaths and many more cases of blindness each year," said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who announced the plan at a luncheon hosted by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

"Today, we are collectively signing a declaration showing our commitment to reduce vitamin A deficiency worldwide ... to save the lives of millions of children," she said.

AID plans to spend more than \$35 million this year to provide millions of children around the world with two vitamin A capsules a year costing 2 cents each.

That program began after researchers at Johns Hopkins University and elsewhere discovered in the late 1980s that it could reduce childhood deaths by up to 30 percent from ailments such as malaria, pneumonia and dysentery.

Estimates are that 250 million children are vitamin A deficient,

Cod-liver oil was the distasteful way Americans used to get the vitamin.

said Dr. Nils Daulaire, former senior international health official in the U.S. government and now head of the Global Health Coalition.

Johns Hopkins scientist Keith West said he had just completed a three-year experiment involving 44,000 women in Nepal, which produced the surprising discovery that maternal deaths are also linked to vitamin A deficiency.

The Nepal experiment, funded by AID, sought to reduce death rates among infants under 6 months who are not helped by vitamin A. AID distributed vitamin A to some of the women and others received placebos to see if the vitamin would pass to the infants.

The infant death rate was not reduced, Mr. West said, but the mothers' death rate was.

"Mortality among these women is 70 times higher than here — one in 15 women may die in childbirth," he said. The vitamins, distributed in villages in the Terai, the lowland plains bordering India, cut the death rate by 40 percent.

His findings were published two weeks ago in the British Medical

Journal.

While some vitamin A is found in milk, eggs, carrots, leafy vegetables and papayas, Third World children and adults do not eat enough of those foods to prevent deficiency. Cod-liver oil was the distasteful way Americans used to get the vitamin before American foods were enriched.

Vitamin A appears to work in two ways, Dr. Daulaire said.

"It mobilizes the body's immune system and makes it stronger," he said, "[and] it heals submicroscopic cracks between cells in the body's armor — the epidermis and intestine and lungs — which blocks invasion by outside organisms."

"Symptoms of vitamin A deficiency include night blindness. Children are unable to see when it gets to dusk," Dr. Daulaire said.

"Pregnant women also get it. More serious symptoms include clouding of the cornea, rupture of the cornea and blindness."

Dr. Daulaire said that the next step is to continue research to see if women in Bangladesh and other countries are also helped by vitamin A.

The pledge by private firms to spread the use of vitamin A "marks a new way of thinking about public health," he said. "AID is seeking partnerships with private-sector companies."

AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood said, "Congress, in its infinite wisdom, knew when it cut our budget by 40 percent, it would force us to go to the private sector."

Clinton Offers Debt-Relief Plan for African Nations

■ **Aid:** President will propose program to forgive \$70 billion owed by developing nations.

From Times Wire Services

WASHINGTON—President Clinton urged the world's richest nations Tuesday to relieve the debt burden of Africa's poorest countries.

Addressing a three-day conference at the State Department of African government officials from 46 nations, Clinton said he will propose a plan to forgive \$70 billion in debt held by developing nations in return for economic reforms when he goes to an annual meeting of the world's leading industrial nations in June.

"Our goal is to ensure that no country committed to fundamental reform is left with a debt burden that keeps it from meeting its people's basic human needs," Clinton said. "The more debtor nations take responsibility for pursuing sound economic policies,

the more creditor nations must be willing to provide debt relief."

The proposal was welcomed by the African officials, who have long said the debt makes it harder for them to build upon economic development that comes their way.

The president spoke as his wife—who paved the way for his visit to Africa last year—prepared to make her third trip to the continent. Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves Saturday for an 11-day tour of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

To finance the debt relief package, Clinton suggested selling gold reserves held by the International Monetary Fund, an idea the U.S. had not embraced before now.

Britain, Germany and France have proposed recently that 103 million ounces of IMF gold be tapped to provide funds for a debt relief initiative by the IMF and World Bank.

The gold reserve has a current market value of \$34 billion.



By Linda Spillers, World Wide

Dazzled: Hillary Rodham Clinton and singer/actress Brandy

Hillary focuses on future, not her own

By Ann Oldenburg
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton had lunch with pop star Brandy and dinner with Barbara Walters and capped her Tuesday with a live America Online chat about Socks and Buddy, the White House cat and dog.

Clinton cited "how terrific America's young people really are" at lunch, and at dinner praised women who are "glass-ceiling breakers." On line, she mentioned that the president is Buddy's best human friend.

In her speeches, she made no mention of her bad back, a rumored Senate bid, or headlines about supposed marital troubles in the White House.

"She's a phenomenal woman," gushed Brandy, 20, who met the first lady for the first time at the Seventeen/Cover Girl Volunteerism awards lunch honoring six young women. "I think she's the epitome of beauty. I think she's a strong woman. And listening to her speak, I just love her."

"My name came out of her mouth! She said, 'Thank you, Brandy, for being a positive role model.' Now that's going to motivate me to continue to be a positive role model."

Brandy said recent reports that she's being overworked weren't true. "I was a little sick," she said, but added: "It wasn't because I was over-

worked or anything. It was my fault. I don't get enough rest. I'll work all day and stay up all night."

She announced she's planning a tour in June and will have two months off from her TV show, *Moesha*, before that.

At the National First Ladies' Library dinner celebrating women of achievement, Walters and the first lady were in the same room for the first time since Walters' TV interview with Monica Lewinsky. Did she feel comfortable greeting Clinton?

"I like Mrs. Clinton very much. I have great admiration for her. Please don't make a thing out of nothing," she said.

Hillary pal Mary Steenburgen, who read from past first ladies' writings at the dinner, has stayed at the White House the past few days. How is her friend's back doing? "She's fine, she's great," the actress said.

Has Clinton been reading the papers — such as the New York Post's "Chillary" headline, prompted by her failure to accompany Bill Clinton to Central America? Steenburgen was close-mouthed. "I do know the meaning of friendship."

As for a Hillary run for the Senate: "I can't speak for her about that," Steenburgen said, "but I think she would be extraordinary."

► Whitewater testimony, 9A

THE TRUTH ABOUT CATS AND DOGS: Hillary Rodham Clinton will go on line Tuesday to answer questions about White House pets and her recent book, *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets*. White House pets are a favorite topic when children meet the first lady, Clinton spokeswoman Marsha Berry said. The session will be at 10 p.m. ET on America Online.

The book, published last year by Simon and Schuster, features photographs of Buddy the dog and Socks the cat, copies of children's letters to the pets and text by Clinton. Sales have lagged. Internet bookseller Amazon.com ranks the Socks and Buddy book 9,574 on its list of current best-sellers. Newly released memoir *All Too Human* by former White House aide George Stephanopoulos heads the list, and Andrew Morton's book on Clinton paramour Monica Lewinsky, *Monica's Story*, ranks seventh.

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY

Mrs. Clinton to answer questions online-about pets

By Randall Mikkelsen

WASHINGTON, March 14 (Reuters) - With interest in her political and personal life soaring, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will go online on Tuesday to answer questions -- about White House pets, her spokeswoman said on Sunday.

Mrs. Clinton was scheduled to appear in a live ``chat'' session on America Online on Tuesday at 10 p.m. EST (0300 GMT Wednesday), answering questions about her recent book, ``Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets,' ' said spokeswoman Marsha Berry.

``The topic is the book,' ' Berry said, ruling out any questions that have lately consumed Hillary-watchers, such as whether she will run for the U.S. Senate in New York, or the state of her marriage in the wake of President Bill Clinton's sex-and-perjury impeachment scandal.

The book, published late last year, features photographs of White House pets Buddy the dog and Socks the cat, copies of children's letters to the pets and text by Mrs. Clinton.

The book could use a little plugging from its author -- sales have lagged behind her previous, hugely successful book, ``It Takes a Village.' '

Internet bookseller Amazon.com ranks the Socks and Buddy book 9,574 on its list of current best-sellers, compared with the newly released memoirs ``All Too Human'' of former White House aide George Stephanopoulos, which headed the list, and Andrew Morton's book on Clinton paramour Monica Lewinsky, ``Monica's Story,' ' which ranked seventh.

But Berry said the White House pets were a favourite topic among children. ``Whenever she goes to a school or something, it's always the question (topic) that brings kids out of their shyness,' ' Berry said.

She said the book's publisher, Simon and Schuster, had been collecting questions submitted to AOL and would present selections to Mrs. Clinton on Tuesday. The questions will be answered live through a moderator at the online service. AOL has about 16 million subscribers.

The Clintons have given few clues to Mrs. Clinton's political plans -- other than to say she is carefully considering a Senate run -- or the state of their relationship.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to cancel plans to travel with her husband to Central America last week and her absence from a weekend trip to dedicate the president's boyhood home in Arkansas fuelled speculation the two were keeping their distance from each other. But the president late on Saturday suggested otherwise.

Asked if Mrs. Clinton, who aides said stayed home to nurse a sore back, had wanted to go to Arkansas with him, Clinton told reporters while returning to Washington on Air Force One, ``Oh yeah, bad. She wanted to go to Central America. She wanted to go to this.' '

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/14/99 at 14:04EST ****

**** printed by:WHP(ROH) on 03/15/99 at 08:51EST ****

Honor the Past, IMAGINE THE FUTURE

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

In a very special exclusive *for Woman's Day*, Mrs. Clinton shares some personal thoughts about the beginning of the new millennium—how far we've come and where we're going

As we approach the new millennium, our thoughts are riveted on the future. What will life be like in the 21st century? What new thresholds will we cross? What challenges will we face? I believe that the past holds at least some of the answers.

Take a moment to travel back in time with me. Imagine that it's July 1848. You are a 19-year-old glovemaker named Charlotte Woodward, and you live in a small town called Waterloo, New York. Every day you sit for hours sewing gloves together, working for small wages, with no hope of ever going to school or owning a home.

Then, one day you hear about a women's rights convention to be held in nearby Seneca Falls—a convention to discuss the social, civil and religious rights of women. How can this be? You run from one friend's house to another, finding other women who have heard the same news. Some are excited, others amused. Many are shocked by the idea that women may have rights separate from their husbands and fathers. A few agree to travel to Seneca Falls with you—at least for the first day—to see what all the fuss is about.

Early on the morning of July 19, you set off aboard a horse-drawn wagon. At first, the road is empty and you're worried that no one else will come. Then, as you reach a crossroads, you see other wagons and carriages. Among the travelers that day is the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who would later write of the event: "We were few in numbers, moderate in resources and very little known in the world. The most that we had to commend us was a firm faith that the right must ultimately prevail."

I often think about the incredible courage it must have

taken to join that procession. Yet these were ordinary men and women just like us. And just like those who have embarked on similar journeys throughout American history, seeking freedom or escaping religious and political persecution, speaking out against slavery or striving for workers' rights. Above all, they were motivated by dreams of a better life and a more just society.

At the end of the two-day convention, one hundred people—68 women and 32 men—signed the Declaration of Sentiments. Borrowing from the Declaration of Independence, the document boldly asserted: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal." It was a shout heard around the world and, if we listen, we can still hear its echoes today.

I've heard it in the voices of women from Belfast to Beijing, from Rwanda to Russia—the voices of women struggling to improve their lives and the lives of their families. I've even heard those voices here in our own country. Sometimes when I'm traveling around the world speaking to other women, I wish I could take groups of American teenage girls along with me, so they could hear the power and determination in those voices, too.

Keep the Stories Alive

To usher in the millennium, the President and I have chosen the theme "Honor the past and imagine the future." To honor the past, we must honor the men and women who lived it—those who fought so courageously for the rights we enjoy today. We must tell and retell, learn and relearn their stories. It's important to me to pass their stories on to my daughter, and I hope you do the same with your children, too.

MRS



MRS. CLINTON AT THE WHITE HOUSE, PHOTOGRAPHED BY HARRY BENSON.

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IMAGINE THE FUTURE

CONTINUED

We must never forget that the rights and opportunities we enjoy as women today were not simply bestowed upon us. They were fought for, agonized over, marched for, jailed for and even died for.

Every time we buy, sell or inherit property in our own name, we honor their struggle. Every time we enter a profession of our choosing, we honor those who signed the Declaration of Sentiments.

Every time we vote, we honor the women and men of Seneca Falls, as well as the Suffragists who tirelessly fought to win passage of the 19th Amendment. Every time we elect a woman to office, we honor groundbreaking political leaders—everyone from Margaret Chase Smith to Bella Abzug—who proved that a

American women should count our blessings every day. I know how much change I have seen in my own lifetime. When I was growing up in the '50s and '60s, there were scholarships I couldn't apply for, schools I couldn't go to, jobs I couldn't have—just because of my sex. Thanks to federal laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX and the Equal Pay Act, my daughter and yours won't face the same legal barriers to equality.

But if we believe the fight in Seneca Falls is done, we miss the central point of the Declaration of Sentiments, which was, above all, a document about the future. As long as gaps remain between our ideals and our reality, our work will not be finished. This is part of the great

not just a symbol of equality, but a guarantee. It is the voice we use to express our political views, the means by which we hold our leaders and governments accountable, and the ticket to bridging the gap between what our nation is and what we want it to be.

So many women of the last century were silenced by someone else. Today we silence ourselves. But we have a voice, and we must make that voice heard.

What Will Our Daughters Say?

Fifty years from now, when our daughters celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Sentiments, what will they say about our stewardship? Will they say that we honored the struggle of our predecessors—that we saw their struggle as our struggle? Will they say that we created systems for education, employment, child care and health care that support and strengthen families? Will they say that we transcended distinctions of race and class and ultimately found strength in each other's differences?

Will our daughters say that women today supported each other's choices? Did we admit once and for all that there is no single cookie-cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman? Did we leave our children a world where all men and women are not only created equal but are *in fact* equal?

As we enter the new millennium, we know our daughters and granddaughters will face new challenges that we today cannot even imagine. But each of us can help prepare for that future by speaking out for justice and equality, knowing that eventually the causes we advocate will succeed. Why? Because they are rooted in the conviction that all people are entitled by their Creator and by the promise of America to the freedom, rights, responsibilities and opportunities of full citizenship.

This is what I imagine for our future. As we celebrate the millennium, I invite each of you to honor the past and imagine the future with me. Then we, too, can work together for a more perfect union. **WD**

For more information, see Sourceline, page 144.



Mrs. Clinton gives a speech at Seneca Falls last July.

woman's place is truly in the House, the Senate, and one day, even in the White House.

Every time we take another step forward for justice, we honor extraordinary women such as Harriet Tubman, who escaped from slavery, then risked her life time and again to bring other slaves to freedom. Harriet Tubman's rule on the Underground Railroad was "keep going." With those words, she galvanized her followers, no matter how dangerous the course.

Don't Stop Here

We, too, must keep going. We travel the same road that the pioneers of Seneca Falls started down 150 years ago. They knew they probably would not live to see the changes they advocated. In fact, only Charlotte Woodward, the glovemaker, lived long enough to see American women finally win the right to vote. Those who signed that Declaration did so for their daughters and granddaughters—and for us.

I certainly believe that we as

beauty of the American experiment—we are always striving to build a better nation, to keep faith with our founding ideals and translate them into reality.

Imagine the Possibilities

So what kind of future can we imagine? I imagine a future where no American will ever again face discrimination on the basis of gender, race or sexual orientation. Women and children will be protected against domestic abuse and violence. All families will have access to safe, affordable, quality child care. And the education our children receive in America's schools will be the best in the world.

I imagine a future where every woman will receive equal pay for equal work. A full-time wage will lift people out of poverty, and all workers who retire will have financial security in their later years through guaranteed Social Security and pensions.

And I imagine a future where all Americans use the power of the vote to make their voices heard. The vote is

First Lady Speaks on Women's Issues at U.N.

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

On the second day of her visit as a potential candidate for a New York Senate seat, Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke out yesterday at the United Nations against "the egregious and systematic trampling" of women's rights under the Taliban in Afghanistan, and called the trafficking in women and children in Asia an international human rights violation.

Mrs. Clinton, who has made the human rights of women a focus of her work as First Lady, has spoken out repeatedly on both issues, and her remarks were consistent with Clinton Administration policy. But they come as she is under increased scrutiny as a potential Senate candidate, and underscore her strong stand on women's issues.

In a 30-minute speech to 1,000 United Nations staff and delegates on the United Nations Trusteeship Council, Mrs. Clinton said she had spoken with young girls in Thailand whose parents had sold them as prostitutes.

"You could often tell the home of where girls had been sold because they might even have a satellite dish, or an addition built onto the house," Mrs. Clinton said. "But I met the girls who had come home after they had been used up, after they had contracted H.I.V. and AIDS. If you've

ever held the hand of a 13-year-old girl dying of AIDS, you can understand how critical it is that we take every step possible to prevent this happening to any other girl, anywhere, in the world."

Mrs. Clinton also cited the "iron rule" of the Taliban, an armed religious movement in Afghanistan that has kept women from working or going to school. Echoing remarks often made by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Mrs. Clinton said: "It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural. It should be called what it is — criminal."

In the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton spoke about women's sports at the Lab School at the O. Henry Learning Center in Chelsea, where a student basketball player, Sofia Totti, introduced Mrs. Clinton as "hopefully, a runner."

Mrs. Clinton grinned — the only sign she gave yesterday to New York Democrats who are in a frenzy hoping that she will run next year for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. All day, Mrs. Clinton avoided the crowd of reporters trailing her. Three times at the United Nations, Mrs. Clinton walked silently by reporters, who were shouting questions about the Senate race from behind a barricade.

Marsha Berry, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, said the First Lady "doesn't have anything to add right now" to her earlier comments about the race. Last month, Mrs. Clinton said she was giving "careful thought" to a Senate run and that she would make a decision "later this year." Her advisers have not given a more specific timetable, although the view of New York Democrats is that the longer Mrs. Clinton waits to announce a decision — perhaps as late as the fall — the more likely she is to run. Many Democrats want her to make up her mind more quickly so that she does not hamper other candidates from raising money.

Mrs. Clinton appeared at the Lab School to promote an HBO film on women's sports with Billie Jean King, the former tennis champion; Nikki McCray, the women's basketball star, and Dominique Dawes, an Olympic gold-medal winning gymnast. In her remarks to teachers and junior high school students, Mrs. Clinton said she wanted Congress to make lowering classroom size its "top priority." She also recalled playing "half-court" basketball in high school, when girls had to stay on one side of the court. Mrs. Clinton said the girls asked why they could not play like the boys and were told, "We're sorry, but we just don't think



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton at a school in Manhattan yesterday.

girls' hearts can take that much exertion."

Mrs. Clinton seemed to have a lot of support among the students, a number of whom volunteered to reporters that they had seen the "20/20" interview with Monica S. Lewinsky the night before. "Hillary is very strong," said Christopher Williams, 13, an eighth grader. "If she can live through that and get along, she's like Superwoman. That's a lot of stress."

Second Front Page

Women Key in Rights Fight, First Lady Says

■ **Diplomacy:** Hillary Clinton singles out Afghanistan for criticism in address to U.N. conference.

By JOHN J. GOLDMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

UNITED NATIONS—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told a U.N. conference on equality Thursday that women stand on the front lines of the battle for human rights and that their voices must be heard.

The day after former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky painted a highly intimate portrait of her relationship with President Clinton for more than 48 million television viewers, the first lady received a standing ovation when she entered the large conference room at U.N. headquarters.

"It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural," she told more than 1,000 people who packed the room. "It should be called what it is—criminal."

Mrs. Clinton sharply criticized the militant Islamic Taliban rulers of Afghanistan, labeling their regime one of the world's worst abusers of women.

'It is no longer acceptable to say that the abuse and mistreatment of women is cultural.'

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
At U.N. conference

"There probably is no more egregious and systematic trampling of fundamental rights of women today than what is happening in Afghanistan under the iron rule of the Taliban," she said, pointing out that women are barred from careers in medicine and teaching, and that schools for girls have been closed in that country.

"We have heard, all of us, the stories about women being flogged with metal cables because a bit of ankle would be showing," she said. "We have heard of women being taken from hospital to hospital and finally dying . . . because there were no women doctors and no male doctor could be permitted to treat the women."

Mrs. Clinton called for tougher laws against trafficking in women and girls, estimating that as many as 2 million are forced into prostitution, domestic servitude or enforced labor each year throughout the world.

The first lady's New York visit, con-

Please see **RIGHTS, A11**



Hillary Clinton, with U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, greets audience.

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RIGHTS: First Lady Speaks on Equality

Continued from A3

ing as she considered a run for the Senate here and as Lewinsky graphically described her relationship with the president, engendered enormous interest.

She took political soundings and teased during a speech Wednesday about seeking the Senate seat but revealed nothing of her intentions. On the subject of the former intern, she was silent.

Some political consultants took a look at the other side of the coin: her bruited opponent for the Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"It's a real plus for Rudy," said David Garth, who ran Giuliani's first successful campaign for office. "It makes his campaign more important, which should bring a lot more money. Visibility means money. Who you are running against means money."

Running against Hillary, the mayor would be the financial underdog, Garth predicted. "The other part of it is, if she doesn't

run, it appears Rudy has frightened her out of the race—which is another plus for him."

In addition, "by saying she is not going to declare until the summer," Garth said, "she deprives other Democratic candidates of the chance to leave the starting gate."

Mrs. Clinton ended her journey to New York on an inspirational note, appearing at a school in Manhattan with a group of famous female athletes, including Olympic gold medal winners gymnast Dominique Dawes and basketball player Nikki McCray, and Billie Jean King, the celebrated tennis player. "Not everyone will be a star athlete," she told the students. "But everyone, young women and men alike, can benefit from athletics and can be part of the great process of pushing yourself, and learning how much it takes to excel, to stay healthy, to do the best that we can at all points in our lives."

Lisa Meyer in The Times' New York Bureau contributed to this report.



Women listen to speech by Hillary Clinton at the U.N. She also visited a Manhattan school, accompanied by famous female athletes.

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-UN

Hillary Clinton blasts Taleban, trafficking in women

By Anthony Goodman

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton blasted Afghanistan's Taleban rulers Thursday as probably the world's worst oppressors of women.

In a speech at the United Nations marking International Women's Day next Monday, she also called for a worldwide campaign to halt international trafficking in women and children.

"There probably is no more egregious and systematic trampling of fundamental rights of women today than what is happening in Afghanistan under the iron rule of the Taleban," she said, referring to the extremist Islamist movement that controls most of the country.

Clinton said women once comprised almost half of Afghanistan's doctors and teachers but now were barred from both professions while the doors of girls' schools "are slammed shut."

"We have heard all of us the stories of women being flogged with metal cables because a bit of ankle would be showing. We have heard of women being taken to hospital after hospital and finally dying ... because there were no women doctors and no male doctor could be permitted to treat the women," she said.

It was no longer acceptable to claim that abuse and mistreatment of women was cultural. "It should be called what it is, criminal," Clinton said.

Clinton, who arrived more than half an hour behind schedule, was applauded loudly as she entered a large U.N. conference chamber accompanied by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, his wife Nane, and several senior women U.N. officials.

The packed meeting was organized by a group that campaigns for equal rights for women in the United Nations, which Annan conceded was "still short of the goal of full gender balance by the year 2000." But he said considerable progress had been made, citing appointments of women to a number of top posts.

Clinton also gave examples of women in many countries who were "finding their voice in new ways."

The First Lady, who is considering running for a U.S. Senate seat from New York next year, won a round of applause when she spoke of a woman in India who lost everything on the death of her father but regained her house and son after learning about her legal rights.

"And I am told she is even running for elected office in her community," Clinton added. But she made no reference to her own political prospects or to the sex scandal that has rocked the White House for the past year.

Calling for a "much stronger stand against the trafficking in women and girls," Clinton said an estimated one to two million every year were forced into labor, domestic servitude or sexual exploitation.

Referring to young girls in northern Thailand whose parents had sold them into prostitution for large sums, she said the homes of such families could often be identified "because they might even have a satellite dish or an addition built onto the house."

She had met the girls themselves when they returned home, "used up after they had contracted HIV and AIDS."

Clinton said she had also been told of young women in the Ukraine who had disappeared after answering advertisements promising "a much better future in another place. And they were never heard from again."

She urged strong support for an accord to be negotiated in Vienna next week on trafficking in women and children, as part of a convention on organized crime.

She expressed delight at the prospect of visiting Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco in a few weeks time "to see first hand the progress that women are making in that region of the world and to better understand the challenges

they continue to face.''

Citing a Chinese saying, reflected in other cultures, that ''women hold up half the sky,'' she said: ``Women cannot hold up half the sky if they are denied the freedom to plan their own families, if they are denied their basic legal rights.

``Women can only hold up half the sky ... if their feet are planted firmly on the soil of freedom and equal justice.''

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/04/99 at 13:42EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 13:43EST ****

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-TRIP

Hillary Clinton to visit Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced Thursday she would be visiting Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco shortly to speak to women on the progress they had made and the challenges they still faced.

She did not give a date in a speech at the United Nations to observe International Women's Day but Moroccan officials said the trip would be during the last week of March.

"I am delighted that in a few weeks I will be privileged to travel to Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia to see first hand the progress that women are making in that region of the world and to better understand the challenges they continue to face," she said.

"I am very much looking forward to that trip because I know that in those countries as in all others I have visited I will be inspired by and educated by and really transformed by the stories that I hear," she added.

Clinton, who spoke of child prostitution, female circumcision and domestic violence among the experiences of women she met in Asia and Africa, said: "We must continue to speak out on our own and to hear the voices of others."

"I will try as I travel to listen to those voices and amplify them," she said.

Clinton was making her first visit to New York since speculation soared that she may run for the U.S. Senate. Alternatively there has been speculation that she might take up a post at the United Nations when her husband's term ends in two years but she gave no indication of this in her speech.

She last spoke at the United Nations in December 1997 to launch the 50th anniversary year of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 03/04/99 at 13:38EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 03/04/99 at 13:41EST ****



"You can prevent colon cancer, even beat it."

• HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON •

MAKE THE TIME TO GET A TEST THAT COULD SAVE YOUR LIFE.

Colon cancer is the second leading cancer killer and everyone aged 50 and older is at risk. More than 50,000 Americans will die from colon cancer and 131,600 new cases will be diagnosed this year.

Colon cancer is an equal opportunity disease that affects both women and men. This silent killer frequently begins without symptoms and those with a family history are at even greater risk.

Colon cancer is preventable—even curable when detected early. In fact, if cancer is found early enough, the patient has more than a 90 percent chance of survival.

Colon cancer screenings are safe and effective and are now covered by Medicare and an increasing number of other health providers. There's even a test that can be used in the privacy of your own home.

Talk to your doctor about getting tested.



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Hope, Thy Name Is Hillary, in One Hurting N.Y. Mill Town

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

SENECA FALLS, N.Y., March 2—Here in the birthplace of the women's rights movement, in a Republican stronghold that seemed to fall in love with Hillary Rodham Clinton during her visit last July, the first lady's possible run for the Senate is not the big news. No, even in the homespun small town that was supposedly the model for Bedford Falls in the money-isn't-everything fable "It's a Wonderful Life," it's still the economy, stupid.

In fact, throughout upstate New York, it's the horrible economy, and whoever ends up running for Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat will ignore that at their peril. And it is the economy that could create an opportunity for Hillary Clinton, or any Democratic candidate, and turn this traditional bastion of the GOP into a crucial battleground in 2000. Early polls and interviews around Seneca Falls suggest that upstate voters are so desperate to join the nation's economic boom that they would consider anyone who cares about their problems.

Clinton will surely stir up a national media frenzy Wednesday when she visits thriving New York City. But fittingly, 300 miles away in Seneca Falls—where a wry sign in the town supervisor's office reads: "Due to the present economic uncertainties, the light at the end of the tunnel will be turned off indefinitely"—there is a more pressing matter at hand. The owners of the Seneca Knitting Mills, the town's second-largest manufacturer and most visible downtown landmark, have decided to shut down the 155-year-old factory. The workers—about three fourths of them women—have until Friday to rescue the plant.

"I'm just so tired of starting over," said Sandra O'Connor, 52, who has worked at the mill for 13 years. Before that, she had worked 12 years at a local television factory, until it shut down. Before that, she had worked four years for a local auto parts factory, until it moved to Kentucky. "Maybe Hillary can save

our jobs," she sighed.

O'Connor's plea could be applied throughout upstate New York, where the hard times have made George Bailey's cinematic jump off the bridge look like a walk in the park. Its manufacturing base has hemorrhaged well-paying jobs, and few communities have figured out how to replace them. General Motors and Miller Brewing shuttered plants in Syracuse. Republic Steel and Bell Aerospace abandoned Niagara Falls. Rochester absorbed massive layoffs at Kodak, Xerox and Bausch & Lomb. Last year, after the Buffalo News ran a seven-part series titled "Upstate: Downbound," the region added only 14,200 jobs, versus 113,400 downstate.

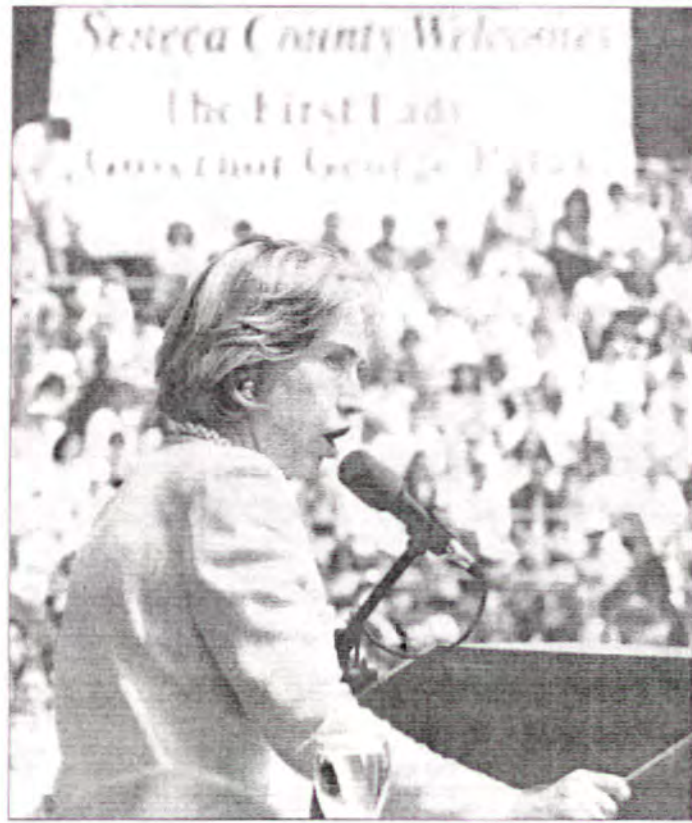
In the past, that might not have affected a Senate race. Traditionally, Democrats have dominated New York City, Republicans have owned the rural communities upstate, and the downstate suburbs have been up for grabs. For example, in 1992 and 1996, President Clinton coasted to comfortable victories statewide simply by running reasonably close to his GOP opponents upstate. In 1994 and 1998, Gov. George E. Pataki (R) won on the strength of huge upstate routs.

But if the race to replace Moynihan becomes a celebrity battle—pitting the first lady, voted the most admired woman in America in some polls, against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), hailed as the tough guy who tamed the Big Apple—the usual geographical calculus may be useless. Giuliani is more popular than most Republicans in the city and its suburbs, but less popular upstate, where a New York City address can be more harmful than Arkansas and Washington ones. Even GOP-dominated towns like Seneca Falls could be in play.

"I didn't like what Hillary did with the health care, but I'd probably vote for her," said Dick Marshall, a Republican who owns a used-car business here. "She's a smart lady. Hey, at least she came to visit. I don't see anyone else paying attention to this place."

After a Quinnipiac College poll taken during last month's run-Hillary-run media blitz, the main storyline was the first lady leading Giuliani 54 to 36 percent. But the breakdown of the numbers showed how unpredictable that dream race could be: Giuliani won narrowly in the suburbs, while Clinton won big on Giuliani's city turf and even came out ahead upstate. Still, potential voters said Giuliani had a much better understanding of New York issues than the first lady, who has never lived in the state.

In interviews with about 30 voters in Seneca Falls, the refrain was almost always the same: They said they don't care about the first lady's role in the Travelgate firings, her Whitewater billing records or her cattle futures bonanza. They don't care about her husband's sex life or his testimony under oath. They said they just want a senator to feel their pain and do something to ease it. And despite her liberal reputation in Wash-



The first lady won many hearts in upstate Seneca Falls, N.Y., when she visited in July.

ington, the first lady seems to represent an almost non-ideological form of hope for many voters around here.

"This is a conservative area, and I think most of us would prefer someone from New York as a senator. But that doesn't mean we won't support her," said Janette Pfeiff, a Republican who is the first female town supervisor of Seneca Falls, where America's first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848. "The economy is the overwhelming issue. That comes first."

In some ways, Seneca Falls still resembles the picturesque mill town captured by "It's a Wonderful Life" in 1946, with its quaint Victorian homes and tidy downtown storefronts. The Women's Rights National Historic Park set an attendance record last year during its 150th anniversary and local wineries are attracting increasing numbers of tourists.

But the hand-hewn limestone knitting mill is not the only local institution unraveling like a ball of yarn. The county's largest manufacturer, Gould Pumps, has laid off 100 workers

since January. In the last year, a cafe, a newsstand, a deli, an art gallery, a furniture shop, an appliance store, a bakery and a historic hotel and restaurant have all gone out of business on Falls Street, the main drag. Unless the mill is saved, its Falls Street socks store will close soon. Meanwhile, the demise of a local Army depot has moved 3,000 military and 800 civilian jobs out of town. One resident recently posted a large sign on her house asking the last person to leave Seneca Falls to please turn out the lights.

There is some economic growth here, but most of it reflects the area's problems more than its promise. A 1,500-bed maximum-security prison is coming to the old Army base, along with a residential school for troubled youths. A new drug treatment center has opened. The county's landfill is about to expand, and its eight hog farms have all opened since 1994.

In this climate, to put it mildly, the 2000 Senate race is not exactly Topic A.

"Everyone just wants to know about the mill. That's people's lives, you know? That's

important," said Sharon Mannix, a manager of the Seneca Knit Mills sock store who was laid off last year from her job as a secretary at the Army depot.

When pressed, though, most Seneca Falls residents concede that politics can affect their lives. It was the federal government, after all, that shut down the depot. And it was Moynihan—after a chat two decades ago with George Souhan, the former owner of the knitting mill—who laid the groundwork for the 1848 convention site to become a national park. Some people here believe the first lady could work similar magic.

"I wish she knew more about our problems, but I'm sure she'd learn," said Republican Mary Lee Miller, a secretary in her husband's law office. "She's a real leader."

Hillary Clinton addressed 18,000 people here during the 150th anniversary celebration last July, and most of them cheered as she called for women to exercise their hard-won right to vote. That day, the women's rights park received more than four times as many visitors as it ever had before, and sold 16 times as much merchandise. But that doesn't necessarily mean the people here would vote for Clinton. Even Souhan, a former Democratic leader in the county, thinks she's wrong for the job. "I don't think she knows a damn thing about upstate New York," said Republican Bill Snyder, a local truck driver. "This place is dying. We need someone who understands that."

The employees of the Seneca Knitting Mills certainly do. There were once 240 of them, earning \$6 to \$15 an hour. It was hard work—winding, twisting, knitting, drying—but union leader Carole Thompson said they were always treated well when Souhan owned the plant.

In 1995, though, Souhan got sick, and had to sell his family's mill to a North Carolina firm. The new owners (who have not hired one female supervisor even though the work force is mostly women) posted cardboard signs with blue lettering on the shop floor: "Production Comes First." Employee grievances shot up to about 10 a week. Finally, after signing a new contract with the Seneca Falls workers, the firm announced it was eliminating their jobs.

"I have no idea what we're going to do," said Phyllis Beatty, a dryer who makes \$8.25 an hour after 37 years. Her husband is a supervisor; her son works on the line. "God knows there aren't any other jobs left in this town, except Burger King."

The workers need to come up with about \$5 million in financing by Friday to buy the mill themselves; federal loans and grants could help save the day. It's a long shot, but they say they know just the person in the White House who could help.

"Right now, Hillary is our best hope," said Thompson, an inspector whose daughter works at the plant as a knitter. "We know she cares about people like us."

Clintons End Ski Weekend A Day Early

PARK CITY, Utah, March 1 (AP) — With Chelsea Clinton returning to college, her parents decided to return home today, a day early, from a long weekend at a ski resort.

"We're going back a couple hours early so we can get a better night's sleep," President Clinton said.

Barry Toiv, a White House spokesman, said Chelsea was leaving today on schedule, to return to Stanford University.

The Clintons arrived on Saturday at the gated estate of the Hollywood executive Jeffrey Katzenberg in the exclusive Deer Valley Resort.

Doug Sosnik, the President's senior adviser, said, "He's just ready to go back, go back to work." The President is scheduled to fly to New Jersey for a fund-raiser in Newark on Wednesday.

In his only public outing here, the President strolled downtown and visited the Main Street Deli for coffee and peach yogurt.

His visit caused a commotion, stopping cars and causing crowds to gather on the street.

"Say hello to Hillary; we love her," a well-wisher shouted to Mr. Clinton.

"Thank you; we had a wonderful day," the President said.

He stopped at Dolly's, a book and record store, where he tried to pay for three books, including John



Reuters

Chelsea Clinton took a chairlift yesterday with two Secret Service agents in Park City, Utah. She later returned as scheduled to Stanford University, and her parents also left, a day earlier than they had planned.

Grisham's "The Testament," with his American Express card — only to learn it had expired the day before.

"He was happy to pay cash," said Courtney Gannon, who waited on the President.

Mr. Clinton, who does not ski, had

spent Sunday reading by the fire while his wife, Hillary, and Chelsea were out on the slopes.

Saturday was Chelsea's 19th birthday, and she and her parents celebrated at home with a private dinner and cake.

With the unexpected decision to

leave Park City, there was a scramble to notify members of the President's entourage, who were spread out in dozens of condominiums and houses throughout the region. White House aides hurriedly tried to bring in a plane for the traveling press corps.

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

Who Says You Gotta Give Him Credit?

Rank doesn't always have its privileges.

Just ask **President Clinton**, who whipped out his American Express card at Dolly's Books in Park City, Utah, yesterday. But since the plastic in question had expired Sunday, the card was rejected and he had to pony up \$62.66 in cash to cover the four books he'd chosen.

Two were thrillers—**John Grisham's** "The Testament" and **Raymond Chandler's** "Playback"—**Courtney Gannon**, a Dolly's sales-clerk, told The Source. The other two were about the subcontinent—"India" by scholar **Stanley Wolpert** and "In Light of India" by **Octavio Paz**, the poet, author and former Mexican envoy to New Delhi.

Clinton was set to visit the world's largest democracy last year but canceled after India and Pakistan—longtime enemies—both detonated nuclear devices. The

White House has not yet

rescheduled the trip.

The president got a fifth book as a gift from Dolly's: "Park City Witness," an essay collection by local authors advocating the preservation of open spaces, reports The Post's Chuck Babington.

Consider it all airplane reading, since the president and **Hillary Rodham Clinton** left yesterday for Washington, while daughter **Chelsea** returned to Stanford

University.

As Clinton, sporting a leather jacket and jeans, worked the Main Street crowd before leaving, a reporter asked why they were leaving a day ahead of schedule. "I'm not," he replied. "We're going back a couple of hours early just so we can get a better night's sleep."

Perhaps the beds are lumpy at movie mogul **Jeffrey Katzenberg's** posh mountain getaway.



Work work work: Secret Service agents tough it out on the slopes with Chelsea Clinton.

First family cuts short vacation with Chelsea

President Clinton had to pay \$62.66 in cash at a bookstore in Park City, Utah, on Monday after his American Express card was rejected because it had expired Sunday. He reportedly borrowed the cash from an aide to buy four works at Dolly's bookstore: *The Testament* by John Grisham, *In Light of India* by Octavio Paz, *India* by Stanley Wolpert and *Playback* by Raymond Chandler. Earlier, Main Street Deli owner Mike Lindbloom rejected Clinton's offer to pay for a decaf coffee and peach yogurt. "I'll buy," Lindbloom said he told the president. "The economy's done great for me." The president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton cut short their three-day ski trip with daughter Chelsea and returned to Washington. The president said he wanted to go home early "so we can get a better night's sleep." The family was together for Chelsea's 19th birthday Saturday. She returned Monday to Stanford University.

— Mimi Hall

THE FIRST LADY

Hillary's Encounter with a Runaway Snow Bunny

AMID SPECULATION THAT THE REAL REASON **HILLARY CLINTON** canceled her trip with Bill to Central America was that she is furious with him, sources in Washington say Secret Service agents are vouching for the account that she aggravated an old back injury while skiing in Utah. According to officials, Mrs. Clinton was sideswiped by another skier, which led to a review by Secret Service headquarters to make sure her security detail had been in place to deal with any sudden, threatening movement toward the First Lady. Mrs. Clinton, who wore a hat and dark glasses, apparently went unrecognized by the crowd at Deer Valley. She was standing at the bottom of a slope filled with inexperienced skiers when one of them lost control and ran over the back of her skis. Hillary

RICK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE/SPSMA



Hillary at Deer Valley

fell, injuring her back in the process; she complained later of being in pain. (The Secret Service found nothing suspect about the collision.) **MARSHA BERRY**, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, has insisted all along that Hillary stayed home to recover for her forthcoming trip with Chelsea to Africa. And no, they won't be joined by Bill. —By Jay Branegan and Elaine Shannon/Washington

POLITICS

A Senate Candidate Waiting in the Wings?

NEW YORK DEMOCRATS ARE WORRIED THAT they may be left in the lurch if **HILLARY CLINTON** ends up deciding not to seek the Senate seat from their state next year. One possible contender had been **ANDREW CUOMO**, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who thought about running but then announced he wouldn't in order to spend time helping **AL GORE** get elected Presi-

dent. Now there are hopes that he may reconsider and get in the race if Hillary decides not to. His father **MARIO CUOMO** was disappointed by his initial decision, and has let his feelings be known. "I certainly hope that he would reconsider if it turns out that Hillary doesn't get in the race,"



DENNIS COOPER—AP

Cuomo

the former New York Governor told *TIME* last week. But his son says that he has not had any second thoughts and is still feeling good about his decision to stay out of the Senate race.

THE ACADEMY AWARDS

A Life Sentence And an Oscar Nod

IT DOESN'T FAZE CONVICT-JOURNALIST **WILBERT RIDEAU** that he won't be able to attend this year's Oscars, even though his searing look at the hopelessness of prison life, *The Farm: Angola, USA*, is up for an Academy Award as best documentary film and will be encored on the Arts & Entertainment Network on March 15 and March 20. "One thing about prison is it keeps things in perspective," says co-director Rideau, who is 57 and has served 38 years in Louisiana prisons on a life sentence for murder. "The award would be nice, but it won't change my life one iota. I will still walk down to the chow hall afterwards for my beans and rice." *The*

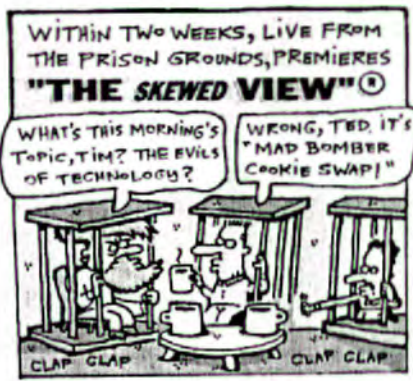


Rideau

Farm examines the bleak struggle of six convicts lost in a living graveyard where few ever get out. Rideau, who taught himself to read and write while on death row for 11 years, kept his story

out of the film because, he explains, "it's the only way to get credibility—people listen to you better." He has no illusions that his own long legal struggle for freedom will succeed. "If the courts go by the law, I'll win. If not, I'll lose. It is that simple." As for the Oscars, Rideau says, "it would be nice to be there. But if I don't go this time, there will be another time. I still have a lot of creative juices left in me." —By Richard Woodbury/Denver

THE DRAWING BOARD



The Shirt List

■ The relentless *will she? won't she?* buzz over **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and the New York Senate race has clearly gotten to Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

So he brought a little sartorial prop to the "Fox News Sunday" set yesterday with which to gig Sen. **Bob Torricelli** (D-N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and father of the first-lady-for-Senate boomlet.

"I've come up with a T-shirt for Bob that I think says it well," declared McConnell, holding up the "I ♥ NY" model. "Of course, the first lady doesn't live in New York. And if she chooses not to run in New York, she could run in New Jersey [deft use of flash-card produces Exhibit B, a T-shirt with the slogan "I ♥ NJ"]. And the Democrats, of course, have an open seat in Nevada [morph to Exhibit C, "I ♥ NV"]. She's sort of the Senate candidate for all states this year."



BY CHRIS KLEPONIS—FOX MORNING NEWS VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS
McConnell, making a case for Clinton?

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

In Utah, a Little Downhill Time

■ The weather was splendid—sunny and near 60—yesterday in Park City, Utah.

But that didn't tempt **President Clinton** into schussing down the slopes. Instead, he remained inside and read books at the lavish mountain retreat of movie producer **Jeffrey Katzenberg**. But **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and daughter **Chelsea** did the whole snow bunny number in the resort that is readying for the 2002 Winter Olympics.

The two women caused a brief stir among photographers, who were thrilled to capture them strapping on skis and getting on a lift near Bald Eagle Mountain, reports The Post's Chuck Babington.

White House spokesman **Barry Toiv** said he did not know what Clinton was reading, but allowed as how "work was low on the totem pole to him as far as his priorities." Clinton has stayed away from the sport since injuring his left knee in a 1984 skiing mishap in Idaho.

This is the second year Katzenberg has turned over to the Clintons his home 25 miles east of Salt Lake City. He was not there.

On Saturday night, the family celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday with a cake and dinner. No word on gifts.



BY RICK EGAN—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE VIA ASSOCIATE PRESS

First daughter **Chelsea Clinton** carves up the slopes yesterday near Park City, Utah, where she and her family gathered to celebrate her 19th birthday on Saturday.

[The Washington Post]

Style

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1999



President Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana and his wife, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, flank their hosts at last night's state dinner.

BY GREG GIBSON—ASSOCIATED PRESS

At the White House, Time to Relax

Ghana's President Warms Up a Chilly Night

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and LAURA SESSIONS STEPP
Washington Post Staff Writers

Maybe it was the regal guest of honor. Maybe it was the star-studded guest list. Or maybe it was that the impeachment was finally, blessedly, over. But the atmosphere at last night's state dinner honoring the president of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings, was warm, ebullient and so celebratory that the receiving line took more than an hour due to all the hugs and kisses.

"Darling, I would have walked from North Carolina to be here

tonight," enthused poet Maya Angelou.

Angelou usually dominates any room she walks into, but last night she had plenty of competition: baseball legend Hank Aaron, actresses Angela Bassett and Cicely Tyson, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, Mayor Anthony Williams, Clinton confidants Betty Currie and Jesse Jackson, Olympic gold medalist Carl Lewis, singers Denyce Graves, Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds and BeBe Winans, and Minnesota Vikings Coach Dennis Green.

See DINNER, C9, Col. 1

White House Dinner

DINNER, From C1

But perhaps the most imposing figure was the guest of honor. Wearing a brilliant green satin shirt draped with yards of kente cloth, President Rawlings stood regally next to a visibly relaxed President Clinton. This state dinner was the first for a leader of an African nation since South Africa's Nelson Mandela was honored in 1994.

Ghana is a favorite destination for African Americans exploring history, genealogy and investments. Rawlings wants to further the ties between the two countries by extending dual citizenship to American descendants of African slaves, a proposal that was met with mixed interest among last night's guests.

"It's a great idea for people to connect to Africa, to maintain their African ties," said Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.). Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) was equally enthusiastic: "It's a marvelous idea. There's a growing interest in Africa."

But Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) wasn't so sure. "We have many more problems to focus on" here in the United States, he said.

The 52-year-old Rawlings was an impressive representative for his country. He was labeled a Marxist when he first seized control of the government in 1981, but his attempts at a state-managed economy failed. He then adopted free-market measures, rejuvenating the Ghanaian economy and creating one of the highest growth rates in Africa. Rawlings allowed popular elections in 1992 and has been returned to office twice. His move to a democratic republic has earned him plenty of fans—including Clinton, who made Ghana the first stop on his six-nation tour of sub-Saharan Africa a year ago.

In his toast before dinner, the president praised Ghana's progress in the past decade and called it "a proud, strong country." He then pledged his "commitment to making the bonds of our two nations stronger than ever."

Rawlings responded by saying that "Ghana can be secure and prosperous only when all of Africa is secure and prosperous," and he challenged developed nations to help leaders like him to get rid of the

"scavengers of diamonds and mercenaries of war."

There was much mutual affection in their remarks, and the Ghanaian leader continued his loyal support of his "brother and friend." When he came to the United States last fall, Rawlings dismissed the sex scandal rocking the White House: "You are oversaturating our ears with morality," the former fighter pilot told American executives at New York's River Club. "When it comes to national interest, morality does not count." He called the Lewinsky affair "the so-called sin of one individual. Who of us has not sinned? This should not distract you from doing the right thing."

The right thing, according to Rawlings, is to focus on global issues instead of sex scandals.

"He's done good things with his country," said Thomas Livingston, who went to Ghana in September 1961 to teach English as the very first Peace Corps volunteer. "He's the darling of the IMF and the World Bank because he pays his loans."

"I'm a big fan of his and what he's trying to do with his country," said Mayor Williams.

And Angelou had praise for both presidents and the women beside them. "They are two young men who have great hope for their countries—and great wives to help them," she said.

Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings wore a traditional dress to match her husband's attire. Mrs. Clinton wore a floor-length beaded black gown.

Despite the freezing temperatures outside, the decor and menu were designed to reflect the tropical climate of Ghana. Flowering quince and "Pink Ice" protea buds graced 21 tables in the East Room. Rawlings had requested food on the light side, and the White House kitchen complied with roast duck and papaya, followed by grilled yellowtail snapper. "When I was in Florida, the appearance of the yellowtail snapper signaled the arrival of warm weather," executive chef Walter Scheib explained.

The evening's entertainment was provided by jazz saxophonist Najee, a last-minute replacement for singer Patti LaBelle, who canceled on Tuesday. The White House had to scramble to find a suitable performer who



PHOTOS BY LOS ANGELES—THE WASHINGTON POST

The first lady greets presidential secretary Betty Currie at the state dinner last night.

wasn't attending last night's Grammy Awards ceremony in Los Angeles.

Aides from the first lady's office called a friend of Mrs. Clinton's for help. Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds was asked if he could perform instead; he declined, but recommended Najee. After a mad dash to a nearby Tower Records for a Najee compact disc, the first lady's staff played it for Mrs. Clinton, who gave the nod.

"It would take me a year to prepare for the White House," the singer said. "Najee was ready."

The guest list for last night's dinner:

Vice President Gore and Tipper Gore
Jerry John Rawlings, president of the Republic of Ghana
Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, first lady of the Republic of Ghana
Fati Habi Jaisa, Council of State
James Victor Gbewe, minister of foreign affairs
John Frank Abu, minister of trade and industry
Kofi Bentsu Quansah, national security coordinator
Cecilia Johnson, deputy minister of local government and rural development
Muhammad Idris Chumbe, deputy minister of education
Kibwe Koomson, ambassador to the United States, and Sertha Koomson
Victor Selormey, deputy minister of finance
Kofi Annan, member of parliament and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs
Koo Annan, member of parliament and member of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs
Kibwe Wudu, director of state protocol

Henry Aaron, senior vice president, Atlanta Braves
Maya Angelou, writer and professor, Wake Forest University, and Delroy Glenn
Vincent Anko, director, Cleveland Cancer Institute, and Cynthia Ferguson, National Summit on Africa
Kofi Annan, secretary general of the United Nations, and Nana Annan
Gerson W. Archer, mayor of Detroit, and Judge Trudy DonCombe Archer
David L. Armstrong, mayor of Louisville, and Carol Armstrong
J. Brian Atwood, administrator, Agency for International Development, and Susan Atwood
Clarence Avant, chairman, Motown Records, and Jacqueline Avant
Thurston Baker, attorney general, state of Georgia

Dwight Buck, principal, Stuart Mill Capital Partners, and Katherine Cook Bush, partner, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Fom
Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary, National Council of Churches, and Albert M. Pennibacker, association general secretary, National Council of Churches
Myron M. Cherry, partner, Cherry & Flynn, Chicago, and Patricia Cherry
Rep. E. M. Clayton (D-N.C.) and Theodosius Clayton, attorney
Rep. John J. Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)
Rep. Elijah E. Cummings (D-Md.) and Linda Thompson, Maryland Governor's Office for Children, Youth and Families
Betty Currie, personal secretary to the president, and Robert Currie, environmental consultant
William M. Daley, secretary of commerce
Glyn T. Davies, executive secretary, National Security Council, and Jacqueline Davies, attorney, Williams & Connolly
Kenneth T. Deer, chairman and CEO, Chemros Corp.
Benjamin D. Doolos, chairman of the board of directors, National Council of Ghanaian Associations, and Jane Doolos

Markus Wright Edelman, president, Children's Defense Fund, and Peter B. Edelman, professor, Georgetown University School of Law
Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds, LaFace Records, and Tracey Edmonds, CEO, Edmonds Entertainment/Tab Yum Records
Alphonse Michael Enry, former secretary of agriculture, and Patricia Ballard, senior human resources analyst, Shell Chemicals, America
Rep. Harold E. Ford Jr. (D-Tenn.)
Mary Nell French, chief of protocol
Mark D. Gorman, director, Peace Corps, and Mary Herlihy-Gorman
Danyce Groves, opera singer, and David Perry, musician
Lari Grimes Jr., president, Black Enterprise Magazine, and Roberta Grimes
Dennis Green, head coach, Minnesota Vikings, and Marie Green
Ernest G. Green, managing director of public finance, Lotman Brothers, and Phyllis Green
C. Thomas Henderson, chairman, Triangle Environment Inc., and Jill D. Henderson, manager, Capital Club Properties
Klaus M. Harnas, secretary of labor, and Charles Fravallo
Rep. Amory Houghton (R-N.Y.) and Priscilla Dewey Houghton
John W. H. World Bank, and Sabine Dohm
Joan L. Jackson, president and CEO, Rainbow-PUSH Coalition, and Jonathan Jackson, Rainbow-PUSH Coalition
Rep. Shelia Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) and Howard Pyle Jr., director of legislative operations, Robert Energy
Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.) and Andrea G. Jefferson, vice chancellor, Southern University at New Orleans
Robert Benjamin Johnson, assistant to the president and director, White House Office on the President's Initiative for One America, and Jacqueline Johnson
Sheila Johnson, executive vice president, Black Entertainment Television, and Shannon McCormick Davis, Davis
Star Jones, co-host, "The View," and Gary R. Lewis, director of business development, Vibe magazine
Jackie Joyner-Kersey, Olympic gold medalist, and Robert D.

president, Lucant Technologies, and Penny Lawrence
Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.) and Carolea Scott, chief of staff for Rep. Barbara Lee
Carl Lewis, Olympic gold medalist, and Carol Lewis
Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) and Lillian Lewis
David Levering Lewis, history professor, Rutgers University, and Ruth Ann Stewart, public affairs professor, Rutgers University
Thomas Livingston and Georganna McGuire, Peace Corps, Ghana, 1961-1963
C. Payne Lucas, president, Alcor, and Freddie H. Lucas, president, Understar
Levi Lynch, international vice president, United Steelworkers of America, and Doris Todd Lynch, manager of employee relations, Group Health Inc.
George Madlry and Henrietta Madlry, Ghana Houston Association
Richard L. Mays and Jennifer Mays
Rep. James McDermott (D-Wash.) and Wida E. Choulin
Cheryl Mills, deputy assistant and deputy counsel to the president
Mynon Moore, assistant to the president, and William Preston Nelson
Nasei Rashed, musician, and Fawad Hussay, president, Fan Records
Rep. J. Noth, assistant to the president, and James Kearney, special assistant to the president
Dean Omesh, president, Preventive Medicine Research, and Molly Blackwell
Rep. Donald M. Payne (D-N.J.) and DeWanda A. Banks, deputy director for civil rights, Department of Agriculture
Thomas R. Pickens, undersecretary of state for African affairs
Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.)
Susan E. Rice, assistant secretary of state for African affairs
Linda Johnson Rice, president, Johnson Publishing, and Eugene A. Dobbie Jr., senior vice president, Carlebas Fernandez & Associates
John L. Richardson, partner, Singer Porter Richardson, and Margaret M. Richardson, partner, Ernst & Young
Kathryn D. Robinson, ambassador to Ghana, and Frank Young, U.S. Agency for International Development
Sonya Ross, Associated Press, and Tavis Smiley, host, "GET Tavis"

Rep. Edward Royce (R-Calif.) and Marie Porter
Erica Banks Ruggles, director of African affairs, National Security Council, and Taylor Ruggles, Turkish affairs, Department of State
Rep. Robert C. Scott (D-Va.) and DeWanda Hawkins
Luttre Shuckford, Overseas Private Investment Corp., and



Baseball legend Hank Aaron and his wife, Billye, above; and singer Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds and his wife, Tracey Edmonds, arrive at the White House.



representative for Africa
Lara E. Smith, president, National Council of Negro Women, and Abdul M. Byrd, vice president, Force of Greater Washington
Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R-Maine) and John McCarroll Jr., former governor of Maine
Woodrow Stanley, mayor of Flint, Mich., and Rita Stanley
Robert Stanton, director, National Park Service, and Janet Stanton
John Stroger, president, Cook County (Ill.) Board of Commissioners, and Thomas Stroger
John Swanney, President, AG, CEO, and Maureen Swanney
Susan L. Taylor, editor in chief, Essence magazine, and Khayra Burns, writer and editor
Troy Thompson, deputy assistant to the president for legislative affairs, and Peter McNulty, Texas Instruments
Michael Thumant, labor commissioner, state of Georgia
Cathy Tyson, actress, and Walter L. Leonard, Oxford University
Carl Wake, president, Africa Group, and vice president, Coca-Cola Co., and Mary Wake
Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) and Sidney Williams, former ambassador to the Bahamas
Wellington Webb, mayor of Denver
Togo West, secretary of veterans affairs, and Gail Berry
Alan Whet, president, Whet & Associates, and Yvonne Townsend Wheat, National Credit Union Administration
Jesse L. White Jr., federal co-chairman, Appalachian Regional Commission, and Timothy Scott Davis, coauthor for the North Carolina General Assembly
Anthony A. Williams, mayor, District of Columbia, and Sherry Simmons Williams
Carol Willis Jr., director of community services, Democratic National Committee, and Joyce Willis
Joseph C. Wilson IV, CEO, J.C. Wilson International Ventures Corp., and Valerie Wilson



[allpolitics.com > storypage](#)

TIME CQ

Clinton's returning to Park City for family time on the slopes

February 23, 1999

Web posted at: 10:13 a.m. EST (1513 GMT)

WASHINGTON (AP) -- The first family is heading back to the ski slopes for daughter Chelsea's 19th birthday.

The White House announced Monday that after two days in Arizona and California pushing his fix for Social Security and raising money for Democrats, President Clinton will have three days of family time in Park City, Utah.

It is the second year in a row that the first family has chosen Park City for family time. Last year the president, who has skied only once in his life, was just getting over a knee injury and opted to read by the fire while Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea took to the slopes.

Clinton leaves Washington on Thursday for Tucson, Ariz., where he plans an address on his budget proposals for Social Security and education.

Later that night, he heads to San Francisco for a fund-raiser on behalf of House and Senate Democrats. Another fund-raiser is slated for Friday night in Los Angeles.

On Saturday, Chelsea's birthday, he heads to Park City, where he will remain until Tuesday, March 2.

For continuous breaking news, see [AP Newstream](#)

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Tuesday, February 23, 1999

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- [Chicago Mayor Daley poised to Rush back into office](#)
- [How to pass legislation: Give it a catchy name](#)
- [Clinton's returning to Park City for family time on the slopes](#)
- [Administration, in policy reversal, rejects Hughes satellite export](#)
- [ABC set to air Lewinsky interview](#)

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DISCUSSION:

Pooh Bear, who came with me from Cornwall, England, and is now enjoying his sunset years in Massachusetts. Both Pooh and I take great issue with Mr. Blackwell's quote, "[Linda Tripp] looks like a sheep dog in drag." We think this is an insult to sheep dogs.

MARIA HOLT
SHEFFIELD, MASS.

An Olympic-Size Problem

I AM SURE YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT THE Olympics scandal ("Go for the Greed," NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Jan. 25) will prompt responses from other citizens of Salt Lake City, too. We are the ones who polish the storefronts, clean the sidewalks and have created a place we are proud to call home. Maybe a small group of individuals sought to bend the rules and push the envelope to obtain the 2002 Winter Games. You need look no further than their personal greed to find the motivation. The Olympics are merely a potentially profitable business venture for them. In reality, that has little to do with the nearly 840,000 people who call this valley home. Salt Lake City and its residents are embarrassed by the acts of these individuals; however, I for one will not participate in their shame. NEWSWEEK's statement on Salt Lake City's need "to be a player on the world stage" doesn't

reflect our lives. We are too preoccupied with raising our families, earning a living and hoping the Jazz win the NBA title to worry about that. Frankly, we do not need the Olympics to tell us that we have it good here.

DAVID MARSHALL
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

IT DOESN'T SURPRISE ME THAT SCANDAL surrounds the Olympics as it does now. I am just surprised it is surfacing now, and not much sooner. The image of the Olympics has been tarnished since 1928—the year it elected to accept corporate sponsorship. The integrity was blemished further when officials decided to allow professional athletes to participate in the Games. As we've seen, these events are mere moneymaking schemes for a few select people. Any self-respecting amateur athlete should boycott the Games on principle.

ANTHONY MELITA
NEWTOWN, CONN.

More Cometh Soon ...

SOMETHING IS ROTTEN IN THE STATE OF NEWSWEEK ("Shakespeare in the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion," PERISCOPE, Feb. 8). Contrary to your "Buzz-O-Meter" report, "Shakespeare in Love" (still in limited release) is already quite successful. It had

a gross of \$31.5 million as of Feb. 1. Like its predecessor "The English Patient," it will receive a tremendous box-office boost from Oscar nominations and by doubling the number of theaters in which it's playing—all of which has it on track to be a hit. With results like these, all the buzz about "Shakespeare in Love" is hardly much ado about nothing.

MARK GILL, President
MARCY GRANATA, Executive VP, Marketing
and Publicity
Miramax Films
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Corrections

IN OUR JAN. 25 NEWSMAKERS ITEM ON Mark McGwire's 70th-home-run ball's fetching \$3 million at auction ("Horsehide Hysteria"), we reported that the highest price ever paid previously for a baseball was \$126,500. In fact, the most paid had been \$500,000.

OUR TIMELINE ON MICHAEL JORDAN'S life ("The Best Ever. Period," SOCIETY, Jan. 25) stated that Jordan's father, James, was murdered in South Carolina. While his body was found in South Carolina, the murder took place in North Carolina.

NEWSWEEK regrets the errors.

BY LINES

How to Help: A Guide to Mentoring

COMMITMENT MEANS STAYING WITH SOMETHING for the long haul. Last week Hillary Clinton brandished a copy of our special issue, "How to Be a Great Mentor," at a White House event promoting mentoring. The issue, produced by NEWSWEEK, Kaplan Educational Centers and the National Mentoring Partnership, represents nearly two years of planning. All three organizations donated their resources to put the issue together—and continue, through volunteer programs in the workplace, to support young people through mentoring.

"How to Be a Great Mentor" was conceived following the 1997 Presidents' Summit for America's Future chaired by Gen. Colin Powell. In the run-up to the summit, corporations were invited to pledge their help. NEWSWEEK chronicled those pledges in a recurring feature in our PERISCOPE section, and spotlighted the summit on our cover (April 28, 1997). But we weren't content to observe from the sidelines: Editor-in-Chief Richard M. Smith and Kaplan president Jonathan Grayer saw a chance to combine the magazine's and Kaplan's areas of expertise to show others how to get involved. The result is a practical guide

to making mentoring work, with stories about successful mentoring relationships, inspiration from concerned celebrities like basketball player Grant Hill and writer John Updike, and specific tips on the how, where and why of getting started.

The last—why mentor?—is the simplest to answer. There are an estimated 13.6 million young Americans (under 18) who seem headed for trouble, roughly half of whom are termed "very high risk" for delinquency, substance abuse and underachievement at school. One recent study showed that kids with mentors were nearly half as likely to use drugs and twice as likely to attend class than those without. As NEWSWEEK columnist Jonathan Alter writes in the issue's introduction, "Mentors not only touch someone's life, they have the potential to touch and change the life of the nation." Many NEWSWEEK and Kaplan employees have discovered the power of mentoring firsthand. We hope "How to Be a Great Mentor" reflects the satisfactions that helping these young people can bring.

The issue can be ordered by calling 1-800-272-8306 or 703-803-8171. You can also find information at the National Mentoring Partnership's Web site at www.mentoring.org.



Hillary Clinton showcases the issue at the White House last week





Photo: Amarjit Sidhu

Nations Can't Tell Women to Give Birth

By Daniel J. Shepard

Hillary Rodham Clinton returned to The Hague Forum yesterday to reaffirm the United States' commitment to implement the Cairo Program of Action and to the promotion of women's human rights.

Clinton, who left The Hague on Sunday after addressing NGOs and youth representatives to attend the funeral of King Hussein of Jordan, told delegates from 180 countries that her husband's administration is determined to work with other countries and NGOs toward the full implementation of the Cairo agenda.

At a time when declining resources from the United States have increasingly been viewed as a sign that American interest in population strategies have waned, Clinton's address left little doubt that she, and her country, are still resolved to support the post-Cairo process. Taking heed of Cairo's critics, she made a point of denouncing the use of coercion in population programs, such as in China and Romania under the old regimes.

And through examples, she sought to convey the idea that

she is intimately concerned about the status and conditions of women in developing countries.

Addressing the issue of assistance, Clinton maintained that the US had spent \$13 billion so far in population assistance and said that an additional \$2.5 billion was allotted for economic and social development in the year 2000 budget. The President had also requested US\$25 million to restore funding to UNFPA, and said, "I hope our Congress will support that request." She added, "The restoration of funding to UNFPA would send a strong signal that the US supports population programs."

"I realized that there will never be full agreement on some issues," she said, noting that there are people of good faith on both sides of the issues. "But I am sure of one thing," she continued, "government has no place in the personal decision of a woman to bring a child into the world."

Government does have a critical role, she said, in helping women lead full and meaningful lives. She emphasized that government especially has a duty to

Continued on page 6

Clinton

Continued from page 1

provide the poor with access to family planning services. "Wealthy and well connected women always have access to the services we need. What we need is access for all women." She also said, "We must create an environment in which all children are wanted and all pregnancies are planned."

In attacking coercive measures that have been associated with population programs in the past, Clinton recalled how under the former dictatorship in Romania, at a time when the government wanted to increase the population, women were subjected to intrusive medical checkups to determine whether they were pregnant.

But she then applauded the new program UNFPA has developed for China since it would bring China's population policies

into conformity with the Cairo agenda.

On a tour of the developing world, Clinton reported on a number of successes, from Indonesia where thousands of trained midwives have helped women make informed decisions on reproductive matters, to Nepal, where a 13-cent kit has helped make the delivery of babies safer. The project shows, she said, "that women do not have to die in childbirth."

And in Kazakhstan, the establishment of clinics, she said, has contributed to between a one-third to one-half increase in the use of contraceptives, while at the same time, abortion rates have declined dramatically.

Clinton repeated her husband's often repeated position on abortion in the US, which is to make abortion safe, legal, and rare.

She said the abortion rate in the US had fallen by 12 percent under the Clinton administra-

tion, and that levels of teen-age sexual activity had also declined.

"We have made progress," she said, but added that there were areas, such as education, where there is still work ahead. "This is no time to question our investment in education. No nation can hope to succeed if its people are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty."

Reaction to the Clinton's speech was favorable, and several NGOs said the first lady stressed some themes forcefully for the first time.

Amy Coen of Population Action International said, "the US Congress should heed the first lady's call for refunding UNFPA in the year 2000. It is unconscionable that, less than a year away from the start of a new millennium, the US is not supporting an agency that is in the forefront of efforts to make quality reproductive health care accessible and available to all who need them."

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 Ardayio 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 Ardayio. "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 Ardayio 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 Ardayio. 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 Ardayio.

"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

Any 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 mortality, cervical cancer and childhood immunization will be priorities for future funding."

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, and says she was working for USAID before she knew what hit her. She subsequently moved to PATH, where she was vice president of administration, before moving to the Gates Foundation.



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

"And now I will give the floor to Namibia, Ecuador and the United States, in that order."



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, but at a reduced rate. "If you provide people with choices—which is what this conference is all about—that is beneficial," she said. Clark said she finds The Hague Forum heartening. Her foundation's program, she explained, "is grounded in the Cairo program of action. I'm reassured that we can continue as we've been going. We should all," she added, "be working hard at pushing the agenda forward."

—JACK FREEMAN

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. But, he added, this week's meeting is a technical review of programs undertaken to implement Cairo—not, as several government officials have said, a place to announce increased aid commitments.

Krumbein said Germany made a "very certain



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 DM 489.3 million—or the equivalent of about \$310 million—an almost one-third increase since 1994.

Germany currently holds the

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 Leiras, 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 Rehana Prakash

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,



HILARY BURKE / THE EARTH TIMES

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 microbiocides 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.

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

February 10, 1999, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; CULTURE, ET CETERA; Pg. A2

LENGTH: 895 words

HEADLINE: Population found dropping in U.S. and other nations;
Depopulation issue for 21st century, some experts say

BYLINE: Cheryl Wetzstein; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

While a stellar lineup of delegates including first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke in the Netherlands this week on ways to reduce world population, American social policy experts point out fertility rates are already falling here and in dozens of other modern nations.

"The population issue of the 21st century is not going to be overpopulation, but depopulation," says Allan Carlson, president of the Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society in Rockford, Ill.

Mr. Carlson and others who worry about shrinking populations think modern prosperity helps stifle fertility in a country where only 11 states, led by Utah, had fertility rates of more than 2.1 children per woman. They say couples who have disposable incomes, higher education, access to contraception and a wife in the work force have interests that compete with raising children.

And, demographically speaking, "pregnancies delayed - to some extent - are pregnancies denied," American Enterprise Institute scholar Ben Wattenberg wrote in his book on depopulation, "The Birth Dearth."

In the United States, where 28 years of subpar fertility rates have been offset by an influx of young immigrants, social policy experts worry about the long-term consequences of anti-family and anti-marriage policies.

They say family growth - especially among married couples - could be stimulated with tax policies that favor families who are raising children.

The country could also use a new national attitude that says children are valuable to society and large families should be celebrated, Mr. Carlson says. Workplace changes are also key, says Danielle Crittenden, author of "What Our Mothers Didn't Tell Us: Why Happiness Eludes the Modern Woman."

A lot of American women who got jobs, married late and had children in their 30s now say, "They're getting the worst of both worlds," she says. "They're trapped in their jobs, and then they go home and they're exhausted by the demands of motherhood."

Mrs. Crittenden's advice? Follow Grandma's example and marry younger, have babies sooner, and pursue a job after the children are in school. She

suggests that corporations encourage this cultural shift by welcoming back these educated, skilled mothers and allowing more flexible work schedules for parents.

Getting momentum for cultural reforms to increase fertility won't be easy, however, while people are still arguing over whether overpopulation or depopulation is the main problem.

The world's population is expected to reach 6 billion this year and 8.9 billion by 2050.

In The Hague this week, hundreds of delegates at The Hague forum on population and development are discussing how far the world has come since the 1994 population conference in Cairo, where many reproductive goals were set. A second major meeting on the issue is set for next month in New York.

Fertility rates, which track women's childbearing over their lifetimes, are key indicators of population.

To replace itself, a population needs each woman to have an average of 2.1 children over her lifetime to replace herself and her mate, excluding immigration.

Those who worry about overpopulation note that two-thirds of the world's nations have "replacement-level" or higher fertility rates.

Yemen, for example, leads the world with a fertility rate of 7.6 children per woman, the United Nation's Population Division estimates. Several other countries have similarly high rates.

But those who worry about depopulation note that 58 of the world's countries have less-than-replacement fertility rates. Five of these countries - Bulgaria, Italy, the Czech Republic, Romania and Spain - have a rate of 1.2 children per woman, and other countries, such as Japan, are only slightly higher.

In the United States, only 11 states have replacement-level populations, according to the National Center on Health Statistics. The rest have below-replacement fertility rates, including rates of 1.9 in the District, 1.8 in Maryland and 1.7 in Virginia.

****BOX

A BIRTH DEARTH

Twelve years ago, author Ben Wattenberg laid out the probable causes for the ongoing decline in populations. He says fertility tends to drop when:

- * Families move to urban settings, away from rural settings.
- * Young women in college prepare for careers, not marriage and family.
- * Personal wealth increases.
- * Women of childbearing age enter the labor force.

- * Women have easy access to abortion and contraception.
- * Homosexuality is present.
- * Marriage is delayed, because it reduces the years a woman is likely to bear a child in wedlock.
- * First births are delayed.
- * Divorce occurs, because it typically removes, sometimes forever, a woman from the pool of likely mothers.
- * Women age, because their decreased fecundity makes conception and pregnancy more difficult.
- * There are high numbers of unmarried women and cohabiting couples.
- * There are high rates of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that marriage and raising a family aren't necessarily priorities in a woman's life.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that raising a child is costly.
- * There is wide acceptance of the belief that "too many people" create pollution, drain resources and cause poverty.

Source: "The Birth Dearth," 1987, by Ben J. Wattenberg, American Enterprise Institute

GRAPHIC: Box, A BIRTH DEARTH, By The Washington Times ; Chart, IRREPLACABLE YOU, By The Washington Times ; Map, WHERE THE BABIES ARE, By The Washington Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 10, 1999