

THE PRESIDENT

In Germany, Clinton Listens To Refugee Tales of Misery

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

INGELHEIM, Germany, May 6 — They lie on black metal bunk beds, eight to a room, but they do not sleep. They are safe now, but night after night these refugees from Kosovo relive the horrors of their homeland.

Today they recounted their stories to a special audience that included President Clinton, who pledged, "You will go home again," in a message meant as much for President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia as for these refugees created by his troops.

Mr. Clinton and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany sat silent for the most part as the misery of the refugees washed over them.

But in a final speech to more than 300 of the refugees here, Mr. Clinton assured them: "You have not been forgotten or abandoned. Mr. Milosevic has not succeeded in erasing your identity from the pages of history, and he will not succeed in erasing your presence from the land of your parents and grandparents."

These refugees said they were beaten and robbed, and their homes were set on fire. They saw people massacred, their legs cut off. Women said they smeared mud on their faces to make themselves as unattractive as possible to discourage the Serbs from raping them.

"I left my brother in the basement and he had no food," said one woman. Another paid a huge bribe to the Serbian police to get her father out. "It's 42 days," she said, "and I don't know what has happened to him."

It has been that long since they were chased from their villages in Kosovo by Yugoslav forces and nearly a month since 334 of them were airlifted here from a vast tent encampment in Macedonia to which they had fled.

They make up a fraction of the 10,000 refugees Germany is sheltering now, even as it plans to take in 10,000 more. Germany is one of 19 countries giving safe haven to more than 25,000 refugees of the forced displacement from Kosovo. The United States announced two weeks ago that it would take in an additional 20,000; on Wednesday, 453 of them arrived in New Jersey.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Schröder told the refugees that repeating their stories would be therapeutic for the storytellers and it would underscore to the outside world why it was necessary to bring the weight of the strongest military alliance in history to bear against the small Serbian province of Kosovo.

"People find what has happened to you to be literally almost unbelievable," Mr. Clinton told two dozen refugees, who sat with him and Mr. Schröder in a small hallway for nearly an hour and a half this morning.

"So the world needs to know the truth of Kosovo," Mr. Clinton said. "And we need to make sure that we are all strong enough to stay with you and to support you until you can go home."

The stories came in a flood. One man, probably in his early 20's, told them: "I'm young, but my life is broken from what I've seen in Blace.

The first day I arrived I heard that 24 children, infants, had died in the camp, of exposure, of starvation."

A woman told of being herded out by Serbian police who demanded 5,000 German marks from her, then 1,000. "I had a golden chain, a necklace," she said, "and I said, 'That's all I have.' And they said, 'We are full

of gold; we just want cash now.'"

The refugees also said they appreciated the visit, thanking Mr. Schröder profusely for opening Germany's doors to them, and lauding Mr. Clinton for pressing their cause. One refugee called the war just and the leaders noble.

In return, Mr. Clinton told them not to lose heart. "Don't let yourself be broken by this," he said. "Find a way to be glad that the sun comes up in the morning and that you have the people around you you do."

He promised to help track down their missing friends and family and to establish a registry in the camps and computer terminals here so they can stay in communication with others and keep up to the minute on the war.

The President's pledge that they would go home again, which is as much an aid mission as a military goal, has become a touchstone of Administration comments on the brutality in Kosovo. Vice President Al Gore, in a speech at Ellis Island on April 21, said the air war would not stop until Mr. Milosevic "allows the refugees to return and accepts an international security force to protect all Kosovars."

Hillary Rodham Clinton greeted some of the first Kosovo Albanian refugees to arrive in the United States on Wednesday at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey, with the same vow.

"We will not let Mr. Milosevic succeed in keeping you out of your homes," she said. "We will continue to work to create a peaceful Kosovo where you can return home as soon as possible and build your country again."

Kosovo

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1999

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Christian Science Monitor

May 7, 1999, Friday

SECTION: NEWS IN BRIEF; Pg. 24

LENGTH: 500 words

HEADLINE: USA

BYLINE: Compiled By Robert Kilborn and Lance Carden

BODY:

The first Kosovo refugees to arrive in the US were greeted by Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first lady. They beat her to the punch, however, giving her a standing ovation when she walked into a gymnasium at Fort Dix, N.J., to welcome them. "Our hearts and our prayers have been with you," she said. "Now we want to show you that our hearts and our homes are open to you as well."

The Senate voted 92 to 0 to commend the Rev. Jesse Jackson for winning the release of three US soldiers captured last month by Yugoslav forces. Five Republicans - Peter Fitzgerald of Illinois, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Jeff Sessions of Alabama, Craig Thomas of Wyoming, and John Warner of Virginia - refused to vote for or against the measure.

The White House was lax in preventing US missile technology from leaking to China through commercial-satellite exports, the Senate Intelligence Committee concluded in a bipartisan report. Concurring with earlier reports from the Pentagon and a special House committee, the panel said the White House largely overlooked the potential security risk in its promotion of satellite exports to China.

The House passed legislation making it more difficult to declare personal bankruptcy. All 217 Republicans voting on the measure - along with 96 Democrats - favored the bill. It was opposed by 107 Democrats and independent Bernie Sanders of Vermont. The Clinton administration has threatened to veto the measure unless it contains additional consumer protections.

Speaker Dennis Hastert was pressed for a quick vote on campaign-finance reform by a group of moderate House Republicans who failed to win his commitment for a vote before September. The GOP House leadership opposes proposed campaign-finance reforms.

Support for gun control rose sharply in the week after high school shootings in Colorado, according to polls taken for the Associated Press by ICR of Media, Pa. In a survey conducted just before the Colorado incident, 47 percent of respondents said better enforcement of existing weapons laws was the way to limit gun violence; only 42 percent wanted tougher gun laws. After the shootings, 51 percent said tougher gun laws would be more effective, and only 39

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The Trentonian

Ft. Dix
 HRC greeting
 Kosovar
 refugees

Quick Links

Thurs., May 6, 1999

P. Six Girl

Refugee services offered



* Churches and individuals in New Jersey are offering donated food, clothing and toys for Kosovar refugees.

By WAYNE PARRY

Associated Press

From shoeboxes of toothpaste, soap and shampoo to a room in a country farmhouse, New Jerseyans opened their hearts and their homes yesterday as the first planeload of Kosovo refugees arrived at Fort Dix.

Churches and individuals offered to donate food, clothing and toys for the families fleeing the fighting in Yugoslavia, and some offered to take in refugee families.

Diu Shabani, a 26-year-old Albanian from Garfield, went to the military base in the New Jersey Pinelands to register to sponsor a refugee family. He and his mother, Sylvania Shabani, 41, also of Garfield, said they could take in a family of four.

"We have two spare bedrooms," he said eagerly. "We don't want to cramp them; they've already been cramped."

But despite the offers of help, it will be several days at the earliest before any of the first refugees to arrive in the United States will be sent to live with host families. Base officials first plan to meet their immediate needs, from naps to meals to hot showers, and provide medical treatment for the most seriously ill, some who have tuberculosis.

They also have to be registered and issued identification documents before being released from the fort to host families.

Sister Janet Yurkanin, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Trenton's refugee and immigration program, said churches and individuals have been offering help. The offers are being passed along to a central church office in Washington, D.C.

"One person called to say she'd take a mother with children," Yurkanin said. "She lives on a farm with sheep and animals and everything, and

said she'd be glad to share her home with them. People are really responding to their needs."

About 10 families living near the base volunteered to serve as hosts to the refugees, she said.

An unexpected bonanza was the 13 Albanian-speaking people who called, offering to serve as translators for the new arrivals.

Stephanie Schmitter, a spokeswoman for Lutheran Social Ministries, also said 10 families and churches had volunteered to take in or sponsor refugees.

"At this point, we're focusing on the church groups, because it's quite an undertaking to sponsor a family," she said. "I'm also getting people who are interested in offering to have a family and host them temporarily."

Sister Teresa Gerke, of the Alpha Omega Ministries on the grounds of Fort Dix, said her organization has been collecting canned goods, clothing and toys for the refugees for the past several days.

"We have people calling in and asking if they can help," she said. "Most say they're glad the refugees are coming here."

Members of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Willingboro assembled what they called "shoe-box ministries," cardboard boxes with toiletries that the new arrivals will need.

Individual members of Grace Episcopal Church in Pemberton have been collecting supplies for the refugees.

And the American Red Cross of Central New Jersey plans to assist with relocation efforts as well by registering families, providing translation services, and providing snacks and beverages to arriving families.

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Journal Register

NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 6, 1999

Whitman Aides in Pique at First Lady

By JAMES DAO

Aides to Gov. Christine Todd Whitman accused Hillary Rodham Clinton of trying to avoid sharing the media limelight yesterday during ceremonies to greet Kosovar refugees as they arrived at Fort Dix in New Jersey.

Peter McDonough, a spokesman for the Governor, said that Mrs. Whitman had wanted to shake hands with the refugees as they got off a chartered plane at McGuire Air Force Base. But Mr. McDonough said that the First Lady's office vetoed the idea, contending that it would not be safe for Mrs. Whitman to be so close to the refugees because many of them were thought to be carrying tuberculosis or other infectious diseases.

Mr. McDonough scoffed at that explanation, asserting that Mrs. Clinton simply did not want to allow Mrs. Whitman to be first in line greeting the refugees at an event that was getting intense media coverage.

"I don't know how stupid they think we are to

fall for such a flimsy excuse," Mr. McDonough said. "It's an extraordinarily transparent bit of political jockeying by an apparent Senate candidate in the state of New York."

Mrs. Clinton is said to be thinking of running as a Democrat for the United States Senate in New York next year. Mrs. Whitman, a Republican, has already said she plans to run for the Senate in New Jersey.

Julie Mason, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, said, "The First Lady was not involved in establishing how the refugees were greeted when they arrived."

Mrs. Whitman eventually did get to shake hands with many of the refugees as they disembarked from buses that had brought them from the Air Force base to Fort Dix, where they will be housed. She then appeared with the First Lady inside a gymnasium where Mrs. Clinton addressed the refugees.

After the event, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Whitman exchanged niceties. "She thanked the Governor for being so helpful in setting up the event," said Jayne O'Connor, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Whitman.

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Thurs., May 6, 1999

[P. Six Girl](#)

Christie works around Hill snub



Behind the official American welcome wagon at Fort Dix yesterday there was a little elbowing going on between Gov. Christie Whitman and first lady Hillary Clinton.

Clinton, a possible Democratic U.S. Senate candidate for New York, apparently wasn't anxious to share the limelight with Whitman, a Republican who has already declared that she will be running for the U.S. Senate in New Jersey next year.

During preparations for the arrival of the refugees, Whitman's office was informed by the first lady's staff that the Kosovars' arrival was an international affairs event which did not involve the local governor.

Whitman was to join the first lady at a photo op, but would not be permitted to greet the buses as they arrived.

But the wily governor, armed with toys for the refugee children, ignored the White House instructions and welcomed about 200 arriving Kosovars, one of whom recognized her and cheered, "this is the governor of New Jersey."

-- SHERRY SYLVESTER

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Journal Register

A26 THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1999

Refugees Make U.S. Landfall

Ethnic Albanians Arrive in N.J.

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
and LIZ LEYDEN

Washington Post Staff Writers

FORT DIX, N.J., May 5—Looking haggard but relieved, the first wave of ethnic Albanians who had been driven from their homes in Kosovo and then herded into camps in Macedonia arrived today at a makeshift refugee village in New Jersey.

The 453 refugees began stepping onto the tarmac at McGuire Air Force Base at 4:20 p.m. after a 12-hour flight. Many of the adults and children wore heavy parkas and wool sweaters in the fierce afternoon sun and carried small shopping bags or nothing at all. Later they were greeted by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Gov. Christine Todd Whitman (R) at their new temporary home at the Army reserves training center at Fort Dix. Some jubilantly shouted: "Clinton, Clinton" and "U.S.A., U.S.A."

"The American people are very sad and very angry at what has happened to you," Clinton told the refugees. "We will not let Mr. Milosevic succeed in keeping you out of your homes."

The refugees who fled their homes to escape the forces of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic received quick medical checkups, turkey sandwiches and new clothing upon their arrival.

This is the first phase of Task Force Open Arms, an effort to transport a total of 20,000 such refugees to the United States until they can return to their homes. These refugees show the differing faces of Kosovo. They range from well-educated college students who used to own cell phones to stooped grandmothers in head scarves, peasant skirts and sandals.

Officials stressed that the purpose of the airlift is not to bring the refugees to this country on a permanent basis.

They can apply for permanent residence in a year if they want, but most hope to return to Kosovo once NATO can ensure their safety.



BY MIKE SEGAR—REUTERS
First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets ethnic Albanian children who had just arrived in Fort Dix, N.J., from refugee camps in Macedonia.

One of the new arrivals, Albert Kasumaj, 19, arguably is one of the best-suited to exercise his new right to stay permanently in the United States—but he doesn't want to.

He speaks fluent English, he wears blue jeans, he likes watching Jay Leno on Kosovo television and loves nearly every American movie: "thrillers, action films, anything."

Kasumaj wants to take classes in computers or electrical engineering, the subject he was studying in Pristina before his family was expelled by Yugoslav forces and their home burned to the ground. He is pleased that he is among the first group of Kosovo refugees to depart the dirty, overcrowded camps in Macedonia.

But shortly before departing from Macedonia, Kasumaj said: "All I think about is coming back to my homeland. It will be hard to stay in the U.S.A." Still, he said, "It will be better to go there than anywhere else. We have to thank the American people."

"The good part is, we are leaving the camps. The bad part is we are even farther away from Kosovo," said Arlinda Gashi, 19, another of the refugees.

The refugees will not be allowed to stray off Fort Dix until they are ready to leave for good, but as the name of the task force suggests, officials are determined to make them feel at home.

To prepare for the refugees, military and civilian officials spent the last few days converting Fort Dix into a kind of modern-day Ellis Island, with "reception centers," prayer rooms and banners reading "Miresevini ne Amerike," Albanian for "Welcome to America." Brig. Gen. Mitchell Zais, the task force head, told his soldiers to remember the way refugees have been treated

in camps in Guam and Panama, and to drive those images out of their mind.

"I told them to welcome these people to America the way we would have wanted our grandparents and great-grandparents to be welcomed to Ellis Island," Zais said.

Now the uneasy transition begins. There were 249 adults, 195 children and nine infants on the Tower Air 747 from Macedonia, most of whom had never flown before. The in-flight movies were "Mighty Joe Young" and "The X-Files." Tonight, the refugees received identification cards and were allowed to go right to sleep.

On Thursday, they will start dealing with immigration officials and settling in. At Fort Dix, the refugees will be offered English classes, free medical assistance, psychological counseling, even cultural orientation classes about driving, shopping, working and attending school in this country.

There will be no pork or alcohol in the mess halls, out of sensitivity to Muslim traditions. Red Cross officials will be on hand to help the families begin to trace their missing relatives.

One problem for officials is trying to accommodate the 50 families who are among the new arrivals. Many of the families are quite large—the largest includes 28 members. Over the next two to four weeks, officials will attempt to link up the refugees with host families.

Another group of about 400 refugees is expected to arrive Friday, followed by two more waves next week.

Correspondent Anne Swardson contributed to this report from Skopje, Macedonia.

69TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Chicago Tribune

May 6, 1999 Thursday, CHICAGOLAND FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 12; ZONE: N

LENGTH: 719 words

HEADLINE: 453 KOSOVO REFUGEES ARRIVE IN U.S.

BYLINE: By Patrick Cole, Tribune Staff Writer.

DATELINE: MCGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, N.J.

BODY:

The first wave of Kosovo refugees fleeing the squalor and deprivation of Balkan border camps landed on American soil Wednesday and were greeted by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

They emerged from the chartered 747 one by one, some smiling, some toting carry-on luggage and many wearing winter garb despite the 70-degree New Jersey weather. Some of the 453 refugees appeared tired after a 13-hour flight from Macedonia, especially the elderly men and the women carrying infants and children.

Many of the new arrivals waved at air base personnel and local dignitaries who greeted them with spurts of applause. They then filed into buses that took them to a private reception at nearby Ft. Dix with Mrs. Clinton and other Washington dignitaries, including Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala

"We know that most of all you want to be reunited with friends and family and to return to your homes and live in peace," the first lady said as she stood under a banner that read Mirsevini Ne Amerike (Welcome to America).

"This is the goal that the United States and our NATO allies share, and we will not let Mr. Milosevic succeed in keeping you out of your homes," she said. Many in the audience broke into enthusiastic applause as her pledge was translated into Albanian.

"I know you are tired, but you look very good to me," Mrs. Clinton said. "We want you to hear that the American people are very sad and very angry to see what happened to you in the last weeks and months. Our hearts and our prayers have been with you and now we want to show you our homes are open to you too."

After her remarks, she greeted the refugees with handshakes. They chanted "Clinton! Clinton! Clinton!" and then "USA! USA! USA!"

During May and June, at least 20,000 Kosovo refugees will be brought to Ft. Dix and other sites at a rate of 2,000 a week, the State Department said.

Chicago Tribune, May 6, 1999

An additional 100 Kosovo refugees who have relatives living in the U.S. will arrive Sunday at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport. The State Department and international organizations are trying to unite the refugees with relatives already in America.

The Department of Health and Human Services, which helped coordinate the refugees' reception, prohibited any press or civilian contact with them because of health concerns, an HHS spokesman said.

Halil Beqiri, a Macedonian native of Albanian descent who has been living in the New York City area for 15 years, was choked with emotion as he watched the refugees arrive. It didn't matter that he knew no one on the flight.

"I have come for my people," said Beqiri, 36, wearing a black baseball cap emblazoned with the Kosovo Liberation Army logo. "I will help them any way I can. If I have to give half my blood, I will give it."

HHS officials said the refugees rested Wednesday night. On Thursday, Immigration and Naturalization Service officials will interview them and conduct security checks on their backgrounds.

The INS then will issue them identification cards and stickers for a housing assignment, said Joseph Langlois, acting director of the INS' asylum division. The refugees also will be given physical examinations and offered counseling services.

Under INS rules, all the Kosovars brought to the U.S. will be granted refugee status because of the civil war in their native land, in which Serbian troops are purging ethnic Albanians.

If they choose, they can stay in the U.S. for a year, after which they will be eligible to apply for permanent-resident status. In five years, they can apply for U.S. citizenship.

Army officials at Ft. Dix, an Army post about 90 miles south of New York City, have been working around the clock to construct a temporary living center for the Kosovars. Officials said they expect most of refugees to stay for two to four weeks.

Besides beds and basic living facilities, the complex offers a 24-hour health clinic and International Red Cross assistance for helping the Kosovars find lost relatives. The facility also includes recreation areas for the children, English language instruction, briefings on U.S. culture and prayer rooms for Muslims.

The refugees will be offered repayable grants of \$350 for their expenses. The loan will be forgiven if they return to Kosovo once conditions are safer.

WAR IN THE BALKANS.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO GRAPHICPHOTO: A U.S. serviceman at McGuire Air Force Base helps a Kosovo refugee off a plane Wednesday. She and 452 others arrived from Macedonia. Reuters photo.; GRAPHIC: THE KOSOVO CRISIS; A summary of developments.; MILITARY; President Clinton visited Spangdahlem Air Base in Germany to boost military morale. He later met with the three servicemen freed from Serbian

Chicago Tribune, May 6, 1999

captivity by Jesse Jackson.; NATO and American military officials said the fatal crash of an Apache helicopter Wednesday, the second crash of their deployment in the Balkans, would not affect plans to put the attack aircraft into combat. Officials said the latest crash may have occurred when the Apache hit a power line or a bird.; DIPLOMACY; Clinton said he expects to receive a recommendation soon on whether to release two Serb POWs held by U.S. forces. Defense Secretary William Cohen said he was inclined to release the men after Red Cross representatives finish examining them.; NATO chief Gen. Wesley Clark responded to criticism by his No. 2, retiring Gen. Klaus Naumann, that NATO was hamstrung by political considerations. "Every military operation has to be governed by the political ends that it seeks to attain." Clark said. "We did not enter this operation with an intent to crush Serbia or attack the people of Serbia."; REFUGEES; UN and U.S. aid agencies are looking to preparations to care for refugees in the cold of a Balkan winter. Even if a solution to the crisis is reached soon, authorities anticipate that many ethnic Albanians will refuse to return to their home province.; The first planeload of Kosovar refugees arrived in the United States. They were warmly greeted by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey.; Makedonian authorities closed the main Blace border crossing with Yugoslavia and may have turned back refugees, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1999

67TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

May 06, 1999, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A26

LENGTH: 874 words

HEADLINE: Refugees Make U.S. Landfall; Ethnic Albanians Arrive in N.J.

BYLINE: Michael Grunwald; Liz Leyden, Washington Post Staff Writers

DATELINE: FORT DIX, N.J., May 5

BODY:

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link up the refugees with host families.

Another group of about 400 refugees is expected to arrive Friday, followed by two more waves next week.

Correspondent Anne Swardson contributed to this report from Skopje, Macedonia.

An American Welcome: An Air Force serviceman helps an ethnic Albanian disembark at McGuire Air Force Base in Fort Dix, N.J. Some 453 residents of Kosovo became the first arrivals in the United States from refugee camps. (Photo ran on page A01) First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets ethnic Albanian children who had just arrived in Fort Dix, N.J., from refugee camps in Macedonia.

GRAPHIC: PHC,,REUTER/RAY STUBBLEBINE; PH,,REUTER/MIKE SEGAR

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 06, 1999

65TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

May 6, 1999, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 906 words

HEADLINE: First refugees from Kosovo arrive in U.S.

BYLINE: August Gribbin; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DATELINE: FORT DIX, N.J.

BODY:

FORT DIX, N.J. - The first tired, bewildered contingent of refugees from the "Killing Fields" of Kosovo stepped from a jumbo jet into the spring air of New Jersey last evening to face an uncertain future and one certainty: They were safe at last.

The 249 adults, 195 children ages 3 to 18, and nine infants were greeted briefly by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton after their charter flight from Macedonia landed at McGuire Air Force Base.

One official said federal agencies aimed to provide the refugees with a "welcoming environment, which is comfortable."

The refugees displaced by the war in Yugoslavia had been airborne for 13 hours, during which they watched movies - "The X-Files: Fight the Future" and "Mighty Joe Young" - and received basic information about what to expect when their Boeing 747 landed.

The battery of U.S. officials welcoming the ethnic Albanian refugees was concerned that the newcomers would be overwhelmed by the more than 300 media representatives bused from nearby Fort Dix to report their arrival. A row of television cameras 50 yards long awaited the planeload of Kosovars, who seemed to pay no attention to the media swarm.

Officials also assumed the refugees would be exhausted. So they quickly checked identification, issued base identification, doled out soap and shampoo, and hustled them to their assigned dormitories.

The newcomers face two to four weeks of processing that includes medical checks, counseling and even language classes. They will be cared for the way "we would have wished our grandparents were treated when they arrived at Ellis Island years ago" said Brig. Gen. Mitchell V. Zais, who heads the task force charged with receiving and caring for the refugees.

The Department of Health and Human Services is coordinating the resettlement of the refugees and is being aided by the American Red Cross and nine refugee agencies.

The refugees who landed yesterday are part of two distinct groups of Kosovars who will be arriving. These people were chosen because the conditions under which they were living in Macedonian refugee camps were untenable. "They were conditions that could not be sustained," said Marguerite Hauze, assistant secretary of state for refugee resettlement.

These refugees have no sponsors in the United States. While some may have relatives here, they have not yet been located. Ultimately, most must be helped to find families with whom they can live.

Finding host families will be coordinated by the local agencies. Officials were careful to explain that it is not possible to drive to Fort Dix, where the refugees will be living, and take home a needy Kosovar family.

A group of 100 refugees will be arriving Saturday by commercial flight at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport. That group of Kosovars has relatives residing in the United States. They will be united with their families upon arrival, and to make that possible, they are now being processed while in the Macedonian refugee camps.

U.S. officials anticipate that most of the refugees who arrived last evening will want to return to their homeland. In fact, many have told U.S. officials that is their intention.

But if they choose to stay in the United States, they will be able to do so. After a year, they can apply for permanent residency. Meanwhile, efforts will be made to help them adapt to American society and to get jobs.

Another flight of some 400 "vulnerable" ethnic Albanians is scheduled to arrive at McGuire Air Force Base tomorrow. Two more flights with approximately the same number of refugees is scheduled for next week.

To provide facilities for the refugees at Fort Dix, a building containing open dining facilities for the camp was converted to a medical clinic complete with cubicles and treatment equipment. A Muslim chaplain from the Army will be visiting the camp.

Early last month, the United States agreed to accept 20,000 Kosovar refugees. And at first, it was thought they would be housed at the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba. The base has, in the past, housed thousands of Cubans and Haitians seeking asylum in the United States.

Partially explaining that proposal, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright later said that the United States wanted "to show the generosity of spirit of the American people."

However, the proposal quickly prompted objections. Karen Abu Zayd, the U.S. representative to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, last month said sending Kosovar refugees to the United States would establish a "bad precedent." She declared the refugees "would much prefer to stay in the neighboring countries near home so they can go home more quickly when it's possible."

Sen. John Ashcroft, Missouri Republican, said he thought other alternatives should be investigated. And Sen. Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania Republican, pondered the intricacies involved in flying tens of thousands of people to this country only to return them later.

But as the situation in Serbia has dragged on and the anguish of the expelled Kosovars has continued with no end in sight, the idea of whisking the displaced persons to this country has gained support.

Ferrying the refugees back and forth between here and the Balkans is expensive, Mr. Specter said in a television interview, but he concluded the "dollars are relatively minor compared to the suffering" the refugees have experienced.

GRAPHIC: Photos (A, color), A) To safety: Refugees disembark at McGuire Air Force Base yesterday after a flight from Macedonia.; B) Despite hardships they have faced, young Kosovar refugees smile upon arrival in the United States yesterday.; C) Scores of tents make up the Cegrane refugee camp in Macedonia, home to some 25,000 displaced Kosovars, mostly ethnic Albanians., A&B) By Karen Ballard/The Washington Times; C) By AP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1999

47TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

May 6, 1999, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1047 words

HEADLINE: Carrying Little but Hope, Albanian Refugees Begin Arriving

BYLINE: By DIANA JEAN SCHEMO

DATELINE: McGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, N.J., May 5

BODY:

With their families torn apart and their homes turned to ashes, the first 453 of 20,000 Albanian refugees arrived here from Macedonia today, taking the first step toward rebuilding their lives away from the battlefield their homeland has become.

Arriving on a chartered Tower Air 747 jet this afternoon, the refugees, many of them women, children and old people, were taken to a newly fenced-in section of the neighboring Fort Dix, where they were expected to remain for three to six weeks.

As the refugees filed past a receiving line on the runway, what they had been through could be read in the way they clustered together, and the missing generations: a young woman walked with an old woman; a man alone carrying an infant; a mother shepherded a gaggle of children, but no husband; teen-agers came with their grandparents. Though beginning a new life, they carried no luggage.

They were welcomed to the gymnasium by Hillary Rodham Clinton. "We know that your thoughts are thousands of miles away, with families or loved ones who are in Kosovo or in refugee camps," the First Lady told them. "We will not let Mr. Milosevic succeed in keeping you out of your home," she said, to the sustained applause of the newcomers. Above her was stretched a banner. "Mirsevini ne Amerike," it said: "Welcome to America."

Though the United States had pledged to take in the refugees nearly a month ago, preparations to receive them here began in earnest only last Friday, after a renewed exodus from Kosovo brought 200,000 more people flooding into Macedonia over the last two weeks.

Since then, private contractors, reservists and soldiers have been working round the clock to outfit Fort Dix with bilingual signs, medical clinics, dormitories for families of varying sizes and children's playrooms. The stairwells, with high metal banisters, have been lined with sheets of plexiglass

The New York Times, May 6, 1999

to prevent little children from falling through the wide spaces, while gates now surround basement steps, also for safety.

Tonight, officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service fingerprinted the newcomers and issued them identity cards, and gave them sweat suits and toiletries.

In the last 24 hours, some 8,000 Kosovar Albanians fled to Macedonia, said Marguerite Rivera Houze, Under Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration. A main refugee camp at Stankovic was operating at triple capacity, Ms. Houze added. "What we're trying to do is to get people moved out very quickly," she said.

Under pressure of the new outpouring, the Clinton Administration scrapped plans to initially restrict the refugees coming here to those with relatives in the United States willing to sponsor them. Instead, it is accepting refugees after only a screening in Macedonia, and allowed nonprofit relief agencies to sponsor them for resettlement.

Ms. Houze said that those arriving here today had suffered neither more nor less than the hundreds of thousands of other ethnic Albanians who remained behind.

Perhaps they were just luckier, or more eager. Those arriving today "were the ones who were already psychologically ready to move," said Roger Winter, executive director of the Immigration and Refugee Services of America, a private charity based in Washington.

Among them was one expectant woman who told relief workers she was only seven months pregnant, and then appeared about to give birth en route to the United States. "We asked if there was a doctor on the plane," Mr. Winter said. "There were six." The woman, it turned out, was dehydrated, not in labor.

He said that when the plane touched down here, ending a journey that began in Skopje 13 hours earlier, the refugees erupted in cheers and applause.

While here, the refugees will undergo security, medical and immigration exams, which are usually conducted before refugees ever reach the United States. Afterward, nine nonprofit organizations that resettle refugees will channel the newcomers into apartments throughout the United States, said John Fredriksson, who is overseeing the effort for the Immigration and Refugee Services of America.

Brig. Gen. Mitchell Zais, head of the Joint Command for Task Force Open Arms, the military's name for the resettlement effort, said he told soldiers here to welcome the refugees with sensitivity, in sharp contrast to the treatment that Cuban refugees had received just a few years ago, when they crammed into Guantanamo Bay in an effort to force their way to the United States.

"We want to welcome them to America as we would have hoped that so many of our parents and grandparents were welcomed at Ellis Island," General Zais said.

A second flight of about 400 Albanian refugees is expected to arrive here Friday, while 100 Albanians with relatives who have agreed to take them in will arrive Saturday at Kennedy International Airport. Those coming in on Saturday

The New York Times, May 6, 1999

will already have gone through immigration, security and medical reviews in Macedonia.

Next week, two more planeloads of refugees are due to arrive at Fort Dix.

Ms. Houze said that Washington had promised officials in Macedonia that the United States would take 2,000 refugees a week from the overcrowded camps. But with Fort Dix only geared to accommodate up to 3,000 refugees, the United States Government has opened discussions with officials in Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria about the possibility of sheltering refugees there, if only temporarily.

Eventually, she said, the Administration would like to conduct immigration, medical and security screenings of the refugees outside the United States, and to install them in homes found by nonprofit agencies immediately on their arrival in the United States.

While refugees who normally come to the United States have to promise to repay the Government the cost of their transportation, the refugees arriving today will be given six months after they are formally admitted to repay the plane fares, about \$350 per person, Ms. Houze said. And if they return to Kosovo, the United States will drop the debt and pay for the flight home.

That wish did not appear to be so farfetched. As Mrs. Clinton left the gymnasium, the refugees chanted "U.S.A.," and then switched to a new chant.

"Free Kosovo," they called, over and over again.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Refugees from Kosovo who were flown into McGuire Air Force Base yesterday are to be housed temporarily in barracks at Fort Dix, N.J. (Keith Meyers/The New York Times); Many Kosovars on the first planeload had children but no husband or father. Some of the 453 wept. Some waved. Soldiers at Fort Dix were told to act as if the newcomers were their own ancestors at Ellis Island. (Photographs by James Estrin/The New York Times) (pg. B5)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1999

46TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

May 6, 1999, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 5; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 320 words

HEADLINE: Whitman Aides in Pique at First Lady

BYLINE: By JAMES DAO

BODY:

Aides to Gov. Christine Todd Whitman accused Hillary Rodham Clinton of trying to avoid sharing the media limelight yesterday during ceremonies to greet Kosovar refugees as they arrived at Fort Dix in New Jersey.

Peter McDonough, a spokesman for the Governor, said that Mrs. Whitman had wanted to shake hands with the refugees as they got off a chartered plane at McGuire Air Force Base. But Mr. McDonough said that the First Lady's office vetoed the idea, contending that it would not be safe for Mrs. Whitman to be so close to the refugees because many of them were thought to be carrying tuberculosis or other infectious diseases.

Mr. McDonough scoffed at that explanation, asserting that Mrs. Clinton simply did not want to allow Mrs. Whitman to be first in line greeting the refugees at an event that was getting intense media coverage.

"I don't know how stupid they think we are to fall for such a flimsy excuse," Mr. McDonough said. "It's an extraordinarily transparent bit of political jockeying by an apparent Senate candidate in the state of New York."

Mrs. Clinton is said to be thinking of running as a Democrat for the United States Senate in New York next year. Mrs. Whitman, a Republican, has already said she plans to run for the Senate in New Jersey.

Julie Mason, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, said, "The First Lady was not involved in establishing how the refugees were greeted when they arrived."

Mrs. Whitman eventually did get to shake hands with many of the refugees as they disembarked from buses that had brought them from the Air Force base to Fort Dix, where they will be housed. She then appeared with the First Lady inside a gymnasium where Mrs. Clinton addressed the refugees.

After the event, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Whitman exchanged niceties. "She thanked the Governor for being so helpful in setting up the event," said Jayne O'Connor, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Whitman.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1999

43RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Post

May 6, 1999, Thursday

SECTION: Metro; Pg. 004

LENGTH: 811 words

HEADLINE: WELCOME TO FREEDOM, SAYS HILLARY - KOSOVO REFUGEES GET SHELTER IN N.J.

BYLINE: Neil Graves in Fort Dix, N.J., and William Neuman in New York

BODY:

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday told the first group of 453 Kosovar refugees to arrive in the United States that Americans will open "our hearts and homes" to them.

"We want you to know the American people have been very sad and very angry over what they have seen happen to you over the last weeks and months," Clinton told the refugees - mostly women and children - at their temporary new home at Fort Dix in southern New Jersey.

"Our hearts and our prayers have been with you, and now we want to show you our hearts and our homes are open to you, as well."

The ethnic Albanian refugees, including 249 adults, 195 children between the ages of 3 and 18, and nine infants, landed at McGuire Air Force Base at 4:12 p.m.

Many of them waved as they filed off the chartered Boeing 747 onto the tarmac, and a small group of military personnel applauded.

Some wore heavy winter clothing in the 70-degree spring weather, and a few carried bags of the scant belongings that remained to them after the often brutal escape from their homeland.

Others had nothing but the clothes on their backs.

After the 13-hour flight from Macedonia, they traveled by bus to nearby Fort Dix - where they will make their temporary homes in a section of barracks at the old basic training facility known as Doughboy Village.

"The goal here is to provide a welcoming environment which is comfortable," said Lavinia Limon, director of the Office of Refugee Settlement for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The United States has agreed to take in 20,000 ethnic Albanian refugees fleeing the war in Kosovo.

The first group yesterday were among the most vulnerable in the overflowing camps in Macedonia, officials said.

The First Lady spoke to the ethnic Albanian refugees in a Fort Dix gym where a banner in Albanian read: "Mirsevini Ne Amerike," or "Welcome to America."

"We know what you want the most is to be reunited with family and friends and return to your homes and to be able to live in peace," Clinton said.

"We will not let Mr. Milosevic succeed in keeping you out of your homes," she said, referring to the Serbian strongman whose troops have carried out a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo.

The refugees responded with a cheer in English: "Clinton! Clinton! U.S.A.! U.S.A.! Free Kosovo!"

Many appeared elated to arrive in America but others looked wistful and apprehensive - with their minds on the agony they'd left behind and the difficulties of making a new life in a strange land.

"I know they're very scared," said Isuf Hajrizi, who writes for Illyria, an Albanian-American newspaper in The Bronx.

"They know they're going to be safe, but there's a feeling that they may never see their homes again."

A pregnant woman on the flight over showed signs of going into labor - but doctors were able to halt the labor and she had not given birth by last night.

Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala - who greeted the refugees with Clinton - said that if the baby had been born on arrival it would have been "our first new American."

After three to six weeks at Fort Dix officials hope to move the refugees out to Albanian neighborhoods around New York or in other cities, where they will live in their own apartments near sponsor families who will try to ease their transition to life in America.

Halil Beqiri, a Kosovo-Albanian immigrant who has lived here for 10 years, was at Fort Dix to welcome the refugees.

He said he hoped to sponsor refugees and was even willing to take in as many as possible to live in his Staten Island house.

"If my house falls down it will be because so many people are in it, not because of Milosevic's bombs," he said.

"If I could I'd give them half of my blood," Beqiri said of his newly arrived countrymen.

Officials say they hope most of the refugees will be able to return home to Kosovo after the war - but under their refugee status they will all be offered the opportunity to become permanent U.S. residents.

Beqiri said that it's hard to leave the United States once you're here.

"America is very good. Nobody wants to leave," he said. "It's like glue over here."

Another group of some 400 refugees will arrive in Fort Dix tomorrow.

Most of the refugees the United States has agreed to accept will be staying with relatives living in this country. On Saturday, the first planeload of these refugees is due to fly into Kennedy Airport.

GRAPHIC: -TROOPER TROOPS: President Clinton thanks the troops yesterday at Spangdahlem Air Base in Germany. -Reuter

-NEW LIFE: A youngster (above) flashes a peace - or is it victory? - sign as he arrives at McGuire AFB in Jersey. Hillary Rodham Clinton (right) greets the families at Fort Dix. -N.Y. Post: Francis Specker (above); pool photo (right)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1999

24TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

May 6, 1999, Thursday ,City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1128 words

HEADLINE: 453 refugees arrive in start of US airlift;
Crisis in Kosovo

BYLINE: By Charles A. Radin, Globe Staff

BODY:

McGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, N.J. - Shedding thick winter coats and months of fear and deprivation, 453 refugees from the ethnic strife of the Balkans strode, shuffled, or were carried onto US soil yesterday. They are the first of 20,000 people from the region expected to arrive in this country over the next three months.

After a 13-hour journey that began in darkness in the Macedonian capital, Skopje, the refugees landed at 4:12 p.m. in a chartered Tower Air 747. They emerged squinting in a hot, bright day, but soon began to smile and wave in response to the applause of US servicemen and the urgings of photographers.

They came in all ages and sizes. First to deplane were a half-dozen vigorous men, shoulders squared, who shook hands with US officials lined up along the red carpet to greet them. Then the flow ceased briefly, as a bulky older woman struggled to assist a small child down the steep stairs.

A man in traditional white-knit skullcap paused time and again to press his right hand against his heart and nod in thanks.

A grandmother in a trenchcoat and Soviet-era shoes herded a gaggle of young boys. How many were in her charge was impossible to tell, as one family crowded and merged into the next.

Representatives of the State Department, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the military greeted the refugees on the tarmac at McGuire. The refugees then were whisked by bus to neighboring Fort Dix, where, in the gymnasium converted into a receiving center, they were welcomed to the United States by Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Also at the receiving center, they were offered cots, boxed dinners, and play areas for the children while they waited for an initial meeting with officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which issued them temporary identity cards. Following this, they were assigned to lodgings, shown

around communal areas prepared for prayer and play during their stay at Fort Dix, and given new clothes, soap, and towels.

The refugees who arrived yesterday are expected to stay at Fort Dix for two to three weeks, receiving health care, orientation to the United States, and English lessons while efforts are made to match them with sponsors.

None of the refugees designated for Fort Dix have people lined up in advance to provide food, clothing and support while they become self-sufficient in the United States.

Nine residential buildings formerly used as military barracks, two dining facilities, a medical clinic and a chapel have been prepared for the newcomers.

Another 747 is scheduled to arrive tomorrow afternoon, and two more are due next week, all carrying refugees with no relatives or other sponsors in the United States. Refugees who have sponsors are being screened in Macedonia and will go directly to the homes of their hosts without having to pass through Fort Dix.

Government officials said Fort Dix can now accommodate up to 3,000 refugees at a time and a military source at the fort said yesterday that an ongoing project to raze old barracks was suspended last week "until we get this sorted out."

In a teleconference held yesterday by the US Catholic Conference, a leading organization in refugee resettlement, Dr. Patricia Maloof said that while current plans are for 20,000 refugees to come to the United States within two to three months, "This is a fluid situation." It could change rapidly and speed up as needed to relieve the crisis in Macedonia, where refugee camps are overflowing, living conditions deteriorating, and communal tensions rising rapidly.

US officials confirmed that the speed with which refugees will be brought here will be influenced by the situation in Macedonia, a neighbor of Kosovo, which already has taken in about 200,000 refugees. Yesterday, as Macedonia has done several times before, it closed its border to more.

At Fort Dix, refugees will be required to remain within a fenced and patrolled area, and members of the public and media will be able to reach them only through interviews arranged by government officials. No contact between media and refugees was allowed yesterday.

"We are looking forward to the challenge of giving some safety and security to these people who have been desperately lacking it," said Michael Kharfen, a spokesman for the Department of Health and Human Services. "They have been displaced from their homes, some have been physically abused, they may be emotionally traumatized."

Kharfen said that Muslim clergy in the area have agreed to assist the refugees, most of whom are ethnic Albanians whose families are historically Muslim. He said that there are also Orthodox Christians in the groups, and that priests are being contacted on their behalf.

Government officials stressed the temporary nature of the shelter at Fort

The Boston Globe, May 6, 1999

Dix in particular and in the United States in general, despite the growing conviction among nongovernmental relief workers that few of the refugees evacuated to countries far from their homeland will return there.

"We think they will come to the United States, catch their breath, hopefully we'll resolve this in a short period of time, and they'll return," said Marguerite Houze, a deputy assistant secretary of state, who runs the US Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

"The mindset is so determined right now for them to go home," she said. "It's hard to speculate what their mindset will be in six months or a year from now. We'll just have to see."

Because the Balkan exiles are being admitted to the United States under regular refugee regulations, with no special conditions, they all will be eligible to apply for permanent resident status.

Houze said the influx is not straining the US capacity to accept refugees because there was already an ongoing refugee program, resettling about 78,000 people a year here, before the Kosovo exodus began. "It happens all the time," she said, "Just not this many this fast."

Maloof, the Catholic Conference official, said at least three cases in the first group of refugees have resettlement possibilities in Greater Boston, but said she could not elaborate in the number of people involved or their connections in the area. New York City, Chicago, Dallas Fort Worth, and Arlington, Va., all may receive substantial numbers of refugees, she said.

As the buses carrying the refugees wound their way through Fort Dix, clusters of servicemen and servicewomen and their families turned out to cheer and wave.

"I hope this will do their spirits some good," said a young Army officer who was involved in the preparations. "They must need it. We called over to ask the Air Force guys if they needed baggage handlers and they said no. These people have just got what's on their backs."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, 1. AP PHOTO/Hillary Rodham Clinton greeted refugees arriving at the processing center at McGuire Air Force Base yesterday.
2. AP PHOTO/Ethnic Albanians disembarked at McGuire Air Force base in New Jersey after a 13-hour flight to the United States yesterday.
3. AP PHOTO/Ethnic Albanian refugee Valbona Bytyi, 14, got a hug yesterday from UNICEF worker Elvana Zhezha at a refugee camp in Kukes, Albania.
4. AP PHOTO/An Air Force serviceman helped a refugee leaving the airplane at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey yesterday.

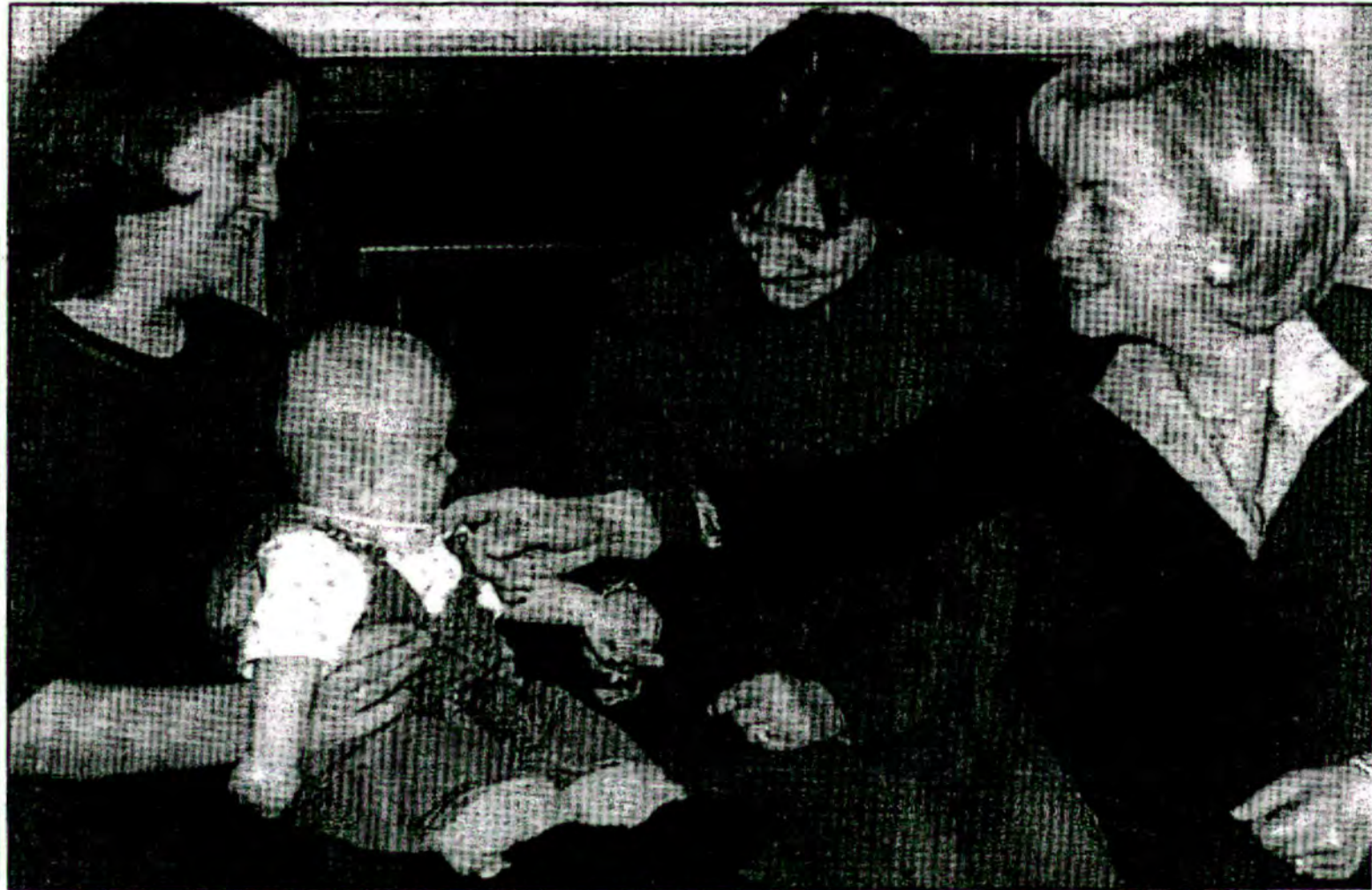
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 06, 1999

The Independent 14/5/99

HOME NEWS/

Children



Hillary Clinton (right) and Cherie Booth meeting Dijana Robaj, a Kosovo refugee, and her baby before speaking at a conference in London yesterday on how child-abuse victims are treated by the legal system. The conference was hosted by the Childline charity. Peter Macdiarmid

Children first Hillary and Cherie share platform



Cherie Booth yesterday criticised a key plank of the government's criminal justice reforms, telling the home secretary, Jack Straw,

that a bill to ease the plight of child witnesses in court "could be improved", writes *Clare Dyer*. The prime minister's wife was sharing a

platform with Hillary Clinton at a ChildLine conference in London. Mrs Clinton spoke on issues ranging from sex abuse, di-

vorce and time-pressured domestic lives in the developed world to prostitution, and child soldiers. Photograph: Adam Butler

Kissin' cousins

CHERIE AND HILLARY SHOW THEY ARE WELL-SUITED



SO SMART: First ladies both wore trouser suits



SO CLOSE: Hillary Clinton and Cherie Blair greet each other like old friends at a London conference yesterday Pictures: KENT GAVIN

FIRST LADIES Cherie Blair and Hillary Clinton yesterday showed off the special relationship between Britain and our American cousins — and their own close friendship.

The pair greeted each other with a kiss as they met up in London and proved they have a lot in common — both are intelligent women with strongly held views, both lawyers, both mothers.

Another mutual cause, their concern for youngsters, brought them together. Their down-to-business approach was echoed in similar no-nonsense trouser suits as they arrived in Covent Garden for ChildLine's Hearing Children's Voices conference.

And Hillary's elegantly tailored black outfit, brightened up with a green satin

By LUCY ROCK

blouse and matching jewellery, provoked favourable comparisons with a fellow American — yesterday's Mirror pictures of Monica Lewinsky looking more frumpy bag lady than would-be first lady.

Cherie kept her styling simple with a fitted longer brown jacket, high Nehru style collar and slimline trousers.

But neither had come to talk about their neat bobbed hairdos, perfectly applied make-up or blood red lipstick.

Hillary was there to speak at the request of Cherie, who got her invite from ChildLine head Esther Rantzen when the TV presenter spotted her under the next door drier at the hairdressers.

Cherie introduced her White House friend

as "the greatest advocate for children's rights" and listened attentively to her heartfelt 40 minute speech, her gaze not wavering from Hillary's face.

Hillary told how too many children were still abused, neglected and denied basic human rights. Today she follows in Cherie's footsteps to meet Kosovan refugees in Macedonia — and she urged her audience not to forget their plight.

Cherie clapped with gusto as she thanked Hillary. Then it was down to Esther to thank "the two most famous lawyers in the world".

But not before Cherie had shown her independence once more, asking the conference to vote for a resolution calling on the Government to appoint a Minister for Children. It was passed unanimously.

No need to tell Tony. Cherie's bound to have done it already.

And the First Lady lectures Straw



Cherie Blair: Intervention

THE Prime Minister's wife lectured the Home Secretary last night on legal reforms she believes he should introduce immediately.

Leading QC Cherie Blair said Jack Straw should prevent child witnesses being cross-examined by lawyers.

And she said it was time the Government appointed an independent ombudsman to look after children's rights.

At a conference of the charity ChildLine, she said it was unjust that children should be bullied by adversarial barristers.

The intervention of a Prime

Minister's spouse in a sensitive political area is unprecedented, and could lead to embarrassment for the Home Secretary.

Although Mrs Blair has no acknowledged political role, her place in Downing Street gives her obvious political clout.

She told the charity's conference that Mr Straw should introduce laws to enact the Pigot principles - rules suggested by a judge in 1989 that would make it compulsory for children to give evidence by video, in private, through intermediaries rather than directly to hostile lawyers.

The Home Secretary is bringing

in laws to make some of these measures possible this autumn - but only at the discretion of a judge.

Mrs Blair said: 'It is an injustice and an abuse of rights to expect a child to have the stamina and understanding of an adult. We all agree the present system needs to be reformed.'

She said Mr Straw's Bill was 'a step in the right direction' but needed to be improved.

'Since everybody here agrees that Pigot in 1989 was the right way forward, what is preventing it, ten years later, from being implemented?'

Daily Mail 14/5/99

Fair

Hillary Clinton and Cherie Blair urge world to respect the rights of the young

BY IAN GALLAGHER AND DAVID TAYLOR

THE Express today calls on the Government to appoint a Minister for Children. And the idea has the backing of both Hillary Clinton and Cherie Blair.

The First Lady and the Prime Minister's wife were among delegates at a major conference on children and the law who voted overwhelmingly yesterday for the new post, designed to put youngsters' rights at the heart of the nation's political agenda.

Both showed their support by raising their hands when the vote was taken. The idea was put forward by Dan Brennan, chairman of the Bar Council. He told the conference: "Whoever does the job should monitor and review the way legislation is working in so far as it affects children."

The move has already won support from dozens of backbench MPs and the NSPCC. And Esther Rantzen, chairman of ChildLine, said it was a positive step. "I think a Government-appointed commissioner or minister to look after the interests and welfare of children in Britain is a wonderful idea."

As the conference heard of the traumatic experiences child witnesses face in court, a senior adviser to Home Secretary Jack Straw called for revolutionary changes in the way trials are conducted. Lord

Mackenzie, a former policeman, said juries should be told at the start of child sex abuse cases about a defendant's previous convictions.

Plans for the change will be considered in the summer when the Law Commission publishes its report on evidence in criminal proceedings.

In an emotion-charged speech, Mrs Clinton moved an audience of 500 to tears as she

spoke of the global plight of children suffering in conflicts, at the hands of abusers, and in our courtrooms. Mrs Blair called for changes in the legal system which would end young witnesses' abuse at the hands of unfeeling lawyers. Signalling the beginning of a continuing public debate on the rights of the child, she vowed: "I am not going to rest here today. I am going to take this discussion further. I would like to see that message going clearly back to the Home Secretary."

Mrs Clinton, who arrived for the London conference amid tight security, praised the work of ChildLine which she said served as a reminder to all of us about our responsibilities to children. She said the world was not "listening enough to our children. The pace of modern life and the difficulties many families face mean that all too often we don't have enough time for our children. When we listen to the cries for help that ChildLine gets every day we can see how often we adults fail in our fundamental obligation to respect the rights of our children."

Mrs Clinton referred to the shootings at schools in Dunblane and Denver, telling her audience: "When such tragedies occur we are reminded that everything we do pales in comparison to keeping our children safe. If we take seriously the



SHAKE-UP: Jack Straw

play for our children



WELCOME: Hillary Clinton and Cherie Blair are presented with bouquets at yesterday's ChildLine conference — Pictures: NIGEL WRIGHT

First Lady full of praise for The Express

THE Express was praised by Mrs Clinton for sponsoring yesterday's "hugely important" conference. "I would very much like to thank The Express, without whom all this would not be possible," she said.

The ChildLine conference, the first of its kind, brought together distinguished figures from the legal profession, the police and child protection officers.

America's First Lady, Home Secretary Jack Straw and Cherie Blair all made keynote speeches.

Mrs Blair also thanked The Express for sponsoring the event and said that Editor Rosie Boycott "had already made a huge difference".

Mr Straw, who spoke on child issues contained in the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Bill, praised the paper saying: "I think it is great that The Express has taken up the campaign in the sensitive way it has."

Esther Rantzen, who launched ChildLine, also singled out the newspaper's coverage, telling delegates how one feature led to the charity receiving many letters from parents describing how they and their children had been let down by British justice.

After the conference, Mrs Blair and Mrs Clinton returned to Downing Street, where they met a family of three generations who had escaped the horrors of Kosovo.

challenges of listening to children then we have to change how we think of them. From our courtrooms and our police stations to our killing fields and refugee camps, let's do better for all our children."

Mrs Clinton spoke movingly of the children crowded on trains out of Kosovo "robbed of their homes, their families and their childhood". She went on: "I know there are many horrible stories coming out of the Balkans and I hope we do not become immune to them."

The Hearing Children's Voices conference, sponsored by The Express, had earlier heard Mr Straw outline the Government's proposals for improving the way the criminal justice system deals with children, promising to ease their trauma by allowing them to record their evidence in advance on video.

All courtrooms are to be provided with screens and tougher curbs will be placed on defendants cross-examining children in person. But many delegates said they did not believe the measures go far enough and urged the Government to end all cross-examination of children in sex abuse cases.

Mr Brennan told how many children do not believe the legal system produces justice. Often, he said, they face a year-long wait before they get to court during which time they become increasingly frightened. "Surely as lawyers we can devise a fast-track way that child abuse cases can be dealt with."

Mrs Blair, who works as a QC using her maiden name Cherie Booth, said: "All of us hear time and again stories of children saying their experience of the court process was as bad if not worse than their abuse." She criticised Britain's legal system for "too often treating children as adults in court".

"It's bad enough for an adult to take the witness stand so it's not surprising many children feel suicidal at the thought of it. Some children will have had preparation on what to expect but there are many who are unlucky and who will stand alone in a courtroom in public, facing a hostile barrister questioning them about things no one likes to talk about."

ChildLine chief executive Valerie Howarth said: "We believe children need the informed support of the legal profession, the police and child protection agencies to bring about change."



JOINING IN: With Esther Rantzen, Rosie Boycott and Valerie Howarth



HONOURED: Mrs Clinton at the degree ceremony in Ireland yesterday

Our children have human rights too, says Hillary

BY JULIA LEWELLYN SMITH

TOO many children are still abused, neglected and denied basic human rights, Hillary Clinton will tell an Express-sponsored conference on children and the law today.

Mrs Clinton agreed to speak at the Hearing Children's Voices conference for the charity ChildLine at the request of her friend Cherie Blair. The two leaders' wives are both lawyers and devoted mothers, and share a passionate concern for children's issues.

TV presenter Esther Rantzen persuaded Mrs Blair to chair the conference during a chance encounter at the hairdressers. Despite a head-full of rollers, Esther could not resist the chance to accost Mrs Blair, who was sitting under the next drier.

In her capacity as chairman of ChildLine, Esther asked Mrs Blair if she would be interested in chairing the conference, which tackles the issue of how child-abuse victims can be treated better by the legal system.

Mrs Blair in turn suggested contacting her friend Mrs Clinton to give the keynote speech. Also speaking will be the Home Secretary Jack Straw. "In spite of our progress on human rights over the last half century, it is unconscionable that the circle of human dignity has not been

expanded wide enough to include all the children of the world," Mrs Clinton will tell the London conference. "There are still too many children who are abused and neglected, denied health care and education.

"There are too many children who are victims of violence and war - too many left to fend for themselves on the streets, working in inhumane conditions, trafficked like drugs and sold into prostitution.

"And through it all, there are still too many children whose suffering we fail to see, to hear and ultimately to stop."

The First Lady, who only two years ago confessed that she would love to adopt a child, has made children's issues her top priority. During her time at the White House, she has championed causes all round the world, from teenage pregnancies in America to child prostitution in Ukraine.

At one point she was thought to be considering a high-profile role with the United Nations children's organisations after her husband leaves office, although recently she has been under pressure to run for a New York seat in the Senate instead.

Yesterday Mrs Clinton was granted the Freedom of Galway and awarded an honorary doctorate from the National University of Ireland at the city in the west of the Irish Republic before going on to Belfast.

Suffer little children

WHILE waiting for a court appearance, which can take a year or more, abused children are often denied therapy because of concerns that this might corrupt their evidence. When they arrive in court, they find an unfamiliar, archaic environment where they fear seeing their abuser, before being bullied with adult questions.

But sometimes a child is considered too young to give evidence at all. In these cases, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) will often decide to not even pursue a case because it fears it will fail. As a result, the abuser walks free while the child is left to suffer the consequences. Too young to speak but old enough to be abused.

A foster carer in Hereford & Worcester wrote to tell us about David, a five-year-old who was sexually abused by his uncle over a long period. "When reported to the police, they considered David too young to give evidence. This little boy is a very intelligent, articulate child, well able to give evidence in the right setting. The abuser has four young children of his own. What might he be doing to them?" The pitiful conclu-

On Thursday, Hearing Children's Voices — a ChildLine summit sponsored by The Express and chaired by Cherie Booth QC — will unite leading legal experts, including Hillary Clinton and Home Secretary Jack Straw, in a bid to highlight the gaps in justice for children. In the third part of our series, JANE WARREN draws on your letters following an article by ChildLine founder Esther Rantzen to show how the legal system betrays children.

sion of this experienced foster carer — "one of the people who try to put back the pieces" — is: "A child who discloses abuse seems to be the loser. They lose their family and, because they have been abused, aren't wanted by anyone else."

Another carer from Lancashire wrote about the case of a 14-year-old girl and her nine-year-old brother who had given evidence against their parents, who were charged with 17 cases of gross indecency and incest. "The trial took place in the crown court, a frightening place for children

to be, let alone give evidence. They were treated as adults by the barristers who cross-examined them. In fact, the prosecution team also presented a threat because the children did not understand what was happening."

The trial came to court twice. At the first hearing, the jury failed to agree while, at the second, the judge ruled there was insufficient evidence for a conviction due to the poor quality of the children's testimony. But, even when children are allowed to use a video link in court, it can offer scant protection from brutal cross-examination. Sisters Rachel and Sarah were 13 and 15 when they gave evidence against their father. He was charged with the rape of one daughter and the indecent assault of the other but was found not guilty after the girls gave evidence through a video link. Barristers used aggressive tactics and continually insisted the girls were lying.

Rachel says: "The defence barrister tried to make me out to be the jealous little sister. He read a letter I'd written to my dad saying that everyone cared about my sister more and I didn't matter." The inference was that Rachel was provoked by jealousy into framing her father for abuse.

"The barrister came right up to the camera and said, 'Because it didn't happen' and I said, 'Well, yes it did'. But I felt no one believed me."

According to their solicitor, the case was poorly prepared by the CPS. No medical or psychological evidence was presented and hearsay evidence that their stepisters had also been abused was not allowed. They learned the verdict of the case through a message left on their answerphone, while the documents relating to the defence case have never been returned.

SINCE then, Rachel's father has written to her saying he didn't think his assault — an assault for which he was found not guilty — was wrong. "He said all he was doing was loving people and he had so much love for his daughters," says Rachel.

Sarah is similarly confused. "I don't really know what I wanted to come out of it. I did want him to feel guilty because I was telling the truth and what he had done was wrong. But I didn't want him to go to prison just because of love," she says, eyes spilling with tears.

If courts are failing children in abuse cases, they are performing little better when it comes to contact and residence battles where youngsters may have no say in their future. Even if a child does not want to see a parent, they can be forced to.

ChildLine would like to see youngsters being given their own, independent legal representation



Picture posed by model

Hearing Children's Voices ChildLine is the free national helpline for children in trouble or danger. It provides a 24-hour telephone counselling service. The freephone number for children to call is 0800 1111. Every day, 15,000 attempted calls are made to ChildLine but lack of funds means that only 3,500 can be answered. If you would like to support its work, you can make a donation by calling 0171-239 1006.

to express their desires. A reader from Derby wrote of her 14-year-old granddaughter, currently on the "at risk" register in Cambridgeshire and being forced to live with her mother, who is married to a convicted sex offender.

"My daughter is often under the influence of drugs and drink. They travel the country introducing the child to other known sex offenders and paedophiles, who are also regular visitors to the home."

These visits can end in violence and the girl has witnessed sexual acts. Last year, she went to live with her grandmother on a police protection order. "Two months later, under threat of losing child benefit, the mother asked the court

to return her. Social services informed the judge of our fears but our granddaughter was returned and we have not heard from her since. This child has been through the legal system but has been abandoned and betrayed by it."

THE WAY FORWARD

IN BRITAIN, great emphasis is placed upon our adversarial justice system. Face-to-face questioning is seen as the only route to justice but for children, this is just not appropriate. In many European countries, children are not required to attend court while, in South Africa, leading lawyer and lecturer Karen Müller has

pioneered a fresh approach to child witnesses. She has established a centre, away from police stations, where children can go to give their statements. "Child-friendly, the centre offers a relaxed and therapeutic environment where a child or victim of sexual assault can lay a complaint," she explains. "Specially trained and

selected police officers, not in uniform, work in rooms decorated to make them as homely as possible. There is a playroom where the children are given toys and books to help them relax." Ncedo Care Centre has been such a success that funds have now been allocated to set up similar centres in South Africa.

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In the name of the child

**New legislation
will protect the
young. By
Robert Verkaik**

JACK STRAW, the Home Secretary, knows all about how children can get into trouble with the law. It was just before Christmas in 1997 when he accompanied his son William to Kennington police station after he had been caught handing over cannabis to an undercover reporter.

On Thursday he will be joined by other parents, including Hillary Clinton, Cherie Booth and Esther Rantzen, when all three will be headlining an international conference organised by Childline and aimed at issues involving children and the law. Mr Straw, who will give the keynote speech, is not expected to mention the cannabis incident directly, although it's thought he may well be drawing on the experience. The kind of issues to be tackled by the conference include "tug of love" children in divorce cases, the problems of interviewing young children and new technology to help children give evidence in court.

The last fortnight has witnessed the launch of a number of other child-law initiatives and child-support groups. Cherie Booth, who will be specifically talking about child abuse and the criminal law at the Childline conference, is also one of eight QC patrons of the newly established Bar committee on the rights of the child. The committee's chairman, Jeremy Rosenblatt, says it aims to raise concerns about children who need protection under the new Human Rights Act 1998, which is due to come into force next year.

"Concerns range from lesser breaches of the United Nations convention on the rights of the child to far greater ones, of children being sold into slavery, forced into employment, taken as prostitutes or brides, and forced to take up arms as soldiers," says Mr Rosenblatt.

The Government is also acting on child law, introducing measures in the Youth Justice and Criminal Ev-



Hillary Clinton and Cherie Booth will be speaking at an international conference organised by Childline.

Reuters

idence Bill which change the way children are dealt with under the criminal justice system. Today, experts on human rights and juvenile justice will discuss the implications of the proposed changes.

A Government-backed advice service launched last week by the Solicitors' Family Law Association will bring information on the law to children who are in care. Details of the service, called Carelaw, are being made available to schools and social service departments. It is designed for children in care who have access to a computer. The Internet website, supported by the Department of Health, children's charities and three

High Court judges, tackles a number of controversial issues, including informing children that their social workers are not allowed to wake them up early or punish them by forcing them to wear special clothes.

Carelaw also provides information on contraception and abortion. In answer to the question "Can I go on the pill?", the advice service says that a doctor can arrange contraception for a child under 16 without informing parents or social workers. The website also tells children what punishments the careworkers are, and are not, allowed to impose. Children who have broken the care home's rules cannot be pun-

ished by being deprived of sleep or woken up early. Nor can they be forced to wear "special clothes". However, careworkers may withhold treats and impose television bans.

Carelaw, which has been designed with the help of a group of children who are or have been in care, also tells children that if they are not happy with their treatment in care they can consult a solicitor. Rosemary Carter, chairman of the Solicitors' Family Law Association, says: "Providing accurate and independent information to young people about their rights in care is a good way of ensuring that the highest standards of local authority care

are maintained." Carelaw claims: "Once court proceedings are over, a young person in care can find it very difficult to obtain basic information about their rights."

Lawyer Rosaleen Henry, one of the leading forces behind Carelaw, admits: "We are covering a range of issues, some of which are controversial. But we have not received any objections so far." Charities like Childline have shown that children need support from the law as well as protection from its workings. Carelaw is an example of how direction access can give children more control over decisions made in the name of the law.

R E G I O N

In Buffalo, Mrs. Clinton Speaks of Child Care and Marriage

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

BUFFALO, May 7 — In her seventh visit to New York State this year, Hillary Rodham Clinton donned a cordless microphone today to lead a free-flowing discussion with nearly 600 women about health coverage, child care and, to a swell of surprised applause, the difficulties of keeping a marriage together.

The trip today offered Mrs. Clinton, who is considering running for the Senate from New York, and is to return to the state on Saturday for an awards ceremony at Ellis Island, an opportunity to practice the staged public forum that has been used to great effect by President Clinton during his own political career.

With a cordless microphone affixed to her black pants suit, Mrs. Clinton led a panel discussion of five women and then wandered the gymnasium at Buffalo State College, fielding questions on Federal policies and their effects on mothers who work outside the home.

"I'd like a show of hands," she said at the forum on working women organized by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. "How many of you have had a personal experience in finding or keeping or

feeling good about the child care you've had for your children?" Hands shot up across the sweltering gymnasium. They did so again when Mrs. Clinton asked the audience, almost all of them women, about problems with health care coverage and difficulties in collecting child support from former husbands.

The three-hour visit to upstate New York afforded Mrs. Clinton an opportunity to be seen discussing the kinds of issues her advisers say would probably be central to a Senate candidacy with female voters, who would be vital to her success. The women who appeared on Mrs. Clinton's panel today were instructed "not to dress up, but to come as they go to work," Mrs. Clinton said, for their talk before the television cameras with the First Lady.

It was, given its mostly female audience and its location in a Democratic pocket of upstate New York, as supportive a crowd as Mrs. Clinton is likely to find anywhere. The women cheered her arrival and almost every pronouncement, and lined up across the gymnasium for a handshake and an autograph. Many of the women carried a copy of one of

Mrs. Clinton's books in one hand and a child in the other.

They burst into loud applause when Mrs. Clinton suddenly drifted into a topic that she has tended to steer clear of in public: the difficulties of marriage. Responding to a question from one woman, the First Lady said that the country's leaders had to "start talking about the importance of marriage" and families.

"I know there are problems," Mrs. Clinton said, as an expectant stillness fell over the gymnasium. "Marriages are hard. They are hard work. I'd be the first to tell you." She smiled tentatively and seemed surprised by the volume of the knowing applause.

This was Mrs. Clinton's seventh trip to New York since Jan. 1. She has spent a total of nine days in the state since serious speculation began about her potential candidacy for the seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Marsha Berry, said that Mrs. Clinton had not visited any state more often this year.

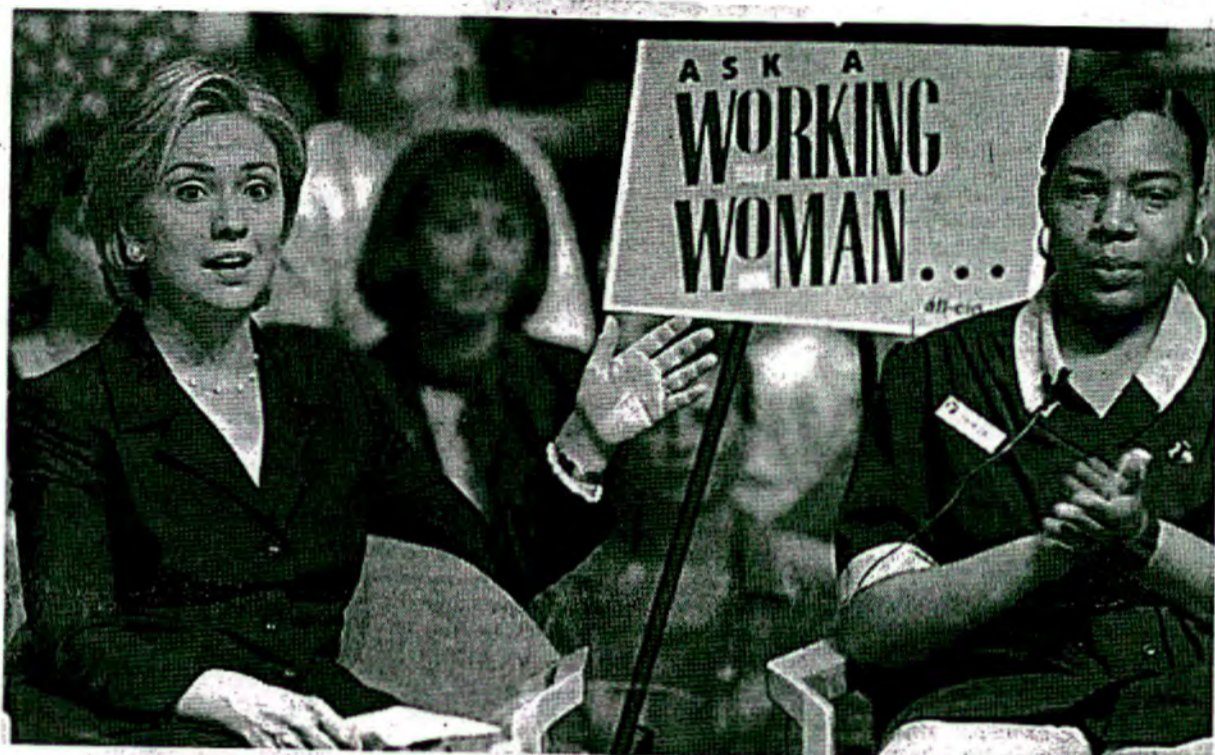
Mrs. Clinton first attended a fundraiser today, on behalf of Representative John J. LaFalce, Democrat of

Buffalo. As a result, a small portion of her trip today was considered political and will be covered by Mr. LaFalce's political committee, the First Lady's aides said. Most of her three hours in Buffalo was considered official business and thus will be financed by the taxpayers.

Mrs. Clinton seemed to be getting the hang of running for office, particularly when she offered an effusive and iconographic tribute to her host city that was almost worthy of Mr. Clinton himself. She spoke warmly of Buffalo chicken wings and of the city's beautiful avenues.

Mrs. Clinton's lack of New York roots is clearly a matter of concern to the First Lady, as she considers a race in a field that could well include as a Republican opponent Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Mayor of New York. She revealed that she spent time in this part of the state as a child growing up in Chicago.

"I first came to Buffalo when I was a young girl and my family came to Niagara Falls, when I was about 8 or 9, I suppose, and I have been back a number of times," she said.



Hillary Rodham Clinton discussed topics like health coverage and child care yesterday in Buffalo. Reuters

Mrs. Clinton on Child Care and Marriage

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Women: Daughters cut off from health care on firm's plan

Continued from Page A7

sues for women in the workplace, culminating with a report to a national conference next March.

On average, women with full-time jobs earn 25 percent less than men, according to 1997 figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The AFL-CIO calls for legislation to even the gap, which some economists say is the result of career choices. Women also depend more than men do on Social Security income in retirement.

Like Ms. Salter, Vastye Gillespie is a single mother who rises early each day. But she works as an AFL-CIO attorney and teaches two college courses at night. Her concern for her two children — a kindergartner and a third-grader — is high-quality, day-long child care to accommodate work days that sometimes span 15 hours.

"I think I'm a good mom, but you expect that person (child-care worker) to teach some values to your children," she said. "The only way you can get that is with adequate pay."

Mary Heaton was also a housekeeper once earning \$5 an hour, but a training program helped her get a job as a cable television technician with Adelphia Communications, tripling her income. The married mother of one spoke in support of training programs to lift working women and their families.

"I'd like to see more job training," Mrs. Clinton said. "Not everyone can or wants to go to college."

As a single mother and factory worker, earning \$6.36 an hour, Barbara Pieczynski said her daughters, ages 18 and 19, will be denied a college education because the family can't afford it.

"They have to go to work themselves to pay their bills," she said. Her daughters are also cut off from health care under her company's insurance plan at age 18, further increasing the pressure to opt for work instead of higher education.

Nurse Judette Samborski, the fifth participant, said managed care is reducing the quality of the attention her patients receive as well as undercutting her job at Buffalo hospital system Kaleida Health.

"Agencies determine who you see and how much care you get," she said. "This ultimately can affect my job."

About 850 people attended the afternoon event at Buffalo State College's Houston Gym, with tickets distributed by the college and the AFL-CIO. Karen Nussbaum, head of the AFL-CIO Working Women's Department and Murial A. Moore, president of Buffalo State College, also spoke.

"More women are working now than ever before, and almost every woman will work for pay" at some point in their life, Ms. Nussbaum said.

America's 63 million working women make up 46 percent of the labor force, according to 1998 figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Survey finds risks frequent in child care

2 of 3 centers violate safety rules, officials say

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Two of three child care facilities surveyed by a federal consumer safety agency had safety hazards that put children at risk. The problems ranged from playgrounds without proper padding to loops on window blind cords.

The Consumer Product Safety Commission surveyed 220 facilities, including centers run by the federal government, for-profit and non-profit companies, along with private homes that provide child care.

The survey was released yesterday by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who visited a local child care center to highlight parents' troubles with child care and to advocate more federal money to help parents pay for care.

The survey looked for eight hazards that relate to the products regulated by the commission. The commission hopes to alert parents and centers to the potential dangers, said spokesman Russ Rader.

"This is not a 'gotcha' situation where we're saying these child care providers are bad," Rader said. "We're simply pointing out some safety areas where even the best parents or child care providers may not be aware there's a problem."

Two-thirds of the facilities surveyed had at least one of the eight hazards. Specifically, the survey found:

- At four in 10 facilities, children were wearing clothing with drawstrings around their necks, which can catch on objects and strangle a child.

- One in four centers had loops on window blind cords that can strangle a child.

- One in four did not have safe playground surfacing, meaning if children fall off playground equipment they could be seriously injured when hitting a hard surface. Grass, for instance, is too hard a surface. Each year, there are 90,000 playground-related injuries each year to children under age 6, many of which involve falls, the commission said.

- One in five facilities had cribs with soft bedding, which can suffocate infants. Each year, up to 900 babies who die from Sudden Infant Death Syndrome may have suffocated on soft bedding.



**EXCLUSIVE:
CHERIE
AND
HILLARY
JOIN OUR
CALL FOR
MINISTER
TO PROTECT
CHILDREN**

**FULL STORY:
PAGES 28 & 29**

High-roller Esther pulls off a double under the dryer

BY TRACY McVEIGH

A CHANCE meeting at the hairdresser's has led to TV presenter Esther Rantzen teaming up with two of the world's most influential women.

Cherie Booth, QC, the Prime Minister's wife, and Hillary Clinton, lawyer and wife of the US President, have both pledged to back a new project from Esther's charity ChildLine.

Bedecked in rollers, the unabashed Esther

was unable to resist her chance when she found herself next to Cherie under the dryer.

She introduced herself and persuaded Cherie to chair a conference in May on how child-abuse victims can be better treated by our legal system.

Cherie then suggested inviting Hillary and, to ChildLine's delight, Mrs Clinton accepted an invitation to the brainstorming legal conference, Hearing Child-

ren's Voices. The two leaders' wives have a lot in common, through the law and as mothers, and both are said to care passionately about children's issues.

The conference aims to inspire ideas about how courtrooms and legal proceedings can be made less intimidating to child victims, who often are too overawed to be good witnesses.

ESTHER WRITES EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE EXPRESS; PAGE 10



PERSUADER: Esther seized the moment

How Cherie Booth and Hillary Clinton came to aid ChildLine

ON MAY 13, in London, ChildLine is organising a ground-breaking legal conference, Hearing Children's Voices. Too often, when the law intervenes to bring abusers to justice, or to sort out the mess of a shattered marriage, the adults are at war and children go unheard.

Over the centuries, we have created a justice system designed to frighten adults into telling the truth. Tragically, it frightens many youngsters into silence. It is a fact that most child abusers walk the streets in this country, unpunished, free to commit their terrible crimes. We at ChildLine believe change is long overdue and hope our conference, sponsored by The Express, will be a major step forward.

Guests of honour will be two of the most successful and charismatic women in the world, Cherie Booth QC and Hillary Clinton. They have much in common. They are friends, they are lawyers, but above all, they care deeply about children and they make children's safety an absolute priority.

It all came about through a lucky meeting in a hairdresser's. I was sitting under a dryer when I saw Cherie beside me. Shamelessly, bedecked with Velcro rollers, I introduced myself and started to talk to her about the plight of children in our justice system. She responded at once. We invited her to ChildLine, she saw our counsellors in action and the idea of the conference was born. Not only did she agree to chair it but she also suggested we invite America's First Lady. To our delight, Hillary Clinton accepted. With these dynamic lawyers on our side, we knew the conference would attract the world's leading legal authorities. The keynote speaker will be the Home Secretary, Jack Straw.

Why is this conference necessary? There are legal reforms in the pipeline, designed to make children less terrified by court procedures. But many of the proposed reforms depend on the court's discretion and there are major loopholes they will not touch.

That is why we need the help of The Express readers. We want to invite to our conference families who have experienced the legal system first hand and can tell us the failures. I know they exist. Over the years since the launch of ChildLine in 1986, I have heard some horrific stories.

Two children I know well were abused by an old man who lived next door. He seemed kindly and he offered to babysit. For years,

Help end the fear that ruins children's lives



By
Esther
Rantzen

he terrified the girls into silence. Eventually, they told their mother. The police and social services took statements and believed them. But the Crown Prosecution Service decided the younger sister would never stand up to cross-examination. Like many very young children who have been abused, her case was dropped.

A mother rang me a few weeks ago. She had discovered that the man she married was a paedophile and had abused a number of children, including her own. She divorced him but when it came to trying to prevent him having unsupervised access to them, the lawyers accused her of having a "negative attitude". She is still fighting; if she loses, her children will once again be in grave danger.

ChildLine hears from thousands of children who are being abused but dare not ask for help. They fear that they will make

things worse. "It was my job to suffer," said one child whose father had gone to prison. She felt she had destroyed her family; now they had no money, the neighbours knew their shame, her mother was hurt. Her family could have been supported through their ordeal. They were left to struggle alone.

GET letters from men who tell me they have been wrongly accused, from mothers who have been wrongly suspected of colluding with the abuse. I met one family who had been told by the CPS that because the teenage girl had been so badly injured, mentally and physically, by her stepfather, she would be unable to give good evidence and therefore the case could not go to trial.

Has this happened to you? We need to hear from anyone with a child who has been through the legal process. Did it work for you? Or did it fail? Please write to me at the address below and we will either invite you to take part in our conference, or put your point forward for debate. Guests will include the most distinguished lawyers in the world. By telling them your story, even though you and your family have suffered in the past, you may well be protecting generations of children in the future.

● Send your letters to Esther Rantzen, c/o ChildLine, Royal Mail Buildings, Studd St, London N1 0BR. For details of the conference call 0171-722 9731.

Exp 8/3/99.

First lady

• Continued from Page 1A
mode, moving ahead with the exploration. But I don't think it's 100 percent yet," said former University of Arkansas political science Professor Diane Blair, a close friend of the first lady.

In her discussions with Hillary Clinton, Blair said the prospective Senate campaign has moved from "the impossible to the possible to the not-quite-probable."

But it will likely be several more weeks before the first lady makes a public pronouncement.

Advisers do not expect her to announce formation of an exploratory committee before July. Such a move would allow her to begin fund raising — and to pay for her political trips with campaign funds. Her frequent visits to the Empire State — generally underwritten with taxpayer funds in her role as first lady — have already begun to draw criticism from New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate.

For most, forming an exploratory committee is a perfunctory step before officially beginning a campaign. But Hillary Clinton's advisers caution that even if she does take that step, it doesn't guarantee she'll actually run.

"She can't do what most candidates can do because she's a sitting first lady," said her former press secretary, Neel Lattimore. "So for her, an exploratory committee means just that — an avenue to explore."

In talking to those familiar with the first lady's thinking, the word "methodical" repeatedly crops up to describe the process she is going through in weighing whether to seek the seat being vacated next year by longtime Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"It's the \$64,000 question," said Lisa Caputo, the first lady's former communications director. "She is clearly taking her time with this, being methodical and analytical, which is wise, because ultimately this is a life decision — whether the Senate is the right venue for her."

There are those — including another former first lady, Rosalynn Carter — who have maintained that Hillary Clinton would be diminishing the platform she will have as a former first lady by seeking a Senate seat.

Lattimore doesn't think so. "I don't know if it's a step down. It's a different step, a different avenue.

It's something she hasn't tried before."

But running for office is something Hillary Clinton has considered before.

In 1990, when her husband was up for re-election to a fifth term as Arkansas governor but admitted he had no "fire in the belly," Hillary Clinton privately contemplated seeking the office herself.

Her musings about running for governor were detailed in Webb Hubbell's 1997 book, *Friends in High Places: Our Journey from Little Rock to Washington, D.C.* Hubbell — the former associate attorney general who served time on charges stemming from the Whitewater investigation and is currently awaiting trial on two other indictments — worked with Hillary Clinton at Little Rock's Rose Law Firm.

In discussing the 1990 race, Hubbell wrote that Stephens Inc. titans Jack and Witt Stephens had suggested that Hillary Clinton

might make a better candidate than her husband.

Hubbell wrote that "what I never told anyone was that Hillary had actually floated her candidacy" past him and other friends.

Hubbell's view on whether Hillary Clinton could withstand a challenge from a firebrand of an opponent: "Frankly, knowing Hillary, I wasn't worried about that. I knew she could dish it out with the best of them."

Once again, Hillary Clinton is contemplating her potential candidacy largely in private. Among those she has turned to for advice are key members of the president's political teams from both 1992 and 1996. They include former White House deputy chief of staff and New York lawyer Harold Ickes, political consultant Mandy Grunwald and New York lawyer Susan Thomases.

Democrats are generally presenting a unified face in support o

Clintons plan to live in NY, first lady says

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — Regardless of whether she runs for the U.S. Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton made one thing clear last week — she and her husband will live in New York once they leave the White House.

But friends of the first lady were quick to say that doesn't mean the Clintons won't be spending time in the president's home state. After all, they point out, his presidential library will be in Little Rock.

"It's fair to say Arkansas will always be home to the Clintons," said Lisa Caputo, the first lady's former communications director.

Hillary Clinton told CBS' Dan Rather in an interview that aired Wednesday, "I do plan to live in New York no matter what I end up doing."

The first lady returned to the topic again when asked why she was considering a Senate race in New York rather than in Illinois where she grew up or in Arkansas where she spent most of her adult years.

"I never could have predicted something like this could have occurred, but people came to me and asked me to consider it," she said.

"Of course, I've been thinking about and talking to Bill about ... living there after we finish in the White House. I think that both of us would really enjoy that."

Friends expect the Clintons to have some kind of permanent residence in Arkansas and to use the presidential library as a base of operations.

In addition, the Clintons have friends and family in Arkansas, including the president's stepfather in Hot Springs and the first lady's mother in Little Rock.

"It has always been my feeling that the president would have a permanent and much-used residence here," said Diane Blair, a former University of Arkansas political science professor who is close to the Clintons. "But it also has always been my assumption that they would spend a lot of time elsewhere."

Noel Lattimore, the first lady's former press secretary, doesn't think anyone should take offense if the Clintons settle in New York. "What happens is that when they became president and first lady, they became president and first lady for every state."

on the same night Little Rock voters defeated its sales tax issue, Hot Springs voters approved a bond issue to help reopen Magic Springs amusement park.

The Hot Springs bond issue, Huckabee said, "is much more similar to this than anything like the Little Rock package, so I would say I was more comforted by what Hot Springs did than I was troubled by what Little Rock did."

tax increase in the history of Arkansas and to pay for a bond issue that would outlive the roads. We're asking people for a short-term bond issue and no tax increases on their ballot."

Huckabee brushed aside the idea that the resounding defeat of a sales tax proposal in Little Rock, the state's most populous city, last week might bode ill for his highway bond measure. He noted that

thought this election might be seen by some as a referendum on Mike Huckabee, the governor said. "Let me answer that on election night."

Huckabee said the issues before voters in this election and Tucker's proposal bear little resemblance.

"What we're looking at is, we're not raising any taxes, and that's the key," he said. "Tucker's proposal called people to vote on the largest

whatever decision the first lady makes. Even Rep. Nita Lowey, the Democratic representative from New York who would like to run for the Senate, is deferring to Hillary Clinton, putting her own potential campaign plans on hold. But there also are those, including former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, who are urging the first lady not to run.

The electorate, meanwhile, appears to be divided.

Nationally, Hillary Clinton is enjoying some of her highest poll ratings, with a 71 percent approval rating in a CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey taken last week.

Notably, those poll numbers have moved up as she took on a

more traditional role as first lady and as she gained public support during the Monica Lewinsky investigation and the subsequent impeachment proceedings. During the early part of her husband's first term, when she took on the kind of policy role that would be required of a Senate candidate, her popularity was decidedly lower.

When it comes to whether she should run for the Senate, 44 percent are in favor, 47 percent opposed. Various polls in New York state matching her against Giuliani have produced differing results. Sometimes she's ahead; sometimes he's ahead.

But voters don't seem too wor-

ried about how such a campaign might interfere with Hillary Clinton's duties as first lady. Only 35 percent said that was a concern; 64 percent said it wasn't an issue.

Those who know the first lady are glad to see that she's emerging from the low-profile role she played over the past year as the Lewinsky controversy swirled around her husband.

"One of the things I'm most heartened by is the fact that she's considering it," said Lattimore. "She could be discouraged from public service after all she's been through. But this is a chance for her to put a little shine on an institution that's fairly tarnished."

Hillary shows a Faubus-like skill

On the day after Wednesday night's meeting of the Dan Rather-Hillary Clinton Mutual Admiration Society, I spent a couple of hours checking the Internet for a news story about the interview that CBS had been ballyhooing for three days.

I didn't find such a story. Maybe it was because I have a new Internet browser and don't know how to look. More likely, it was because 25 minutes of chitchat between CBS' aging anchor and a first lady who wants to be a senator generated not a shred of news.

Everything we heard, we had heard before. Hillary's explanation that she was staying with her husband, the president, because the two had formed a deep, personal attachment during 24 years of marriage had leaked out of the Rather interview a couple of days earlier.

Although I didn't learn anything, the interview was worth watching. It was the first time Hillary has been so extensively interviewed this year. We got our first lengthy look at her at the end of her metamorphosis from good old Arkansas girl who both talked and shot straight to svelte urbanite who plans to spend her post-White House years in Gotham City, regardless of whether she wins the Senate race.

It was not a pretty sight. Elegantly coiffed, meticulously made up, looking down her nose at a fellow who once was one of this country's great reporters, she demonstrated that there is more of New York in her than there is of Illinois, where she grew up, or of Arkansas, where she lived most of her adult life. She'll fit the Big Apple a lot better than the glove fit O.J. Simpson.

It was also evident to veteran observers of the Arkansas political scene that she left

John R. Starr



the Natural State with a skill learned from one of Bill Clinton's predecessors that will stand her in good stead when she tries to deal with New York's disrespectful, contentious and usually biased new media.

Not since reporters were asking Orval E. Faubus why he ignited the Little Rock integration crisis has one politician talked so much without saying anything while trying to answer a potentially embarrassing question.

Rather's obsequiousness put to shame Larry King, the long-time specialist in puff-ball questions. In fact, Rather seemed awed by Hillary in a way that Arkansans never were. The silly little smirk that he wore throughout the interview warned that there was going to be no meat on this turkey.

To his credit, Rather did ask Hillary why she stays with her lying, philandering husband, but he asked it the way a society writer, not a real reporter, would ask it.

First, he made an inane little speech about how much he respected Hillary's privacy. Then he apologized for asking a question he had to ask. Finally, instead of asking for himself, he slid backwards into the question by saying it was one sure to be asked by the New York media.

I do not intend to indicate that there is any way Rather could have conducted a real interview with this woman who now seems as hollow as her husband.

If I had not already used the analogy, I

would say that she is a Stepford wife, replaced by a robot, who always says and does the right thing. Her smile was as phony as any that ever graced a face. Her laugh was as shallow and empty of emotion as an evening breeze in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

In the Faubus mode, Hillary talked around some questions without attempting to answer them. After other questions, she filibustered so long that when she finally shut up, both Rather and viewers had forgotten the question.

Not once did Rather, who once argued with presidents at news conferences, respond to one of her obfuscating answers by reminding her that she had not answered the question. Folks who do boorish things like that don't get exclusive interviews.

When she talked about the need to turn this violent country around, I would have asked what kind of signal is sent about violence when the president abandons diplomacy and send hundreds of warplanes to pulverize a tiny, poor country because of something its leaders did.

And when she answered that we had to do something about suffering in Kosovo, I would have pointed out that suffering in Kosovo has increased a thousand-fold in the two months since the bombing started. In addition, innocent citizens of Yugoslavia are suffering a hundred times as much because of the bombing as Kosovars were suffering from ethnic cleansing before the bombing started.

It doesn't matter to a dead man whether a Serb bullet or a NATO bomb kills him.

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

First lady 'still thinking' about Senate seat

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — After six years as a sometimes reticent player in the center ring of presidential politics and political controversy, Hillary Rodham Clinton appears poised to go another round.

After nine trips to New York this year — including a one-day swing last week packed with political appearances — the first lady is by all accounts on the brink of beginning a campaign for the U.S. Senate that would perpetuate the groundbreaking nature of her

On the inside

FIRST LADY'S Senate race part of ambitious planning in White House. Page 11A.

CLINTONS WILL always call Arkansas home, friends say. Page 11A.



White House tenure.

As she vacations with President Clinton this holiday weekend in Florida, the topic of the first lady's future career tops the first family's

agenda. The irony is that just as she could be reclaiming a measure of the normalcy and privacy she has publicly yearned for, she seems ready to strike out on a political career of her own.

"I'm still thinking about it," she said last week in an interview with CBS' Dan Rather. "People are still talking to me about it. I've been very flattered by the people who've come to me and asked me to consider it. And I'm obviously very interested."

Only a few months ago, friends and advisers were skeptical that

the first lady would subject herself to what would undoubtedly be a bruising political bout in a state known for its bare-knuckle politics. And she would be seeking to join the very institution that convened an impeachment trial against her husband, where she would have to work with colleagues who voted to kick him out of office.

But now those same observers say they'll be surprised if she doesn't run.

"She is clearly still in a forward
See **FIRST LADY**, Page 10A

No 'no' means 'yes' for Hill Senate run

Close allies of First Lady Hillary Clinton say they'll assume she's running for U.S. Senate from New York unless she says no in the next week or so.

"If you don't hear a 'no,' there's an implicit 'yes,'" a source close to Mrs. Clinton told The Post. "If she doesn't say 'no' by early June, the dynamic is that she's running."

It's the latest in a series of carefully orchestrated leaks to suggest the First Lady — who once chuckled at the idea of seeking Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's seat — is edging toward her first political race in her own right.

Mrs. Clinton is just back from a five-day freebie vacation on a nature preserve-estate in Yulee, Fla., where she said she'd try to make up her mind about a Senate race.

But there are multiplying hints that she's edging toward a run as close pal Harold Ickes, a New Yorker and ex-deputy White House chief-of-staff, lays the groundwork.

Several allies predict Mrs. Clinton could set up a campaign exploratory committee to fund her trips to New York — nine so far this year — by early July.

If Mrs. Clinton takes that step, she may effectively sideline Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), the lady in waiting who says she'll run if Mrs. Clinton doesn't but who

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

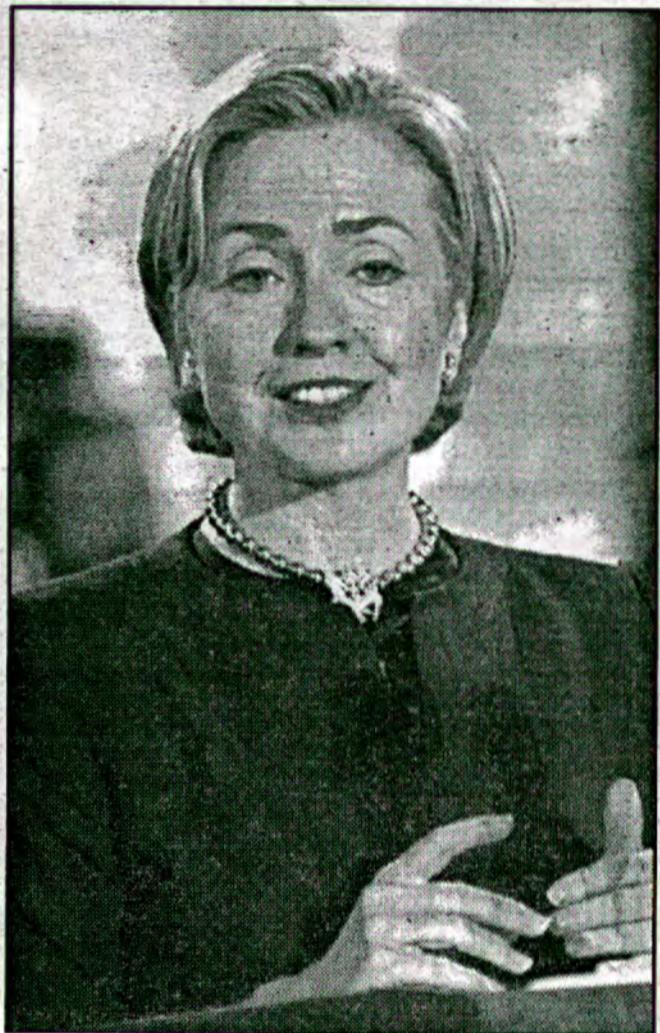
can't float in limbo indefinitely.

The Post last week reported that Mrs. Clinton's ex-press secretary, Lisa Caputo, is hunting for a campaign press secretary — Caputo no-commented but didn't deny it.

And New York magazine says there is talk that this is the week Mrs. Clinton will begin personally interviewing people for posts in the campaign that could pit her against Mayor Giuliani.

There has been talk that she's eyeing Westchester as a possible residence and could summer on Shelter Island near the Hamptons or upstate in the Adirondacks — some Democratic sources say wealthy friends of the First Family may buy a Westchester home and rent it to her.

New York state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope last week said Mrs. Clinton called her from Florida on Wednesday to



ALMOST IN: Hillary Clinton is said to be looking for staffers for her Senate campaign. N.Y. Post: Don Halasy

say she hoped to spend part of the summer chatting with upstaters in their living rooms.

A source close to Mrs. Clinton said several media firms are in the running to do her campaign if she runs — such

as old friend Mandy Grunwald, whose baby shower was at the White House and who often defends the Clintons on TV; California-based Bill Carrick; David Doak; Bob Shrum and David Axelrod.

MONDAY, MAY 31, 1999

THE WASHINGTON POST

Quotable I

New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** (R), contemplating a Senate race, had some fun at the expense of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, who is looking at the same Senate race. Giuliani, who has a penchant for dressing in costume—he wore a dress and wig on “Saturday Night Live”—donned a red Arkansas jacket and cap and announced he was headed to Little Rock:

“I’m going to say, ‘I’ve never lived in Arkansas, I’ve never worked in Arkansas, I’ve never been to Arkansas, but I love Arkansas,’” he said to 1,700 supporters at a New York city fund-raiser. “In fact, I love it so much I’m going to be running for the Senate. And do you know how I’m going to prepare for it? I’m going to come here and take a vacation, in Arkansas.”

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, MAY 31, 1999

Clintons Face Choices as Vacation Ends

President Weighs Kosovo Policy; First Lady Must Act Soon on Senate Run

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

YULEE, Fla., May 30—Memorial Day signals the start of a lazy summer for some, but for President Clinton it spells the end of an unusually cloistered vacation and the countdown to two major decisions: whether his wife will run for the Senate and how to deal with Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian forces that remain in Kosovo despite 10 weeks of NATO airstrikes.

After barely showing his face during the first couple's five-day vacation, which ended here tonight, the usually gregarious president plunges back into a busy schedule, including a major trip to Europe. There and at home he will face growing pressures to explain what the allies will do if Yugoslav troops continue to absorb the bombing in Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, Hillary Rodham Clinton cannot wait much longer to state officially whether she will seek the open Senate seat from New York in 2000.

Next Thursday features the types of events likely to focus the attention of the White House and the public on these two decisions. The president is scheduled to meet that afternoon with his military advisory panel, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which is struggling with the question of when and whether to send ground troops into Kosovo. A few hours later he and his wife will host a White House reception for graduates of Wellesley College, where alumna Hillary Clinton surely will be the center of attention.

"The vacation for him was about getting some rest, recharging the batteries, because we've got several big weeks ahead," White House press secretary Joe

Lockhart said today. In addition to coping with major foreign policy decisions, he said, the president will outline new Medicare proposals in the coming days.

This week will focus largely on military themes. The president lays a wreath and makes a Memorial Day speech at Arlington Cemetery on Monday. On Wednesday he delivers the commencement address at the Air Force Academy in Colorado, a likely venue for remarks on Kosovo and other military issues.

But the biggest showdown on the Balkans may occur in mid-June, when Clinton embarks on an eight-day trip to Europe. Built around the June 18-20 summit in Cologne of the so-called Group of 8—the seven major industrialized nations plus Russia—the trip ostensibly will focus on economic matters. But Kosovo appears destined to dominate it, given the increasing divisions within NATO over whether to ease the bombing, remain on course or introduce ground forces.

The summit will include NATO's most hawkish leader—British Prime Minister Tony Blair—as well as Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who has demanded that NATO stop the airstrikes, ominously warning of dangerous breaches in East-West relations. Clinton also plans to visit Geneva, Paris, Bonn and Slovenia, and aides say he may add a tour of a refugee camp for ethnic Albanians driven from Kosovo.

With time ticking down on big decisions, the Clintons spent a remarkably quiet, low-key vacation here. The garrulous president usually ventures out for golf, shopping or handshaking when he vacations, as he did three months ago in Utah and last summer in Martha's Vine-

yard.

Here, however, he never set foot off the secluded 7,500-acre White Oak Plantation. The only glimpse reporters got of him was on Thursday, when he came to the compound's gate to read a brief statement about Milosevic for the TV cameras. He took no questions but quickly disappeared back into the wildlife preserve that features rhinos, lions and tigers plus a nine-hole golf course where he played several rounds with local pros.

Staffers offered few details on how much time the Clintons spent together, although Lockhart said the president cooked dinner for his wife the first night here. The president brought five books with him, and Hillary Clinton spent at least some of her time telephoning New York Democratic Party activists.

Lockhart said the president had no outside visitors until Saturday, when several Democratic advisers and strategists began arriving for today's private session on the centrist political approach dubbed the "Third Way."

They included Al From, head of the Democratic Leadership Council; White House domestic policy adviser Bruce Reed; White House communications adviser Sidney Blumenthal; former White House communications director Donald A. Baer; Rep. Calvin M. Dooley (D-Calif.); presidential pollster Mark Penn; Alfred A. Checchi, former board chairman of Northwest Airlines and former California Senate candidate; David Milliband, a top adviser to Blair; Anthony Giddens, director of the London School of Economics; Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute; and Bob Burkett, a California lawyer and Democratic fund-raiser.

MONDAY, MAY 31, 1999 ★

First family really gets away from it all

Previous Clinton trips were eventful

By Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton returned to Washington last night after an unusually low-key vacation in which he managed to stay in one place for five days without succumbing to boredom or the siren's call of world events.

Aides, who have grown accustomed to their boss's penchant for interrupting vacations to handle crises marveled that the president never once left the grounds of the exclusive White Oak Plantation in northern Florida. The only public sighting of Mr. Clinton came on Thursday, when he appeared for six minutes at the plantation's gate to read a statement lauding the indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes.

Asked by a reporter whether he was having a good time, the president replied: "Oh, yeah. We need it."

Mr. Clinton's decision to stay put in Florida was in sharp contrast to his September vacation on Martha's Vineyard, which he interrupted in order to return to Washington and announce the bombing of suspected terrorist bases. Although he flew back to Martha's Vineyard afterward, he quickly departed again to apologize for lying about his affair with Monica Lewinsky at a hastily arranged speech in Worcester, Mass.

While foreign and domestic troubles made mincemeat of the president's September vacation, forcing aides and Secret Service

agents to scramble to keep up with their hyperkinetic boss, boredom was the culprit that cut short Mr. Clinton's three-day ski trip with daughter Chelsea and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The president's abrupt decision to return to Washington a day earlier than scheduled prompted widespread speculation that the first couple were experiencing marital difficulties. Mr. Clinton said he wanted to go home early "so we can get a better night's sleep."

The president's impatience to return to the White House was on display again early this month, when he scrapped a scheduled day of golf in Las Vegas that would have provided the only relaxation in an otherwise grueling fundraising swing through the West. There were no pressing matters on the president's plate back in Washington that afternoon.

An abbreviation of the Florida getaway seemed unlikely from the outset, however, because the president and first lady agreed in advance to speak at a symposium scheduled for the last day of the vacation. Sponsored by the Progressive Foundation, yesterday's symposium brought together scholars, civic leaders and business owners to discuss "The Politics of the Third Way," a school of thought embraced by centrist Democrats.

Last week, the relative tranquility of Mr. Clinton's getaway

gave rise to rumors that his sometimes strained relationship with his wife was on the mend. The unofficial reason for the vacation, according to White House aides, was for the Clintons to decide whether she should run for the New York Senate seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

But with aides to Mrs. Clinton insisting she was already 90 percent certain to run, the vacation may have been more of a strategy session on how — not whether — to enter the rough and tumble world of New York politics.

Mr. Clinton, who recently angered Vice President Al Gore by injecting himself into Mr. Gore's presidential campaign, is nonetheless expected to play a major role in advising his wife on political strategy.

Republicans have accused the president of intentionally laying low during his Florida vacation in order to shield himself from the controversy raging in Washington over last week's release of the Cox report on Chinese espionage in the United States. The White House received a copy of the report in January and worked closely with Congress in scheduling its public release.

The Cox report is named for Rep. Christopher Cox, California Republican, who chaired a special congressional committee that investigated China's efforts to steal U.S. nuclear secrets.

White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart insisted that Mr. Clinton, whose 1996 campaign received illegal contributions from China, did not time his vacation, as to be out of town when the Cox report hit.

The president's last public appearance before beginning his Florida vacation was to briefly address the espionage scandal during a speech in Texas on Tuesday.

He took no questions on the controversy, leaving that task to officials back in Washington, including Energy Secretary Bill Richardson.

There are plenty of innocent explanations for Mr. Clinton's new found sabbatical serenity. Aside from the Cox report and the Milosevic indictment, no major developments emerged to compel an official presidential response.

Then there was the sheer vastness and uniqueness of the White Oak Plantation. Encompassing 7,500 acres in both northern Florida and southern Georgia, the sprawling getaway has apparently reawakened the president's passion for golf. It also contains a 550-acre wildlife preserve, one which Mr. Clinton was able to view more endangered species of big game than on a trip to Africa earlier in his administration.

Perhaps inspired by the beauty of his surroundings, Mr. Clinton decided on Saturday to give his weekly radio address — which has focused recently on such weighty topics as the war against Yugoslavia — to the virtues of clean beaches.

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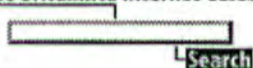


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MISSILE STRIKE

Suing to End a Clinton 'Cover-Up'

The dispute over last year's U.S. cruise missile attack on a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant may soon be headed for a U.S. court.

NEWSWEEK has learned that Saleh Idris, the Saudi owner of the plant, will soon file a lawsuit demanding \$30 million in compensation for the destruction of his property. Idris will claim the Clinton administration is engaged in a "cover-up" to conceal the fact that U.S. planes bombed the wrong target. Last August, Clinton called the factory a "terrorist-related" facility with ties to Osama bin Laden, the Saudi exile allegedly responsible for the attacks on two U.S. embassies in East Africa. U.S. officials later said they'd found traces of chemical agents in a soil sample from the plant. Idris denies ties to bin Laden. "I want to clear my name," he told NEWSWEEK. The Feds last month released \$24 million of Idris's frozen bank accounts. But a White House official said, "We stand by our findings that led to the strike in the first place."



At the bombed-out plant (Enric Marti-AP)

HILLARY

Listen for the Sound of Silence

Fresh from a Florida vacation, Hillary Clinton heads for New York City this week. She'll give a commencement address at City College and attend a fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney. But friends say the First Lady won't announce that she's running for the Senate. What they're listening for is the sound of silence. "If she doesn't say an absolute 'no', then it's an implicit 'yes'," says an adviser. Mrs. Clinton is keenly aware that she can't stall much longer without dashing Democratic hopes of keeping the seat. She's just soul-searching now, friends say. Bill's been in favor of the race from the start and Chelsea gave her all-important thumbs up over spring break.

Barring a firm no, Mrs. Clinton is likely to wait until at least late June to announce the formation of an exploratory committee. The reason? She'll be out of the country most of the month, traveling to the Mideast and accompanying the president to the G-8 summit in Europe. Meanwhile, she's been phoning Democrats all over the state, boning up on New York issues and trying to ensure that local pols say nice things about her if she runs. Her advisers are also talking to retiring Sen. Pat Moynihan's staffers, in search of a New York pro to join her campaign. Reports suggest the Clintons are scouting property in Westchester County. But during a campaign, friends say, she would use the White House as home base and could commute to a rented or borrowed pad in New York state.



THE TALK OF THE TOWN

COMMENT

Six more years?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S drift toward a race for United States senator from New York in the year 2000 is at once astonishing, exhilarating, and deeply weird. Her prospective candidacy—the *Washington Post* said last week that she is all but certain to run—invites an impish, not quite sober response. It raises all sorts of naughty, nihilistic questions: Why on earth is she doing this? Why is she doing this to us? Is she doing it as the obvious next step in a lifetime of devoted public service or are we witnessing a particularly grisly episode in the world's most over-analyzed marital melodrama? Does it mean that *he'll* be spending a lot of time around here, too?

One can see Mrs. Clinton as a senator. She knows the issues. She speaks well. She has a senatorial sense of personal inevitability. She is probably more qualified for high office than many of the professional wrestlers and radio talk-show hosts entering the lists across America these days. (It is, by the way, far more difficult to see the operatic and peremptory Rudolph Giuliani spending six years as one tiny vote among a hundred.) But one can also wonder whether the First Lady came to this career move rationally or in a moment of ire, announcing to her husband, "Listen, Bub, I've spent the last twenty-five years going to watermelon festivals, smiling like a mummy, and making a fool of myself over you. From now on, I set the agenda. Even if I decide to do something as preposterous as—as run for the Senate from New York!"

A Clinton-Giuliani race would be delightfully gaudy and excessive, of course. Imagine the debates. Imagine the negative advertising, on both sides. Imagine

the First Lady visiting the *New York Post* editorial board, or sharing a podium with Al Sharpton. The more we fantasize about this race, the more it feels like a government subsidy for wayward journalists. Consider the alternative: meandering through Iowa with Al Gore, stumping with Steve Forbes in New Hampshire? No contest.

There is also the thematically voluptuous prospect of watching Bill Clinton join Bob Dole in the humble ranks of political spouses—or perhaps not so humble. The President's back-seat-driving tendencies have already been demonstrated by his public kibbitzing, via the *Times*, in the campaign of his other life partner, the Vice-President. (He admitted to being worried that Gore had been stumbling a bit.) Dole, meanwhile, has announced, also via the *Times*, that he is

paign, on the ground of gender solidarity.

On the other hand, a Clinton-Giuliani Senate race might prove tiresome. The Mayor can be tiresome all by himself. The First Lady is not noted for her easy-going bonhomie. This would not be a charm-off. There is also a fair amount of Clinton Fatigue abroad in the land. In a poll last month, seventy-four per cent of the respondents said they were fed up with all the problems associated with the Clinton White House. At this point, the self-involved Clintons seem like teenagers finally going off to college. Do we really want them to stay around for six more years?

A Hillary Clinton candidacy would mean that we'd be forced to relive all the tribulations of the recent past, this time from the First Lady's point of view—and not just the requisite revisitation of her

commodities-trading and billing records but also a never-ending string of embarrassing questions: Would you have keelhauled Lani Guinier? How would you have voted on welfare reform? A thirteen-hundred-page health-insurance-reform bill—what were you thinking? And the horrible, inevitable "How did you feel" questions. (Poor Al Gore. He could find himself running for President and competing

with a Senate campaign that would constantly remind the public of all the things that were loathsome about the Administration in which he served.)

Perhaps the greatest challenge Mrs. Clinton will face, should she decide to run, is the fact that she seems, in the end, a pretty normal person, and New Yorkers are not overimpressed by normality. During the past decade, there has been a de-



Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani

tempted to contribute to one of Elizabeth Dole's opponents in the Republican Presidential campaign. Indeed, the recent interventions of Messrs. Clinton and Dole may represent a real breakthrough in public life—the liberation of the long-suffering political spouse. Donna Hanover, the semi-estranged wife of the Mayor, can now plausibly announce her intention to contribute to Mrs. Clinton's cam-

lightful run of elected eccentrics—Cuomos and Koches, D'Amatos and Moynihans. These are people who tend to yell back when they're yelled at; sometimes they even yell first. They are fast and funny and neurotic and contentious and—openly, publicly—vulnerable. Which is to say that they represent New York as it imagines itself to be. It will be interesting to see if Hillary Rodham Clinton can meet this perverse and endearing standard. —JOE KLEIN

INK

The most influential book never read.



SOME ninety years ago, two bright sparks from Cambridge University, Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell, delivered a two-thousand-five-hundred-page manuscript to their editors at Cambridge University Press. The monstrous tome, too heavy to be carried comfortably by one man, was entitled "Principia Mathematica," and much of it was taken up by strange

squiggles, the meaning of which was known only to Whitehead and Russell. In order to carry out their chosen task—the derivation of the entire corpus of mathematics from a single set of axioms, using formal logic—the two philosophers had been forced to invent an entirely new language. "I imagine no human being will ever read it through," Russell confided to a friend. C.U.P. was equally unenthusiastic. It refused to print the book unless Russell and Whitehead paid part of the cost of publication, which prompted Russell to remark, "We thus earned minus fifty pounds each for ten years' work."

Russell's estimate of the size of his and Whitehead's potential audience proved unduly pessimistic, but just slightly. "I used to know of only six people who had read the later parts of the book," he wrote in the nineteen-fifties. "Three of them were Poles, subsequently (I believe) liquidated by Hitler. The other three were Texans." It came as something of a surprise, then, when, earlier this month, "Principia Mathematica" surfaced at No. 23 on a list of the century's hundred greatest nonfiction books, which was compiled by Modern Library, a divi-

sion of Random House. Sandwiched between "An American Dilemma," by Gunnar Myrdal, and "The Mismeasure of Man," by Stephen Jay Gould, Whitehead and Russell's gargantuan work had finally achieved a status whose paradox would surely have appealed to them: a must-read book that is, for all intents and purposes, unreadable.

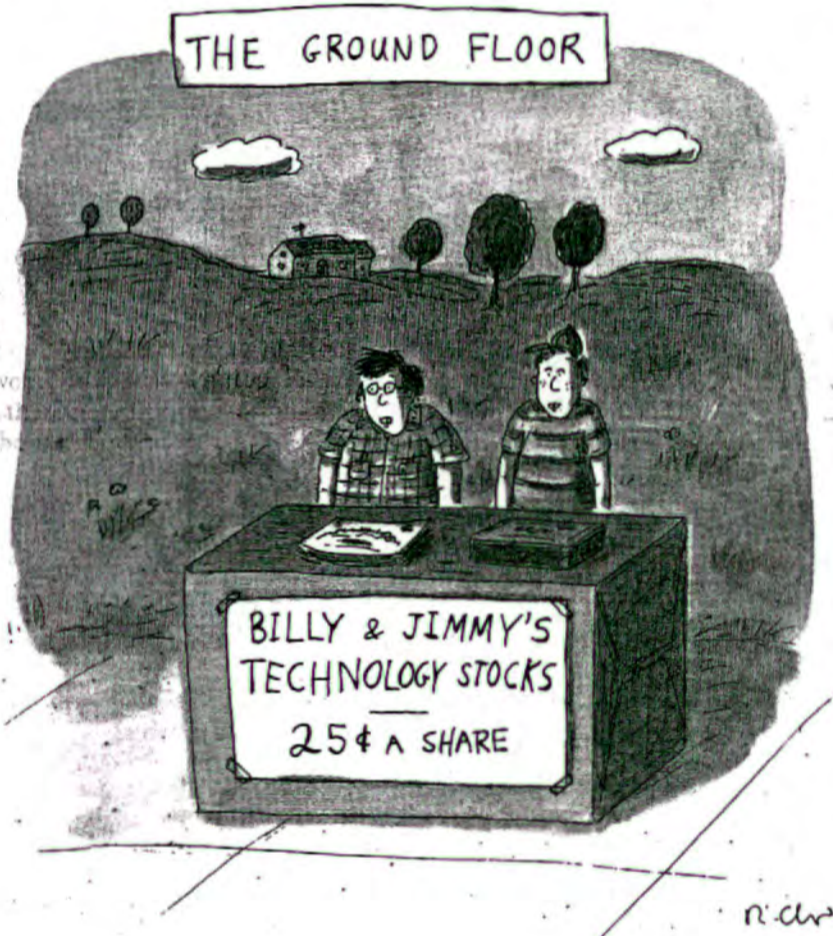
The last complete edition of "Principia Mathematica" was published, by C.U.P., in the early sixties, and it is hard to find. (Amazon.com offers it at five hundred and sixty-five dollars, but warns that delivery may take four to six weeks.) An abridged edition, covering Volume I of the original, is still in print, but it reaches only as far as Theorem 56; Whitehead and Russell didn't stop until they reached Theorem 375. Even professional logicians rarely work their way through the whole thing. "People don't need to read it because the important things in it have been done more clearly elsewhere," Hartry Field, a mathematical philosopher at New York University, said last week.

Some people involved with the Modern Library list were mystified by the inclusion of Russell and Whitehead. "I have no idea how 'Principia Mathematica' got on the list," Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of a thirteen-member panel that chose the books, said last week. "I doubt whether very many of the judges have read the three volumes." Even Stephen Jay Gould, the sole scientist on the panel, said that he had little to do with "Principia's" selection. "I've read large parts of it, but I haven't read it all. Does anyone read it in its entirety?"

Apparently, they do. "I have the works here on my shelf," Charles Johnson, the author of "Middle Passage" and four other works of fiction, said from his office at the University of Washington, where he teaches creative writing. Johnson, who has a master's degree in philosophy, was one of the judges who championed "Principia." "It is important for the same reason that all great philosophy books are great," he added. "It is reasoning at its finest."

Not at its most durable, though. In 1931, Kurt Gödel, an Austrian mathematical genius, proved that what Russell and Whitehead had set out to do couldn't be done. Gödel's famous "incompleteness theorems," which have withstood nearly seventy years of inspection, say that within any logical system there are true statements that cannot be proved. Logic, even

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CAMPAIGN 2000

The Potholes of New York

How would the First Lady's run for the Senate mesh with—or mangle—Gore's own campaign?

BY HOWARD FINEMAN

SHE'S MADE THE CALLS HAROLD Ickes told her to make—all 200 of them. She's made eight trips in and around New York state, with another one this week. She's been to Ireland recently, will soon visit Israel, and the joke in the city is that Italy can't be far behind. She has talked to the consultants she wants to handle her, the moneymen who want to help her, the organizers who want to turn out the unions, blacks and liberals. This week Hillary Rodham Clinton checks off the next big item on her yellow legal pad. On a Florida vacation with her husband and daughter, she'll ask if they can think of one good reason she shouldn't run for the Senate from New York. They aren't likely to find one.

It appears that we are about to see something new in American politics: a de facto national ticket featuring a First Lady and a vice president, each laying claim to the boss's legacy. While she could still back away, sources tell NEWSWEEK that she will almost certainly form an "exploratory committee" this summer—a decision that would all but guarantee a campaign launch by fall. "She's gone from 'Tell me why?' to 'Tell me why not?'" said one of her closest advisers. "It's as close to a done deal as you can get," said another.

Nobody's promised Hillary a Rose Garden. Indeed, the spring bloom has already faded from her prospective candidacy. She began far ahead of New York City



Check it out: All eyes on the Empire State

Mayor Rudy Giuliani in test matches, but the two now run neck and neck in polls. Giuliani could enjoy something close to unity in the state's fractious Republican Party. Gov. George Pataki, NEWSWEEK has learned, will soon announce that he won't challenge Giuliani for the GOP Senate nomination. Still, the prospect of a tough race isn't dissuading Clinton. She knows that Democrats are on her side, and so is history. No New York City mayor has been elected to statewide office since 1868, and Robert Kennedy—another First Family member called a "car-

petbagger"—won a Senate seat in 1964.

The more intriguing question is how her candidacy would mesh—or interfere—with the campaign of her putative ally in the White House, Al Gore. "The implications for Gore are very serious," former New York governor Mario Cuomo told NEWSWEEK. "She has to think very hard on this issue." She would upstage her party's presidential candidate in a critical state, but there are also some potential benefits to the pairing. "Anything that generates excitement among Democrats is good for us," said Democratic polltaker Harrison Hickman. Being outshone is not so terrible if it draws the GOP's fire away from Gore. "And it'll give the president something to do," said another Democratic insider. "If you're Gore, do you want Clinton calling The New York Times about your campaign or Hillary's?"

Even so, Gore aides made it clear early on that they weren't thrilled with the idea of her candidacy. She will compete not only for attention but for money and fundraisers' precious time. She won't be available to campaign nationwide on his behalf. Her candidacy could resuscitate all the sex-and-money-scandal stories that Gore would rather forget. And as she tries to excite her New York base, she may force Gore to answer for her liberalism. Hillary, for her part, has no choice but to openly embrace Gore's candidacy, even though his lone challenger for the Democratic nomination—Bill Bradley—could be more appealing to her own core support. "How do you separate yourself from Gore?" asks Cuomo.

Hillary has been in this place before. Exactly a quarter century ago she had to choose whether to go home to Chicago and launch a legal practice or go to Arkansas and cast her fate with Bill Clinton. Then, she deferred to another man's political career. She isn't likely to do so again.

With GREGORY BEALS in New York

Inside Politics



Could this be a sign?

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is taking her time to decide about running for the Senate in New York. But if she does, there is one thing she won't have to do when she announces — grab an Internet address for her campaign.

The first lady appears to be operating www.hillaryclinton.com. When users tap into the site, it whisks them to her White House Web page. The Web site "www.clinton2000.com," also is taken. It says "under construc-

tion" (in four languages) but it doesn't say by whom.

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

■ Clinton Vacation, Day 2: At the White Oak Plantation in Yulee, Fla., President and Hillary Rodham Clinton mostly stayed out of sight, reports The Post's Charles Babington. The president went on a quick safari and got an eyeful of some of the exotic wildlife in residence, but the White House press corps got only the briefest glimpse of him.

Sporting a navy blazer and yellow tie, he showed up at the compound gate to read a statement about **Slobodan Milosevic**, then answered a single question—about whether he's enjoying his holiday. "Oh yeah, we need it," he said. Later, White House Press Secretary **Joe Lockhart** revealed that Clinton cooked dinner Wednesday for his wife. And what did Chef Clinton prepare? "I don't know—food," Lockhart replied.

Helper Hillary

■ Here's more on the burning question posed last week by **Rosalynn Carter**: Who has more clout—a first lady or a senator? A couple of weeks ago, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** visited an apparel factory in Stip, Macedonia, and heard from supervisor **Stojance Georgiev** that workers were fearful of losing their jobs because, given the Balkan war, **Liz Claiborne Inc.** was cutting its orders for dressy jackets and other items to virtually nothing. As soon as she got home, the first lady phoned Liz Claiborne Chairman **Paul Charron** to ask why. Result: Charron has now promised the factory a long-term deal for 4,000 units a week.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A curious gallantry at the White House

Pity the Democrats. They're running short of scapegoats.

They don't want to blame the man who stepped aside to enable the Chinese to steal our nuclear secrets. Besides, he only did it to pay off a campaign contributor. Don't all the pols do that?

So the president's defenders are looking for someone smaller (if not shorter), weaker, less intimidating. Someone who can't hit back.

This makes Janet Reno, a spinster with Parkinson's disease, a perfect candidate to take the fall. They understand that Bill Clinton has no particular love for her, he having had to take her in the first place because Hillary thought she would make a neat (and harmless) attorney general.

Sandy Berger ought to be the people's choice to take the fall. He was a trade lawyer before signing on as a wiper on the ss Titanic, and no doubt expects to make a bigger bundle in the China trade after he leaves the White House, even if he leaves the White House feet first. But there's no gallantry at this White House. We all know what the president thinks of women: the only position open to women in Mr. Clinton's world, to borrow from the late Rap Brown's assignment for women in the civil-rights movement of the '60s, is the horizontal position.

We've seen the writing on the wall for Miss Reno for weeks. Al Franken, the comic whose stale material cracks 'em up at the White House and who (he says) works out of there when he's in town, retailed a howler at Miss Reno's expense at the recent dinner of the White House Press Photographers Association. "The Democratic National Committee is coming up with a novel way to raise money," he said. "For \$50,000 you can get a waltz with the first lady. For \$25,000, you can dance a tango with Tipper. And for \$25, the attorney general will come to your table and do a lap dance." He seemed surprised when the photographers greeted this *bon mot* with groans, hisses and boos. It's too bad there isn't a Mr. Reno, or at least a big brother. That kind of vulgar behavior at a lady's expense ought to be paid for with a good country lickin' (and if he were an authentic Arkansas man the president would administer it himself).

Miss Reno, looking for a scapegoat of her own, yesterday fingered the top G-man. She blames FBI Director Louis Freeh for not telling her two years ago about an internal Justice Department disagreement over whether to put a tap on the telephone of the nuclear weapons scientist suspected of spying for China.



Janet Reno

"Where there is something serious, where [Mr.] Freeh disagrees with the findings [of Justice officials], I think that it should be discussed at my level," she says. "I was not briefed on the details."

Her aides pleaded with her to tell Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama, the Republican chairman of the Senate intelligence committee, and Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, a Democrat who usually takes up the nearest cudgel to defend the president when new allegations of misbehavior are lodged (which is often), to butt out.

She knew about the internal disagreement over the wiretap, she says, but, "I assumed since I did not hear again from the FBI that it was resolved to their satisfaction."

Blaming Louis Freeh is odd, because Miss Reno has been oblivious to Mr. Freeh's judgment in the past. He begged her to accept the recommendation that a special prosecutor be appointed to investigate how the president and Al Gore raised campaign contributions in '96, when they vacuumed everyone in sight, from Buddhist nuns and Indonesian bankers to the generals of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, until there wasn't a spare rial, piaster or dong left in Asia. She told him to get lost.

But we're supposed to believe that none of this is serious, which is why the president and his yeggs are not taking it seriously. Mr. Clinton, no doubt weary from bombing embassies, refugee columns and hospitals in Yugoslavia, has taken Miss Hillary to a fine old plantation in Yulee, Fla., there to relax, sip mint juleps in the afternoon sun and spend evenings around a campfire, singing of "Old Black Joe" and the "Old Folks at Home."

Miss Hillary is expecting to get a little advice from the politician-in-chief before she decides, finally, whether to run for the U.S. Senate in New York. Her poll numbers are slipping, and Rudy Giuliani sounds now like he might enjoy the race. He put on a University of Arkansas warm-up jacket and a Razorbacks cap this week to announce that despite the fact that he had never lived in Arkansas, worked in Arkansas or voted in Arkansas he thinks he might go to Arkansas to run for the U.S. Senate. He sounds like a man who doesn't want Hillary to make New York a scapegoat in the way the Clintons have made Arkansas their scapegoat. Who can blame him?

We can't wait.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of *The Times*

**... As She Plans To Set Up
Exploratory Panel In N.Y.**

■ FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton intends to form a U.S. Senate exploratory committee, New York state's Democratic Party chief said Wednesday.

"She seems very exuberant and very excited," Judith Hope told the *Associated Press*. "Her commitment seems to be increasing toward this."

Hope said Clinton told her she wants to spend part of this summer visiting families in upstate New York. She said Clinton called her Wednesday morning from Florida, where she is vacationing with the president, to ask for help in setting up this summer's visits.

Clinton is eyeing the seat being vacated next year by Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**.

Clinton told her she planned to "do a lot of first lady things" after her current vacation, Hope said, "and that if she is still leaning in the direction that she seems to be, which is toward making the race, she would expect to be creating an exploratory committee in late June or early July."

Keeping 'tabs' on Hillary

IF Hillary Rodham Clinton opts for the money by entering the private sector, rather than by running for the Senate or being a U.N. commissioner, she might end up working as a corporate counsel for her old pal Roger Altman, the former treasury secretary, at his Evercore Capital Partners.

Ironically, Evercore is the Wall Street investment-banking company that recently acquired Star and the National Inquirer, two tabloids that have made the Clintons' life hell for so many years. Getting back to her tentative Senate run, she would have to step down as First Lady (how do you do that — divorce Bill?) to campaign effectively in New York. That would make a mockery of the couple's original boast of "Two for the price of one" and give us one for the price of two.

CHARACTER AND INTEGRITY AREN'T ENOUGH TO BECOME A U.S. SENATOR, HILLARY ALSO NEEDS TO RAISE MONEY TO RUN A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN



Poll casts pall on Hillary Senate bid

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — Hillary Rodham Clinton did the town at a typical round of galas and fund-raisers on her ninth visit to New York this year, but beneath the glitz and glamour, there is a growing uneasiness among rank-and-file Democrats that the first lady would not be a shoo-in for the state's open Senate seat.

Polls indicating that she has lost support appeared this week just as Mrs. Clinton appeared to edge closer to making a formal announcement on her candidacy and revealed that she intends to live in New York after her husband leaves the White House.

As she swept into a black-tie dinner at Lincoln Center Monday evening, a well-heeled matron volunteered ruefully to another guest that she could not cast her vote for Mrs. Clinton if she ran in the New York Senate race.

"Bill Clinton has a lot of talent — but it was wasted. It's very tragic," she added, linking her opinion of

First lady no longer seen as shoo-in

the president's past to Mrs. Clinton's political future.

Her comments echo the dilemma of many Democrats who, although they continue publicly to welcome Mrs. Clinton on her frequent visits to this state as she musters financial and moral support for a run, privately admit they have lost enthusiasm for another Clinton in public office.

Her husband's scandals account for a large part of the resistance to Mrs. Clinton's Senate bid.

A tougher obstacle for Mrs. Clinton — the fact that she is an outsider, not from New York — is already being raised by two likely opponents in a Senate race: Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Rep. Rick A. Lazio of Long Island, whom the mayor could face in a Republican primary.

The mayor, who has not officially announced his candidacy, continues to joke about running for the Senate from Arkansas.

A Zogby International poll released this week indicated that Mr. Giuliani would defeat Mrs. Clinton if the race were held today by 49.3 percent to 43.7 percent. The mayor did especially well upstate and in the suburbs against the first lady, while Mrs. Clinton led in New York City.

Although she has made no official announcement that she will seek the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year, Mrs. Clinton's recent statements have led many to believe that she will indeed be in the race.

The speculation got a boost this week when the Staten Island Democratic Party chairman said Mrs. Clinton had told him she plans to run for the Senate seat. Robert Gigante said he asked her at Monday's fund-raiser if she was running and Mrs. Clinton answered "yes." But Harold Ickes, an adviser to the first lady, yesterday

denied Mr. Gigante's account.

Mrs. Clinton is expected to announce the formation of an exploratory committee when she returns next week from a Florida vacation. The committee is expected to reimburse the federal government for some of the expenses she incurs on her New York trips. Mrs. Clinton's critics have already pointed out that the taxpayers are footing the bill for what they describe as campaign trips.

Mrs. Clinton's plans continue to be a hot subject with the New York media. One caller to a radio show on the subject said Mrs. Clinton's "exploratory committee" should be used to "find Buffalo."

On her visits here, Mrs. Clinton always plays to friendly audiences peppered with Democratic Party celebrities. In a strange turn of political positioning on Monday, one of Mrs. Clinton's stops included a \$1,000-a-head fund-raising dinner for Rep. Nita M. Lowey, who continues to say she will run for the Senate on the Democratic ticket if Mrs. Clinton decides against it.

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A Clinton Candidacy Divides Democrats

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON, May 26 — Former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York says the best thing for Vice President Al Gore's campaign for President would be if Hillary Rodham Clinton stays put and does not run for the Senate from New York.

But his son Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, says the best thing for Mr. Gore's campaign would be if Mrs. Clinton trades the White House for a house in Westchester County and runs for the Senate.

The dueling Cuomos mirror a larger, public quarrel that is increasingly consuming prominent Democrats who want Mr. Gore to succeed President Clinton: If Mrs. Clinton continues to hurtle toward a campaign for the Senate seat of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring, will that undermine Mr. Gore's own quest for the White House?

While there is no organized "stop Hillary" move afoot, Democrats who oppose Mrs. Clinton's candidacy express fears that it could have several detrimental effects for Mr. Gore: It would deprive the Vice President of a popular, politically nimble First Lady stumping on his behalf in battleground states; it would force Mr. Gore to compete with Mrs. Clinton for donations and public appearances that could give them the spotlight; it would diminish any excitement over a Gore candidacy, and it could reopen skeletons of the Clinton era just as Mr. Gore was trying to strike out on his own.

"She could be a great articulator for Gore," the elder Mr. Cuomo said in a telephone interview this week. "She could lend to the campaign a flash and a pizzazz. Gore himself could afford some supplementation of those elements. In a national campaign for Gore, she could travel the whole United States of America constantly, appearing everywhere that it counts the most."

Critiquing Mr. Gore's campaign skills, Mr. Cuomo said Mrs. Clinton would be a counterweight to the Vice President's "hyper caution in the reading of his texts," his "aversion to error" and his "relentless solemnity."

"He's terribly concerned about making a mistake," Mr. Cuomo said. "That is a virtue until it comes to delivering rhetoric. He doesn't have it there."

The nature of the Vice Presidency, Mr. Cuomo said, could not help but diminish Mr. Gore. "The real Gore in a casual setting or plain off the record is much more impressive than Vice President Al Gore in a blue suit," he said.

Other Democrats argue that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would be a plus for Mr. Gore. They have fewer points to tick off than the naysayers, but they say she would excite voters to turn out and back Mr. Gore. Some Gore supporters say they want Mrs. Clinton to win because they view her as the only hope of retaining a Democrat in Mr. Moynihan's seat, which would be vital to the party's efforts to regain control of the Senate and important to Mr. Gore should he become President.

"My instinct is that she will excite the heck out of New York State," said the younger Mr. Cuomo, who is a close adviser to Mr. Gore. "She'll bring Democrats out in unprecedented numbers and excite women in

unprecedented numbers. And that only helps Al Gore in a key state. I don't see how it can be bad."

But the elder Mr. Cuomo, like many other Democrats, rejects the argument that Mr. Gore would need help in a reliably Democratic state like New York.

"Some I bump into say it wouldn't be so bad if Hillary ran — it would help us in New York," he said. "I said, 'Look, if you need help in New York, the race is over.'"

If Mrs. Clinton forgoes a Senate run, he said, she could also help Mr. Gore's sagging poll support among women. Summing up how she could help the Vice President, Mr. Cuomo

Reading tea leaves in a New York Senate race and its effect on Gore.

added: "The charm. The persuasion. The raising of money."

Andrew Cuomo seems to be reflecting the spin of the week from members of the Gore camp: That they are not fearful of a Clinton candidacy. Although some have privately grouched about the prospect, Mr. Gore's campaign aides — intent on not making any waves with the First Couple — insist that Mrs. Clinton is the least of their worries.

The view among some Gore intimates is this: Even if a Clinton campaign complicates things for Mr. Gore, there is nothing they can do to stop her. So why object — and risk her ire? Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gore, while never particularly close personally, have always been publicly respectful of one another.

One close associate of Mr. Gore said of the Vice President's top advisers: "They're worried that it will drain money and resources from Gore. But they're resigned to the fact that she's running. So they're saying, 'Let's buck up and let's go.'"

"Listen, they don't want Hillary upset at them."

Tony Coelho, Mr. Gore's new campaign chairman, said in an interview

that he discussed the subject with Mrs. Clinton the other day and assured her of his support.

"Al and Tipper are totally supportive of whatever Hillary decides," Mr. Coelho said. "And I personally talked to Hillary after I decided to take this race and told her that I was 100 percent supportive both financially and personally. It will galvanize New York for us. It will create a rush."

Mr. Coelho stopped short, however, of actually encouraging Mrs. Clinton to run. "We don't want to be seen pushing her into it because this is a very personal decision," he said.

Marla Romash, a longtime adviser to Mr. Gore, dismissed the assortment of scenarios being played out about how a Clinton run would play for Mr. Gore. "People are concocting all these complicated plots," Ms. Romash said. "It will mean this. It will mean that. I just don't buy it."

Others who are close to Mr. Gore are not so nonchalant. Martin Peretz, the editor of *The New Republic* who was an instructor of Mr. Gore at Harvard in the 1960's and has been a booster of him ever since, suggested that Mrs. Clinton would drain attention on issues away from the Vice President.

"My fear is not that she would upstage him in New York," Mr. Peretz said, "but that she would become the standing reference point."

He said that more people would have spoken out against Mrs. Clinton's running but they did not want to antagonize her. "In private talk," Mr. Peretz said, "a lot of people don't want her to run."

The current issue of Mr. Peretz's magazine leaves little doubt about its institutional aversion to a Clinton Senate candidacy. The cover headline: "The Wrong Race. Why a Senate Run Would Be Bad for Hillary and Worse for the Democrats."

So who has the best advice? Cuomo the father or Cuomo the son?

"I have very assiduously stayed out of Andrew's life," Mario Cuomo said. "He's much better than I am at most things political."

But ultimately, he said, Mrs. Clinton has to make the political analysis. "Hillary has to decide," he said. "It's more than loyalty; it's their legacy, too. They don't want to see Gore go down because that means something about the Clintons."



USA

Clinton versus Giuliani: Where the money will go

■ The field isn't set yet, but New Yorkers are already thinking about whom they will give their money to.

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK — Every day, Clark Halstead gets reminders in the mail: Elections are just around the corner and a host of politicians would love to have his money.

There's a senatorial race in New Jersey, and New York politicians are raising war chests to run for mayor. But these days, when talk turns to politics in New York City, the subject inevitably comes to the potential battle between city Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for one of the state's Senate seats.

Mrs. Clinton cannot raise money until she sets up an exploratory committee, which she is expected to do soon. But people like Mr. Halstead — who runs a local real-estate company — are now thinking about who will get their coveted money.

It's a question of unestimable importance. If the Clinton-Giuliani contest occurs, it will likely be tight and hard-fought — money could be the determining factor. And with two of the most powerful fundraisers in the US eyeing each other, experts say there will be lots of money to be had.

"In the case of both candidates, they are



STUART RAMSON/AP

WILL THEY RUN? Hillary Rodham Clinton (l.) has made nine trips to New York and says she will announce soon whether she will run for an open New York Senate seat. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (r.) is trying to shore up support among labor unions.

so sharply defined enough and identified with certain philosophies they would draw people and contributions from around the country," says Paul Hendrie of the Center for Responsive Politics in Washington.

This week is an example how much money is available. On Monday night, US Rep. Nita Lowey, a Democrat who represents New York's Westchester County,

raised \$1 million for a Senate campaign — if Clinton backs out. Clinton was on hand as a "draw" for the well-heeled crowd.

On Tuesday night, Mayor Giuliani raised over \$1 million at a birthday bash that cost contributors \$1,000 per person.

The push is on to get money early because the race is expected to be very costly. Last year, former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R)



MARTY LEDERHANDLER/AP

spent \$24 million and lost to Sen. Charles Schumer (D), who spent \$17 million.

"It's hard to imagine a Clinton-Giuliani race any less expensive," says Mr. Hendrie.

If Clinton runs, she's not expected to have trouble raising money. She will be able to count on her husband, a legendary fund-raiser, and she can tap traditionally Democratic sources such as labor unions.

"She'll also be able to pull from women's groups and organizations," says Paul Kesten, a political consultant with Irenecs Inc. in South Salem, N.Y.

BUT Mr. Kesten says Clinton may have a hard time getting money from wealthy businessmen because her agenda is not considered pro-business.

That certainly holds true for banker Leonard Harlan. Mr. Harlan says he "absolutely will not" give money to Clinton. He cites her dealings years ago in the futures markets and the sudden appearance of lost records in a White House attic.

Clinton will also have to counter complaints that she's a "carpetbagger," a term that Halstead uses when he says why he is unlikely to contribute money to her.

State Republicans are also not shy about attacking Clinton as an outsider. Rep. Rick Lazio (R) says Clinton needs an exploratory committee "to find Elmira."

If he runs, Giuliani may also have to work hard to raise money. He may get some money from the Republican Party, which would like to pick up a seat. But in his last race for mayor Giuliani received money from labor unions that are not likely to support him in a Senate bid. In addition, he may not have the total support of state Republicans. "Rudy has a lot of skirmishes in his own jurisdiction," says Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

A Clinton Senate run smacks of contempt for first lady role

By JACK W. GERMOND
AND JULES WITCOVER

WASHINGTON — Back in 1992, when his family's single-minded ambition was to gain the White House, Bill Clinton advertised his wife, Hillary, as a kind of political bonus for the country. If the voters elected him, he pointed out, they would be getting "two for the price of one."

Soon after his election, he appointed her to be the driving force in perhaps the only truly bold domestic initiative of his presidency, the campaign for universal health coverage. She ran it imperiously and in the end the ambitious and worthy effort failed, shot down by the insurance industry and its mostly Republican allies.

Since then, Mrs. Clinton, while not quite settling into the traditional first lady role of the woman behind the man, has occupied herself with somewhat lower-profile activities.

She has done so while suffering under the burden not only of having a publicly proclaimed unfaithful husband, but also staunchly defending him as the victim of, in her famous phrase, "a vast right-wing conspiracy" to drive him from office.

All this has been quite a full plate, for an ordinary woman anyway. But Mrs. Clinton quite obviously is not an ordinary woman. Still holding the most influential role accorded to any U.S. woman for another 20 months, she is casting a covetous eye on a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

So we have the prospect, if she does run, of Mrs. Clinton spending the next year and a half trying to keep two balls in the air. She would continue being first lady of the land, presumably a nonpartisan position while at the same time being a partisan candidate.

At a minimum, the arrangement would be a king-sized headache for the green-eyeshade types at the White House and her campaign committee, who would be obliged by law to separate out the cost of her travel and other expenses in the first role from those incurred in the second.

But more important is this question: What's her rush? The Senate will still be there when her husband leaves public office.

A Senate seat from New York presumably won't be open again for some time after 2000, what with newly elected Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer likely to dig

in for the long haul. But why New York? If she's going to be a carpet-bagger, running in a state where she hasn't lived, there are plenty of others that fit that description.

The first lady would not, to be sure, be the first nonresident elected to the Senate. In New York itself, Robert Kennedy ran and won a Senate seat there in 1964 after a lifetime of residence and association with Massachusetts. But he quit his government job, as attorney general, before seeking that seat. How does a first lady quit that job, short of divorcing the president?

On the most obvious level, her candidacy will set tongues wagging across the country that there might be more than political ambition in her desire to put considerable distance between herself and the president. But the bottom line is, she's got a pretty good job right now. How does she justify this move, other than by acknowledging blind personal ambition?

She has, certainly, the right to run for whatever public office she chooses. But leaving the impression that she can't wait to get on to something that will better demonstrate her political influence in her own right smacks of contempt for a role in American politics that has always been respected, even revered, by the public.

Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover write from the Washington Bureau.

Bergerisms

Okay, fall back to Plan B:
Draft Hillary!

A congressional committee overcame partisanship to produce a deep, impartial and fair analysis of Chinese espionage in this country. And you thought it couldn't be done.

Officer Volpe betrayed good cops everywhere. Those who testified against him did not.

Maryland is so enlightened, it even offers escape therapy in the prisons.

Adviser Denies Hillary Clinton Running For Senate
REUTERS 5.24 p.m. ET (2125 GMT) May 26, 1999

AMELIA ISLAND, Fla. — A top political adviser to Hillary Rodham Clinton denied Wednesday that she told a New York state Democratic leader that she had made up her mind to run for a Senate seat.

The adviser, former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, said in a telephone interview from Washington that he had talked to Mrs. Clinton Tuesday about the comments from Robert Gigante, chairman of the Staten Island Democratic Party.

"First of all, she has no recollection of saying what Gigante says he said. I think there is a good-faith misunderstanding, and most importantly, she hasn't decided whether she's going to run or not. I've known Hillary Rodham Clinton for 25 years, and she doesn't blurt things out," Ickes said.

Gigante told the CBS News' "This Morning" program that Mrs. Clinton confided her plans to him during a fund-raiser in New York Monday for Rep. Nita Lowey, the Democrat who would run for the Senate seat if Mrs. Clinton did not.

"I just said to her, 'Do you have any good news for the people of Staten Island?' She said 'yes.' And I said, 'Does that mean you're going to run?' And she said, 'yes.' And I said, well, we're ready to work. And she said, 'I'm going to need a lot of help,'" Gigante said.

The first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said in response: "People tend to hear what they want to hear."

Gigante defended his version of the story, saying that both he and his wife heard the first lady confirm she would run.

"Obviously this wasn't meant to be an announcement. I have no doubt she's running. Whether it was a slip, I don't know. But you can't put the toothpaste back into the tube," Gigante told Reuters in a telephone interview from his Staten Island office.

He said the reaction he has seen from Staten Island voters has been positive. "People here are just delighted," he said.

The first lady's friends and advisers say she is strongly leaning toward running for the seat being vacated by the retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

She and President Clinton are spending the rest of the week in northeastern Florida for some vacation and to give Mrs. Clinton some time to ponder whether to make her own first political run for office.

Advisers says she is likely to form an exploratory committee in late June or in early July to raise money to pay for her frequent trips to New York.

"I think it's fair to say these next two weeks are a very critical two weeks. If she doesn't say 'no' in very early June, it's an implicit 'yes' and you'll see (formation of) an exploratory committee," one adviser said.

There has been speculation for months on whether the first lady will run for a Senate seat. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is expected to win the Republican Party's nomination.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, while not commenting on the first lady's political plans, said that Tuesday night the president night called Ken Zebrowski, who lost a hotly contested race for the New York state senate in Rockland County, N.Y.. Mrs. Clinton had campaigned for Zebrowski.

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N.Y. Dem says Mrs. Clinton said she is running; her camp denies
2.49 p.m. ET (1849 GMT) May 26, 1999

NEW YORK (AP) — A Democratic Party county chairman says he knows the answer to the big question in New York politics: Will Hillary Rodham Clinton run?

Robert Gigante, Staten Island party chairman, said Tuesday that Mrs. Clinton has decided to run for the Senate from New York. Gigante said Mrs. Clinton told him so at a New York City fund-raiser Monday night.

However, Mrs. Clinton's top adviser denied the first lady told Gigante any such thing.

Gigante said he and his wife were making small talk with Mrs. Clinton when he brought up the subject.

"I ended by saying, 'Do you have any good news for Staten Island,' and she said, 'Yes,'" Gigante reported. "'Does that mean that you're running?' And she said, 'Yes.'"

Asked about the exchange, Mrs. Clinton's adviser Harold Ickes said that according to Mrs. Clinton, the first lady told Gigante that she is thinking it over and hasn't decided yet.

The Senate seat is being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is among the Republicans thinking of entering the race.

Mrs. Clinton is on vacation with President Clinton in Florida for the rest of the week. After she returns, advisers expect her to either rule out a Senate race or announce formation of an exploratory committee.

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