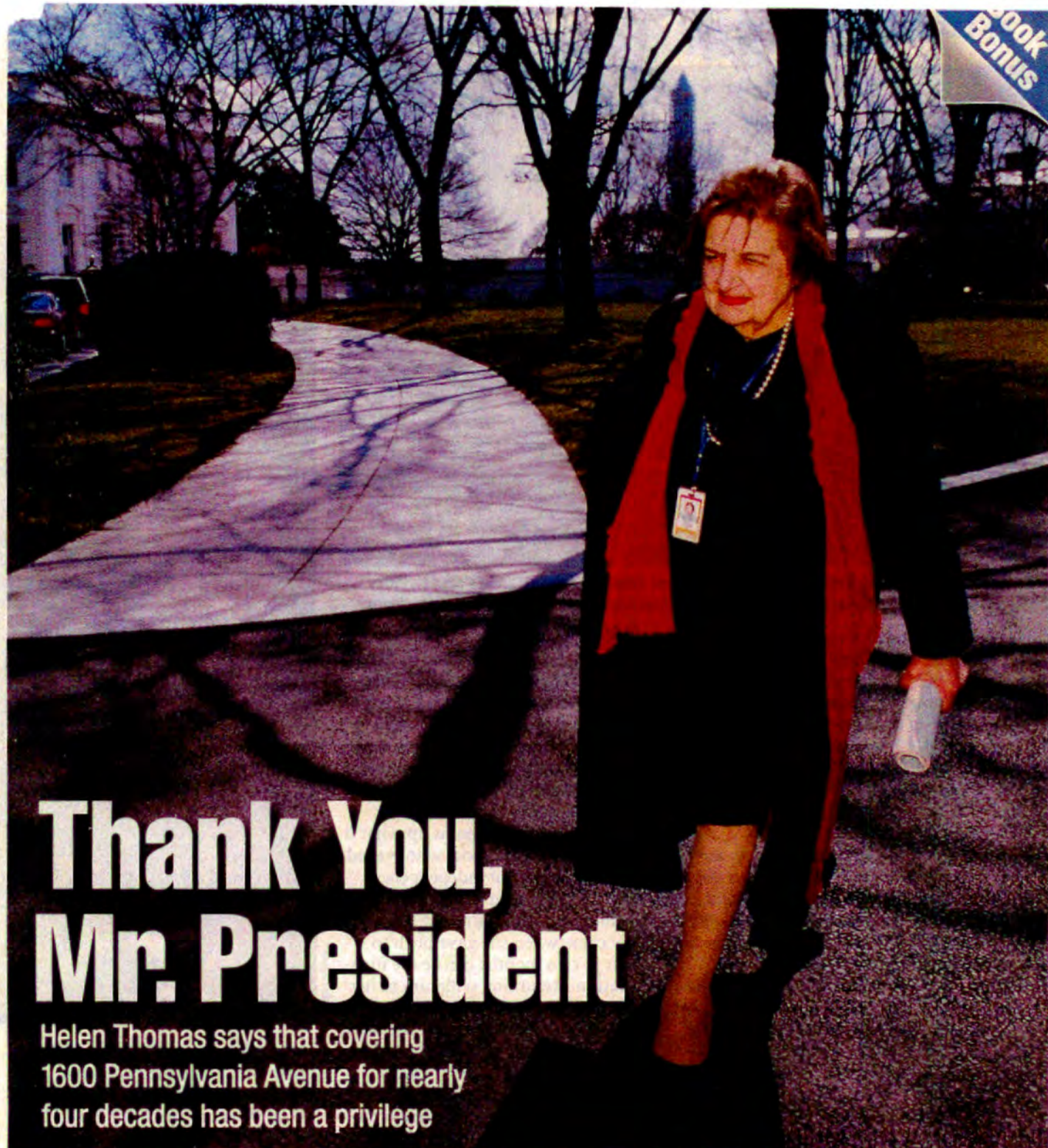




Thank You, Mr. President

Helen Thomas says that covering
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue for nearly
four decades has been a privilege

Bill Clinton "must have been in total trauma," says Helen Thomas of the scandal that engulfed him. "We've undergone a cultural shift."

At 78, Helen Thomas isn't about to relinquish the job she has done for the last 38 years: covering the Presidency for United Press International. "This isn't work. It's the White House!" declares Thomas, familiar to millions as the reporter who asks the first question at every other presidential press conference (she alternates with the Associated Press correspondent) and closes each session with, "Thank you, Mr. President."

But however much reverence Thomas brings to her work—"an honor," she calls it without a trace of cyni-

cism—it's the office she's in awe of, not any one President. She has made that clear with the no-nonsense questions she has put to eight Presidents beginning with John F. Kennedy.

The seventh of 10 children of Syrian immigrants George and Mary Thomas, she was born in Winchester, Ky., and raised in Detroit, where her father ran and eventually owned a grocery store. After graduating from Wayne University (now Wayne State) in 1942, she headed to Washington, D.C., to find work as a reporter.



In 1959, Thomas (left) and Mamie Eisenhower celebrated both Mamie's 63rd birthday and the 40th anniversary of the Women's Press Club, of which Thomas was president.

She started as a copygirl at the Washington Daily News, was hired by United Press in 1955 and, after covering Kennedy's campaign, was assigned to cover the White House in 1961. Thomas has been monitoring events at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue ever since. (She was married in 1971 to reporter Douglas B. Cornell, who died in 1982.)

Her first Chief Executive remains her favorite: "Kennedy gave us hope. Kennedy had his eyes on the stars and really personified the view that without vision, people will perish. It was an exciting, uplifting time." But Richard Nixon's 1972 trip to China was her best assignment: "Everything was a story—what we saw, what we felt, even what we ate!" As for Bill Clinton, Thomas writes in her new memoir, *Front Row at the White House, My Life and Times*, that "he failed the test of self-discipline... and gravely wounded his Presidency and the legacy he hoped to leave behind."

A trailblazer for female journalists, Thomas also helped broaden reporting of Presidents' wives. "I've admired all of those I've covered," she writes in the book, "for their activism, their dedication and their sheer grit in moments of crisis." Here she shares her memories of eight women who belong to what she terms "the smallest sorority."

JACKIE KENNEDY

In 1960, shortly before her husband took office, Jackie Kennedy brought her new German shepherd puppy, Clipper, on a flight from Hyannis Port to Washington. When the press corps sent up a note asking her what she would feed it, she sent back a one-word reply: "Reporters."

That pretty much sums up what it was like to cover Jackie, who waged a three-year war of independence with the press. Our first inkling of the hide-and-seek game she would play came when she gave birth to John Jr. two months before the inauguration. Returning with him to her Georgetown home, she went in the front door, then slipped out the back to meet Mamie Eisenhower for the traditional incoming First Lady's tour of the White House.

Jackie, I later learned, cried afterward. She said her soon-to-be home looked like a hotel decorated with a discount store's year-end clearance items. But those tears gave rise to one of her most significant contributions. She determined to remake the White House into a historic treasure. The dazzling result, which she displayed in a famous televised tour, was the first of several restoration projects she championed.

Pleading "family duties," Jackie retreated into privacy so often that it



became known as the PBO—polite brush-off. When she skipped a brunch given for her by the Congressional Wives to catch the Royal Ballet in New York, Lady Bird Johnson filled in. JFK himself pinch-hit when she refused to attend a Distinguished Ladies' reception in her honor.

Her desire to have it both ways—to seek coverage when the image needed beefing up and shut us out when it suited her—posed a constant conundrum. We retaliated in various ways, mostly involving working our sources and our binoculars.

Then Jackie's world, and America, were shattered by the bullet that



The day after Thomas spoofed Jackie Kennedy at a 1962 press club annual show, a grinning JFK came up to her in the Rose Garden. "I've been reading all about you," he said. "Some party."



Jackie (with then Vice President Lyndon Johnson and Thomas, at right, in 1962) "remains a unique and mysterious woman," Thomas writes. "She was not about to reveal herself."



"I have great faith in my husband," Pat Nixon (in '68) told Thomas during Watergate.

killed her husband on Nov. 22, 1963, in Dallas. Back in Washington, I was told that when Jackie got off the plane that returned his body to the city, chief of protocol Angier Biddle Duke asked if there was anything he could do. "Yes," she replied, "find out how Lincoln was buried."

On the day of the funeral, I stood on the steps of St. Matthew's Cathedral holding what passed in those days for a "portable" phone—about the size of a car battery and just as heavy—calling in the story. I found myself standing near Jackie as she emerged, holding John Jr.'s hand. I saw her lean down and whisper to

him, then watched the small boy lift his hand into a military salute. As I dictated the details, I had a hard time choking back my tears.

LADY BIRD JOHNSON

Moving into the White House in the wake of Kennedy's assassination, Lady Bird later told reporters, she "walked on tiptoe and talked in a whisper." She said she felt she was suddenly onstage in a role for which she had never rehearsed, "but like Lyndon, I will do my best."

She will probably go down as one of the most remarkable First Ladies. With Jackie, we had exhausted our-

selves just trying to eke out news. With Lady Bird, we exhausted ourselves just trying to keep up. When she launched her "beautify America" project, we reporters got to go along for the ride, climbing mountains, trudging along the Comanche Indian Trail in Texas, rafting Wyoming's Snake River.

Anti-Vietnam War sentiment was mounting, however. At one of Lady Bird's luncheons, singer Eartha Kitt shouted, "You send the best of this country off to be shot and maimed!" Lady Bird slowly rose, tears in her eyes. In a shaken but firm voice, she replied: "Because there is a war

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Thomas (admiring former President Ford's T-shirt in 1977) particularly appreciated Betty Ford's candor. She "trusted that the American people would understand," Thomas writes.

on—and I pray there will be a just and honest peace—that still doesn't give us a free ticket to not try to work for better things such as against crime in the streets, better education and better health for our people."

Lady Bird urged her husband not to run again, and after he announced that he would not, she said, "I felt ten pounds lighter, ten years younger and full of plans." A short time later the woman who had tiptoed into the White House told me her life was "richer and fuller because I tried harder and did things I never thought I could do and was scared to do. I'm glad for all the things I did and only regret some I did not do."

PAT NIXON

Warm, kind and lively, Pat Nixon was the most underrated First Lady I covered. We journalists saw her courage and devotion to her husband and family, but Nixon and his palace guard never understood what an asset she could have been.

One of the few times I got an inkling of what she might be feeling was when a reporter asked if she

would want her daughter to marry a politician. "I would feel sorry for her if she did," Pat replied.

Still, I think to her delight and surprise, she at first enjoyed being First Lady. She loved being a hostess. Her Secret Service code name was "Starlight," and it fit her well.

Watergate soon destroyed any pleasure she took in her role. But she always tried to respond to reporters. Once she told us, "We're going to fight, fight, fight" against calls for her husband's resignation. And I'll never forget her clenched fists when I asked her a question and she said, "You know, I happen to love him."

On Valentine's Day, 1974, after the President hadn't been seen for weeks, I heard that he and Pat had shown up at Trader Vic's restaurant, near the White House. Lesley Stahl of CBS and I hooked up and got a table near the Nixons and their friend Bebe Rebozo. When we hurried out ahead of them, hoping to spring a few questions, we saw what had to be every TV and still camera in the area waiting outside.

As they closed in, Lesley and I got pushed farther and farther away.

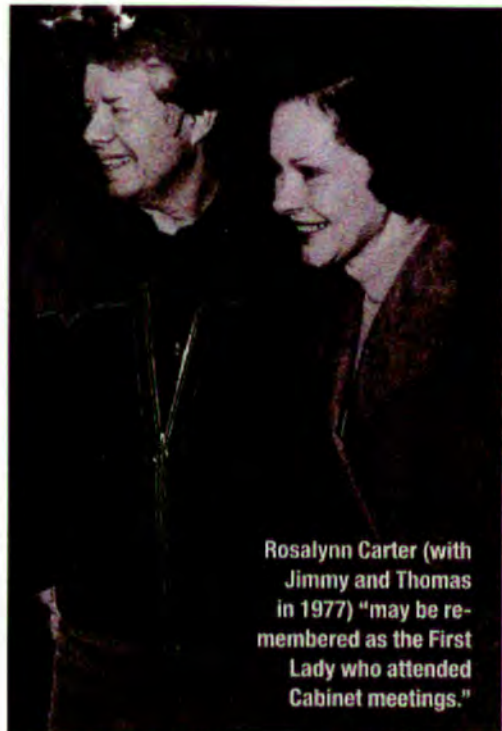


Thomas writes that "it's no coincidence the Secret Service gave Barbara Bush (in 1989) the code name 'Tranquility.'"

Then we saw Pat, standing all alone. When I asked, "How are you?" her tears welled up. "Helen, can you believe that with all the troubles Dick has had, all the pressures he's been under, he would do this for me?"

Personally, I thought he owed her a lot more.

The day Nixon resigned, the family came downstairs for him to deliver his farewell to the White House personnel. When Pat saw the TV cameras, she said, "Oh, no," but Nixon had okayed the coverage. So, as always, she stood and endured her particular place in history.



Rosalynn Carter (with Jimmy and Thomas in 1977) "may be remembered as the First Lady who attended Cabinet meetings."



BETTY FORD

I remember Betty Ford most of all as a First Lady who was not afraid to speak about her divorce, her psychiatrist or anything else. Some of her remarks were explosive, as when asked what she would do if her daughter had an affair. "Well, I wouldn't be a bit surprised," she said. "I think she's a perfectly normal human being, like all girls."

President Ford told us he thought the remark cost him 10 million votes. "Then when I read about it, I raised it to 20 million," he said. But he stood by her and supported her.



Before Ronald Reagan was first elected in 1980, Thomas asked Nancy Reagan (in 1985) what project she'd pursue as First Lady. "She said, 'I'm going to take care of Ronnie.'"

Betty's courage and candor were never more evident than in late September 1974, when she underwent a mastectomy. After she recovered, she spoke frankly about her breast cancer and emphasized the need for regular exams. Her openness paved the way for the kind of public attention and increased research we see today.

ROSALYNN CARTER

Liz Carpenter, Lady Bird's press secretary, once described Rosalynn Carter as having "the manner of Melanie and the efficiency of Scarlett." For myself, I would substitute "strength" for efficiency.

After Jimmy Carter's 1977 inauguration, Rosalynn plunged into her new role. She sat in on Cabinet meetings and joined her husband for a weekly lunch to discuss policy. She championed mental health and the needs of the elderly. When a reporter commented that she was trying to take on "all the problems that we have," her press secretary replied, "So what's wrong with that?"

At the same time, she was raising a young daughter—Amy was 9 when her father took office—and was intent on making the White House a home. Now and then, Amy and her friends could be found roller-skating in the East Room.

In November 1980, following Carter's defeat by Ronald Reagan, Rosalynn told a group of journalists that after the election she "went into

my room and cried a little bit but I came right out and that was it. . . . It was out of our hands."

Four years later, I asked if she would have done anything differently. "Jimmy has taught me you do the best you can and you don't look back with regret," she told me. "I have never looked back."

NANCY REAGAN

To me, Nancy has a special place in history for influencing her spouse to seek détente with the Soviet Union. But of all the First Ladies I've covered, she got off to the worst start, perceived as a frivolous clotheshorse who preferred to hang out with her wealthy California pals.

Much was made of the budget-busting inaugural gala and her luxurious wardrobe. Things only got worse when she solicited donations and spent \$800,000 to redecorate the family quarters, plus an additional \$209,508 for a set of gilded china.

But guided by her press secretary, Sheila Tate, Mrs. Reagan slowly transformed her image. In March 1982, Tate sounded me out about the First Lady performing at the annual political roast held by the Gridiron Club of print journalists. Sure enough, when the curtains opened, there Nancy stood in an outlandish costume topped off with a feathered hat and boa and big red earrings. To the tune of



Hillary Clinton, Thomas writes, "has paid a high price for being who and what she is—and set a new example for those who follow."

"Second Hand Rose," she sang:
*Even though they tell me that I'm
 no longer queen
 Did Ronnie have to buy me that
 new sewing machine?*

Her performance brought down the house—and marked the turning point in public perception about her.

BARBARA BUSH

After eight years of the high-flying Nancy Reagan, Americans took Barbara Bush to their hearts. She went with the image of serene, loyal wife who was content to run the East Wing and be "everybody's grandmother" who walked her dog in her housecoat at 5:00 a.m.

Benign and passive she was not. She was feisty, breezy and fun, with a core of strength and purpose beneath—as a friend of mine once said, an iron fist in a velvet glove.

When she was asked to deliver the 1990 Wellesley College commencement address, some seniors protested because she had "gained recognition through the achievements of her husband." But her speech was a hit. "Who knows?" she concluded. "Somewhere out in this audience

may even be someone who will one day follow in my footsteps, and preside over the White House as the President's spouse. I wish him well!"

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Early on, the Clinton Administration—Hillary included—was intent on doing end runs around the White House press corps. When I began lobbying for an interview, I was told that "she is afraid of what Washington reporters will ask." (It took six years to get my interview, in 1998.)

Maybe she had a point. No First Lady in modern history, except perhaps Eleanor Roosevelt, has weathered such a steady barrage of opposition and criticism. After her health care plan fell apart, Hillary was blamed for the backlash by "angry white males" who gave Republicans control of both houses of Congress in November 1994. The Clintons went into a tizzy of soul-searching, and Hillary held sessions with behavioral psychologists, who urged her to talk her troubles out with Eleanor Roosevelt. That prompted a rash of jokes on the late-night talk shows, but she countered with humor, start-

ing her speeches, "As I was saying to Eleanor Roosevelt . . ." When we talked, she seemed sanguine about the slings and arrows she had endured, noting she "always believed it is a real mark of who you are as a person as to how you deal with the unexpected events of your life, the disappointments, the setbacks."

In our interview Hillary recounted admiringly how her mother-in-law Virginia Kelley, battling cancer, "never wanted anyone to feel sorry for her, and as with every other adversity she faced in her life, she'd get up at the crack of dawn, put on her lipstick and false eyelashes and go out to celebrate life." Mrs. Kelley, she added, owned a sampler reading, "Lord help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that you and I can't handle."

I think that quotation expresses Hillary's own feelings. I'm reminded of a remark she made during the 1996 Democratic National Convention. A friend, she said, had warned her to be careful; she would probably have everything thrown at her but the kitchen sink. "Well," she said, "I just saw it go by." ●



Actor Charlton Heston, president of the National Rifle Association, meets with the press.

Missouri showdown

Voters in the Show-Me State shoot down a bid to allow carrying of concealed weapons

BY ANGIE CANNON

The Rev. Willie J. Ellis, pastor of the New Northside Baptist Church in a poor part of St. Louis, knows the pain and misery guns can cause. That's why he fought hard against the nation's first ballot measure that would have lifted a century-old ban on carrying concealed weapons there. "We didn't need any more guns," Ellis says. "There is no need for us to be policemen."

The campaign paid off. As a result of last week's voting, Missouri became the first state in the nation to defeat an initiative that would have permitted residents to carry hidden weapons if they passed background checks and completed 12-hour training courses.

Loaded debate. The election was a major setback for the National Rifle Association, which had pumped nearly \$4 million into a megablitz to pass the controversial measure. Gun-control advocates spent less than \$1 million to nix Proposition B, which lost by a 52 percent to 48 percent margin. The vote closed weeks of debate that brought out heavy hitters on both sides. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton recorded a message against the measure

that was telephoned to 75,000 voters; James Brady, who was wounded in John Hinckley's 1981 attack on President Reagan, went down to fight it. NRA president Charlton Heston and Sen. John Ashcroft led the charge from the other side.

Not surprisingly, neither saw the contest or its outcome the same way. Gun-control advocates say hidden weapons increase gun violence. The NRA insists residents have a right to carry concealed guns to protect themselves. Bob Walker of Handgun Control says the Missouri example will throw cold water on similar efforts in other states. "For the second time in six months, the NRA has been repudiated by the voters directly in a referendum," says Walker. "That is not lost upon officeholders, who will see the political clout of the NRA is waning."

Not so, says the NRA. James Baker, the NRA's chief lobbyist, says the group plans to step up efforts to pass "conceal-carry" laws in other states. Among them: Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado, where the NRA is holding its annual convention later this month. "We've never professed to win 'em all, but we certainly win our share," says Baker. "We're in this thing for the long haul."

Score one for the cops

A new expansion of police search rights

BY ANGIE CANNON

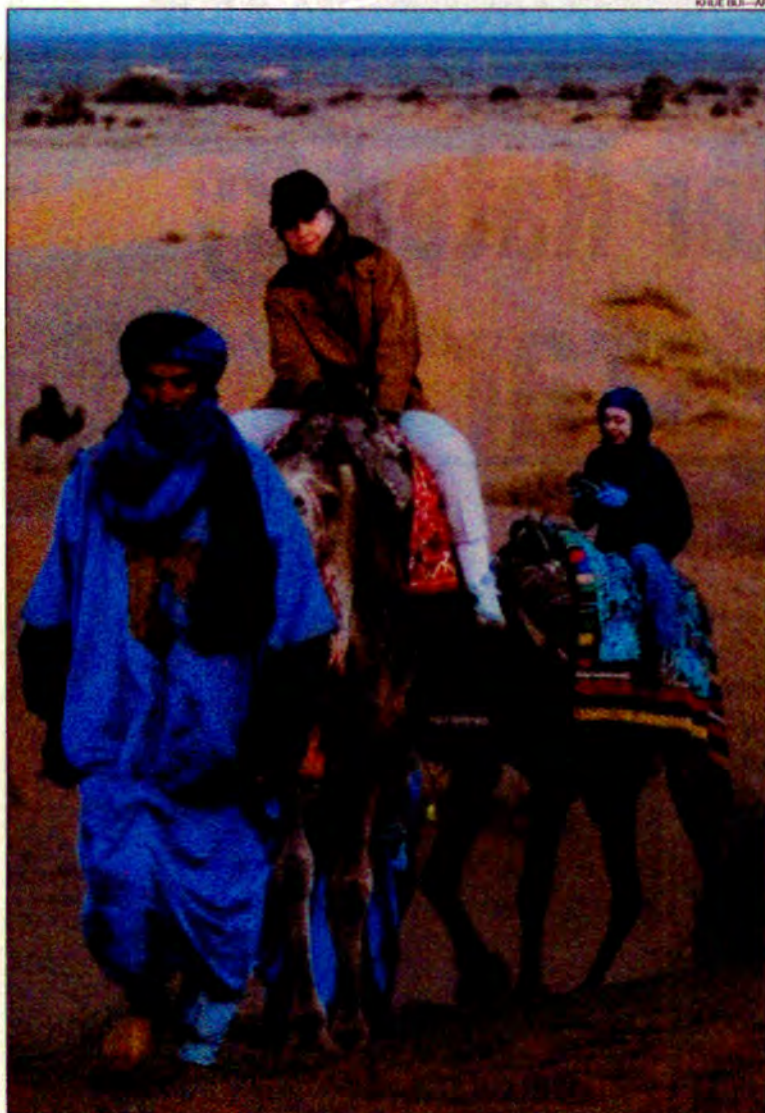
The U.S. Supreme Court has handed cops another big win. Last week's 6-3 ruling gives police the green light to dig through passengers' personal belongings during traffic stops. The decision continues a 20-year trend that has seen the court rule in favor of enhanced police power. "The court is focused on giving law enforcement every possible tool and every degree of power out there to apprehend, seek out, and find criminals and contraband," says David Harris, a University of Toledo law professor.

Police and prosecutors applaud the decision, saying it will make it easier for them to do their jobs. But civil libertarians say it tramples on personal freedom. "People should not have to forfeit their privacy merely because they are riding in the car of a person the police might search," says Steven Shapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The ruling overturns an earlier decision in Wyoming, where a judge threw out drug evidence he found was obtained illegally. State troopers discovered two syringes containing methamphetamine in the purse of Sandra Houghton, a passenger in a car they stopped in 1995. "The court is saying police officers shouldn't have to study opinions and split hairs like lawyers," says Ronald Bretz of the Thomas Cooley Law School in Lansing, Mich. "They are out there fighting crime."



Police officers stop a car in New York.

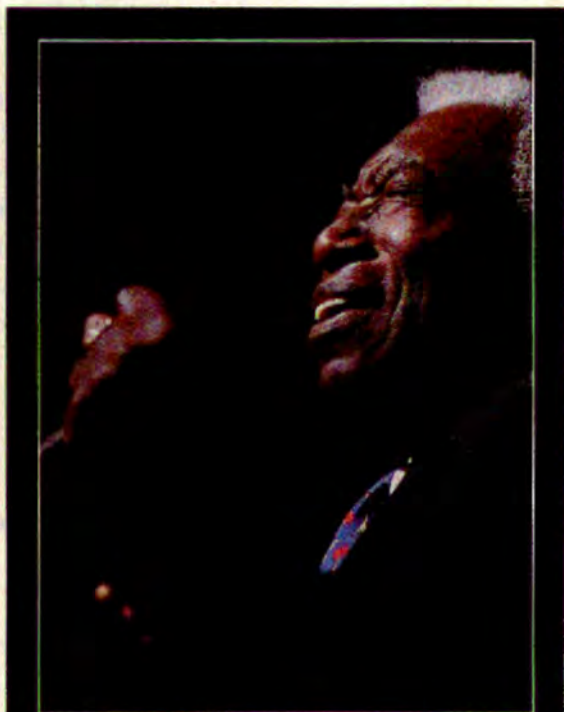
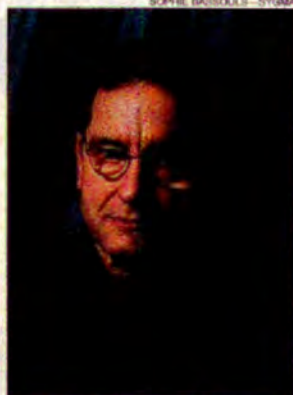


■ While the president spent a harrowing week fretting over developments in Kosovo, his wife, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, and daughter, **Chelsea Clinton**, took an adventuresome spring break—12 days in North Africa. Highlights included an overnight in the Moroccan desert, a tour of Roman ruins in Tunisia,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



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

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



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

■ **TUNISIE** ■ Deux semaines après la disparition de Habib Achour, figure historique du syndicalisme tunisien, la centrale ouvrière UGTT a réuni son 19^e congrès qui a redéfini les fondements du consensus social confronté aux défis de la mondialisation.

Syndicalisme new look

PAR MAJED NEHMÉ

□ Dans une conjoncture caractérisée par ce que certains idéologues du libéralisme musclé appellent "la fin du travail", où le plein emploi deviendrait inaccessible et le chômage une donnée structurelle à l'échelle planétaire, le vrai défi pour le syndicalisme – tant dans les pays développés du centre que dans ceux, en voie de développement, de la périphérie – ne se limite plus à la défense des acquis sociaux et économiques chèrement acquis, mais implique désormais le développement de nouvelles formes d'action revendicative plaçant l'emploi – devenu denrée rare – au centre de sa stratégie. Comment conserver les acquis, voire les renforcer, tout en continuant à créer des emplois ? Pour le 19^e congrès de l'Union générale tunisienne du travail (UGTT) – qui a inauguré ses travaux le 6 avril au palais des Expositions de Kram, dans la proche banlieue tunisoise, sous la présidence du chef de l'Etat –, cet antagonisme, par les temps qui courent, n'a pas lieu d'être. Poser le problème en ces termes procède d'une approche manichéenne dogmatique stérile qui conduit à une impasse économique et sociale totale. Après avoir été à la tête de luttes vigoureuses chaque fois qu'elle estimait que le pacte social qui la liait aux pouvoirs établis était rompu, la centrale ouvrière tunisienne a adopté, depuis onze ans, une ligne d'action consensuelle privilégiant la concertation et la négociation sur la confrontation. Pour une organisation très combative, qui porta jadis bien haut l'étendard de la lutte contre le colonialisme et l'injustice en Tunisie et fit des émules dans les pays arabes et africains, cette mutation n'a été rendue possible que grâce à la conjonction de deux facteurs. Il y a eu d'abord l'arrivée au pouvoir, le 7 novembre 1987, de Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, qui a redéfini les bases d'un contrat social malmené, voire rompu, par l'ancien pouvoir bourguibien, agonisant et délétère. Ayant assimilé les leçons de l'expérience chaotique entreprise par ses prédécesseurs, instruit par les effets désastreux de la politique de libéralisation sauvage (*Infitah*) décidée par certains pays arabes voisins, comme l'Egypte et l'Algérie, et qui s'est révélée désastreuse pour la stabilité politique et la cohésion sociale, le successeur de Bourguiba a inauguré une nouvelle voie tempérée vers l'économie de marché. Une voie certes plus lente, mais plus sûre, car résultant d'une démarche didactique et consensuelle.

Le deuxième facteur qui a contribué à cette mutation a été l'accélération du processus de mondialisation, devenu incontournable pour tout pays désirant bénéficier pleinement des nouveaux termes des échanges à l'échelle planétaire. Si les

conditions d'entrée paraissent draconiennes (démantèlement des barrières douanières, de l'Etat providence, du protectionnisme, mise à niveau des entreprises avec le train de licenciements et de réductions des coûts que cela implique, compétitivité et productivité, donc fragilisation des droits sociaux, etc.), les dividendes n'en sont pas moins mirobolants : équilibres maîtrisés, fin des monopoles, réalité des prix, relance des investissements, renouvellement et modernisation de l'appareil productif et économique, et au bout du compte création d'emplois et de richesses. Soucieuse de ses équilibres sociaux autant que de ses équilibres monétaires et économiques, la Tunisie s'est engagée dans la mondialisation à sa manière, à son rythme, avec vigilance mais détermination. Si la paix sociale dans cette

Hillary Clinton en terre d'islam

Tout au long de son périple qui l'a conduite de l'Egypte au Maroc en passant par la Tunisie, Hillary Clinton, accompagnée de sa fille Chelsea, a littéralement fasciné ses hôtes. Il faut d'ailleurs reconnaître que le monde arabe était déjà en partie conquis par la première dame des Etats-Unis ●●●



Chelsea et Hillary Clinton avec Leila Ben Ali.

●●● depuis qu'elle s'était courageusement prononcée pour un Etat palestinien souverain, ne craignant pas de heurter les positions officielles de la Maison Blanche et du département d'Etat sur cette délicate question. D'autant plus que s'avancer sur ce terrain politique miné peut coûter cher à cette femme de caractère alors que certains leaders démocrates tentent de la convaincre de présenter sa candidature au poste de sénateur de l'Etat de New York, où l'électorat juif est très puissant. Partie à la rencontre des femmes d'Egypte, de Tunisie et du Maroc – trois pays traditionnellement ouverts sur l'Occident –, pour les écouter et les encourager à assumer leur rôle dans le combat pour l'égalité et la modernité, elle n'a pu que constater, admirative, les avancées substantielles réalisées par ses consœurs. Entrecoupée d'escapades historico-touristiques, la visite de Mme Clinton a été l'occasion de comparer le combat des femmes américaines à celui, autrement plus difficile, menée par les femmes en terre d'Islam. "Les Américaines, déclara la première dame des Etats-Unis lors d'une conférence (sur "La femme tunisienne et les défis du XXI^e siècle"), en présence de Mme Leila Ben Ali, ont pleuré après chaque projection du film *Le Silence du palais*, pas seulement par compassion pour l'héroïne du film murée dans le silence, mais aussi parce qu'elles se sont reconnues." Tout en soulignant que la "femme tunisienne bénéficie aujourd'hui de tous les attributs de la dignité et de la citoyenneté", et en affirmant qu'aucune construction démocratique saine ne peut se faire sans la participation des femmes, Hillary Clinton n'en appelle pas moins à une vigilance de tous les instants, rappelant qu'il ne faut pas "dormir sur ses lauriers".

Reçue partout avec de grands égards et au plus haut échelon – par les présidents Moubarak, Ben Ali et le roi Hassan II –, elle considère que le plus grand hommage qui lui ait été rendu fut celui de l'éditorialiste du quotidien marocain de l'USFP, Slah Sbeya, qui a vu en elle "la femme qui fait aimer le combat des femmes". □

période de profondes mutations a été totale, c'est que la concertation et le dialogue entre les différents acteurs économiques et sociaux n'ont jamais été aussi intenses et fructueux. Contrairement à certains tenants de l'ultralibéralisme en Occident, notamment dans l'Amérique réaganienne et la Grande-Bretagne thatcherienne, où "casser les syndicats" était devenu un préalable à toute réforme économique, la stratégie de libéralisation définie après 1987 ne se concevait pas en dehors d'eux. Autrement dit, les nécessaires réformes ne se font pas contre les syndicats, mais avec eux.

Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Confédération européenne des syndicats, Jean Lapeyre, a assisté aux travaux de ce 19^e congrès. S'il a souligné l'originalité et la perspicacité de la démarche tunisienne, il s'est montré, en revanche, très sévère dans son analyse des dérives ultralibérales de la mondialisation "dérégulatrice" qui s'est développée depuis quinze ans un peu partout dans le monde, y compris en Occident. "Elle a donné un pouvoir totalitaire à l'économie au détriment du social, explique-t-il. Heureusement, tout cela est remis en question au niveau des différentes institutions internationales, et pas seulement les syndicats. C'est le cas de la Banque mondiale, du forum de Davos qui parlent pour la première fois de social. Même les ultralibéraux, même les capitalistes les plus acharnés découvrent tout à coup que l'absence d'équilibre social, de cohésion sociale se retourne en définitive contre l'économie."

CONSCIENT DE L'IMPORTANCE DE CE partenaire privilégié qu'est l'UGTT, le président tunisien n'a pas attendu les experts de la Banque mondiale pour découvrir les vertus du dialogue social. En s'adressant aux syndicalistes, ces "forces vives de la nation", du haut de la tribune du congrès, il a voulu leur renouveler l'engagement de l'Etat à relever le défi de la modernisation dans la solidarité. "Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir, leur a-t-il dit, combien nous sommes soucieux de consacrer l'équilibre entre les intérêts et les acquis des travailleurs, d'une part, l'intérêt du pays et les exigences du développement et du progrès, d'autre part." Or, pour que cet équilibre soit assuré dans les meilleures conditions, tous les partenaires sociaux "doivent se mobiliser" pour relever le défi de l'emploi.

Avec un taux de chômage légèrement supérieur à 15 %, le problème de l'emploi a constitué la préoccupation majeure de la décennie. Il sera encore, sans aucun doute, la priorité de la décennie à venir. Pour le juguler, rien n'a été négligé : éducation, réadaptation des filières de formation professionnelle pour mieux répondre aux besoins de l'économie, modernisation des structures de recherche et d'orientation des demandeurs d'emplois, etc. Tous ces efforts débouchent, en fin de compte, sur un objectif stratégique : renforcer et assurer l'ascension des classes moyennes considé-

rées comme un facteur de cohésion sociale et de progrès. C'est là qu'il faut chercher la clé de la réussite de l'expérience tunisienne. Alors qu'on observe dans certains pays un affaiblissement constant de ces classes et une aggravation des inégalités sociales, l'un des motifs de fierté de la Tunisie est d'être aujourd'hui "le pays de la modération et de l'équilibre [et] l'incarnation authentique de la notion de juste milieu". C'est ce que attestent les différents indicateurs du développement social et de la répartition du revenu par habitant, qui démontrent clairement que dans le pays, la classe moyenne regroupe aujourd'hui plus des trois quarts de la population.

AUTRE ATOUT QUI A ÉTONNEMENT renforcé la cohésion sociale de la Tunisie : dans ce pays, le combat syndical – dont les figures de proue furent M'Hammed Ali el-Hammi, Ahmed Ben Salah, Farhat Hached, Ahmed Tlili et Habib Achour, qui s'est éteint deux semaines avant l'ouverture des travaux et auquel le congrès a rendu un hommage accentué – ne s'est jamais dissocié du combat national, d'abord contre le colonialisme, ensuite pour l'édification de l'Etat indépendant moderne. L'actuel secrétaire général de l'UGTT, Ismaïl Sahbani, qui a été reconduit à son poste par les congressistes, fait sienne cette ligne d'action consensuelle et contractuelle entre la nation et ses forces vives dont les syndicats représentent le fer de lance. Si le renouvellement du contrat social est une condition nécessaire pour relever le défi de l'emploi, il n'est pas pour autant suffisant. Ce combat ne peut être gagné sans une politique étrangère ouverte sur le monde extérieur et en dehors d'une stratégie de coopération et de conquête de parts de marché à l'extérieur. Autrement dit, le volet géopolitique, dans un monde plus que jamais interdépendant, est aussi important que le volet purement social.

En multipliant les efforts pour ressusciter l'Union du Maghreb arabe et fructifier les dividendes de sa dernière visite d'Etat au Maroc, le président tunisien s'est employé à convaincre l'Algérie, à travers des canaux multiples, de l'urgence de la redynamisation de l'Uma. L'épilogue – provisoire – de l'affaire Lockerbie, ôte en effet un obstacle important sur cette voie. Quant à l'Algérie, il faudra encore attendre quelques mois pour savoir si le nouveau président aura la volonté et la capacité de renouer avec la construction maghrébine.

En attendant l'aboutissement de cette entreprise d'intégration bénéfique pour la relance et pour le marché de l'emploi, la Tunisie n'en continue pas moins à privilégier la coopération avec l'Union européenne, tout en renforçant ses relations avec les Etats-Unis et l'Asie. Une stratégie d'ouverture tous azimuts qui prolonge et consolide le combat mené à l'intérieur pour un développement solidaire, égalitaire et durable. □



Jennifer Fletcher (right), with her sister, Sarah Henderson, and Jackson Browne.

JOURNEYS OF

Here they are: the winners of the second annual **seventeen/Cover Girl Volunteerism Awards**. On the following pages we'll tell you about our six top winners and report on their trip to Washington, D.C., which culminated in an amazing awards ceremony. The featured speakers were three other exemplary volunteers: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno, and Brandy, singer, actress and Cover Girl model. Our three first-place winners in each of the three age categories (12 to 14, 15 to 17, 18 to 21) won a \$10,000 scholarship for post-high school education and a matching donation to the organization they founded or support; the three second-place winners received a \$5,000 scholarship and a matching donation to their organization. And 24 more girls (see "Honor Roll" page 159) were awarded \$1,000 U.S. Savings Bonds. Inspired? Then get out there and volunteer!

AUBYN BURNSIDE, HICKORY, NC
"MOVING A LOT IS REALLY HARD ON FOSTER KIDS—THEY PROBABLY DON'T FEEL STURDY. SUITCASES MAKE THEM FEEL MORE SECURE."

The inspiration: When Aubyn was nine, her older sister Leslie began working with foster children. Leslie told her family about how the kids moved from home to home carrying their belongings in garbage bags. "I thought it was really horrible," recalls Aubyn, now 14. "I wanted to make foster kids feel special by giving them something of their own to keep."

The challenge: The plucky fifth grader hauled down all of the old luggage from her family's attic, asked neighbors and community members to donate their used suitcases, and then distributed them to local social service agencies. Next, she recruited other volunteers and created an organization called Suitcases for Kids. "I just got people to realize that foster kids really need those old suitcases everybody has in their attic," Aubyn says. In the last four years she has personally gathered more than 17,000 suitcases, distributed them in a dozen states and written a 12-page starter kit to spread her message.

The results: "Aubyn has really increased awareness about foster kids, and she's demonstrated to other youth that they can make a big difference," says Elizabeth H. Brandes, assistant director of social services for Catawba County in Hickory, North Carolina.

The future: While Aubyn is proud that her program now exists in all 50 states, Canada, Great Britain and Russia, she's not finished yet. "I hope to make it exist around the world," she says.

How you can help: To find out about starting your own suitcase collection program, write to Aubyn at Suitcases for Kids, PO Box 1144, Hickory, NC 28603. For other ways to help foster children, contact your county's social services department or visit www.westworld.com/~barbara/.

—Sara Glassman

MEGAN KIRSCHNER, SCHERERVILLE, IN

"THE MORE I REALIZE HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE GETTING HURT BY CANCER, THE MORE I'M DETERMINED TO DO WHAT I CAN TO HELP."

The inspiration: "I loved her like my sister," says Megan Kirschner, 15, of the young girl she babysat, Emily Pearson.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Relationship update: Imani still tries to be "friends" with her mother and sees her often, but Imani lives with her grandmother and aunt. (She feels sorry for her six-year-old half brother, who does live with her mother.) In Imani's view, the damage has been done. "My mother doesn't know how to be a parent," she says. "She has hurt me in so many ways, but I try to move on with my life. I have to live for myself."

What the experts say: "If one of the most important adults in your life is crippled emotionally, that will have an effect on you," says LeGagnoux. Imani turned to The Door, a local organization for teens from troubled backgrounds. "It's a safe haven where I can talk to kids who have similar problems," she says. "I can talk about what I've been through with my mom. I've learned that I shouldn't hate her for her mistakes. She has a problem that she will hopefully grow out of."

JASMINE*, 17, CALIFORNIA

Troubled parent: Dad, who's in jail.

The history: For most of Jasmine's life, her father has been in prison. He'd commit either a petty crime, like breaking a window, or a felony, like beating up Jasmine's heroin-addicted mother, and the courts would send him



In *Ever After*, indentured servant Danielle (Drew Barrymore) has to endure the wrath of her stepmother (Anjelica Huston).

back to jail for another few months—or years. When Jasmine was five she blocked out the arrest scenes by fixating on her toys. "I would play with the toys around me," she says. "Sometimes I'd get scared and hide in the bathroom." Then her mother went to prison for two years on a drug bust.

Those years were tough. While living with her older sister, a college student, Jasmine, then six years old, was taunted by kids in school. "I didn't want to go because they would pick on me," she says now. "After school, parents would come pick up their kids and everyone would ask, 'Where's your mom and dad?' I couldn't say anything because I was too embarrassed."

Jasmine's mother got out of prison when Jasmine was six. They worked to put their family together again—with an unusual amount of success. Jasmine holds few grudges against her parents. "When I was little, I blamed myself," she says. "But I got over that. They did something wrong and had to do time so they could come back and change their lives for the better."

Relationship update: Dad is scheduled to be released from rehab for alcoholism this month, and despite a lengthy incarceration, he and Jasmine (who lives with her mom) have managed to maintain a loving relationship. "We're like best friends," she

says. Jasmine is also close to her mom, who, after getting clean, has worked on developing support networks for prisoners and their families. "She's a hardworking woman who's tried to raise me the right way and tried to pick up all the pieces. I love her a lot," Jasmine says.

What the experts say: Unlike Jasmine, many kids with parents in prison (or even parents who have only been arrested) suffer lingering emotional scars. "Usually there's a loss of trust because they weren't there for you," says Dr. Rosenberg. "You may feel abandoned. You may end up acting out toward animals or siblings in aggressive ways, especially if the parent behaved violently toward someone else." And when a parent is locked up, the teen often has to play grown-up and take care of business—family, the house, herself—as though she were her own guardian. "The reality is, no matter how mature you are, there are situations you should never be expected to deal with," says LeGagnoux. "Teens have to make sure they're not being used by their parents."

So why have Jasmine and her parents done so well? Jasmine's willingness to forgive and to reach out to them was key. But perhaps even more essential—her parents were willing and able to reach right back. ■

how to get help

Do these tales of parental woe sound familiar? If you need a program that can help you find someone to lean on, or more in-depth counseling, these organizations can help you.

Alateen (part of Al-Anon Family Groups)

A national organization (with meetings in all 50 states) for young people who have a relative or loved one with an alcohol problem. Call 888-425-2666.

American Self-Help Clearinghouse

An organization that gives callers referrals to their local self-help clearinghouse, where they can be directed to local programs for those affected by problems such as drug abuse. Call 973-625-3037.

Family and Corrections Network

A clearinghouse for regional organizations that assist prisoners and their families. Call 804-589-3036 or visit www.fcnetwork.org.

Annie Chau with
kids from Artspan.



Melissa Poe



Kathryn McKell

THE HEART

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

So when Emily, then six, had to undergo chemotherapy for a rare form of spinal cancer, Megan was devastated. After the treatment failed, the Pearson family sought experimental procedures, some of which were not covered by health insurance. Megan recalls, "I thought to myself, If I can just raise enough money, maybe we can find a cure for Emily."

The challenge: Over the course of a year, Megan did nonstop fund-raising, including organizing events like a bowlathon and a candy sale, to help Emily. Megan also wrote letters to government officials and private corporations to increase awareness about children's cancer. When Ty Inc. contributed a Princess Beanie Babies toy, Megan auctioned it off and donated the proceeds to Emily's medical fund. She eventually raised \$9,000 for Emily, but, tragically, the young girl died in May 1998. For Megan, the crusade only intensified. "Emily made me realize that little kids die, and not many people know that," she says.

The results: "Most important, Megan helped Emily by just being her friend—playing with her and paying attention to her," says Emily's mother, Gwen.

"She works so hard to perpetuate my daughter's memory and to help other kids with cancer." In fact, Megan has so far raised about \$35,000 for the University of Chicago Children's Hospital, where Emily was treated.

The future: Megan is planning a walkathon for May 29 to raise money for cancer research. Nineteen schools will participate in the event. As Megan puts it: "I'll keep at it until there's no more children's cancer."

How you can help: Call the American Cancer Society at 800-227-2345, or give directly to a children's cancer center in your area.

—S.G.

JENNIFER FLETCHER, PORTLAND, OR

"AS STUDENTS, WE VERY MUCH NEED THE ARTS TO FOSTER OUR GROWTH, TO DEVELOP EXPANSIVE THINKING THAT DOESN'T JUST LIE IN SOME TEXTBOOK. ART IS CRUCIAL IN ALLOWING STUDENTS TO BE THEMSELVES, AND TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY."

The inspiration: Life imitated art at Ulysses S. Grant High School in Portland, where *Mr. Holland's Opus* was filmed. Just as in the movie, the school suffered big budget cuts in its

arts programs. Jennifer, now 17, was determined to end the crisis. "I wanted to do something that made a statement—something to ensure that all individuals, regardless of their social status, have the opportunity to explore and grow in these areas."

The challenge: Jennifer wrote a paper for her sophomore English class about organizing a charity benefit. She knew the big element was star power. So she composed a three-page letter to Jackson Browne, her favorite singer as a child. His response, on her answering machine: "I want to help you out." Browne's staff insisted she do all the groundwork, so Jennifer lined up a concert hall and accommodations for the band, set up security and promoted the event. She also established Arts Alive!, a student-run board that will determine exactly how the concert money (plus other contributions) will be best put to use.

The results: The sold-out concert on October 29, 1998, pulled in almost \$100,000 for Portland's public-school arts programs.

The future: Jennifer and Arts Alive! plan to host more benefits—including an art auction, a gala with local bands and another concert later this year. ►

How you can help: If you live in the Portland area and want to get involved, call the Portland Public Schools Foundation at 503-335-0352.

—Dina Sansing

ANNIE CHAU, FOSTER CITY, CA
 "KIDS EXPRESS THEIR HAPPINESS, FRUSTRATION AND THEMSELVES THROUGH ART. THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO DO IT EVEN IF THEY LACK FINANCIAL RESOURCES."

The inspiration: Annie, 17, has been painting and drawing ever since she was a toddler in Hong Kong and knows how much art can enhance a child's life. After moving with her family to California, she became concerned over budget cuts in arts programs in San Mateo County schools. "For some people, art can lead to a career choice," says Annie. "And for some, it's a way to express yourself in a way that doesn't involve violence."

The challenge: In the fall of 1997, Annie, then a high school junior, founded Artspan—an organization of teen volunteers dedicated to bringing art programs to underprivileged and

at-risk elementary school children, as well as mentally challenged kids and teens in juvenile crime-prevention programs. As Artspan's director, Annie teaches four classes, designs lesson plans, recruits other teachers and initiates grant requests for supplies.

The results: In one year Artspan has reached more than 200 kids, expanded to three cities and sponsored three exhibitions of student artwork. Annie has been inducted into San Mateo County's Women's Hall of Fame, but what gratifies her most is giving kids something they can depend on—something "secure and reliable."

The future: College is next for this art educator (she's been admitted to Harvard and other schools), but that doesn't mean the end of Artspan. "I plan to pass on my responsibilities to a younger member of the group," Annie says, "but I'll keep in touch until she or he gets the hang of it. I'd love to see the program expand."

How you can help: San Francisco Bay area residents interested in helping Artspan should call 650-520-9843.

—D.S.

MELISSA POE, NASHVILLE

"EVERYBODY HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE CARE OF THE WORLD SOMEHOW."

The inspiration: While watching the TV show *Highway to Heaven* in 1989, Melissa, then nine, was struck by a bleak portrait of the environment in an episode about pollution. "The show scared me greatly because it showed a world in which it would be hard to survive because of water contamination, and because of people having to wear gas masks to breathe," says Melissa, now 19. "I didn't want my future to look like that."

The challenge: That night Melissa sat down and wrote a letter to President George Bush, asking him to do more for the environment. She also wrote to congressmen and senators, called local TV stations and even persuaded an area company to put her letter to the president on a billboard. Soon it appeared on 250 billboards nationwide, and that was just the beginning: Melissa then established Kids For A Clean Environment (Kids FACE) with six founding members.

The results: Kids FACE is now the

A CAPITOL TIME

As an early spring snowstorm dusted D.C., our winners excitedly toured the Capitol and other Washington sights, dined at local hot spots and even did some hands-on volunteering at Jumpstart D.C. But nothing topped meeting First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno and Brandy at the gala awards ceremony.



The winners (minus Aubyn, whose arrival was delayed by the bad weather) began their whirlwind visit to Washington, D.C., with a stop at the United States Capitol. The universal opinion? "Inspiring."



At Jumpstart D.C., an early-literacy program funded by AmeriCorps, Kat enjoys a game of tag on the playground with her new pals Diamond and Michael.



Melissa (right) and Annie picked up some cool moves from three-year-old Jumpstart participant Antonio.

nation's largest environmental youth organization. It has 2,000 chapters worldwide and 300,000 members who make saving the environment *their* responsibility by planting trees, recycling, and starting environmental action clubs and campaigns in their own communities. Each year Melissa creates a new Kids FACE national initiative to heighten public awareness about the environment.

The future: Now that she's in college (at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina), Melissa has stepped down as CEO (child executive officer) of Kids FACE, but she still serves as its president. She hopes to see the organization continue to grow by setting up more chapters around the world and by reaching Kids FACE's goal of planting one million trees by 2000. Down the road Melissa foresees a possible political career.

How you can help: To learn how to start a Kids FACE club in your area, write to Melissa's charter chapter at PO Box 158254, Nashville, TN 37215; or e-mail her at kidsface@mindspring.com.

—Amy Fishbein

**KATHRYN "KAT" McKELL,
BRADENTON, FL**

"THERE IS REALLY **NOTHING MORE IMPORTANT** THAN HELPING OTHERS."

The inspiration: For as long as she can remember, Kat, 22, has been volunteering. She started at age nine, serving hot lunches to the elderly through Meals-on-Wheels. By the time Kat entered high school, she noticed that many of her friends had lots of free time on their hands. "I was so frustrated looking around my community and seeing all the problems that existed," says Kat. "And then I realized that I go to school with all these kids who could be doing something to help out."

The challenge: In 1994, Kat, then 16, founded The ManaTeens, an organization to promote youth volunteerism. She and a few friends launched the club with a program called PainTeen, in which more than 20 teens volunteered their time to paint houses for people in need. Then they began calling local volunteer agencies to see how else they could help. Gradually ManaTeens were assigned to community service projects in 318 participat-

ing agencies around the county. "We try to put teens in places where they can help out and also learn valuable skills," says Kat.

The results: Today, ManaTeens' 8,000 members provide thousands of hours of service to more than 300 volunteer organizations in southwest Florida. This extraordinary commitment has helped show the community that teens *can* make a difference. "Many adult organizations don't realize how a teen can help," says Kat.

The future: Now a premed student at Manatee Community College in southern Florida, Kat still devotes 20 hours a week to her organization and is particularly excited about her latest project: a temporary shelter system for homeless women. She is also developing a core group of ManaTeens who can show other teens around the country how to start their own clubs.

How you can help: To organize your own ManaTeens Club, call the Florida office at 941-746-7117 or e-mail them at Manateens@aol.com. Another good resource: Youth Service America, 202-296-2992.

—A.F.



In her speech at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, the First Lady spoke extensively about the winners, their accomplishments and much more. "I thought it was really cool that she thanked each of us personally for what we've done," said Jennifer.

Before heading over to the awards ceremony, the winners received Cover Girl makeovers. Aubyn (above) and Annie (right) loved the star treatment.



Brandy, who helped present the awards, bonded with the six winners. "I sang 'My Heart Will Go On' with Brandy!" said Megan. "I can't believe it!"



PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION



The six winners posed with Brandy and Hillary Rodham Clinton before the ceremony. "I was really nervous when I met the First Lady, but she was so nice!" says Annie.



"Build your life to serve others," U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno told the audience.

MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON

I used to read **seventeen** magazine," Hillary Rodham Clinton told hundreds of guests at the **seventeen**/Cover Girl Volunteerism Awards ceremony at the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D.C. She praised the six winners and what they represent: "These young women stand for thousands and even millions of other young women and men who are trying to do their part to make sure we do build that better future," said the First Lady. "But I think we should not just

applaud them. We should be challenged by them."

As if that weren't inspiration enough, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno brought tears to many eyes as she talked poignantly about helping others. "Service is so vital to this nation," she said. "Of all the things I have done in my life, service has been the most rewarding."

To learn more from the attorney general on this important subject, we sat down with Janet Reno in her office in the U.S. Department of Justice.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HAVE YOU EVER VOLUNTEERED?

"Seeing people happy and laughing makes me feel good," says Brandy. That's one reason the 20-year-old singer, actress and model has been doing volunteer work since she was a young teen. From reading the Bible in homeless shelters to donating used clothing to charity, Brandy has made a habit of helping people.

Brandy's most recent effort is The Norwood Kids Foundation (TNKF), which she started two years ago with her younger brother Ray J. The nonprofit organization provides training in computers and the performing arts to underprivileged kids in Los Angeles. Recently TNKF presented awards to local teens whose high GPAs and valuable community work put them in a class by themselves.



With her motto "Young people must help young people," Brandy encourages all teens to volunteer their time, no matter how small the effort. "It teaches you respect and appreciation for what you have," she says. "You can never be too busy to give back."

—Jennifer Parris

Do you have a favorite story about helping others?

Once, while I was state attorney of Dade County, Florida, I was coming down the elevator in the criminal justice building when three obvious prostitutes and a little old lady got on—they had finally been let out of jail. The little old lady was toothless and so frail-looking that one of the prostitutes said to me, "You've got to help me get her back to the jail to get her stuff." So I piled the old lady into the car, along with the prostitute; the other prostitutes jumped in, too. Later I drove the old lady back to a hotel, where she said she lived. We talked, and she told me about the hopes and dreams she'd had when she came to America. And then, having accepted all the help she wanted to from me, she patted me on the cheek and bid me goodbye with the most beautiful look of dignity and self-respect you can imagine. *How* you give help makes all the difference.

Is there a correlation between community service and crime prevention?

There are good things happening now in our communities, and the

volunteer is the glue. The doctor who volunteers his time to see patients in the community is part of the glue. The teacher who tutors children on her own time without pay is part of the glue that binds our communities together and helps a child gain the right foundation [to escape a life of crime]. We must continue to establish and expand mentoring programs [for at-risk youth]. A child needs someone to talk to.

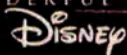
What qualities of leadership do women in particular bring to volunteerism?

Compassion, common sense and organization.

Do you have a message for our six winners—and for teens in general?

Build for the future. Let me tell you a lesson my mother taught me. When I was eight, we were outgrowing our little house [in Florida]. My father didn't have enough money to hire somebody to build a bigger house, so my mother learned how to construct one. She and I lived there until she died. When Hurricane Andrew hit the area in 1992, my mother was totally unafraid. She knew *how* she had built that house. —Andrea Chambers

Top photos: Linda Spillers/AP Wirephoto; Brandy photo: Jennifer Livingston. For all makeover photos: Hair: Claire Burham and Marcelle Johnston; makeup: Kent Lodmore and Salvatore Ayala; all for Illo Salon, Washington, D.C.



JOHN TRAVOLTA



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Pages

The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton

by Joyce Milton

The most ravenous curiosity about Bill and Hillary Clinton's marriage is likely to be satisfied by this gossipy, well-written and finally devastating biography of the woman in the White House. *One* of the women, actually, because among the things Milton examines is the astonishing amount of philandering Bill Clinton has done and the bitter, contentious mess it has made of his family life. She points to numerous women with tales of Bill's infidelity, lewdness and inappropriate advances—so many that Hillary hired a private detective in the early '80s to find out how many rivals she had. Oh, well. As Milton portrays her, the First Lady is used to adjustments and compromises, tempering her feminism to advance her husband's career, designing impractical, publicity-grabbing



The new Hillary bio supplies fodder for her admirers and detractors alike.

political programs and lacking the wherewithal to put them into action. Hillary emerges as the enabler of a severely sex-addicted husband and as a major player herself—brusque, insensitive, ready to cut corners, willing to do almost anything to get—and keep—power. (Morrow, \$27)—**F.P. Bottom Line:** Every fact (and rumor) about the stormy First Marriage

Page-turner of the week

Hart's War

by John Katzenbach

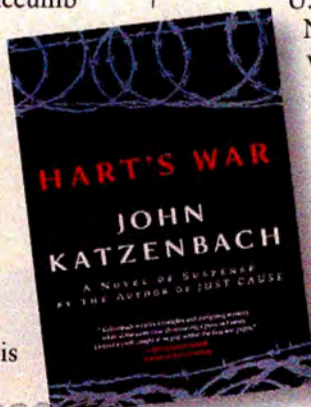
Reviewed by J.D. Reed

Forget *Hogan's Heroes*. It's World War II, and hundreds of captured Allied airmen incarcerated at Stalag Luft 13, a German prison camp, are neither spying nor pulling the wool over the eyes of dim-witted Nazi guards. They're expending their waning energy just trying to stay warm and healthy enough to survive as they try not to succumb to hopelessness.

Their numbing routine is finally broken by unexpected bloodshed. Lincoln Scott, a loner fighter pilot (one of the Tuskegee Airmen) and the only African-American in the camp, has a brutal run-in with a beligerent racist, Vincent Bedford. When Bedford is

murdered, Scott is arrested for the crime. Enter Tommy Hart, a prisoner since 1942 and a former Harvard Law School student who must defend the black flier against growing odds. Both his superior officers in the prison and his German captors are pushing to convict Scott quickly, even though he maintains his innocence. For the historical and emotional accuracy of this first-rate legal thriller, Edgar Award-nominee Katzenbach draws heavily on the experience of his father, former

U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, who spent two years in a Nazi prison camp. *Hart's War* honors that history while making a significant mark in the suspense genre. (Ballantine, \$24.95) **Bottom Line:** Electrifying courtroom drama framed by a fascinating chapter of history



PHOTOCO
PRESERVATION

VERBATIM

“They can't accuse me of rape. If you look at what has been coming out of the slums in Kosovo...only a blind person could rape something like that.”

VOJISLAV SESELJ,
Serbian Deputy Prime Minister

“I am thinking of putting in a workman's compensation claim.”

RUDOLPH GIULIANI,
New York City mayor, on an injury aggravated by handshakes

“There were two white boys on the elevator up here. I got real scared.”

CHRIS ROCK,
the comedian, who is black, in the wake of Columbine

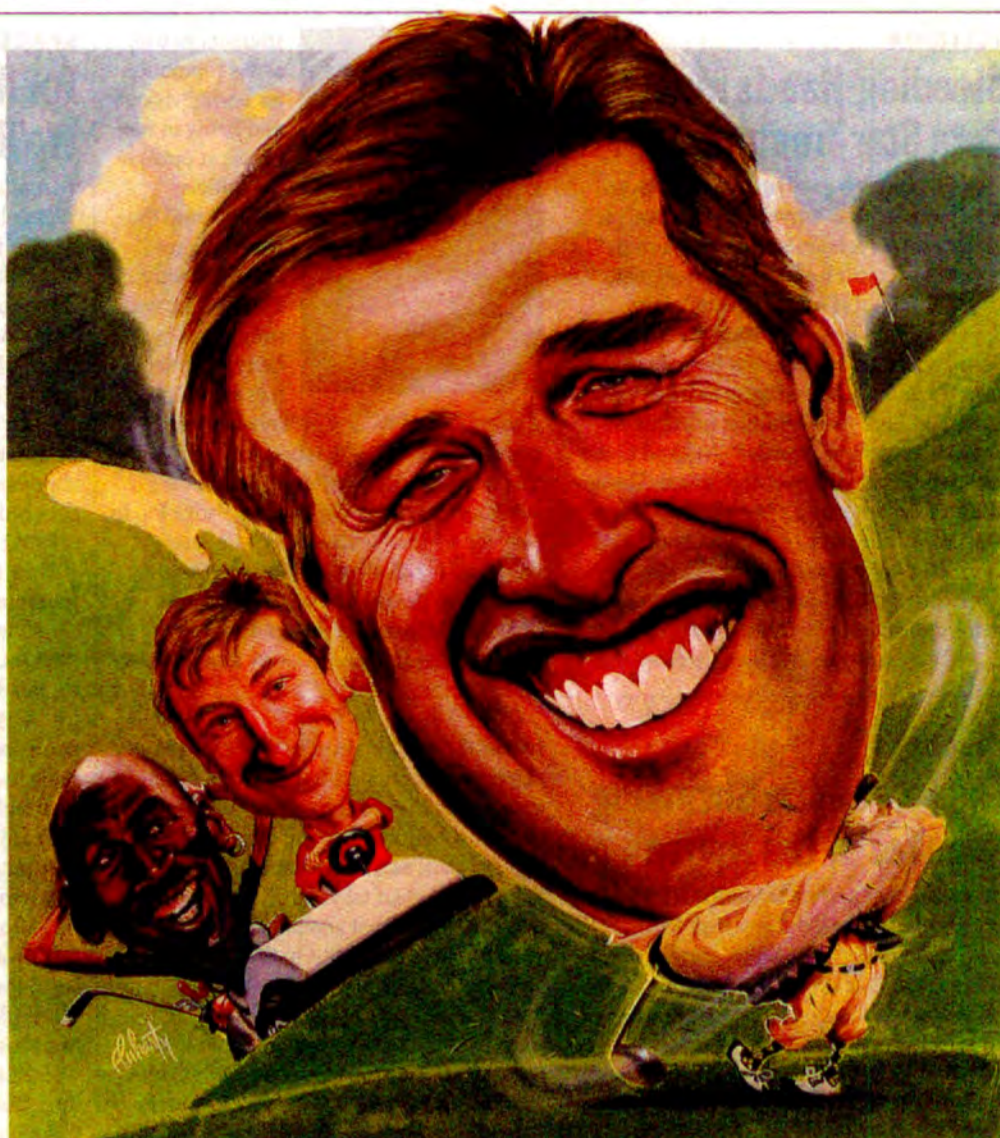
“Part of growing up is learning how to control one's impulses.”

HILLARY CLINTON,
introducing the President at a gun-control speech

“I think we've got gun control. I'm coming down now for Goth control.”

MIKE MURPHY,
G.O.P. strategist

Sources: Seselj: ABC News; Giuliani: N.Y. Times; Rock: Essence Awards; Clinton: White House; Murphy: CNN's Crossfire



TOM FLAHERTY FOR TIME

TEE PARTY After winning two Super Bowls for Denver and respect for the AFC, the Comeback Kid retires on top. With an impressive one handicap, John Elway will be outgolfing Michael Jordan (four handicap) and Wayne Gretzky (11).

WINNERS & LOSERS



JESSE JACKSON

The Rev. goes to Belgrade and gets POWs back. Sloba's playing chess, but Jesse gets war's only glory

THE FREE LUNCH

Court rules that federal officials can still accept gifts. But not that kind of gift, Bill

SIBLING RIVALRY

Gov. Jeb Bush makes Florida first state with school vouchers—a George W. agenda item

MARILYN MANSON

First he's blamed for Littleton. Then someone sticks a smiley face on his stage. He storms off; riot erupts

MARS

Magnetism suggests it's basically like Earth. So why bother going? Tourism predicted to plummet

ARKANSAS

'92: Sooeey! Finally, some attention
'99: Ten state pols indicted



JONATHAN ELDERFIELD—GAMMA LIAISON

RELIGION

Bleeding-Hands Man Gets Star Treatment

ON THE ROAD TO SAINTHOOD, IT PAYS TO have connections. A mystic with blood on his hands was scheduled to move a step closer to becoming a saint this week with Pope John Paul II's beatification of the Capuchin friar known as **PADRE PIO**. The cleric, who died in 1968, is a favorite of the Pontiff's and a cultlike figure to many other Catholics. Last year 7 million pilgrims—more than went to Lourdes—trekked to the remote hillside village of Italy's San Giovanni Rotondo, where he's buried; the village bustles with the construction of hotels and a church that will seat 7,500.

Padre Pio bled for 50 of his 81 years from mysterious, Christlike wounds on his hands, feet and side. Suspicious about the



Padre Pio

named Karol Wojtyla, who reportedly was told he'd someday be Pope. As Cracow's auxiliary bishop, Wojtyla asked Padre Pio to pray for a friend with cancer; she recovered, and is still alive. In 1983 the Pontiff put him on the path to sainthood, and the final step of canonization could come within the next decade. —By Emily Mitchell

stigmata as well as his reputation for seeing visions and being in two places at once, the Vatican investigated the friar and curtailed his activities. But he was sought out by believers, including, in 1947, a Polish priest

CONGRESS

The Incredible Shrinking Speaker of the House

MILD-MANNERED **DENNY HASTER** WAS never going to be like his outspoken predecessor **NEWT GINGRICH**. But last week, in the House's first big vote since impeachment—on a resolution to support the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia—Hastert's leadership was nonexistent. At a meeting with other lawmakers in the White House the morning



Denny Hastert

before the vote, Hastert told **PRESIDENT CLINTON** that enough Republicans would vote yes on the resolution to ensure its passage. Just hours before the vote, Hastert's chief of staff, **SCOTT PALMER**, advised the Democrats' chief tallyman, Representative **DAVID BONIOR**, that about 90 Republicans would vote in favor. But in the end, only 31 Republicans did, and the measure failed to pass in a 213-213 tie. Hastert voted yes, but instead of trying to persuade Republicans to join him, he remained seated while majority whip **TOM DELAY** lobbied members to vote no. "Hastert is Speaker in title only," a C.O.P. leadership aide said. "DeLay is running rings around him." —By James Carney/Washington

SPACE

For Another \$100 Million, We'll Throw in Ukraine

THE RUSSIANS MAY LAUNCH AN OBSCURE Welsh-born, U.S.-based garbage-treatment tycoon into space—if he can come up with the \$100 million needed to keep Mir aloft through 2000. The Russian government announced this year that it will have to wean Mir of funding this fall in order to pay for completion of the Russian modules for the International Space Station.

So Energiya, the state corporation that built Mir, created a subsidiary to raise hard currency. That's when

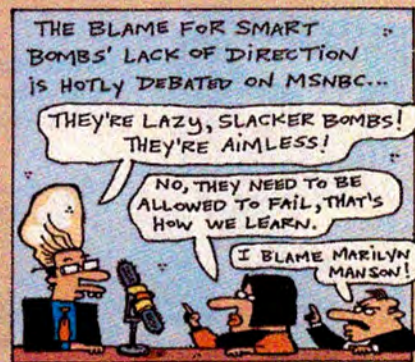
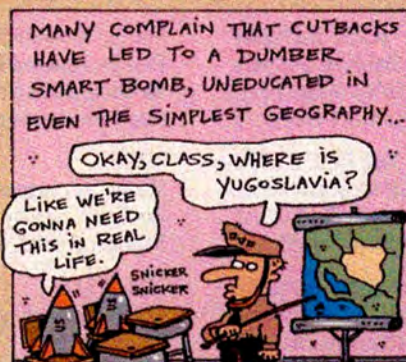
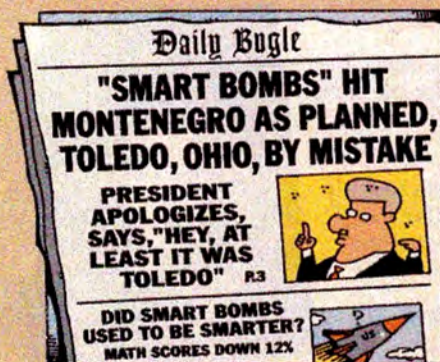
PETER LLEWELLYN, 51, head of Micro-life, a Minnesota company specializing in waste disposal, heard his calling.

Paunchy and with a graying beard, he is not quite the image of a NASA poster boy. But Energiya claims he's got the right stuff, that he's fit to fly and is a licensed pilot. Llewellyn, however, conceded to the *Moscow Times* that he's 112 lbs. overweight and, though he was certified to pilot a Cessna in 1976, has not flown a plane in 19 years. Still, Energiya says if Llewellyn can raise \$100 million, he gets a week of room and board on Mir this August. —By Andrew Meier/Moscow



Peter Llewellyn

THE DRAWING BOARD



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(((((THE BUZZ)))))

Howdy-Doodly-Do, Neighbor!

SCIENTISTS RECENTLY MADE SENSE OF AN ODD JIGGLE IN UPSILON ANDROMEDAE: THE WOB-
ble's caused by three giant planets orbiting the star. With huge planets close to its sun, UA's
quite different from our own system, but it's the first other multiplanetary system we've found.

I'll Be Seeing You ... Interferometry (measuring light waves from space-based detectors) can find Earth-like planets the wobble system misses. NASA plans to launch detectors within 20 years ...

Lights Out ... but not without funding: NASA's budget dropped again this year. Much more and we can forget finding E.T.

No Place Like Home Why look afar when many think there might be simple life on Europa, a moon of Jupiter? Stay tuned: a NASA mission heads there in 2003.

We Need New Glasses The wobble method solely detects huge planets in tight orbits, so it finds only strange systems unlike our own.

Whew! We knew our solar system wasn't unique—but still, it's cool to actually find some company.

Circus of the Stars UA's so unlike our own sun's family, it implies a whole galaxy of wildly diverse systems.



Ooooooooooooo the merchandise!

BRANDING

She's a Rich Girl

NO SOONER HAD CHILDREN'S author Kay Thompson died last year when, as her famed creation Eloise would say, Clink, clank, that phone started ringing. "The day after," says Simon & Schuster's Janette Young, "I had a hundred calls." Thompson had sparsely licensed her precocious 6-year-old "alter ego"; her heirs have no such reservations. This week, two Eloise volumes, illustrated by Hilary Knight, will be reissued, kicking off a marketing deluge. The \$500 beaded Eloise evening bag, hand-painted furniture, dolls—even a boutique at New York's Plaza Hotel, the character's home—will likely whet the appetites of several studios negotiating to make the movie. Eloise, who excelled at squeezing grown-ups, would be pleased.

JARGON

But They've Still Got Wigs

LAST WEEK ENGLAND banished Latin legalisms from its civil courts. Now 2,000 volunteer courtroom trainspotters are being sought to prevent backsliding. The queen's new English:

OLD	NEW
subpoena	witness summons
in camera	in private
guardian ad litem	litigation friend
ex parte	without notice
minor	child
interrogatory	request for information

REAL ESTATE

Hillary's New Home?

MANHATTANITES ARE CHATTERING about where Hillary Clinton might live if she joins New York's distinguished line of carpebagging pols. A PERI guide:

She could rent from a friend. Erstwhile FOB **Barbra Streisand**'s West Side triplex hasn't moved at a reported \$10 million.

Sen. **James Buckley** lived in nearby Sharon, Conn., but kept a pied-à-terre on patrician Sutton Place

Manhattan

A buttoned-down bachelorette pad, part of a design showcase this spring, is titled **Hillary's Term(s)**

At **Eleanor Roosevelt**'s last home, Hillary could commune with her role model for only \$4.95 million. A broker has already contacted the First Lady.

RFK's formal address was a Long Island rental, but U.N. Plaza was his N.Y. HQ. A swanky suite at the complex's hotel would bypass a co-op board.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

FROM LEFT: CHRIS BUTLER—SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY—PHOTO RESEARCHERS, DAVID N. BERKOWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK



GROUND-BREAKING: Hillary Clinton and Mo Mowlam at Musgrave Park



ROYAL VISITOR: Princess Anne at Moira Primary School and (top) pupils caught in the gust of her helicopter when she left

Royal 'copter takes centre stage at school

THE children may have been excited about a Royal visitor coming to their school but the real stir was over the transport she arrived in.

The school playground was empty until the huge green-camouflaged helicopter set down at Moira Primary School which was extensively damaged by a massive Continuity IKA bomb in February 1984.

Smiling children's faces pressed against classroom windows as they watched the Army guard two helicopters in the space usually reserved for skipping, running and playing football.

They pointed as the Princess Royal entered their school where she met teachers, pupils and dignitaries.

It was Princess Anne's second day in the Province and she met some of the children in their classrooms and viewed photographs of the bomb damage and building progress.

She met four sets of twins, all in Primary One, including Stuart and Robert Murdoch from the town.

"She's really lovely. It was nice meeting her," said Stuart, aged five.

The Princess met older children from the school who are involved with St Nicholas' Primary School in Ardglass through an Education for Mutual Understanding Programme.

St Nicholas' pupil Michael Magee said: "The helicopter was really exciting and I enjoyed talking to Princess Anne too."

Padraig O'Reilly, teacher at St Nicholas, said the pupils were "delighted" to see the Princess and represent their school at the event.

"The pupils all had to get up at 6am to get to Moira on time. That shows their enthusiasm," he laughed.

In the assembly hall, Councillor Jim Dillon invited Princess Anne to unveil a plaque commemorating the official opening of the school.

School principal Stanley Vennard presented the Princess with a water-colour print of Moira village.

Before leaving she signed the Visitors' Book and planted a tree helped

by P7 pupils Niall McLorm and Ashlene Carvill.

The Princess then went to Portavogie where she gave the Royal Seal of approval to a £2.2 million regeneration project and on to Rathcoole for the official opening of a £1.2 million community enterprise centre - The Dunanney Centre.

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News Letter

PRICE 35p (IR 45p) Thursday May 13, 1999

Northern Ireland's Newspaper

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Move to avert parade clash

By STEVEN MOORE

THE Orange Order has taken a step back from a possible Twelfth confrontation with the security forces.

Belfast lodges, along with counties Down and Tyrone, have opted for traditional parades in their own districts rather than taking part in a mass gathering at Drumcree.

Orangemen in Fermanagh, Londonderry and Antrim are expected to follow suit.

Although many members will travel to Portadown later in the evening to support the hillside protest, the move to abandon plans for a mass Twelfth day parade has eased fears that what is normally a family fun day could spill over into violence.

News of the Orange plans came as First Minister David Trimble met with Garvaghy Road spokesman Brendan McKenna in a bid to find a solution to the Drumcree stand-off.

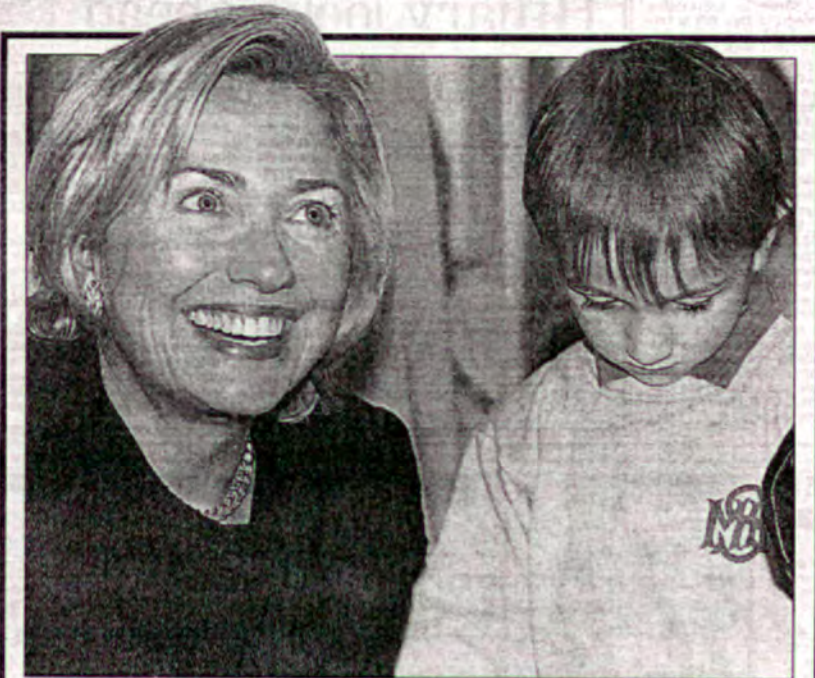
The meeting, which included Mr Trimble's Chief of Staff David Campbell, Ulster Unionist Craigavon councillors Mark Neale and Ken Twyble, and independent nationalist Joe Duffy and other Garvaghy residents, was "positive and constructive", the First Minister said.

"I was very glad to see the approach that people adopted today. I expect there will be further meetings, but do not think it would be useful to go into that at this stage."

Mr Trimble said he was optimistic that the impasse could be resolved within weeks.

"I think that is possible and certainly I'm going to do everything I can over the course of the next few weeks to find a satisfactory outcome and be able, consequently, to assure the people of the Portadown area, and indeed of Northern Ireland as a whole, that we are going to have a better summer and a better life."

See Page 11



STUCK FOR WORDS: this little boy could not conceal his shyness when he met US First Lady Hillary Clinton in Belfast yesterday. Mrs Clinton planted a tree at an after-school club during her visit. Part of the play area, which children designed themselves, is called Hillary's Garden. See Pages 2&3

IL RICORDO DEL G7



IL PRECEDENTE DEL '94 Durante il vertice G7 di cinque anni fa, Bill e Hillary Clinton (nelle foto) mostrarono di apprezzare molto Napoli e le sue bellezze. Il presidente con la ormai celebre corsa di buon mattino lungo via Caracciolo, la first lady con una serie di visite ad alcuni fra i luoghi più celebri della regione. Come il chiostro del monastero di Santa Chiara, o la Costiera Amalfitana. Hillary, accompagnata dalla figlia Chelsea, volle vedere di persona anche gli scavi di Pompei, dove la raggiunse, il 10 luglio del 1994, anche il marito dopo un lungo colloquio con il presidente russo Boris Eltsin



LA CURIOSITA'

*La moglie del presidente rivolge la «Caruso»
Ma Foglietta le ha prenotato un albergo diverso*

NAPOLI — C'è un piccolo mistero dietro la preferenza che Hillary Rodham Clinton avrebbe espresso per l'hotel Excelsior, a discapito del Vesuvio, dove aveva alloggiato in occasione del G7. La first lady in realtà ha appreso solo in un secondo momento che non avrebbe alloggiato nella suite Caruso dell'albergo dove aveva trascorso con il marito alcuni giorni nel luglio 1994. La questione del soggiorno è stata infatti affrontata, e risolta, da Tomas Foglietta, ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti in Italia. Foglietta quando è in città alloggia esclusivamente all'Excelsior e ha scelto per la signora Clinton il «suo» albergo. Hillary dopo averlo ha appreso ha tentato di «riconquistare» la suite del G7 e di ottenere la Caruso al Vesuvio, ma era troppo tardi per allestire il servizio di sicurezza richiesto in questi casi. Fra i due alberghi, che fanno parte della stessa catena, non si è scatenata comunque alcuna «corsa all'ospite». Alla fine entrambi sono soddisfatti. Al Vesuvio, dove Hillary è ricordata con grande simpatia, sono contenti del bel ricordo lasciato all'ospite anche a distanza di anni. All'Excelsior si punta invece sulla possibilità di offrire un soggiorno altrettanto piacevole. La signora Clinton sembra non se la sia presa più di tanto, soprattutto dopo aver appreso che il panorama sul Golfo è assicurato.

IL RITORNO DI HILLARY



Hillary, stasera summit al Vesuvio

Dopo il viaggio nei Balcani, la signora Clinton potrebbe incontrare anche D'Alema

NAPOLI — La sosta a Napoli di Hillary Clinton non sarà un semplice «scalo tecnico». Le notizie sono ancora officiose, ma — è quasi sicuro — stasera ci sarà un vero e proprio «summit» al femminile. L'appuntamento è fissato alle nove sulla terrazza Caruso dell'hotel Vesuvio. Attorno a un piatto di pesce e del buon vino bianco si troveranno la first lady statunitense, Linda Giuva D'Alema, Annamaria Carloni e — a fare da interprete — l'ex parlamentare di sinistra Chiara Ingrao. Un vertice insolito, che potrebbe essere allargato all'ultimo momento anche ai mariti, Massimo D'Alema e Antonio Bassolino.

La first lady è transilana in...

ti gli spostamenti di Hillary. E, piano piano, sono arrivate le conferme. Prima fra tutte, quella dell'albergo. La cena è prenotata per cinque persone. E un uomo della sicurezza Usa è già stato sul posto per un primo sopralluogo. Da Roma, poi, si è saputo che Chiara Ingrao, figlia dell'ex presidente della Camera Pietro Ingrao, esperta di politica estera del Ds, è stata allertata per l'occasione dalla presidenza del Consiglio.

A tavola, è facile immaginare, si parlerà soprattutto di donne e politica. Un terreno sul quale Hillary non si è mai tirata indietro, impegnandosi in prima persona nella riforma dello stato sociale Usa.

democrazia europea e il modello liberal dei democratici americani — aveva promesso a D'Alema: ci rivediamo in Italia.

Il premier, però, è impegnato a gestire la delicata fase politica che segue l'elezione del presidente della Repubblica, quindi potrebbe dare forfait. In tal caso, è probabile che anche Antonio Bassolino passi la notte, lasciando il campo libero alle donne.

I rapporti tra Hillary e Annamaria Carloni risalgono al 1994, quando la compagna del sindaco — allora non erano sposati — accompagnò la first lady nel suo giro turistico della città. Stando a quanto riferito dall'ambasciata americana, memore di quel

marci qualche ora a Napoli.

Se il protocollo ufficiale è stato rispettato, la signora Clinton dovrebbe essere atterrata la notte scorsa — verso l'una e trenta — nella zona militare dell'aeroporto di Capodichino e aver trascorso la notte all'Hotel Excelsior. Stasera è prevista la sua partenza per l'Albania e la Macedonia, dove visiterà alcuni campi profughi. Poi, in serata, il rientro a Napoli.

A proteggerla, nel suo breve soggiorno napoletano, saranno prima di tutto gli uomini dei servizi americani, una ventina provenienti da Washington, gli altri messi a disposizione dalla base Nato partenopea. E c'è poi la mobilita-

first lady — quindici persone — ha avuto ordine di attendere all'aeroporto a partire da mezzanotte. E gli agenti della Digos, assieme a carabinieri e uomini della sicurezza Usa, presidiano da ieri il tratto del Lungomare sul quale si affaccia l'Excelsior. A poche centinaia di metri, nelle acque del Golfo, ha gettato l'ancora un'imbarcazione della U.S. Navy, pronta a intervenire in caso di pericolo. Staff e scorta di Hillary occupano tutto il quarto piano dell'albergo, il più lussuoso. E sopra l'ingresso è già apparsa la bandiera a stelle e strisce.

L'unico dubbio, ieri, riguardava proprio la cena. «Francamente — spiegano fonti riservate — non siamo

LE FIRST LADY



HILLARY Ex avvocato in carriera, è



LINDA La moglie del premier D'Alema è diventata celebre per il suo stile sobrio. Poche apparizioni pubbliche, un lavoro defilato all'Archivio di Stato, una casa «normale» nel quartiere Prati di Roma. Di recente la signora Giuva è stata al centro di una polemica: per il marito «è sottopagata»



ANNAMARIA Compagna del sindaco

Vigili schierati dalle 22, molti automobilisti ignoravano il divieto. Intorno a mezzanotte si è sfiorato l'ingorgo nella galleria Vittoria

Chiatamone, caos intorno all'isola

Scatta il blocco, protestano i ristoratori. Strisce blu fino a mezzanotte con tariffa unica

NAPOLI — «Ma è successo qualcosa?», «Sì, perché non possiamo passare?», «C'è stato per caso un crollo?». «Io abito a Santa Lucia...». Poca pubblicità, molti inconvenienti. Nessuno, o quasi, era a conoscenza del nuovo provvedimento che, dalle 22 alle 2, dal giovedì al sabato, sottrae la strada al traffico veicolare.

Il «popolo della notte» ha premuto sugli sbarramenti di via Dumas e di via Ugo Foscolo

Corteo di An: il dispositivo va revocato

cusa l'Amministrazione di non saper affrontare il reale problema della zona. Tutti intorno all'isola la situazione si riscalda. Il «popolo della notte» non gradisce la variazione di programma e solo a malincuore, e dopo molte proteste, torna sui propri passi disponendosi a percorrere la

galleria della Vittoria dopo un lungo giro. La folla preme anche sugli sbarramenti di via Dumas e di via Ugo Foscolo. Il traffico si intensifica in via Caracciolo e nel tunnel, si sfiora l'ingorgo. Padrucci non fa una piega, insieme a un plotone di centoventi vigili in giro da Santa Lucia a Mergellina assi-

cure che non farà marcia indietro e rilancia, da stasera, con un altro dispositivo. Dal venerdì alla domenica, dalle 20 alle 24, si pagherà una tariffa unica di tremila lire per parcheggiare nelle strisce blu della Riviera di Chiaia, di largo Pignatelli, di viale Dohrn, di viale Gramsci, di via Caracciolo e in tutta l'area di Mergellina. L'ordinanza tende a scoraggiare l'attività dei parcheggiatori abusivi, a intensificare i controlli da parte degli ausiliari del traffico della Chap e a ripristinare l'ordine in alcune del-



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Anna Paola Merone non muoveranno il buda e, anche il dessert, in tavola. L'azienda di viale Gramsci, 161, tel. 081/2297459, Terrusi Via E. Bellini, 29, tel. 081/282107.

La cena, a meno di tre in compagnia di sue nonne. D'Almeida, curatore di San Gregorio, ammette che non è un grande appassionato di cucina, ma che preferisce per la cura dei propri gusti per assaporare.

L'Excelsior, albergo di viale Gramsci, 161, tel. 081/2297459, Terrusi Via E. Bellini, 29, tel. 081/282107.

Una sola, necessaria per la sua organizzazione. Corbelli, che non ha fatto nulla di simile, si è recato a casa a fare la spesa.

NAPOLI — Orchidee, Un'orchidea che non ha fatto nulla di simile, si è recato a casa a fare la spesa.

La scorta italiana della questura. Un'orchidea che non ha fatto nulla di simile, si è recato a casa a fare la spesa.



L'hotel Excelsior visto dal Borgo Marittimo

Nella suite dell'Excelsior orchidee bianche e sfogliate calde

IL RETROSCENA

La scorta italiana della questura. Un'orchidea che non ha fatto nulla di simile, si è recato a casa a fare la spesa.



La scorta italiana della questura. Un'orchidea che non ha fatto nulla di simile, si è recato a casa a fare la spesa.

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Tornerà sul lungomare dopo il blitz in Albania e Macedonia. A tavola, forse, anche Bassolino e il capo del governo

Hillary, la cena delle first-lady

Appuntamento all'hotel Vesuvio con Annamaria Carloni e Linda D'Alema



Hillary Clinton

NAPOLI — Hillary Clinton è atterrata la scorsa notte all'aeroporto di Capodichino. Oggi trascorrerà la giornata in Albania e Macedonia per poi rientrare a Napoli in serata. In programma, c'è un vertice tra first-lady. Sulla terrazza Caruso dell'hotel Vesuvio, infatti, assieme alla moglie di Bill Clinton ceneranno Annamaria Carloni e Linda Giava, consorti rispettivamente di Antonio Bassolino e Massimo D'Alema. La presenza dei mariti, invece, è ancora in forse.

Hillary ha trascorso la notte all'hotel Excelsior, protetta da un imponente servizio di sicurezza. Uomini della questura partenopea, affiancando gli agenti statunitensi, l'hanno scortata dall'aeroporto, mentre già da ieri, Digos, Carabinieri e Guardia di Finanza tengono sotto controllo via Partenope. Nella sua suite, la first lady ha trovato delle orchidee e un omaggio di prodotti tipici: limoncello, sfogliatelle e babà.

■ A pagina 3
Iannuzzi, Merone

'Given the situation in the world we all have a role to play in the quest for peace'

First Lady warns on 'perils of indifference' to Balkans

By Lorna Siggins, in Galway

IRELAND'S example to the world in trying to "make peace real" and the "perils of indifference" in relation to the Balkans were the twin themes of Mrs Clinton's address at NUI Galway yesterday. Delivering the inaugural address in the university's millennium lecture series, to mark 150 years of student enrolment, Mrs Clinton quoted two former Nobel Prize winners, including Seamus Heaney, in a 30-minute speech entitled "Our obligations to each other: the continuing quest for peace."

Mrs Clinton paid tribute to the communities endeavouring to make peace in the North, and singled out the contribution of women on both sides of the divide, in advance of her engagement with the Vital Voices women's group in Belfast.

Indicating her tacit support for the NATO campaign in the Balkans, she said those who stood by in the face of suffering were "not only bystanders" but also "in danger of losing their own soul".

Exhorting against apathy and indifference, she said people must constantly nurture hope. It was only when they could let go of their past and their old hatreds that hope could flourish.

Mrs Clinton told the 1,000 guests in Áras na Mac Léinn, where she was given an honorary doctorate in law and the freedom of Galway city, that the tragedy of ethnic cleansing struck at all gen-

erations.

She said there was a constant challenge to peace at the end of an all-too-violent century.

"We live in a time at the end of the century when we know that peace is a constant challenge to us — how we obtain it and how we maintain it. We know even as we meet today that it is a challenge in the Balkans, the Middle East, parts of Africa and elsewhere.

"It seems that all of us, as we honour the past and imagine the future, have an opportunity to think harder about what our obligations are to other people and the obligations we all have for peace. Given the situation in the world today, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the once-again-living conflict among ethnicities, religions and tribes, we all have a role to play in the continuing quest for peace.

"But peace will more than ever depend on what each of us does, and whether we can overcome our past on behalf of a common future."

Mrs Clinton referred to Ireland's first intake of refugees from Kosovo — "You are offering them your hearts and your homes, just as you have always done" — and said she had met the first group taken to the US.

She had been impressed by their desire to return home and build their lives in peace and harmony.

Referring to Ireland's record in international peacekeeping, she said this State had given a clear lead to the rest of the world.



The US First Lady, Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Dr Patrick Fottrell, president of NUI Galway, when she visited the university yesterday. Photograph: Bryan O'Brien

Women's conference on agenda today

By Clare Murphy, in Belfast

THE US presidential jet touched down in Belfast yesterday afternoon, as Mrs Hillary Clinton arrived for her fourth visit to Northern Ireland.

She addresses the Vital Voices conference in Belfast today, which will focus on the issue of "sustainability" and how community development work and women's groups can survive and

develop over time, beyond the initial seeding of grant support.

She was greeted on her arrival at the International Airport by the Northern Secretary, Dr Mo Mowlam, and travelled to south Belfast where she announced the development of a cross-community play area for children.

"Today, because of the leadership and the progress that have brought people together from both traditions, and the hard work that has gone into not only the Good

Friday accord but all the work since, children are thinking as children should think. They are drawing pictures of a much more hopeful and happy future," she said.

The US First Lady then went to Parliament Buildings at Stormont, where she met the North's First Minister, Mr David Trimble, and the Deputy First Minister, Mr Seamus Mallon, and their wives, Daphne and Gertrude.

"What's the date?" joked Mrs

Clinton, as she signed a visitors' book in the main hallway. She admired the architecture of the building and was taken to view the Assembly chamber by the Presiding Officer, Lord Alderdice.

Mrs Clinton was accompanied on her engagements by the US ambassador to London, Mr Philip Lader, and the US consul-general in Belfast, Ms Jane Ki Foet. A reception was held before she had informal talks with the women Assembly members on the front balcony of the building. Nine of the

14 women members were present, including Sinn Féin's Ms Bairbre de Brún.

Later Mr Mallon described Mrs Clinton as "an engaging, highly intelligent and attractive lady". He added that President Clinton had, through his wife, passed on his regards to all those in Stormont.

Commenting on speculation that Mrs Clinton wished to run for elected office, Mr Trimble said her ambitions had come up in conversation.

Hillary Clinton gets freedom of city of Galway, honorary degree

By Lorna Siggins, in Galway

WITH a quick smile and a quip about the many "distinguished gentlemen" who had gone before, the US First Lady, Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton, became the first woman to be granted the freedom of Galway city, that the tragedy of ethnic cleansing struck at all gen-

er, the day also featured a protest by anti-war demonstrators.

"A great natural resource, a fine legal mind, an inspiration to aspiring women, a model of the loving yet autonomous wife, a consistent champion of children and a good soul," was how the president of

Dr Fottrell paid tribute to her work as a lawyer, academic and public servant, and said she had championed the rights of women and children, while also showing a strong commitment to Northern Ireland.

In her speech, delivered to mark the university's 150th anniversary

terday morning for her two-day Irish visit. Security was tight, but discreet.

About 100 protesters at the main entrance to NUI Galway missed Mrs Clinton's arrival at the campus, and had moved to Eyre Square by the time she left for Belfast.

However, using megaphones,

arts community managed to drown out the Army Band of the 4th Western Brigade as the robed university procession proceeded to the conferring ceremony at Áras na Mac Léinn. The conferring ceremony was performed by the Chancellor of the National University of Ireland, Dr Garret Fitzgerald,

Gavin, presented Mrs Clinton with her charter.

She was given a miniature of a specially commissioned bronze sculpture for the university's anniversary by John Behan, and was also presented with a Galway Crystal platter.

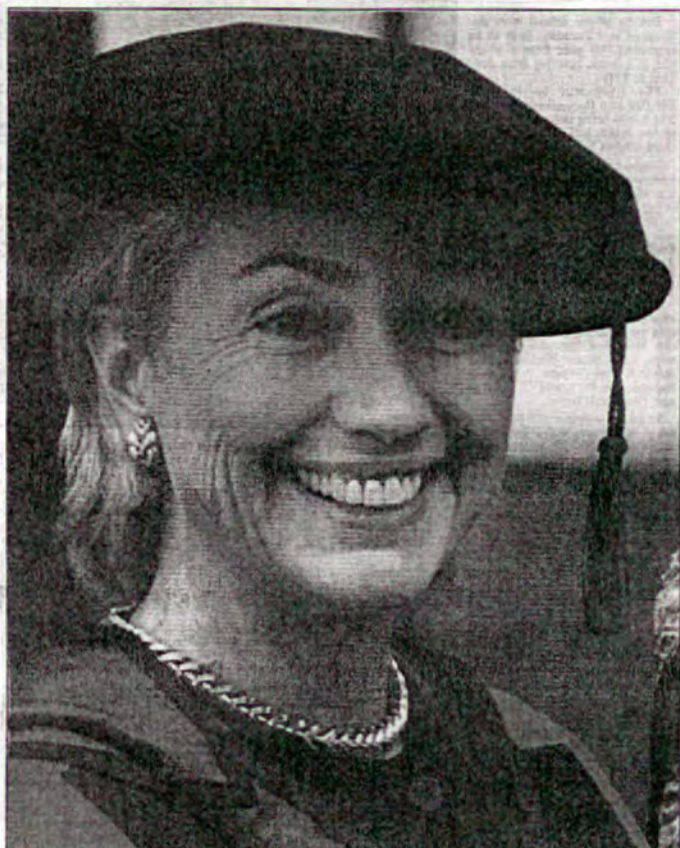
tage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, Ms de Valera, and the Taoiseach's representative, Ms Celia Larkin.

Also among the attendance was the celebrated Aran Islander, Bridget Derrane, who is 104. Mrs Derrane, a former nurse and staunch Democrat-cum-Kennedy supporter during her time in the

THE IRISH TIMES

a sterling area

DUBLIN, THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1999



Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton, the US First Lady, at NUI Galway yesterday where an honorary doctorate in laws was conferred on her.
Photograph: Bryan O'Brien; Report: page 10

When Mary Steenburgen and Hillary Clinton sit down for some girl talk, they don't chat about a certain pudgy former White House intern. They talk about the important things in life—like how to decorate their daughters' college dorm rooms. "Hillary said you may have a huge desire to line the drawers with paper, but you may want to think twice about it," Steenburgen recalls. "I found myself saying, 'Drawer paper?'"

Yes, drawer paper. Bill and Hillary Clinton may have more



Hollywood friends than the galaxy has stars, but, rest assured, no one compares with Steenburgen, the Academy Award-winning actress and outspoken activist whom Bill Clinton calls his "little sister." Since meeting 20 years ago at a dinner in Arkansas, the two Arkansans have shared their most private moments. Clinton mourned with Steenburgen at her father's funeral in 1989 and toasted her at her 1995 wedding to Ted Danson. When Steenburgen spends the night at the White House, she doesn't bunk in the Lincoln Bedroom ("It's like a museum in

Above: **Steenburgen** fights for abortion rights in 1992 in Washington, D.C. Right: The first friend relaxes outside the L.A. home she shares with hubby Ted Danson.

MARY STEENBURGEN

No one in Hollywood knows Bill and Hillary Clinton better than Arkansas native Mary Steenburgen. At the end of a very difficult year, the actress turned activist talks about their friendship, their daughters, and how not to let the bastards get you down.

By Josh Young



From top: Mary Steenburgen gabbing in 1997 with the first lady and actor-activist Paul Michael Glaser; rallying against impeachment in front of the Federal Building in L.A. in 1998.

there"), but *en famille*, in the Clintons' private quarters on the third floor. "I don't like it when people spend an evening with them and then tell everybody what they talked about," says Steenburgen, who rarely agrees to discuss her relationship with the Clintons. "I want them to be able to pick up the phone and know that whatever they say stops there. To some degree, everyone in their life has blabbed too much." Clinton pal Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, a TV producer, adds, "Mary is very cautious. She's stayed away from the politically combustible air around the Clintons."

The ever careful Steenburgen, who stars in the four-hour miniseries *Noah's Ark*, airing on May 2, on NBC, has agreed to blab—a little—about the first family, partly because she's tired of seeing the Clintons' former confidants trash them on TV. "I can't defend what my friend did, but I can love my friends," she says, referring to Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky. "I don't know of any perfect people, and I'm sick of everybody telling people what to think. [Besides] part of my prob-

lem with the scandal is that my own sex life is so much more compelling to me than anybody else's."

Indeed, Steenburgen's life story is compelling. The daughter of a railroad conductor and a public-school secretary, she grew up in North Little Rock when segregation was still the law of the land. "At 13, I had to decide whether I was for civil rights or not, because I thought going to school meant getting bricks thrown at you," she recalls.

After graduating from high school, she moved to New York, studied theater, and was cast by Jack Nicholson as his love interest in the 1978 film *Goin' South*. Two years later, she won an Oscar for her role in the movie *Melvin and Howard*, but since then Steenburgen has more or less sacrificed her career to her political activism. Between roles in such politically charged films as *Nixon* (she played his mother) and *Philadelphia* (for which she arranged a White House



screening), Steenburgen serves as a commissioner to the President's Commission on White House Fellowships—a post Clinton appointed her to in 1993—and as national spokesperson for the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. She is also one of the co-founders of Artists for a Free South Africa. A journalist once warned Steenburgen that South Africa wasn't a sexy issue and that she should drop her association with the group. "I was so offended," she recalls. "You were either trying to do the right thing or you weren't."

Steenburgen has always tried to do the right thing regarding the Clintons. And though she's been known to throw a few shoes at the TV in recent years, don't expect to see her sparring with Sam Donaldson on television anytime soon. "I don't want to be a professional Clinton defender," she says. "My role is to be their friend, and that's it." ■

First Lady unveils \$1.7 million for park



CORTEZ NEWSPAPERS PHOTO/ WENDY MIMIAGA

Premiere event

FIRST LADY Hillary Clinton laughs with photographers Saturday morning during a private tour of Cliff Palace before giving a public speech on saving America's historical treasures. Standing at a ceremonial kiva Clinton listened intently as guide Peter Pino, a Zia Pueblo leader and member of Mesa Verde's Native American advisory council (right),

explained the legends behind the world-renown ancient cliff dwelling. Mesa Verde Superintendent Larry Wiese (left) and director of the National Park Service Robert Stanton accompanied her on the tour — the first time a sitting First Lady has visited the park.

Philanthropists contribute to 'Save America's Treasures'

BY JIM MIMIAGA

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Mesa Verde National Park Saturday on a tour to promote the preservation of the nation's historical, cultural, and natural treasures.

Under warm, sunny skies with a backdrop of pristine canyon-country stretching to the horizon, Mrs. Clinton announced that Mesa Verde will receive \$1.7 million in private donations as part of the "Save America's Treasures" initiative.

"Today I am extraordinarily honored to announce the private contributions that will help save the endangered cliff dwellings," said Mrs. Clinton to festive cheers and applause from approximately 2,000 onlookers gathered at the Terrace View parking lot. "This is testament to how we must preserve what we value, how we should honor the past."

Earlier the First Lady toured Cliff Palace with an entourage of Secret Service officers and press photographers.

The money, \$1 million of which was donated by a single family, is part of an effort that matches private contributions with public federal grants distributed to help preserve the nation's cultural values. Other contributions were made by private companies such as Mobil and American Express.

"The purpose of the Millennium Fund is to ask all Americans to protect, in our hands, the wide and diverse circle of our history that tells the story of who we are as a people. Yet too often these reminders, these memories, are crumbling before our eyes," she said.

The amount surpasses a \$1.5 million federal grant awarded to Mesa Verde last week. The funds will be used to stabilize and research 600 dwellings in the park occupied between AD 1200-1300. Those particular ruins, part of the estimated 5,000 in the park, represent the architectural apex of

the Northern San Juan Pueblo culture. Many have been neglected due to a lack of funds for stabilization and rebuilding.

Colorado also received two other grants: \$176,000 will go toward the conservation of Ancestral Puebloan artifacts at the Anasazi Heritage Center near Dolores, and \$65,000 will go to repair historic mining buildings in the San Juan Mining District.

Mrs. Clinton's 20-minute address focused on the importance of saving America's resources for future generations, and her message called

for more appreciation of the "intangible values" that come from the nation's rich history.

"I have long wanted to come to Mesa Verde to learn more about the ancient civilization that took root here, that carved its hopes and dreams and everyday lives into the beautiful mesas around us," she said, recognizing the 24 Native American tribes in the Southwest who have ancestral links to Mesa Verde.

"We know that the history of American did not start with Columbus coming here. It was the

See FIRST LADY on Page 12A

Mrs. Clinton serves as honorary chairwoman, in conjunction with the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

"It is imperative to reexamine the importance of these national parks," said Stanton. "We must continue to forge these partnerships to carry out preservation and leave these treasures better than we found them for the young people who will take over as stewards in the future."

It was the first visit by a sitting First Lady to Mesa Verde National Park, a moment in history Mrs. Clinton was proud of. "Usually no matter where I go in the world, Eleanor Roosevelt has been there first," she said to crowd laughter.

In closing Mrs. Clinton urged everyone to take responsibility for protecting the heritage and values that define America for future generations.

"Like the cliff dwellers of Mesa Verde, we are not alone in time," she said. "I hope we will pass down our gift of freedom... and our respect for the culture and history that we find in places like this. We are very blessed to be Americans, and with that blessing comes obligations to honor the past."

park ranger by Robert Stanton, director of the National Park Service. He presented her with an honorary ranger hat, which she promptly put on.

"The creation of the National Park System is one of the greatest contributions that America has ever made to our understanding of what it means to be stewards of God's earth," she said. "I am so proud to be here and join the ranks of the green and gray."

Mrs. Clinton has been on a whirlwind tour of natural and historical significant parks, monuments and museums in the southwest including the Grand Canyon, Santa Fe cultural sites, and Bandelier National Monument. Mesa Verde was her last stop.

The effort is to take stock of important heritage sites as the turn of the century approaches. President Clinton proposed the Millennium Funds to "Save America's Treasures" in the 1999 budget and Congress appropriated \$30 million for 62 grants that have been distributed to caretakers of historic sites and collections in 24 states.

An additional \$31 million was raised privately by the Millennium Committee, of which

product of diverse cultures that predated that journey by thousands and thousands of years. We are linked together by the human experience that really defines time and history, and we are shaped by the people who came before," she said.

Mesa Verde Park has been placed on two endangered lists no park wants to be on. It is one of 10 historic treasures in the nation, and in the world that is at risk of losing pieces of history because of a lack of funds.

"If we lose such places, we lose our collective memory; we lose our opportunity to understand and respect our past. We are obligated to be caretakers of our history," said Mrs. Clinton.

The much-anticipated event lasted several hours and featured spiritual dances by Ute Mountain Ute, Navajo, and Zuni Pueblo dancers. The Montezuma-Cortez High School band and Bala Shrem Choir of Fort Lewis College performed as well. Fernando Cellicion, leader of Zuni Pueblo Dances gave a prayer in his native language to bless the special day.

Mrs. Clinton, who said she was wearing 30-year old hiking boots from her days spent in Rocky Mountain National Park was also made an honorary



CORTEZ NEWSPAPERS PHOTO/ WENDY MIMIAGA

Moment in history

HILLARY CLINTON, the nation's First Lady announced Saturday that in addition to a \$1.5 million federal grant, \$1.7 million of private donations was raised for preservation efforts at Mesa Verde National Park. Mrs. Clinton wore honorary park ranger hat while giving a speech on a White House

effort to "Save America's Treasures". The initiative combines public grants with private donations to help preserve the nation's significant heritage sites. Zia Pueblo tribal administrator Peter Pino and Park Superintendent Larry Wiese listen in the background.

The unmaking of an icon

by Diana West

With her new book, "The First Partner," author Joyce Milton tosses a bombshell at the granite-hard consensus on the first lady: Maybe, just maybe, Mrs. Clinton is not the smartest woman in the world. Since emerging as a national figure, Mrs. Clinton has been almost universally acknowledged as brilliant beyond measure. However, as Miss Milton writes in her astute biography, "the more one looks at Hillary Clinton's ideas, the more one sees that despite her reputation as a very smart woman, she is not a clear thinker."

As much as it is a narrative of her life and public role, the book is an op-ed of Mrs. Clinton's ideas, ranging from the radical to the rickety, from her place at the fire-breathing forefront of the legal services movement (once the stomping grounds of Terry Lenzner, now head of the White House's favorite gang of investigators), to her positively imperious belief in a child's right to live in a world at peace — said peace to be enforced by the United Nations (lots of luck).

Miss Milton, whose previous books include biographies of Charlie Chaplin, Charles Lindbergh and, with Ronald Radosh, "The Rosenberg File," provides a contextual clarity that will deepen the understanding even of veteran Hillary-watchers, revealing disturbing patterns of thought and behavior that are not always evident as events unfold.

Pattern Number 1: Hillary Clinton has lived a life beyond accountability. Since her big day as Wellesley's "anti-commencement" speaker, when, Miss Milton writes, her "overheated emotionalism . . . only a few degrees north of petulance . . . should have provoked some second thoughts among educators," Hillary has consistently eluded such second thoughts, her own or anyone else's.

As Miss Milton reminds us in fascinating detail, Mrs. Clinton's work on behalf of the Black Panthers with defense lawyer Charles Garry has gone largely unremarked upon; as have her early links to Stalinist Robert Treuhaff's San Francisco law firm. For a surprisingly spotty legal career, she is tagged a super-lawyer,

for demagoguing the "vast right-wing conspiracy," she is portrayed as a victim; for "standing by her man" (and how), she is regarded as a titanium-tough feminist; for having devised for Congress a procedural setup to impeach Richard Nixon that is nothing short of a totalitarian's secret show trial, she is known . . . not at all.

tudes, publicly expressed, toward the "greed" of the commodities markets — this, after pocketing a cool, undeclared \$99,000 in a famously rigged cattle futures deal.

Miss Milton takes the trouble to review the procedure by which unsettling questions about Mrs. Clinton are finally settled. "When The American Spectator ran a piece asserting that Hillary believed in children suing their parents, publications including the Washington Post dutifully repeated Susan Thomases' spin that Hillary's ideas had been taken out of context, and that Hillary advocated such suits only in extreme cases of abuse and

and 34 others in 1996.

After a devastating analysis of Mrs. Clinton's grandstanding visit to Beijing for the International Women's Conference, Miss Milton follows Mrs. Clinton on her travels to shady Paraguay ("a haven for international money laundering, drug trafficking and smuggling"). There, she was joined by Philip-pines-born businessman Mark Jimenez, who was indicted last September for falsely claiming that his campaign contributions were donations from employees, and has fled the country.

As Milton writes: "Jimenez's bonding with the First Lady marked the beginning of a remarkable series of coincidences: On February 6, 1996, Jimenez attended a White House coffee, bringing along as his guest [Paraguayan] President Wasmosy's economic advisor, Carlos Mersan. Soon after, Jimenez gave \$50,000 to the DNC."

"On March 1, for the second year in a row, the State Department recommended making Paraguay ineligible for foreign aid. As in 1995, President Clinton overruled State's recommendation . . . On March 4, Jimenez traveled to Hope, Arkansas, to present a \$50,000 check to the Clinton Birthplace Foundation. There followed \$175,000 in donations from [Jimenez's company] Future Tech to the DNC." Coincidence? A lot of coincidences? A life of coincidences?

The book highlights another pattern of behavior, one that trumps all: the failure of the press (with notable exceptions) and the public to see through the geysers of lies, the serial cover-ups, the permanent stonewalling. We may not live in a monarchy, but the lawless behavior of the Clintons, man and wife, smacks more of divine right than we-the-people. Indeed, in her final chapter, "The Making of an Icon," Miss Milton revisits the First Lady's 50th birthday celebrations, which, she notes, "took on the aspect of a royal tour." They also marked Mrs. Clinton's debut as a cover girl, determined, a la Princess Diana, to advance her agenda by way of celebrity.

Of course, as Miss Milton tells it, Mrs. Clinton's "most significant public accomplishment" is having saved her husband from political ruin. "She must be held accountable for her bad judgment in thinking that his private flaws would not interfere with his performance of his public role as President of the United States," Ms. Milton writes provocatively. "She has taken her problem and made it our problem."

Who will hold her accountable?

POLITICAL BOOKS

THE FIRST PARTNER: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
By Joyce Milton
William Morrow, \$27, 435 pages



Miss Milton provides a contextual clarity that will deepen the understanding even of veteran Hillary-watchers, revealing disturbing patterns of thought and behavior that are not always evident as events unfold. Pattern Number 1: Hillary Clinton has lived a life beyond accountability.

neglect. This sounded plausible; it just didn't happen to be true. Watching a perfectly good story go splat against the old stone wall is a disheartening experience; Ms. Milton's refreshing efforts to set the record straight are indeed spirit-lifting.

The book also includes jolting evidence that Mrs. Clinton was at the forefront of many of the Clinton administration's outrageous fundraising techniques, from intervening to position John Huang (whom the author forthrightly calls a spy) at the Commerce Department to masterminding the use of foreign trade missions as fund-raisers, a scam that was raising eyebrows before a plane crash killed Commerce Secretary Ron Brown

Diana West is a regular contributor to the op-ed page of The Washington Times.



A Guide to a New Dollar

Treasury Unveils Gold-Colored Sacagawea Coin

In a ceremony filled with reminders of the influence of Native American women, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday unveiled the design of the new Sacagawea \$1 coin. The gold-colored coin will replace the ill-fated Susan B. Anthony dollar that most Americans rejected as too similar to a quarter.

As expected, the new coin depicts the young Shoshone woman and her newborn son, whom she carried on her 3,000-mile expedition across the lands of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804.

Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, who approved the design, said the new coin should be easily distinguished because of its color, wider border and smooth edge. The coin, which will be the same size as the Anthony dollar, will go into circulation next year.

The winning design, by artist Glenn Goodacre of Santa Fe, N.M., was selected after a prolonged and sometimes controversial design competition that had some members of Congress demanding that Rubin place the Statue of Liberty on the coin. The

reverse side of the coin will feature an eagle in flight.

While Treasury officials were hailing the new coin, Anthony Swiatek, president of the American Numismatic Association, warned that if the coin is to be successful, the Treasury must stop printing \$1 bills.

Workers at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing have lobbied Congress to reject such plans, which would end production of the bureau's major product.

— Bill McAllister

Randy L. Teton, a Shoshone Indian from Albuquerque, looks over new dollar ER\$coin.

BY GREGG SHERMAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Engel Aide Eyes Run For Lowey Seat ...

■ JOHN CALVELLI, the top aide to Rep. Eliot Engel, D-N.Y., is eyeing a run next year in a neighboring district now held by Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey — that is, assuming First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton does not run for Senate and Lowey goes after the party's nod for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

The *New York Daily News* reported Sunday that the 35-year-old Calvelli already has raised \$100,000 in anticipation of a possible run.

He is not the only contender al-

ready positioning himself in case Lowey's seat becomes open: State Assemblyman Mark Weprin also has been lining up potential support. Lowey's district includes portions of the New York City boroughs of Queens and the Bronx as well as suburban Westchester County.

... As Latest Poll Shows Rudy Leading Hillary

■ THE LATEST INDEPENDENT poll of next year's potential Senate matchup between First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani shows Giuliani in the lead for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

The Zogby International survey of 700 likely voters, conducted last Monday through Wednesday for the *New York Post*, gives Republican Giuliani a 48-42 percent edge. The poll has a 3.7 point error margin.

Other recent polls also have shown the race to be close, but generally have given the lead to Clinton.

The *Post* poll was released as the *New York Daily News* reported Sunday that numerous friends of Clinton are convinced she wants to run for Senate. However, they cautioned her entry into the race is not a done deal.

"It's clear to me that she wants to do this, though that's not meant to say she will," New York state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope told the newspaper.

In New York, Women Don't Win

Why should Hillary join the long list of failed candidates?

HILLARY Clinton once told me that she always felt the national press corps would be less sexist than the press she had to deal with in Arkansas. "My biggest surprise," she said, "was that they are worse." Wait until she gets to know New York.

Our image of the Empire State is as a bastion of liberalism, feminism and good will to women who seek higher office. In fact, it is one of the most sexist political environments in the nation.

Look at the corpses. Not a single woman has made it up the ladder to any statewide office except for the meaningless sinecure of lieutenant governor. Each has been shot down. Not because they were women, of course, but because they were too bitchy, strident, demanding, disloyal, pushy, etc. They all just happened to be women.

Geraldine Ferraro. She was defeated twice in Senate primaries, once by Attorney General Bob Abrams and once by Chuck Schumer. When she lost in 1992, it was because of her husband's supposed ties to the mafia, not because she is a woman. Her defeat in 1998 came as a result of her overconfidence and failure to compete with Schumer financially. Again, fortunately, her gender and nothing to do with it.

Liz Holtzman. She lost in 1980, 1992 and 1993. In the 1990 Senate election, Jacob Javits divided the liberal vote and Al D'Amato was elected. In the 1992 Senate primary, she came to be seen as too aggressive and negative, particularly when she dared to attack Ferraro, a fellow woman.

In 1993, she lost her post as city comptroller in the primary election because of a scandal invented by The New York Times. (She allegedly had borrowed money for her Senate race via a phony loan from a bank she had favored as comptroller. Ultimately, she was cleared by the U.S. attorney and was cited only for a potential conflict of interest by a city board stacked with her political opponents. Too late to save her career, she has paid back every dime at full market



DICK MORRIS

interest rates.)

But, of course, none of these defeats had a thing to do with her gender. Hey, this is New York.

Carol Bellamy. When she ran against Mayor Ed Koch, she acquired a reputation for being too negative and aggressive. Gender stereotyping had nothing to do with it.

Bella Abzug. A frontrunner, she lost to Pat Moynihan in the 1976 Senate primary because she was too strident and strong. Sexism had no role in her defeat.

Betsy McCaughey. She lost her race for governor in 1993 because she was

A New York is the first place to stereotype a woman candidate. They are always seen as too strident, vindictive, unpredictable and unable to get along with their staffs or their colleagues. ♀

disloyal to her boss Gov. Pataki and had a reputation for being wildly inconsistent and unable to get along with her staff. Gender, again, was irrelevant.

Mary Anne Krupaski. Defeated by Hugh Carey in 1978 Democratic gubernatorial primary, she also was disloyal, erratic and high-strung. Funny coincidence.

Ruth Messinger. Too liberal and negative, she lost badly to Rudy in 1997. Her gender played no role.

Karen Burstein. Defeated by Dennis Vacco for attorney general in the 1994 general election, she was too liberal and soft on crime.

If you listen to the conventional wisdom, each of these women was uniquely flawed in her own way. Sexism had no role in their defeats.

Baloney.

New York is the first place to stereotype a woman candidate. They are always seen as too strident, negative, harsh, vindictive, unpredictable, disloyal and unable to get along with their staffs or their colleagues. It comes with the territory. Hillary can expect similar treatment by the New York media.

I doubt that Hillary will run. She clearly wants to go for it, but the polls will likely show her down by seven to 10 points by the time she has to make her decision in the fall of 1999. She's too much of a professional to get into a race under such adverse circumstances.

The Marist Poll shows her tied with Giuliani at 43 percent each. But Hillary's 43 reflects her maximum level of name recognition. Nobody is going to learn anything about her they don't already know as she campaigns.

Rudy's 43, on the other hand, reflects full recognition in the New York metropolitan area but not statewide. Voters north of Westchester cast half of the vote in a New York general election. People in small towns like Binghamton, Homer, Ulster, Ulster and Plattsburgh don't know much about Giuliani. As they come to know him, he will pull ahead.

Hillary will be hurt by the fact when her former law partner Web Hubbell goes on trial. While Story is not releasing the winners list, you can bet that she is in it. As the *Enquirer* "telling partner" for the land deal in question, she is mentioned more than 30 times in the indictment.

Right now, it makes all kinds of sense for Hillary to act as if she were set to run. It gives her a place to stand without Bill. With her husband mired in Kosovo and recovering from the damning interviews with Juanita Broderick and Monica Lewinsky, the safest place for Hillary to be is far, far away from his side. Anyplace she goes outside of New York, she is Mrs. Clinton. But here, she is Hillary, the Senate candidate, a much better moniker. But when push comes to shove, she won't run.

Emphasis is on the positive at official White House fete

Clinton, Obuchi duck trade flap, play up mutual goals

By Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The simmering dispute between Japan and the United States over steel imports that clouded Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi's visit to Washington this week was perhaps symbolically put aside at an official dinner last night under a billowing cotton tent on the White House grounds.

It was the first official dinner in Washington for a Japanese leader in 12 years.

One side of the tent, or pavilion, was draped in plastic sheets, giving a view of the gardens and lawns of the White House. The tent was heated to ward off the damp and chill.

President Clinton and Mr. Obuchi accentuated the positive in toasts before last night's dinner.

Mr. Clinton cited Japan's support for NATO and for Kosovo refugees as well as its help in Central America, the Middle East, Indonesia, Korea, the nuclear test ban treaty, fighting disease in Africa and protecting the world's forests and oceans.

"Japan is a world leader for all that is best in humanity," said Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Obuchi said that "since the black ships appeared off our coast in 1853" signaling America's opening of relations with Japan, "our bilateral relationship is in the best shape ever."

He recalled that meeting Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in 1962 on a visit to Washington had helped inspire his political career, much as Mr. Clinton had been inspired after meeting President Kennedy in 1963.

Last night's event was not a state dinner but an official dinner. State dinners are reserved for heads of



Photo by Karen Ballard/The Washington Times
President and Mrs. Clinton pose with Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and his wife, Chizuko, before last night's state dinner.

state. As prime minister, Mr. Obuchi is Japan's head of government; Japan's head of state is Emperor Akihito.

Hours before the dinner, as Mr. Obuchi and Mr. Clinton gave a joint press conference largely focused on Kosovo, the sounds of a piano tuner working on a grand piano in the tent could be heard.

The piano was for Van Cliburn, the former boy wonder who won the International Tchaikovsky competition in 1958 in Moscow and has played for every American president since Harry Truman.

The guest list included many prominent executives of major U.S. and Japanese companies such as Toyota and Coca-Cola, which do business in both countries.

Curtis Barnette, chairman and CEO of Bethlehem Steel Corp.,

was among the guests surely interested in reports that the United States was considering sanctions on Japan, accused of selling rolled steel in the United States at prices lower than in Japan.

U.S. steel firms have complained that such "dumping" is an unfair trade practice harming American producers.

Mr. Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton presented the Obuchis with a 300-year-old bonsai tree, a miniature California juniper that has been "trained" by generations of gardeners to grow only 30 inches tall.

Two other U.S. bonsais from the collection at the National Arboretum were brought to the White House to be shown to the visiting Japanese prime minister and his wife.

Unvalued family

"Contemporary feminism would have women devote themselves to reinventing the universe — as Hillary Rodham Clinton urges them to 'remold society.' But devotion to grandiose schemes within the public arena necessarily requires relinquishing to others the cultivation of one's own garden. The essence of the traditional woman is her preference for attending to the welfare of her own small universe, hoping to create therein a simple canvas of quotidian beauty. . . .

"Traditional bourgeois family life was also shaped by the belief that parents should be primarily responsible for their children's education. Because the bourgeoisie distrusted the influence of both servants and tutors, parents were the adults with whom children spent most of their time. Children were the center of attention in the bourgeois household and were closely supervised by their parents, who were the only ones thought to be 'properly aware of the unique characteris-

tics and individual needs of their children.' . . .

"The traditional bourgeois family, the new feminists assert, has no value; it is, in fact, the source of women's oppression. Market production is the ultimate good, far surpassing what feminists invariably describe as the dull and dreary task of maintaining a home and caring for children."

— F. Carolyn Graglia, from her 1998 book, "Domestic Tranquility: A Brief Against Feminism"

Night of the Rising Sun

Dinner for Japan's Prime Minister Steps Out of Current Events' Shadow

Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and his wife, Chizuko, flank President and Hillary Rodham Clinton, wearing the scarf given her by Mrs. Obuchi, at last night's dinner.



By ROXANNE ROBERTS
AND LINTON WEEKS
Washington Post Staff Writers

The past year has been tough for foreign leaders visiting the White House. Current events somehow seem to get in the way of their moments in the spotlight, and last night was no exception: The rising sun was partially eclipsed at the official dinner for Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi.

Less than an hour before Obuchi arrived, Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson emerged from the West Wing after meeting with President Clinton. Clearly, the Japanese visit was not going to lead the evening news.

Which is not to say it wasn't a nice party. Clinton was relaxed and smiling, Obuchi was in an expansive mood, and the spring night was clear if a bit chilly as 340 guests

An Eastern Exposure

DINNER, From C1

made their way to a tented pavilion on the South Lawn.

This was one of the largest official dinners of the Clinton administration, and the guest list and receiving line seemed endless. There were a few famous faces—actor Sidney Poitier, who is the ambassador to Japan from the Bahamas, philanthropist David Rockefeller, accompanied by his granddaughter Miranda Kaiser, Democratic fundraiser Patricia Duff and beau Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.)—but most of the seats were taken by politicians and business types such as former vice president and ambassador to Japan Walter Mondale, Clinton mentor/defender Dale Gribble and Toys R Us head Robert Nakasone.

But most of the attention was directed at the guest of honor.

"He's absolutely wonderful," said Thomas Foley, U.S. ambassador to Japan. When Obuchi came to power a year ago in the midst of the Asian financial crisis, Foley noted, some people said, "He's a nice guy, but maybe that's not what Japan needs right now." But Obuchi proved to be a very shrewd politician, too.

After graduating from college in Japan, Obuchi knew he wanted to go into politics and believed he should broaden his horizons by traveling. He took a trip around the world in 1963, passing through 38 countries, including the United States. While in Washington he called the Justice Department and asked if he could meet with one of his heroes, then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

The young student was politely brushed off. So Obuchi jotted a fan note to Kennedy expressing his admiration and his interest in the U.S. legal system. Kennedy's secretary called the YMCA where Obuchi was staying and invited him over to meet the attorney general, which he did. Last night he sat at the same



Sidney Poitier and wife arrive last night for the White House dinner.

table with Kennedy's widow, Ethel, and said he hoped to meet with the secretary who enabled him to meet his hero so many years ago.

Obuchi's official tour began Thursday in Los Angeles and included a stop in Long Beach to see the Queen Mary, because he first arrived in the United States on the legendary ship. While in Chicago, the understated but savvy Obuchi threw out the first ball to slugger Sammy Sosa at a Cubs game, and rang the closing bell at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange. Chicago, he said, quoting a Frank Sinatra song, is "my kind of town."

Washington may be, too. Obuchi was formally welcomed on the South Lawn yesterday by Clinton. A military honor guard and fife-and-drum corps provided the pomp. A still shaky Japanese economy provided the circumstance.

"Japan is the single most troublesome economy in that region," said Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.). For the most part, the president's rhetoric was relaxed because Obuchi has been a strong advocate of

economic reform since taking office. By yesterday afternoon, the president and prime minister had announced an agreement to open several Japanese markets to the United States, including telecommunications, pharmaceuticals, medical equipment and financial services.

By dinner time, the talk turned to the two leaders' mutual admiration.

During his toast, Clinton said that Obuchi had presented him with a bonsai tree and sake from the emperor. The rice wine came with a warning, Clinton said. "Be careful because, overall, sake will result in dancing and singing." The president also thanked Japan for its support in humanitarian aid and its environmental policies. "Japan," he said, "is a world leader for all that is best in humanity." As for the country's economic uncertainty, Clinton added, "we're pulling for you."

The prime minister delivered his toast with the help of an interpreter. He said that his encounter with Robert Kennedy and Clinton's encounter with John F. Kennedy had drawn the two world leaders together. He then drew laughter when he said that his only serious concern about this visit was whether he could throw the baseball well enough to Sosa. "It was a nice pitch," Obuchi bragged to the dinner crowd, "that even the home run slugger could not hit."

The dinner was held in a candlelit tent, left over from last month's NATO summit, that was decorated to feel like a spring night in Washington. The colors were pale green, white and lavender accented with gold. Many of the women, taking a cue from the season, were similarly adorned in floral shades of pastel satin and chiffon. The first lady, however, wore a black Donna Karan gown topped by a black-and-white shawl—a gift from Chizuko Obuchi. The prime minister's wife wore a traditional kimono of pale blue and gold silk.

The guests dined on marinated salmon, rack of lamb and "a bonsai garden of serenity"—almond and orange cake with kiwi sauce.

After dinner, the guests were entertained by pianist Van Cliburn, who has played for every president since Harry Truman.

Chronicles

Artistic Gifts to The World

Embassies to Get New Johns Work

By SARAH BOOTH CONROY
Special to The Washington Post

Soon 50 U.S. embassies around the world will hang a print made and donated by the innovative American artist Jasper Johns.

No painter of chaste flower arrangements or embellisher of society portraits, Johns focuses on objects so familiar that the eye dismisses them. "Things that are seen and not looked at" is the way he explains his subjects.

The gift of the limited-edition 10-color intaglio print was announced Friday evening at a White House reception for Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies (FAPE).

President and Mrs. Clinton accepted the gift, which was presented—along with a Joel Shapiro sculpture—by FAPE Chairman Jo Carole Lauder and President Ann Gund.

President Clinton said, "This is the night when I can appreciate what is constant about our embassies, rather than what is changing in our relationships with the countries involved. . . . Robin [Chandler Duke] mentioned that this is not the easiest of moments for our country because of what we are trying to achieve in Kosovo, and she said that it was therefore especially appreciated that Hillary and I would have you here tonight. . . . I would argue that it's especially important that you be here tonight."

"In the springtime of 1941, as fascism spread across Europe, destroying lives and liberties, President Roosevelt spoke at the dedication of the National Gallery here in Washington: 'Art is part of the present life of all the living and creative peoples—all who



A limited-edition intaglio print of a new Jasper Johns work, "Untitled," soon will grace 50 U.S. embassies.

make and build. These paintings are symbols of the human spirit. To accept this work today is to assert that the freedom of the human spirit shall not be utterly destroyed."

"Our efforts and those of our NATO allies are standing for that freedom and against the principle of ethnic cleansing, racial and religious exclusivity as a basis for killing and uprooting people and destroying their cultures."

The first lady, in her remarks, extolled what she called "the most unique public partnership in the history of the world to support our arts and culture." At a State Department Dinner following, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told the Friends—including artist Ellsworth Kelly, who earlier donated his work to the cause—that "by honoring art and artists, we show our allegiance to the principles of free expression, and our commitment to the larger liberties of politics, economics and law."

In its 13 years, the Friends—many of whom are art collectors, former ambassadors and Foreign Service officers—have donated \$13 million along with their time and art expertise to enhance chanceries or ambassadorial residences in world capitals and remote

places. Their Millennium Gift to the Nation includes art by Kelly, Robert Rauschenberg, Frank Stella and photographer Andre Kertész. About 200 paintings, sculptures, works on paper, folk art, photographs, decorative objects and other pieces have been donated or purchased for the principal embassy buildings, said Lee Kimche McGrath, FAPE executive director.

The work by Shapiro—known locally for his 1993 outdoor sculpture for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum—is to be installed this fall at the dedication of the American chancery in Ottawa, the first to be built by the United States in 40 years.

FAPE has also received a grant from Edward W. and Betty Knight Scripps Foundation to restore the

representational rooms in Paris's Hotel Talleyrand once inhabited by Ambassador to France Thomas Jefferson. The 18th-century architectural treasure holds the U.S. consular offices, information service and the Marshall Cultural Affairs Center.

The Clintons and Walter and Lenore Annenberg are honorary chairmen of the FAPE Millennium Committee; Robin Chandler Duke and John C. Whitehead are chairmen of FAPE's committee of art experts, nominated by their states' senators.

Albright summed up the place of art by saying, "It is a symptom of our desire to think, speak and express ourselves freely. It is the desire to have autonomy in our own lives, provided we respect the comparable rights of others."

William Raspberry

Three Years That Last Forever

Rob Reiner has just taken the overnight flight from California, and soon he has to make a speech, accept an award and scoot to Delaware for another engagement. Still he makes time to talk about what has become his driving passion: early-childhood development.

Reiner (yes, the movie director who played Archie Bunker's son-in-law, "Meathead") never has been more serious about anything in his life. He has created the I Am Your Child Foundation to promote the importance of the first years of life. He talks about early brain development any chance he gets. He was author and chief promoter of California's Proposition 10, which adds a 50-cent tax to each pack of cigarettes sold in the state, the proceeds—estimated at \$700 million a year—to be channeled into anti-tobacco programs and early childhood education.

"We are just beginning to understand the importance of those early months and years in brain development and how absolutely critical it is for a child to have nurturing interactions with their mothers," he says. "I don't mean just ordinary teaching and learning, the way we used to understand it. Electrical connections get made in the brain during these early periods that don't get made later on. As far as anybody knows, there's no way to fix it if it's not done at the beginning."

He's talking, he says, not merely about children's academic potential but about their potential for feeling—for relating to other people and to their environment.

Naturally the conversation gets around to Littleton, and Reiner is willing to guess that the widely reported apathy and "outsiderness" of the youngsters believed to be behind that deadly rampage could have had its origins in arrested brain development.

He has with him a copy of the May 3 Newsweek magazine with its cover story on the whys of teen violence. Two pairs of photos strike him. One compares the cingulate gyrus areas of the brains of normal and violent youngsters. The latter shows a wide white area of abnormally high activity, a sign, according to the text, that the brain fixates on certain ideas and cannot seem to let go. The other compares prefrontal cortices, which are said to act as "the brain's supervisor, censoring inappropriate impulsive thoughts before they turn into action." The

violent brain shows huge pockets of underdevelopment, suggesting—the theory goes—the inability to control impulsive thoughts.

"It's exactly what we're talking about," says the 51-year-old Reiner, noting again the now-or-never importance of nurturing from the earliest times. It's no more possible to make up for lost opportunities in brain development, he says, than to take a 21-year-old whose growth has been stunted by malnutrition, give him a wonderfully nutritious diet and have him become a strapping 6-footer.

Isn't it a bit presumptuous for a Hollywood type to be talking about youthful violence without acknowledging the entertainment industry's contribution to that violence?

He's heard that one before. "One of the reasons I get invited on TV so much to talk about violent kids is that the hosts want me to talk about Hollywood's part in the violence. I, of course, want to talk about the importance of early development. It's tricky. If they want someone to talk about that, they call in some brain expert, which I'm not. But I honestly don't believe televised violence or movie violence or the violence in video games is the cause of much—if any—of the violence we see. They may have the thoughts, fleetingly, but healthy kids don't act on those thoughts."

That may be too glib. If what we see on the screen has so little effect, how do we account for copycat violence—including suicide?

But I am convinced that neuroscientists (and Rob Reiner) are right about the importance of early nurturing for proper brain development. I'm convinced, too, that if parents understood this phenomenon and were taught what to do about it, a huge amount of the learning disability, impulsiveness and violence that afflict more and more children would start to disappear.

So why don't we try teaching them, in churches and community centers when we can lure them in, and in public schools before they become parents. It may be some of the most important teaching we'll ever do. As Reiner says, "The first three years last forever."

Sacred status

"In an address before NARAL [National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League] in Washington, D.C., on the 25th anniversary of *Roe vs. Wade*, the dictat of the U.S. Supreme Court defining abortion as a constitutional right, Hillary Clinton memorialized not the 14 million unborn children that have been done away with in the past 10 years, but the seven abortion

clinic physicians and personnel that have been killed during that same period. . . .

"She is pointing to the wrong statistic. Mrs. Clinton wants the federal government to provide money for creating more security at the clinics; she mentioned bulletproof glass. Does no one stop to ask what kind of health care it is that so upsets some people that its practitioners want to work behind bulletproof glass and to wear body armor on the street? . . .

"Seven clinic personnel in 10 years, 0.7 murders per year in a nation of one-quarter billion. One wonders how many health-care professionals in other fields have been killed during the past 10 years. And what about convenience store clerks? More than seven taxi drivers are killed in a single year in big urban centers. But it is the abortion clinic providers and their entourages who enjoy a kind of sacred status."

— from "14,000,000 to 7" in the May issue of the *Religion & Society Report*

BELTWAY BUZZ...

Former president **Jimmy Carter** is working on a novel, a historical drama set in Georgia during the Revolutionary War. His spokeswoman claims the book will be the first novel by an ex-president.... During Washington, D.C.'s big snowstorm in



March, **Mayor Anthony Williams** (above) drove all over town in a four-wheel drive until the wee hours to make sure his snowplow crews kept streets passable. The result: the best street-clearing effort in D.C.'s memory. A proud Williams aide says, "He wasn't elected for his charisma. He was elected to make the city work."... Texas politicians are buzzing that Senator **Kay Bailey Hutchison** has her eye on the governor's seat in 2002—even though Rick Perry, the state's lieutenant governor and heir apparent to George W. Bush, is a fellow Republican.

Scoop by **Charlotte Hays**



I am the walrus: **Paul McCartney** fights for animals.

A BEATLE BASHES GORE

Vice President Gore may have a favorite Beatle, but it's probably not **Paul McCartney**. The Cute One has joined forces with the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals to try to force Gore to abandon a recent pet project: the initiative he pushed through the Environmental Protection Agency last fall to use animals to test some 3,000 chemicals, including rat poison and turpentine, for toxicity. "With all due respect," McCartney asks Gore in a letter, "do you really need to kill rabbits, ducks, fish, and guinea pigs to make sure that turpentine and rat poison are unsafe?" Meanwhile, PETA is arranging to have people in bunny costumes protest at Gore's speaking appearances. Then again, that might actually liven up the events.

HILLARY FOR VEEP?

Just why is **Hillary Rodham Clinton** taking so long to decide whether to run for the Senate from New York in 2000? Because she's waiting to be chosen as **Al Gore**'s vice presidential running mate, according to one source who has talked to the first lady about her future plans. That's right: Hillary is hoping for another Gore-Clinton ticket, just not *that* Clinton. "She's the queen of the world, and if Al Gore's poll numbers don't go up he'll need her," the source says. Moreover, Gore has not ruled out putting his boss's wife on the ticket, if only to maintain cordial relations with **Bill Clinton**. "He's told [the Clintons] that he's open to the possibility," the source adds. A senior administration official, however, dismissed the Hillary-veep rumors as cocktail party banter—at best. "It's silly," the official says. Just don't tell that to the first lady.

Three's a crowd: Is the **president** watching a new power couple?



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: LEFT: MICHAEL O'NEILL/GETTY IMAGES; RIGHT: GARY L. LARSEN/GETTY IMAGES; TOP: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/GETTY IMAGES

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GEORGE MAY 1999



Former agriculture secretary Mike Espy with fiancée Portia Ballard



Stella couple Angela Bassett & hubby Courtney B. Vance get their groove

PRIMARIES

The White House goes gaga for Ghana...

Hollywood swings away at Lou Gehrig's disease... Tinseltown and testosterone team up at the ESPY awards...

D.C.'s bookworms get wiggly with it.



Hillary Clinton & Betty Currie swap grand jury tales



Babyface Edmonds with wife Tracey

WHITE HOUSE STATE DINNER FOR GHANA Premier African-Americans turned out in force to toast Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings. Poet Maya Angelou and U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan were among those keeping cool with mango-laced ice cream treats as they admired the traditional Ghanaian fabrics that adorned the East Room.



Noah Wyle & fiancée Tracy Warbin ring in the Year of the Rabbit



ER's Julianna Margulies with Helen Hunt

FIRST PROJECT ALS DINNER IN LOS ANGELES Hollywood's wild at heart let their hair down and partied with a purpose—to raise funds to combat Lou Gehrig's disease. Ben Stiller and Kristen Johnston hosted the mayhem as Courtney Cox and Rod Stewart helped the Project ALS/Saks Fifth Avenue bash turn up a swinging \$750,000.

PRIMARIES



Burt Reynolds & Ben Affleck go dental



Sports Illustrated mermaid Rebecca Romijn-Stamos makes a splash



Billie Jean King & Rosie O'Donnell take a lap of honor for women's sports



Get out that whuppin' stick: Sammy Sosa & Mark McGwire



No bull: Carmen Electra & Jimmy Kimmel

ESPN'S ESPY AWARDS IN NEW YORK CITY Hollywood hunks rubbed biceps with sports heroes while big celebrities handed out trophies to the likes of Jeff Gordon and Cal Ripken. The crowd-pleasing matchup raised \$42 for cancer research as Carmen Electra, Rebecca Romijn-Stamos, and Tyra Banks showed off their own impressive f



Face the Nation's Bob Schieffer



Time's Margaret Carlson shines out scoons with Helen Thomas



Sam Donaldson cuddles up to Myra MacPherson

LAUNCH PARTY FOR MYRA MACPHERSON'S SHE CAME TO LIVE OUT LOUD, IN WASHINGTON, D.C. A Washington press hounds, including Sam Donaldson, Ben Bradlee, and Helen Thomas, were loud and clear in support of veteran D.C. reporter Myra MacPherson and her moving memoir of her cancer-stricken mother.

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A26 THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1999

Refugees Make U.S. Landfall

Ethnic Albanians Arrive in N.J.

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
and LAZ LUYDEN
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.



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 further 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 "Mirsevin 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.

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The Trentonian

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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

NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 6, 1999

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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 to 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 in 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.

WASHINGTON POST

MAY 6, 1999

The Hill 5/5/99



FROM THE TRAIL

Hillary, Lowey to raise money for ... whom?

First lady **Hillary Clinton** will continue her New York Senate fan dance at a New York City fundraiser later this month.



Clinton

Headlining a \$1,000-per-person dinner for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Clinton will look an awful lot like a Senate candidate, but her political intentions will remain officially shrouded.

Joining Clinton for the May 24 event at the Hyatt in Manhattan will be Rep. **Nita Lowey**, the first lady's understudy for the party's nomination to succeed retiring Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** (D).

Many Democrats, including Moynihan, fear that, if Clinton delays her decision for several months and then decides against a race, Lowey will not have enough time to raise the cash necessary for the race.

The latest poll out of New York by **John Zogby** shows Clinton trailing New York City Mayor **Rudolph Giuliani** (R) by a 48-42 percent margin.

Giuliani will likely face a challenge from Long Island Rep. **Rick Lazio** (R).

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.

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
A Capital Bureau

POLITICIANS JOCKEY for advantage amid the focus on the Colorado shootings.

The Christian Coalition prepares TV ads for Iowa and New Hampshire touting school prayer and tax cuts as family-values remedies. The tragedy produced "a burst of momentum" for the GOP's "moral conservative wing," says GOP strategist Ralph Reed. But mainstream voters know "the answer to problems with America's moral fabric is not Pat Robertson," says Democratic pollster Geoff Garin.

Gore was slated to guest-host CNN's "Larry King Live" last night to discuss solutions, but was demoted to panel member after Republicans grumbled. In GOP primaries, backing new gun limits "will hurt" Elizabeth Dole by making pro-gun activists "the enemy," predicts George W. Bush pollster Fred Steeper. Dole forces cite Bush's failure to push for background checks at gun shows.

"He didn't do anything to drive . . . policy in his own state, and I think that's what people look for a chief executive to do," says Dole strategist Linda DiVall.

DEMOCRATIC DONOR Johnny Chung offers tantalizing tidbits.

Chung, in a House appearance Tuesday, will add new details to reports he took \$300,000 from Chinese military officials for Clinton's re-election. Chung tells investigators that when he expressed unease about the deal, a Chinese official indicated others were doing the same thing, including a former White House aide whose lawyer calls the allegation a "lie."

Congressional investigators also are probing allegations by Chung concerning how a onetime American Embassy official in Beijing, Charles Parish, helped secure visas for Chung's Chinese business associates. Parish has denied impropriety. Federal prosecutors investigated that matter, but dropped it. Democrats gather evidence to challenge Chung's credibility.

BANKRUPTCY OVERHAUL faces tough Senate going after an easy House ride.

→ GOP Senate leaders hope to finish a bill by Memorial Day. But Democrats plan a long list of pro-consumer amendments that will drag out debate. Some, led by Illinois Sen. Durbin, introduce their own alternative. Consumer groups seek to focus the Senate debate on requiring more disclosures by credit-card issuers.

Activists will head to the White House next week to shore up Clinton's support for their views; the first lady plays a strong role in veto threats. Critics of the bill cite stepped-up donations by interest groups to House members. Top House Democratic fund-raisers, Texas Rep. Frost and Rhode Island Rep. Kennedy, backed the bill.

The Congressional Budget Office says the House bill would cost the government \$322 million over five years.

DEMOCRATS PRESS on prescription-drug coverage as a top issue. House Democrats pressure the White House to tap the budget surplus to pay for the benefit. Clinton aides agree to consider the option after an impassioned pitch by House Democratic leader Gephardt at a meeting yesterday.

WAKE-UP CALL: The AT&T-MediaOne deal gives a boost to America Online's effort to force AT&T to open its cable lines to rivals offering high-speed Internet service. Hollywood studios, Baby Bells and other phone companies discuss joining an AOL-led coalition to lobby Congress and the FCC.

BEAR MARKET: GOP North Carolina Rep. Coble, sponsor of a bill to aid the New York Stock Exchange, cancels a \$1,000-a-head reception at the Luncheon Club at the exchange today; only Viacom signed up. A \$1,000-a-plate dinner in New York was still on last night—with five guests instead of the 35 planned.

SWITCHING SIDES: After a career advising developing-country governments, former Treasury Undersecretary David Lipton goes over to the other side. He joins hedge fund Moore Capital to keep tabs on global economic policies.

DEBATE HEATS UP on details of a proposed world global-warming treaty.

U.S. negotiators head to Bonn to lay the groundwork for this year's talks. The coal industry and conservatives in Congress want \$2 billion in subsidies over 10 years to spur technology for cleaner coal. Liberals and some corporations want to give early emissions-trading credits for companies that cut carbon-dioxide emissions now.

Environmentalists worry that a George W. Bush presidency could kill further work on a treaty. A new National Science Foundation study sees the average global temperature rising three degrees in the 21st century. But the Agriculture Department is scheduled to release a report today saying the treaty's impact on U.S. farmers will be "relatively modest," even if energy prices rise "a good deal higher" than predicted.

Some coal companies look into reducing their emissions problems by planting lots of trees, which absorb carbon dioxide, above their mines.

MINOR MEMOS: SEC Chairman Levitt says he ran into Fed Chairman Greenspan "and said to him, 'How are you, Alan?' And he looked at me carefully, inscrutably, and said, 'I'm not allowed to say.'" . . . Operation Gore? Comedy writer Doug Gamble says, "Clinton hasn't ruled out the use of ground troops against Bill Bradley in New Hampshire." . . . Federal dollars at work: The headline of a Census Bureau report to be released today, reads, "Economic Census Shows California Leads Nation in Plastic Bottle Production."

—RONALD G. SHAFER

after Mr. Saxena's 1996 arrest in Canada.

The colleague, Praoprayoon Isarakadi, had given Thai authorities information about Mr. Saxena. Mr. Donoghue testified that Mr. Saxena told Mr. Praoprayoon that if he didn't recant, Mr. Saxena would have his "wife killed. He would have his children killed. He would have their heads cut off."

Mr. Saxena and Mr. Praoprayoon testified in Canada last year that there were no death threats, but that they had argued fiercely and had been drinking. Asked by his own lawyer how much he typically drank in a day, Mr. Saxena testified that he drank "six or eight pints" of beer, "a couple of glasses" of wine and "half a bottle or three quarters of a bottle" of scotch. (He is no longer allowed to drink alcohol, under the terms of his house arrest.)

An early 1994 audit report by Thai regulators revealed that the bank's bad loans had ballooned to \$1.54 billion, or nearly 40% of the bank's total assets. Vijit Supinit, then the central-bank governor, ordered the bank to raise capital. Mr. Saxena worked to arrange a 100 million-deutsche-mark bond issue in late 1994. In court testimony in Canada, Mr. Saxena said that he was the only one at the bank savvy enough to put together such a deal. The bank "couldn't have done it without me," he testified.

But, like much else at the bank, the transaction wasn't quite what it seemed, says Aswin Kongsiri, a veteran banker sent in by the government to clean up the bank and recoup as much money as he can. In an interview, Mr. Aswin says the bank in effect bought the bonds itself, using money funneled through offshore shell companies.

"That's a total, outright lie," Mr. Saxena says in an interview.

By early 1995, the cracks in the bank's facade were widening. The Thai stock market's stratospheric rise had slowed, and the bank and some customers were unable to sell the shares they had acquired at anywhere near the purchase price. One of the bank's borrowers, for instance, bought shares of Thai Agri Foods at the equivalent of \$4.12 a share. By February 1996, the shares were trading at 94 cents each.

The bank's treasury operations were also reeling. Bank examiners say that at the end of 1995, the bank was showing a loss of about \$120 million from bets on Latin American bonds and exotic derivatives around the world.

As the losses mounted, Thai authorities say, more and more money was moved offshore, much of it through a now-defunct Russian bank run by one of Mr. Saxena's business partners. Mr. Saxena's activities, says Mr. Aswin, "came to look like straight siphoning."

Mr. Saxena has testified in Canada that he never stole any of the bank's money.

Strains were appearing in Mr. Saxena's personal life as well. Early in 1995, he moved out of the Bangkok house he shared with his wife and three children. (They have not joined him in Canada.) The bank

was scrambling to mask the extent of its troubles from the prying eyes of regulators and the public. One method, Mr. Saxena says, was to lend money to bank-controlled shell companies, so they could repay debts owed by other borrowers. The ruse, he says, was designed to hide the extent of nonperforming loans.

"The rationale was simple," Mr. Saxena says in an interview. "Hide the problem for a while. Tomorrow will be another day. The stock market will go up." (Mr. Saxena says the bank, not he, orchestrated these maneuvers.)

Bank of Thailand examiners spotted some dubious dealings in their 1995 audit. Mr. Vijit, the central-bank governor at the time, says he summoned the bank's managing director, Mr. Kirkkiat, to a meeting in January 1996. "I told Mr. Kirkkiat the only way he would survive would be to let us in," Mr. Vijit says. He also ordered Mr. Kirkkiat to end Mr. Saxena's consulting contract; the contract expired within months. Mr. Kirkkiat declined to comment for this article.

Mr. Vijit says he thought the mess could be cleaned up quietly. But in May 1996, an opposition politician leaked to the press a central-bank report detailing the true condition of the bank. Early one morning, the head of the bank's investment-banking division arrived at Mr. Saxena's home and woke him up to tell him the news. "I knew there'd be a run on the bank straight away," Mr. Saxena says.

He was right. In the days that followed, depositors withdrew hundreds of millions of dollars from the bank. Still, Mr. Saxena kept his cool. Even close associates say they had no idea anything was seriously wrong, nor were they surprised when Mr. Saxena left the country in May 1996 for Switzerland, where he traveled frequently on business. He hasn't been back to Thailand since.

Within days of his departure, the government seized control of the bank in an effort to stem the panic. "It was the starting point of the economic crisis in Thailand," contends Chulasingh Vasantasingh, the Thai prosecutor in charge of getting Mr. Saxena back.

He and others say the bank's collapse undermined investor confidence in the central bank and its ability to regulate the country's financial institutions. And the massive costs of the bailout—about \$3.5 billion so far—further weakened the banking system. That, prosecutors say, fueled speculative attacks on the Thai currency; Thailand finally devalued the baht July 2, 1997, sparking a financial crisis that spread across Asia to Russia and parts of Latin America.

Bangkok Bank of Commerce is probably more accurately viewed as patient zero of the Asian contagion: The first bank to be brought low by the widespread problems of corruption, mismanagement and a bubble economy.

In any event, authorities caught up with Mr. Saxena in July 1996 at the Whistler ski resort outside Vancouver. When he was ar-

rested, he was carrying a suitcase containing the equivalent of about \$69,000, mostly in Swiss francs. He testified that the money was to be a "good-faith payment" to Thai police, with whom he had arranged a meeting to negotiate his possible return. But the Thai officers led Canadian Mounties to Mr. Saxena. The Mounties got their man.

To date, prosecutors have tracked bank money to the U.S., France, Canada, China and Israel. Little has been recovered. Swiss authorities have frozen two of Mr. Saxena's bank accounts, containing assets he says are worth between \$50 million and \$75 million. He says the money is his, and not ill-gotten.

The British Columbia Supreme Court judge hearing the extradition case says he could rule as soon as September on whether to extradite Mr. Saxena. Both sides can appeal; the case could drag on for years.

In the meantime, Mr. Saxena plays the world's developing markets and works the phones. A former bodyguard testified in Canada in 1998 that Mr. Saxena pretended to call Gerry Adams, leader of the Irish Republican Army's political wing, on his cell phone. The guard said he could hear a telephone-company recording saying "please hang up, make your call again"—but Mr. Saxena carried on a conversation anyway. It began "Yes, Gerry. It's Rakesh," the guard testified. (In an interview, Mr. Saxena denies the incident took place.)

His highest-profile activities these days are in Africa. According to a British parliamentary investigation, the leader of a British mercenary group says Mr. Saxena provided \$1.5 million to ousted Sierra Leone President Tejan Kabbah to help fund a counter coup in 1998. The money was used to purchase 35 tons of assault rifles, rocket launchers and ammunition that were delivered in violation of a United Nations arms embargo, the mercenary told Parliament. Mr. Saxena's Africa Resources Corp. now has four diamond concessions in the war-torn country.

Mr. Saxena says he had been negotiating to lend money to President Kabbah, but says the deal fell through and he had no role in the counter coup. He says he bought the diamond concessions after President Kabbah was restored to power.

"It's easy to make allegations," Mr. Saxena says. "They haven't proven a thing."

2/2

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."

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1999

Gun Groups Split Over Clinton Plans

CLINTON, From A3

Clinton asked those who make movies, TV shows, pop music records and video games to consider their violent content and the influence it might have on youths.

Several participants told reporters they would urge their colleagues to curb violent content, but all such efforts must be voluntary.

"You can't tell a director what to do," said Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America. However, he said, "an increasing number believe they can expunge from their films the things that are gratuitous."

Pop singer Gloria Estefan said consumers must register their distaste for records with violent lyrics or video games with gruesome images. If people stop buying such products, she said, the industries "will stop making them."

Robert Ricker, executive director of the American Shooting Sports Council, told reporters that his group already was on record supporting several of Clinton's gun initiatives, including background checks on buyers at gun shows. "If this meeting is an indication," Ricker said of the overall effort to fight youth violence, "I don't think the thrust is going to be on guns."

In its newspaper ad the NRA said it would consider instant background checks at gun shows only when the administration "stops demanding new gun taxes and stops illegally compiling and retaining the records of millions of lawful gun buyers."

In Congress, the Senate geared up for debate on a variety of gun control proposals that will be considered as amendments to a juvenile crime bill.

Sources said the Democratic leadership plan is likely to include proposals aimed at keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles and tracing guns used in crimes, while sidestepping more contentious measures such as limiting gun purchases to one a month or cracking down on sales at gun shows. The plan was crafted to avoid creating political difficulties for Democrats seeking reelection in states with big pro-gun constituencies, such as Sens. Jeff Bingaman (N.M.) and Charles S. Robb (Va.), sources said.

Meanwhile yesterday, the Christian Coalition began airing radio ads saying the Colorado school shootings show that Americans must put "God back in our schools and parents back in our homes." The ads are scheduled to air on 65 stations in Iowa and 22 in New Hampshire, the sites of key early battles in the 2000 presidential election.

Staff writer Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PHOTO BY SCAM BODLE—THE WASHINGTON POST
Hillary Rodham Clinton and Tipper Gore greet each other at White House meeting on children and violence at which both spoke.

Clinton Meeting Splits Gun Lobby

**Firearms Makers Attend;
NRA Assails White House**

By CHARLES BAREINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

A fissure in the nation's gun lobby grew wider yesterday, as leading gun manufacturers participated in a White House meeting on youth violence while the National Rifle Association attacked the event in a news conference and newspaper ads.

The firearms industry has come under increasing criticism in the wake of the Littleton, Colo., killings and unrelated liability lawsuits filed by several cities. Major gun manufacturers have responded by saying they would support some new restrictions on the right to possess guns.

But the NRA, the major group representing gun owners, has remained defiant. The gulf between the two factions was particularly evident yesterday when President Clinton hosted a three-hour meeting on "children, violence and responsibility," involving 60 people representing television, Hollywood, video games and other industries.

At the huge rectangular table were top executives of gun manufacturers Glock Inc. and Smith & Wesson, and the American Shooting Sports Council, which represents about 350 makers and distributors of firearms. They embraced several proposals backed by Clinton, including raising the legal age for handgun possession to 21 from the current 18, and requiring criminal background checks on



Singer Gloria Estefan said consumers can simply stop buying violent records or video games.

persons buying weapons at gun shows.

The White House did not invite top NRA officials, who expressed their views in a news conference and full-page ads in newspapers, including the Wall Street Journal.

"More firearms legislation, like previous legislation, that is passed with no intention of enforcement is a dangerous fraud perpetrated upon the safety of the American people that must stop," said the ad, signed by NRA President Charlton Heston. The ad said it was "unfortunate" that Clinton did not invite the NRA, which it described as "the nation's

foremost authority on firearms education, accident prevention and proven policies that curb criminal misuse of guns."

Clinton took pains not to single out gun owners or other groups as he called for a variety of voluntary efforts to curb youth violence. "Everyone was talking about what could be done to accept responsibility. No one was pointing the finger of blame," he said in a Rose Garden ceremony after the closed meeting. He praised "the remarkable support that gun manufacturers have given to many of our common-sense gun proposals."

Clinton, joined by his wife and Vice President and Tipper Gore, called for "a national campaign to prevent youth violence," modeled on earlier public-private endeavors to curb teen pregnancy and to move welfare recipients into jobs. Hillary Rodham Clinton said the administration will help create a nonprofit agency that will "come forward, we hope, with very specific suggestions about what parents can do, what schools can do, what community groups can do, what the media can do, what gun manufacturers can do."

Yesterday's meeting stressed voluntary rather than mandatory efforts to identify and address possible causes of youth violence. Many of the strategies have been aired before.

For example, U.S. television manufacturers already are required to begin installing V-chips, which allow parents to block programs they consider inappropriate for children. But many people are unfamiliar with the technology, so Clinton said yesterday he will create a task force to heighten awareness.

See CLINTON, A8, Col. 1

PUBLIC LIVES

Two First Ladies, So Alike and So Different

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

SHE was the prelude to Hillary Rodham Clinton, a quietly rebellious First Lady of the late 1970's who sat in on Cabinet meetings, pushed Congress to pass mental health legislation — and was asked by her party to run for United States Senator from Georgia after her husband left the White House.

"I didn't even consider it," Rosalynn Carter said last week in a 39th-floor suite of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where she was ensconced with her Secret Service agents during a visit to New York. "What would I have done in Washington with Jimmy at home?"

Home was Plains, Ga., population 700 or so. But what about taking the defeated President to Washington as a Senate spouse?

Mrs. Carter smiled at the thought: "I think the question answers itself."

As for Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Carter said she hadn't had a real conversation with her since 1992. "I've seen her at maybe two events," Mrs. Carter said, squirming. "This is embarrassing."

(Mrs. Clinton's office said yesterday that one event was Richard M. Nixon's funeral and another was a 1997 Habitat for Humanity house-building in Kentucky, where Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Carter installed vinyl siding.)

Mrs. Carter did manage to say that she has "a lot of respect" for Mrs. Clinton, although she did not exactly endorse the First Lady's potential Senate campaign from New York. "I think it's up to her, if she wants to do it," Mrs. Carter said. "She's so well educated, and so capable. I think she probably would really like to continue to use her knowledge and influence. I can understand why she wants to run for the Senate."

The club of living former First Ladies has a membership of five: Mrs. Carter, Betty Ford, Barbara Bush, Nancy Reagan and Lady Bird Johnson. As a wife of a former Southern governor and a close political partner of her husband, Mrs. Carter is by far the most like Mrs. Clinton. But there has been bad blood between the Clintons and Carters for nearly two decades, ever since President Jimmy Carter sent several hundred Cuban refugees from the Mariel boatlift to Arkansas, creating a political crisis for Gov. Bill Clinton, who in part blamed Mr. Carter for his gubernatorial re-election defeat.

Years later, Mr. Carter said he felt ignored by the Clinton White House, while the Clintons complained that the former President was meddling in foreign policy.

Which brings us back to Rosalynn



Liberio Romano/The New York Times

Rosalynn Carter last week during a visit to New York from Plains, Ga.

Carter, the political wife who has always kept the names and carried the slights. "When they first went to Washington, he was a Southern governor," she said of Mr. Clinton. "And Jimmy had not been re-elected. And I think they wanted to detach themselves a little from that. And I can understand that."

MRS. CARTER was in town to receive an award and to promote a paperback edition of "Helping Someone With Mental Illness," her book on mental health. She is 71, fit, shy and self-contained, although she warmed up toward the end of an hourlong talk. Unlike Mrs. Clinton, who is 20 years younger, Mrs. Carter never seemed frustrated as the political spouse, although she has a clear-eyed view of what people demand of the President's wife.

"If they want to hurt the President, they can jump on the First Lady," Mrs. Carter said. "But what happened to Hillary is really interesting to me. Because when she was working on policy she was criticized. But as soon as she stood by her man, everyone loved her."

Like Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Carter lobbied to pass legislation, in her case the Mental Health Systems Act of 1980, although the financing died under President Ronald Reagan. But unlike Mrs. Clinton, who testified before Congress and then failed in her efforts for health care reform, Mrs. Carter worked with less fireworks. "They probably would have treated me the same way if I'd gone to Congress and said, 'This is my bill

and I want you to pass this,'" Mrs. Carter said.

(In fact, Mrs. Carter did testify about the mental health legislation before a Senate committee, as she recounts in "First Lady From Plains," her autobiography. "We could find a record of only one other First Lady who had testified before Congress — Eleanor Roosevelt on behalf of the coal miners," Mrs. Carter proudly wrote.)

Mrs. Carter said she spends a third of her time traveling, a third at the Carter Center in Atlanta and a third at home in Plains. "It's a great life," she said. "What you learn when you get out of the White House is that you still have the resources." Of course, "if a First Lady goes anywhere, she gets a lot more attention than a former First Lady gets enough."

One of her good friends these days is Betty Ford. (The husbands, antagonists after the 1976 Presidential election, have long since patched things up.) Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Ford have taken a trip together to Washington, where they stayed at the Hay-Adams Hotel and lobbied Congress on Mrs. Clinton's health care bill — Mrs. Carter to insure that it covered mental health, Mrs. Ford to see that it included substance abuse. "It didn't have what any of us wanted," she said. Mrs. Ford "got together the Republicans, and I got together the Democrats."

Mrs. Carter said she has long got over her bitterness from her husband's loss to Ronald Reagan. Even so, "my biggest regret in life was that Jimmy was defeated."

Lots of ifs, but watch where Hillary vacations

LORDY, those Clintons are sure busy with New York. The Big Man Himself schleps here Wednesday the 19th. Lunch. A meeting of the wallets. Small private gathering. Major major Dem givers, each of whom thinks he likes them personally. And will invite them over for potluck Passover when he's not living in government housing anymore. This snack's being given by Jack Rosen, president of the American Jewish Congress.

Meanwhile, Hillary will announce if she's running for Senate from New York as late as possible. September. One determination has been, no point, no upside, to coming out any earlier than she must. So if it's "yes" come fall, our signal will be where she vacations come summer. Considering Martha's Vineyard is outside New York borders, wouldn't seem a truly swift idea to go splashing and sunning in another state, right? And hi! Hill is plenty smart, right? So we're looking Hamptons, Adirondacks, Far Rockaway, Coney Island, right?

Besides Chelsea and other elements weighing in, Kosovo has become a very real factor in the decision. Will it seem seemly for America's First Lady to be gone from our land's heartbeat and

Cindy Adams



HILLARY CLINTON
Far Rockaway?

potting about Schenectady, Utica, Rochester, Buffalo and downtown Elmira hustling votes when the White House, our President and our nation

may be under siege.

If the decision's "yes," she'll neutralize the carpthaggerism up front as did JFK with his Catholicism. Camp Hillary deems this surmountable. The mantra will be she's essentially stateless, rootless. Born in Illinois, schooled in Massachusetts, wed in Arkansas, lived in Washington, etc. Also the message will be, she can work harder, longer, better for the state than anyone. Who has more contacts, yadda yadda yadda? Also she loves New York, always wanted to live in New York.

The route she'll take is to expose herself to as many different people and areas as possible. The boonies, special interest groups, those who've actually never one-on-one'd her before, need to have this chance. People tend to like Hillary once they've met her face-to-face.

And there's the question, what's Bill do when he grows up? Lectures and the regulation memoir do not constitute a future. Mucking about on a Clinton Library is make-work, not real work. Can't go into politics. Been there, done that. So it's business. He needs to go into the business sector. In other words, he's job-hunting.

P.S. A little tidbit you didn't hear from me. Gore is dis-thrilled with Senator-maybe Hillary. Thinks she should be out there drumbeating for his political career, not hers.

SUMMIT: Clinton Urges Hollywood to Stop Marketing Violence to Kids

Continued from A1

lent. But in a Rose Garden statement after the three-hour closed-door session, Clinton's most pointed remarks were aimed at Hollywood, whose most influential leaders were conspicuously absent from the day's event.

"We cannot pretend that there is no impact on our culture and our children... if there is too much violence coming out of what they see and experience," Clinton said. "We have to ask people who produce things to consider the consequences of them—whether it's a violent movie, a CD, a video game. If they are made, at least they should not be marketed to children."

Clinton's allusion to marketing seemed a warning, however subtle, that government action could result if Hollywood does not voluntarily rein in some of the ultra-violent films and games that the industry rates as not appropriate for children under 17, and then markets to precisely that audience.

And waiting in the wings is Congress, where a bipartisan group of lawmakers is poised to demand as early as this week a Federal Trade Commission investigation into the entertainment industry's marketing strategies toward young consumers, as well as the access that theater owners and video game distributors allow children.

"They're asking for trouble," Sen. Joseph L. Lieberman (D-Conn.) said of Hollywood leaders after the conference. "They're really whistling by a very serious problem. . . . It's really agitating the average family."

He added pointedly, "Cut out some of this violence, or at least stop marketing it."

The White House meeting, billed as a strategy session, was remarkable for the breadth and diversity of its participants—gun manufacturers and gun-control advo-

cates, network executives and clergy, Mothers Against Violence and students as young as 12, poet Maya Angelou, singer Gloria Estefan, actor Andrew Shue and four members of Congress. Several sources familiar with the meeting said the participants all seemed "on the same page" as they explored the possible causes of the Littleton, Colo., massacre.

The session was pronounced productive, even inspiring, as about 60 minds came together without anger or partisanship, brainstorming in the White House East Room without any lunch.

During the meeting:

- America Online Chairman Steve Case and Interactive Digital Software President Doug Lowenstein agreed to work together to close a loophole that allows children Internet access to violent video games.

- Clinton asked the surgeon general to prepare a report on youth violence, including the effects of new media in the computer age. Some analysts say such a report could lay the foundation for litigation against the purveyors of violent films and games, much as the harmfulness of secondhand smoke proved a legal headache for the tobacco industry.

- Several major gun manufacturers announced their support for stricter firearm laws that Clinton has proposed, including barring violent juveniles from ever buying guns, raising the youth handgun ban from 18 to 21 and holding adult gun owners responsible for weapons that fall into the hands of children and are used in a crime.

The conference ultimately sought to explore the very causes of youth violence, and according to at least one participant, everyone in attendance came away feeling somewhat responsible.

"If we began pointing fingers, we would all be blind," said Pamela Eakes, founder and president of Mothers Against Violence.

"There's a lot of blame to go around. . . . I don't think anyone left here feeling off the hook."

But perhaps most on the defensive was Hollywood; sources said the industry was denounced by some for an unwillingness to take responsibility for the impact of media violence on children.

The tables seemed turned—with the usually adversarial gun lobby winning White House accolades for backing tougher restrictions and studio executives taking jabs for failing to show.

Indeed, National Rifle Assn. leaders were angry they were not included while in Hollywood, this seemed to be one White House invitation no one relished—even from a president the industry has supported politically and financially for years.

"It is unfortunate that the president would call a national summit on youth violence and exclude from that round-table discussion the nation's foremost authority on firearms safety education, accident prevention and proven policies that curb criminal misuse of guns," NRA President Charlton Heston wrote.

The only representative of the seven major studios was Jack Valenti, head of the Motion Picture Assn. of America, who asserted no proven link between violent movies and children who kill. According to one of those at the meeting, Valenti was taken to task by the gun lobby.

"You know, we are hearing the same things out of the entertainment industry that we used to hear at NRA meetings," Robert Ricker, executive director of the American Shooting Sports Council, was quoted as saying. "We can all make progress if we are big enough to step forward."

Even ABC Chairman Bob Iger acknowledged hypocrisy among some entertainment industry colleagues. "When the finger is pointed at them about violence, they say their media has no influence; but they turn around and say just the opposite to advertisers. We should all admit our medium has an influence," he was quoted as saying.



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton with America Online Chairman and CEO Steve Case at White House summit on youth violence.

ence, they say their media has no influence; but they turn around and say just the opposite to advertisers. We should all admit our medium has an influence," he was quoted as saying.

Vice President Al Gore, who recently defended the rights of parents to organize boycotts against violent products, urged that the V-chip—which manufacturers must include on new TV sets beginning in July—be used to send television producers a message. He noted that if 3% of parents use the chip to block an objectionable program, "advertisers will go elsewhere."

After the session, some who did not

take part faulted Clinton for failing to talk tougher to Hollywood leaders, who have been among his staunchest political supporters. This weekend, Clinton is scheduled to appear at a fund-raiser in Beverly Hills hosted by filmmaker David Geffen. The event is expected to raise about \$1.5 million for Democratic congressional candidates.

"The administration had a lot of equity in Hollywood and could have used the last six years to do a lot more shaming and a lot less fund-raising," GOP presidential candidate and conservative activist Gary Bauer said.

Times political writer Ronald Brownstein contributed to this story.

First Lady Is Likely To Run, Aides Say

Many Moves Afoot For Senate Race In New York

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Friends and political associates of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday they now regard it as a virtual certainty that she will run for Senate in New York next year, a candidacy she plans to advance by establishing an exploratory committee within weeks of returning from a Florida vacation later this month.

The exploratory committee would allow her to raise money and pay for travel costs to the Empire State. The first lady flies on Air Force jets for all her travel; her eight visits to New York so far this year have been paid for mostly by the government but in part by various political groups that had invited her.

Clinton, according to people close to her, has cautioned in recent conversations that she is not yet ready for a final decision and an announcement of candidacy. But a variety of Washington and New York political sources who have spoken to her or her strategists said yesterday that—after weeks of sometimes agonized deliberations—she is past the essential question of should-I-or-shouldn't-I. At this point, sources said, not running would require a change of mind on the first lady's part and a reversal of the assumptions on which nearly all her recent conversations have been based.

As a practical matter, she has the rudiments of a political operation in place, drawing on personnel used by President Clinton in his 1992 and 1996 campaigns. Former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, a Washington lawyer with deep roots in New York Democratic politics, has been advising her for two months about the likely contours of a Senate race. Political consultant Mandy Grunwald, who established close ties with the first lady during the 1992 campaign and her husband's first term, is part of the core group.

So are two people whose connections with the Clintons were established in the 1996 race: Mark Penn, the president's pollster, is advising the first lady's prospective candidacy. And fund-raiser

See HILLARY, A12, Col. 1

A12 THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1999

First Lady Nears 'Yes' To N.Y. Race

HILLARY, From A1

Terence McAllister, on friendly terms with both Clintons, is offering advice on a fund-raising strategy, sources said.

The slow unveiling of Clinton's potential candidacy—which associates said even she viewed as a lark when speculation began last winter and has now taken on air of inevitability—is likely to continue for some time. The exploratory campaign could be established as soon as early June, some political sources said. But one adviser said it was more likely this will wait until early July, in part because of a schedule that will take the first lady to the Middle East next month.

The first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, cautioned that the first lady's plans may not become as clear as soon as even some supporters are assuming. "She's certainly looking at an exploratory committee, but I think people are jumping to conclusions about whether its formation is imminent."

Even then, however, associates say, she will try to keep an element of doubt about her intentions—in part to preserve her flexibility to change her mind, in part to avoid immersing herself fully in 2000 politics at the expense of the other projects she has pursued as first lady.

"The finger is on the go button," said one knowledgeable Democrat. "She just hasn't decided to push it yet."

"The scale is dipping appreciably on the 'run' side of the fulcrum," said one Democrat close to the first lady and her strategists. "She could still wake up one day and say ... to heck with this."

Not one of several associates of the first lady yesterday said they consider that likely. Despite Clinton's preference for keeping her 2000 intentions opaque, there are several factors forcing some measure of clarity.

One factor is legal. Clinton, like her husband, travels on Air Force planes. When travel is deemed essentially political, the Clintons partially reimburse the government according to a formula based on what it would cost to fly commercial. White House lawyers, including Counsel Charles F.C. Ruff and deputy counsel Cheryl Mills, according to sources, have strongly advised Clinton to avoid ethical controversy—some of which is already brewing in the New York media—by forming an exploratory committee and reimbursing the New York travel.

Associates of the first lady have said the Secret Service wants her to fly on Air Force planes, not on commercial flights. The other factor pushing Clinton's timing involves the possibility of a backlash in New York if she lags too long in signaling her plans. "Hillary really has an obligation if she's not going to run to say so in early June," said one adviser, who fully expects a candidacy.

Polls show Clinton leading New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), who also has not announced his intention to run, in a hypothetical matchup. Associates say that Clinton knows that a race against the hard-hitting Giuliani would be very tough and that she is prepared to take on the fight.

"It's obvious to anyone who sits down with Hillary Clinton that she is enthusiastic about being a senator," said Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), who has sat down with her. Schumer said he believes among Clinton's misgivings is the need to immerse herself fully in New York politics, effectively giving up other duties. "You have to be a full-time candidate," he said. He also said that the first lady needs to become "comfortable with the risk she may lose."

In fact, say associates, she has spent considerable time discussing this—knowing that the unprecedented candidacy of a sitting first lady, particularly in a state where she has never lived, would carry implications far beyond those facing the typical candidate be interpreted as a kind of referendum on the agenda of her husband and their personal reputations. "She's not naive about this," said one adviser. "She doesn't expect to lose, but you have to go in with the understanding you might." After a period of soul-searching, this person added, "she's reconciled to that."

For now, Clinton is determined that her potential candidacy exist in tandem with her work as first lady. She is on a tour of southwestern states this week promoting preservation, and today will attend a service with her husband in Littleton, Colo., to mourn last month's high school massacre. While in Colorado, according to associates, she will give an interview to CBS's Dan Rather, to be aired in next week's edition of "60 Minutes II."

Next week she will take yet another trip to New York. She will attend a book signing for Matilda Cuomo and attend an arts event. Then in an event designed to leave pundits scratching their heads, she will keep a pledge to attend a fund-raiser for Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), who has said she plans to run for Senate if the first lady doesn't.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1999

First Lady Said to Inch Closer to Senate Bid

By DON VAN NATTA Jr.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has told friends in recent days that she is likely to form an exploratory committee that would allow her to raise money and pay bills associated with a Senate campaign, several of her associates said yesterday.

The suggestion by Mrs. Clinton that she is, in the words of one adviser, "inching very close" toward a critical step in her decision-making process comes as she has faced some criticism for a flurry of trips to New York that were billed as official White House business. An exploratory committee would allow her to raise money to pay for visits that even her own supporters say have taken a decidedly political cast, as more and more Democrats seem certain she will run.

"An exploratory committee is being considered," said Marsha Berry, the First Lady's spokesman, by telephone last night from the Grand Canyon, where Mrs. Clinton was visiting. "But at this point, any talk of an actual announcement is premature."

Even if Mrs. Clinton goes ahead with an exploratory committee, several of her associates said, she has still not made a final decision to run for Senate. One close adviser said last night that the First Lady was still weeks away from making a final decision even on the exploratory committee, though this adviser said that such a step appeared increasingly likely.

Nonetheless, Mrs. Clinton's remarks to associates are the latest indication that she is moving toward what would be the unprecedented

step of running for the Senate from the White House. What is more, the First Lady has asked several trusted advisers to give her the names of political staff members and fundraising experts in New York who could help raise money for the exploratory committee, should it be formed, the aides said.

In recent days, Mrs. Clinton has told her closest advisers, including Harold M. Ickes, the former White House chief of staff, and several other associates to begin making staff preparations for a possible campaign for the seat being vacated by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"She at least wants to be able to continue to consider it," said one adviser, after speaking to Mrs. Clinton on Monday. "It's not the same as making a decision to run."

Another close associate, who also spoke on the condition of anonymity, said: "I think she has concluded that being a senator is something she wants to do. She is figuring out whether she is prepared to make a decision that will consume the next seven-and-a-half years of her life."

The prospect of Mrs. Clinton running for the Senate has stirred great interest among her friends and Democrats, including a number of political consultants who would like to work for her in a campaign and who have in recent days been furiously trading information — or rumors — about the First Lady's intentions. Mrs. Clinton is known for keeping her counsel, and thus there were some discrepancies last night in accounts of what she is doing.

For example, two associates of

Mrs. Clinton said the First Lady had gone so far as to instruct associates to move ahead with forming an exploratory committee, with the intention of announcing a decision sometime in June or early July. Two other people who are close to Mrs. Clinton described those statements as exaggerated, saying she in fact had still reserved the possibility of not making the race in the end.

In any event, pressure on Mrs. Clinton to signal some sort of intention is growing. For one thing, aides to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican who is likely to run for Senate next year, have questioned the trips Mrs. Clinton has made to New York at taxpayer expense.

And Representative Nita M. Lowey, the Westchester Democrat who has said she would run for the nomination if Mrs. Clinton does not, is said by other Democrats to be becoming increasingly anxious for Mrs. Clinton to make a decision. If Mrs. Clinton runs, Ms. Lowey is going to run for re-election.

Even if Mrs. Clinton goes ahead and forms an exploratory committee, she still could back out. As a practical matter, though, such an announcement would be seen in New York as approaching a definite decision and would almost certainly lead to Ms. Lowey exiting the race.

In any event, there is a growing consensus that Mrs. Clinton is going to run. "Do I think she wants to run?" said James Carville, the Democratic consultant. "Yes. Do I think the President would like to see her run? Yes. Do I know yet whether she has decided to do it? No."

★ THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1999

Friends report Hillary is close to forming exploratory group

She apparently wants family discussions about Senate bid

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton's close friends and advisers expect her to form an exploratory campaign committee next month, taking a dramatic step closer to running for the Senate in New York.

Two longtime associates, both speaking on condition of anonymity, said this week the first lady has told them she intends to form the committee, which would allow her to raise and spend money while determining whether to seek the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

But a senior adviser intimately familiar with Mrs. Clinton's decision-making process said yesterday that the first lady has not directed her political or legal teams to form the committee.

Final word on the matter is not expected before she and President Clinton return from a brief Florida vacation May 30, the adviser said.

Mrs. Clinton plans to use that time to discuss the race with the president and their daughter, Chelsea, officials say.

The adviser said that while it was not likely, it still is possible Mrs. Clinton could decide this month not to seek the nomination.

She is more likely to return from vacation and remain mum on her intentions, continuing to explore the race and moving ever closer to a full-fledged campaign, the three sources said.

If she takes this route, political and legal considerations would force Mrs. Clinton to form an exploratory committee almost im-

Unless Mrs. Clinton rules out the bid in June, she is not expected to enter the race formally soon. Advisers say it would be difficult to turn back once she forms an exploratory committee.

mediately, the adviser said.

All three sources said Mrs. Clinton's staff and advisers now believe she is more likely than not to run.

Mrs. Clinton's supporters long have suspected she would form an exploratory committee. The matter took on greater importance after she began to be criticized for traveling to New York at taxpayers' expense.

Forming a committee would allow Mrs. Clinton to raise money to help finance the trips.

Arranging for the first lady to travel is expensive, though the full costs never are disclosed. Mrs. Clinton goes with a Secret Service entourage and a handful of aides, staying at expensive hotels and flying aboard government planes.

Even with the exploratory committee, taxpayers would cover most of her costs. Under federal policy, campaigns do not pay the full cost of flying government planes or providing Secret Service protection.

Unless Mrs. Clinton rules out the bid in June, she is not expected to enter the race formally for weeks or months. Friends and advisers, however, say it would be

difficult to turn away from the race once she forms an exploratory committee.

She determined weeks ago that a Senate seat would be a good platform for her advocacy of children and women's issues and a steppingstone for a potential long-term goal — seeking the presidency. Associates also say Mrs. Clinton knows she could lose the race, and is increasingly willing to take that risk.

Her most likely GOP rival, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, would be a formidable candidate. Aides to GOP Gov. George E. Pataki say he plans to make a major political announcement next week, stirring rumors that he might seek the seat.

Among the potential hurdles to the race are the logistics of running for the Senate in New York while being first lady, one of the associates said.

A second associate, a longtime ally who would prefer that she not seek the seat, said Mrs. Clinton has told friends the opportunity may be too good to pass up.

In N.Y., Clinton Is Second Fiddle to First Lady

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK—As far as New Yorkers were concerned, the White House sent the wrong Clinton to visit on Wednesday.

Ever since she announced in February that she was eyeing a race for the U.S. Senate here, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has been mobbed by curious voters and hungry photographers every time she sets foot in New York.

Clinton, in his seventh year as president and commander in chief of the armed forces, proved less of a draw.

There was one lonely photographer awaiting his arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport aboard Air Force One.

He had planned to stay in town long enough to attend a fund-raising dinner to help Geraldine A. Ferraro, the Democrats' 1984 vice presidential candidate, pay off debts from her career as the party's 1998 Senate nomination. But the \$1,000-a-person party was canceled for lack of interest.

To be sure, there were crowds gathered Wednesday along 34th Street, a major cross-town thoroughfare in midtown Manhattan. But that's what happens when the police set up their blue wooden barricades before a motorcade crawls through at lunchtime.

Even on the sidewalk alongside the Empire State Building, top tourist territory, pedestrians paid little heed, hurrying along while the president drove by.

Clinton joked that there is little distance to political office between dogcatcher and president and one of the events that drew him to New York was normally reserved for mayors: a ribbon cutting without the ribbon, the unveiling of an architectural model for a public building.

So there he was in the main New York City post office, the James O. Farley Building, across Eighth Avenue from Madison Square Garden. To be exact, he was in the basement—dark, narrow, exposed heating vents and all—marveling over plans to turn the postal facility into a new Pennsylvania Station, Amtrak's New York terminus and a major stop in the New York City subway system.

The president was also drawn to the city by the sort of attraction that takes him to most other destinations these days—the challenge of getting Democrats to open their wallets one more time. In this case for a \$10,000-a-person luncheon of cold tomato soup, bass with potatoes, lamb stew and asparagus with fresh berries.

Washington Post
 Thursday, May 20, 1999



A sculpture garden with legs: Louise Bourgeois's "Spider" looms in front of the National Archives.

Art Under the Open Sky

National Gallery's Sculpture Garden Blooms at Last

By BENJAMIN FORCÉ
 and DAVID MONTGOMERY
 Washington Post Staff Writers

There's a quiet new attraction on the Mall, a place of greenery and imagination tucked among grand buildings, where visitors might relax in the company of a giant bronze hare, a concrete block pyramid and an oversize eraser.

This latest addition to the Mall—the 6.1-acre National Gallery of Art Sculpture Garden—was accepted yesterday for Washington and the nation by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The garden, which will open to the public Sunday at 11 a.m., is an important complement to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, which opened 25 years ago on the southern side of the greenward, directly opposite the site of the new garden. Few cities, if any, can claim such major collections of outdoor sculpture within sight of each other.

More than 100 guests—including sculptors and their families, art patrons, business leaders and members of Congress—attended the garden's dedication ceremony yesterday morning under a large



Hillary Rodham Clinton, gallery Director Earl Powell III, left, and President Robert Smith view Barry Flanagan's "Thinker on a Rock."

white tent outside the Seventh Street NW gate to the garden.

Mrs. Clinton said it "makes a powerful statement that art should be accessible to all people."

This picturesque landscap-

ing, flashing fountain and shapes in bronze and granite and steel were made possible largely by the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. Cal-

See GARDEN, A6, Col. 1



Cityscape

■ The National Gallery's new sculpture garden breaks up the Mall's geometry by combining neoclassical details, modern sculptures and 19th-century garden elements.

STYLE, Page C1

First Lady Dedicates National Gallery Sculpture Garden

GARDEN, From A1

vin Cafritz, chairman of the foundation, said the garden would provide "refuge and oasis" for thousands of visitors to the Mall.

The foundation donated \$10 million of the \$13 million construction cost of the garden, according to gallery officials. The foundation also paid for eight sculptures for the garden. Of the 17 pieces in the garden, 10 are new acquisitions. Gallery officials do not release the cost of artworks.

After remarks by Clinton, Cafritz and gallery officials, the guests were invited to wander down meandering paths among the sometimes fanciful, sometimes abstract, contemporary works.

Clinton seemed taken by a piece called "Thinker on a Rock," by Barry Flanagan. With a whimsical nod to Rodin's "The Thinker," it is a cast bronze hare, contemplatively posed with chin on paw, sitting on a rock.

Then there's "Typewriter Eraser, Scale X" by Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen. It's exactly

what it sounds like, a big pink eraser wheel pitched at a slight tilt, as if still furiously at work in the age before computer delete keys.

"Four-Sided Pyramid," by Sol LeWitt, is perhaps the most prominent of the many abstract works on view. More than 15 feet high and made of stacked concrete blocks painted a blinding white, it comes alive in the afternoon sun.

The art and the landscaping, including massive trees, are supposed to work in a way that avoids what National Gallery Director Earl A.

"Rusty" Powell III called "a sculpture garden starter-kit look."

Yesterday's dedication completes the layout long envisioned for the gallery—two major buildings and, now, an outdoor art space.

"I think it adds another dimension to our ability to present art, but it also makes a place on the Mall that is a bit more contemplative, a bit quieter, a bit more intimate than the grand formal sweep of the Mall itself," Powell said.

The garden seems to be designed with tourists trailing tired children

in mind, or perhaps office workers on lunch break.

"It's a place to stop, rest, collect yourself, listen to the water, look at the art, enjoy the garden ... eat a bag lunch," Powell said.

The garden is bordered by Seventh and Ninth streets, Madison Drive and Constitution Avenue NW and will be open the same hours as the museum (Monday-Saturday 10 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Sunday 11-6) most of the year. Admission is free. A cafe

See GARDEN, A7, Col. 1

Long-Delayed Sculpture Garden on the Mall to Open Sunday

GARDEN, From A6

will open in the fall. During the winter, when the fountain will be transformed into a skating rink, the hours will be extended to permit evening skating.

Designed with rich, informal plantings by Philadelphia landscape architect Laurie Olin, the National Gallery space is organized around the fountain's circular pool. The heavy planting, curving paths and odd-shaped plots of grass contrast strongly with the straight lines and

elm-tree monoculture of the Mall. Olin said he wanted to bring back "an echo" of the Mall's 19th-century planting, which was destroyed to make room for the greensward and the elm trees all in a row.

Sculptures are situated at irregular intervals among the trees, shrubs and flowering ground covers. Included are major abstract works by such artists as LeWitt, Isamu Noguchi, David Smith, Tony Smith and Mark di Suvero, as well as humorous representational pieces by Flanagan, Oldenburg and van

Bruggen, Roy Lichtenstein and Louise Bourgeois.

The making of the sculpture garden has been a stop-and-go affair. Conceived 33 years ago by then-Director John Walker for the plot of land at Constitution Avenue and Seventh Street NW immediately to the west of the gallery's West Building, the garden got off to a promising start in the late '60s with the construction of a large circular pool surrounded by a double row of linden trees.

There remained, however, a cou-

ple of problems. The National Gallery did not have enough sculpture to fill such a large space, and the federal government, beset by fiscal woes related to the Vietnam War, lost interest in such cultural projects.

The pool, equipped for skating, became a popular wintertime destination. But the land, administered by the National Park Service, remained rather barren and without sculpture, despite several elaborate designs put forward by the National Gallery. In 1988 a pavilion, designed

in the late '60s, finally was constructed to sell food to Mall tourists and service the skaters.

Then, in 1991, then-Director J. Carter Brown moved the project forward by negotiating with the Park Service to turn over control of the six-acre plot to the gallery. Powell made completing the garden a priority shortly after he succeeded Brown in 1992.

He hired Olin, head of the Olin Partnership in Philadelphia, to proceed with a new design. Simultaneously, he enlisted the Cafritz

Foundation, a local philanthropy based on the real estate fortune of the Cafritz family, to help fund the project.

The Cafritz family has a history of supporting outdoor art in Washington. In 1963 Morris Cafritz purchased "Cubi XI," an abstract stainless steel sculpture by American artist David Smith, and put it on view outside the Universal North office building at 1875 Connecticut Ave. NW.

"The Gwendolyn," an aggressively spiked steel sculpture made in 1965 by Alexander Calder, now at 14th Street and Constitution Avenue NW, was named by the artist after his friend, Gwendolyn Cafritz.

National Gallery's Sculpture Park Adds New Dimension to the Mall

By BENJAMIN FORGEE
Special to The Washington Post

I already have chosen my favorite seat in the National Gallery of Art's new sculpture garden. It is hard as a rock. It is, in fact, a rock—a highly polished slab of pink granite sliced into the form of an armless chair after a design by sculptor Scott Burton.

Although clearly I did not select the chair-sculpture for its comfort, it proved—on a crisp spring day, under the drooping limbs of an old elm tree—to be comfortable enough. But the main allure of the Burton piece—as many visitors will discover after the garden opens at 11 a.m. Sunday—is its agreeable location.

Seated upon it, a visitor can focus at leisure on Mark di Suvero's astonishing "Aurora"—the most forceful and dynamic of the 17 sculptures in the new garden. Or, with just a slight turn of the head, he can enjoy a panoramic view.

To the south, behind the stand of tall cedars, there is a fetching glimpse of Sol LeWitt's faceted white pyramid. To the west, beyond Isamu Noguchi's massive stone carving in a stretch of green, Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen's amusing "Typewriter Eraser" totters against a thick clump of trees. Closer, Louise Bourgeois' immense bronze "Spider" seems poised to move from a protected glade.

See CITYSCAPE, C5, Col. 1



A work of art in itself, Scott Burton's chair sculpture also provides a place to sit and admire other artworks, such as Mark di Suvero's forceful masterpiece "Aurora," shown in the background.

Wellesley class of '69 takes off gloves, conquers world

Rebels in White Gloves:
Coming of Age With
Hillary's Class — Wellesley '69
By Miriam Horn
Times Books, 352 pp., \$24

By Ann Prichard
Special for USA TODAY

I came within a madras headband's width of judging this book by its cover. The title? Ludicrous!

The subtitle? Pure opportunism! Hillary Clinton's photo on the front? Too predictable! The book itself? Loved it; couldn't put it down.

Such are the pleasant surprises in a reader's life. Low expectations from the way a story is packaged often give way to a truly good read. *Rebels in White Gloves* is a social his-

Review

tory, profiling dozens of women who graduated in 1969 from Wellesley, one of the elite "Seven Sisters" colleges.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the most famous class member. She is not, however, the star of the book.

Rebels offers great personal tales — inspiring, bizarre, riotous, moving and sad. Hillary, in fact, makes but brief appearances in the book, as if Wellesley women at age 51 had closed ranks around their famous but troubled sister.

Even without the first lady there is some great material. Coming of age in the 1960s, whether in Wellesley or Wichita, was a wild time of cultural change and counterculture movements. This was the schizoid age

when some college girls couldn't chew gum and some dropped acid with Baba Ram Dass. Such a time was bound to produce some ingenious women.

Here are looks at two:

► Martha McClintock, a fourth-generation Wellesleyan, enrolled at her mother's urging so she would have "something interesting to think about while folding dinpers."

A science whiz at 20, Martha attended a meeting of top male biologists who were discussing how mice in groups ovulate at the same time.

When McClintock suggested, "self-consciously," that the same thing happened among dorm women, she was met with skepticism. A Wellesley professor urged her to make the study that led to the first scientific evidence of pheromones and human

menstrual synchrony. She now heads a \$12 million lab at the University of Chicago.

Flexible thinking seems to be her trademark.

On one major experiment, she wanted to use black wild rats instead of albino lab rats. She paid a rat catcher for some, only to discover that she could not mark them. McClintock tried bleaching their fur with Clairol Nice 'n Easy, but nothing happened. "In such a case, scientists consult an expert. So I called Bonwit Teller's hair salon. I said, 'I'm working with animals, how do you bleach their' — I didn't want to say it was rats, so I used the word pelts.' The colorist, Mr. Andre, advised shampoo, followed by peroxide and then dye.

► Classmate Janet McDonald Hill, who is black, grew up in segregated New Orleans, where her parents worked 18 hours a day making crowns and dentures.

Hill now heads a successful con-

sulting firm and sits on numerous corporate boards. She married football player Calvin Hill. Their son, Grant, is considered one of pro basketball's finest players, on and off

the court. Janet was strict and did much of the child rearing but received little credit.

At a sports banquet, Grant sang her praises: "It's about time, Mom, you get the credit you deserve. No more 'wife of,' no more 'mother of,' and especially no more 'classmate of.' Tonight, I am the son of Janet and Calvin Hill. . . . Mom taught me to respect women because she commands so much respect. I believe the people who really change the world are people like Janet Hill who work at it every day. She's got it goin' on. If you're gonna step to her, you better be right: don't be half-stepping. We can call her Janet X."

Rebels is filled with anecdotal material culled from interviews and an extensive survey of the class of 1969 by Wellesley's class of 1999.

Horn, a writer at *U.S. News & World Report*, weaves these remarkably candid stories in the context of feminism and other movements. Her commentary is sometimes dry and ponderous, and thus *Rebels* is best enjoyed by dipping rather than reading straight through. Each story builds on the next, creating an appealing class portrait of complex and terrifically bright Everywomen.

Ann Prichard is a Washington-based writer.



THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Lloyd Grove

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1999

THE WASHINGTON POST

SPARKLING WATER WITH . . .

Rosalynn Carter

Between
First Ladies:
The Senate's
Just Not
The Same

If Hillary Rodham Clinton wants to represent New York in the Senate, it's okay with former first lady Rosalynn Carter. But she's not sure the job would be a promotion. Chatting with The Source on Monday, Carter said she had rejected Georgia Democrats' suggestions that she run for governor or senator. "It just didn't appeal to me," she said. "There has never been a senator who was first lady before. But, of course, more attention is paid to a first lady than to a senator."

"The first lady is really influential. If she has a project, it gets full attention," Carter continued. "To me, it's sad that some

things are acceptable for the first lady to work on, and some things are not. And I think the reason Hillary got so much flak about health care was because the public perceived her as trying to set policy, which is the *president's* responsibility."

She praises Hillary Clinton's defense of her husband during the Monica Lewinsky scandal and subsequent impeachment. "I think she has been great," Carter said. "The sad thing for me is that when she was really working on an issue, people criticized her. When she stood by her man, everybody loved her. I'll be glad when that day is over."

As Giuliani and Schools Chief Feud, Parents Fret

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

Like countless other New York City parents, Nancy Gasparino and her husband, Frank, a firefighter, have considered moving from their home in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, to the suburbs. But over the past few years, with crime falling and the economy booming, they have made their fragile peace with the city.

These days, however, the thought of fleeing New York is creeping back into her head.

This time around, she is not worried about making ends meet or learning that one of her four children has been mugged. Rather, she fears that the feud between Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani threatens the future of their education.

"I think that Mayor Giuliani has done a really commendable job in changing the city," said Mrs. Gasparino, a Parent Teacher Association president at Public School 185, as she whipped up onion dip for an expedition to the park. "That's one of the reasons we're staying in the city. I think the schools are going in the right direction. But I'm saddened by this division between the two of them. The end result is the children are the ones getting hurt."

For parents throughout the city, whether their offspring attend thriving middle-class schools in Manhattan or failing schools in the Bronx, the feud between the two Rudys is more than idle political sport or yet another municipal soap opera. For them, it is a worrisome, even ominous, sign that the public schools — typically the strongest, most personal tie that connects parents to the city — have once again become a political battleground. They are angry that the two leaders most responsible for the viability of the school system are fighting rather than working together. And they fear the children will suffer.

In dozens of interviews over the past few days, parents had trouble articulating the educational agendas of either Dr. Crew or Mr. Giuliani. But most said they had a sense that the fortunes of the schools rose and fell with

those of the city and that there is more reason for hope now than in many years. When Dr. Crew and Mr. Giuliani were getting along, they said, many schools could focus on what really counted, namely, teaching and learning.

Amy Schwartz, an economist, said she feels more optimistic about the schools than at any time since the oldest of her three children entered P.S. 41 in Greenwich Village six years ago. She thinks that her fifth-grade daughter has many choices that equal those available in private schools. She is not sure, however, whether Dr. Crew deserves the credit. But she believes that the schools have flourished in part because of the stability that came from his close relationship with Mr. Giuliani.

"It worries me that Crew might leave," she said. "I think that uncertainty and change and upheaval is not good for fledgling schools. Is there somewhere out there a better chancellor? Maybe. But I personally would be happy to stay the course for another couple of years. Maybe what we need is for somebody to stay in here long enough to get past the baloney."

Few parents had patience for the larger ideological issues — like vouchers and mayoral control of the schools — that have dominated the dispute between the Mayor and the Chancellor. Even those who favored vouchers, for instance, saw them as largely irrelevant to their lives.

"How is it going to help the New York City public school system to take some kids out and put them in private schools?" asked Louise Russo Chin, whose three children attend school in Bayside, Queens. "That's like saying, I don't want cavities, so therefore I'll take out my teeth."

Even Mr. Giuliani's strongest supporters said they would prefer that the schools not be under the direct control of City Hall. Cecilia Soranno of Bensonhurst said she had voted for Mr. Giuliani twice and would do so again if he could run for a third term. And she said she did not think much of the Board of Education. Nonetheless, she would be leery of replacing it

with mayoral control.

"I'm not saying the Board of Education has done a great job," she said. "But I think it's too much for one person. He's running the Police Department. He's running this, he's running that. Maybe if you have 48 hours a day."

Parents in poor and minority neighborhoods took a more cynical view of Mr. Giuliani. "He's a good Mayor, but he's too dictatorial," said Nancy Walker Thompson, whose son, Mark Elijah, attends first grade at P.S. 199 in Sunnyside, Queens. The Mayor's greatest strengths, she believes, involve dealing with municipal issues like garbage, traffic and crime. "They have nothing to do with children," she said. "You can't treat a child like a rapist."

Several parents complained that neither Dr. Crew nor Mr. Giuliani had ever visited their children's schools. One parent, Maria Ortiz, said Dr. Crew had recently visited her daughter's school, P.S. 165 on the Upper West Side, but only for a staged event at which he spoke English to a roomful of Spanish-speaking parents, most of whom did not understand him.

If there was one almost universal complaint, it was not about what happens at City Hall or Board of Education headquarters at 110 Livingston Street in Brooklyn, but about what happens in the classroom. Parents throughout the city complained that their children were not being sufficiently challenged. The Chancellor and the Mayor should insure that teachers teach effectively the first time around, whether it takes smaller classes, better trained teachers or a stronger curriculum, parents said.

"Teachers are spending too much time disciplining and not enough time teaching," said Jeanne Barnwell, whose two sons attend P.S. 41 and M.S. 158 in Bayside. Mr. Giuliani and Dr. Crew "keep talking about all these changes, but they wouldn't need all these remedial programs if they had smaller class size."

AM-NY- Senate Race-Lowey, Bjt,450

Lowey says she's in Senate race if first lady isn't

By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) As Hillary Rodham Clinton continues to ponder whether she will enter the New York Senate race, Rep. Nita Lowey made it clear Wednesday she will run if the first lady does not.

"I've made the decision that if Hillary does not run I will run," Lowey said Wednesday. "Should she decide to run then the Democratic party and I would support her."

Even though Lowey has been saying for some time that she is very interested in running for the Senate if Mrs. Clinton decides to steer clear, the Westchester County Democrat had not publicly committed previously to entering the race.

Lowey has spent much of her time in recent months touring New York, concentrating especially on the heavily-Republican territory upstate where she is not well known. She said those travels fueled her decision to run.

"I've gotten very good support from families throughout the state. I've also been raising money," Lowey said. "Just in talking to average people throughout the state I feel serving them in the Senate would be a wonderful thing."

In an ironic twist, Mrs. Clinton is headlining a fund raiser for Lowey next week in Manhattan that could either end up benefiting Lowey's Congressional re-election or her Senate bid, depending on what Mrs. Clinton decides to do.

The first lady is heading from that May 24 \$1,000-per head fund-raiser at the Grand Hyatt to a vacation with the president in Florida where New York Democrats say she will come to some sort of decision on the Senate seat.

Mrs. Clinton's advisers have told top New York Democrats that sometime in June she will make an announcement on the Senate bid, which could range from ducking out of the race to forming an exploratory committee.

Lowey said Wednesday that she had the impression from conversations with Mrs. Clinton that the first lady would make her decision soon but did not know what that decision would be.

"I would say in the next month or two we will know," Lowey said.

Lowey had some \$800,000 in the bank for a possible Senate bid several months ago. Lowey spokesman Howard Wolfson said the next financial filing, due June 30, would be "very impressive" but declined to give a specific total.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Long Island Reps. Rick Lazio and Peter King are considering running for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

News on Lowey's Senate race decision was first reported in Wednesday's editions of the Journal News in Westchester County.

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**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 05/19/99 at 19:54EDT ****

bc-POLS-HILLARY

Republicans looking forward to possible Senate run by first lady

Eds: Special attn. New York points

By PAUL BARTON

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON - The man who will direct Republican campaigns for the Senate in the year 2000 said Wednesday the GOP can hardly wait to take on first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in a potential New York match.

Her candidacy, he said, would energize Republicans.

"The best day she will have will be the day before she announces," said Sen. Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

McConnell, whose job is to raise money and help plan strategy for all GOP Senate candidates, made the comment at a breakfast meeting with reporters.

A potential bid by Hillary Clinton for the Senate seat being vacated by the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., has tantalized the nation's capital, New York and national political circles for months.

The two most often mentioned Republican candidates to oppose her are New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio from Long Island.

McConnell said neither is "cowered" by the thought of running against the first lady.

Mrs. Clinton is expected to use a Florida vacation with her husband later this month to make a decision about entering the race, with an announcement coming in early June.

The longer she plays with the idea, McConnell said, the more it seems she is serious about running.

But Mrs. Clinton's sudden adoption of New York for political purposes will be more of a problem for her than Democrats think, he said.

"I think this widespread notion that New York is too sophisticated to care ... is one of the problems the first lady will have," he said. "The second is the government underwriting a campaign."

McConnell hinted Republicans will make an issue of Hillary Clinton's frequent trips to New York this year as first lady and will pose questions about how she would separate her official duties from obvious campaign swings paid for by the taxpayers.

"How many times do you go to New York over the course of three months," he said.

The situation is a unique one in American political history, he said, adding that there are no reimbursement formulas similar to the ones that vice presidents have to use when they are traveling on the government's tab and running for president.

"I think it will rival the presidential race in terms of attention," he said, adding, "It will be written about, talked about and discussed in every state in America."

Like Vice President Al Gore's bid for the presidency, a Hillary Clinton Senate race would serve as a referendum on the Clinton years, he said.

Noting polls that show Gore running behind potential GOP nominees George W. Bush and Elizabeth Dole, McConnell said, "It seems to me there is a kind of fatigue factor with the Clinton years."

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First lady to visit Israel in June; trip may have dual purpose

By Wolf Blitzer/CNN

May 19, 1999

Web posted at: 6:14 p.m. EDT (2214 GMT)

JERUSALEM (May 19) -- Sources close to Israeli Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak say his new government will roll out the red carpet for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton when she arrives in Israel next month.

The sources say the first lady's advance team will be in Israel next week to prepare for the visit -- during which, the sources say, Barak and his government will make clear they regard Mrs. Clinton as a strong supporter of Israel despite her controversial statement supporting an independent Palestinian state.

That is seen as potentially important to reassuring the large and politically-active Jewish vote in New York.

Several sources close to the first lady tell CNN she's planning to form an exploratory committee within a month to prepare for a possible run for the New York Senate seat being vacated by retiring Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

That would be the surest sign to date that she's made up her mind to run though she would still theoretically retain some wiggle room to change her mind.

She's coming under intense pressure from lawyers to go ahead with the exploratory committee to help pay for her trips to New York, her phone calls to Democratic party activists and any internal polls that her supporters will commission.

The sources say her supporters have already informally sounded out several political consultants about working in her campaign

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consultants about working in her campaign though no final decisions have been made about who will be involved.

What is clear, the sources say, is that former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes will be in charge of the campaign at least at the start.

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"He's so well-wired, he knows the law ... and he's not intimidated by anybody."

Ex-Clinton aide becomes the first lady's mainstay

Harold Ickes guides her nascent N.Y. Senate candidacy

By ELLEN GABERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — The day the Senate was voting on the impeachment of Bill Clinton, two people widely seen to have been betrayed by him were discussing a future of their own — one that could thrust them into the national spotlight just as the president fades into retirement.

The pair eating a four-hour lunch that day in the White House residence: the president's wife and the trusted adviser whom he had notoriously fired.

When Hillary Rodham Clinton began to consider a Senate race in New York, former Clinton aide Harold Ickes was the first person she called.

Now the red-haired and rangy Ickes is Clinton's unofficial main man in her unofficial campaign — a political venture she is considering ever more seriously with regular visits to the state, including one scheduled for Monday.

The two lunch mates have lots in common. Intense political strategists, they share a genuine passion for liberal causes and love a great campaign fight.

And one other thing: unhappy experiences with President Clinton, who is widely seen as having brushed aside the enduring loyalty of each



Friends of long standing: Hillary Rodham Clinton gets a hug from Harold Ickes at a New York speaking engagement.

and done them wrong in very public ways.

"Will this be about redemption?" asks longtime Ickes friend Basil Paterson. "Perception-wise, to some people, it will."

The successful Hillary-Harold alliance could be seen as trumping the humiliations of the Clinton years, even offering the opportunity for an odd kind of revenge: Ickes helps the first lady reach for a historic political milestone while her husband awaits history's verdict on his presidency.

What better way to get the last word?

Ickes, 59, rejects the notion that desire for vindication drives him to advise Hillary Clinton. Over fruit salad and tea at Cafe Luna, a restaurant near

his Washington office, he points to a far simpler motive: He intimately understands New York politics.

Besides, he says, she asked. [See Ickes, 10a]

Spurned aide to president becomes mainstay of first lady's N.Y. campaign

There's a third of truth, Ikes says, in the New York Times' account of her as a political machine. Her quietest moment with the camera was when she said she would not be a political machine. "I can't do it," she said. "I'm not a politician."

In talking with Ikes, the first lady is revealing an old friend who has been with her since the first days after the re-election that Ikes helped engineer.

For his part, in changing the subject from the Clinton-Lewinsky affair and guiding Hillary Clinton, the New York Times, Ikes is revealing the possibility of her personal triumph in a life beyond first ladyhood.

Ikes, who is not paid by Clinton, is everywhere for her. The two take late-night drives after she anxiously engineers the future of the state and beyond New York.

Her secret, she says, is that she is not a politician. She is a woman who has been with her since the first days after the re-election that Ikes helped engineer.

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Ikes, who came to the White House in 1994, developed close ties to "Hillaryland" — as he said that first lady's domain — and found between the two and her aides of the White House for two years.

In 1994, newly named chief of staff Eric Lipton refused to work with the Lewinsky investigation, and the president promptly fired him. Ikes, who had been with Clinton since 1994, was not fired.

In an instant, Ikes — who had been with Clinton since 1994, was not fired.



Paying attention: Harold Ikes (right) listens as first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton delivers the keynote address at the 40th annual John F. English symposium in New York last week.

down and waited for her call. Ikes is ready to rumble in New York, having cut his teeth on nasty Upper West Side politics in the 1960s. He works with both attorney-in-chief and the one bit of his campaign staff to the big in an apartment during a New York mayoral race and clearing them. "I was hungry," he says, when asked why.

The fight is in Ikes' genes. The son of Harold LeClair Ikes, a strategy advisor to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Cabinet, Ikes became a soldier's guard dog in the Clinton.

As the White House scandal unfolded, Ikes worked 18-hour days while tailoring campaigns, dealing with everything from White House to alleged campaign fund-raising scheme. He continues to receive subpoenas including one he accepted one morning while still in his underwear.

No hard feelings

As for the president, Ikes said he holds no grudges.

"I was unhappy about the way the Clinton for me to leave the White House was made and the way I was told about it. But now, the president is president of the nation. He can't please everybody," he said.

But Ikes admits he and the first lady share an odder relationship. During the Lewinsky scandal, Ikes called regularly to check on her when other friends felt too awkward to do so. For her part, Clinton was said to be nervous when she learned of Ikes' dismissal.

"There were times when I felt closer to her than to the president," Ikes said of the first lady, whom he calls Hillary. He means — along with her friends — her "wonderful laugh" and "radiant smile."

Ikes has lived out his political ambitions through the Clinton, and his faith is not just on them.

"In New Hampshire, it was just me and Susan," Ikes Thomas, an old friend — "and Harold who believed in us." The first lady once told former White House aide George Stephanopoulos in a tearful moment in her book, "All the Women," "I wouldn't have thought we would ever have won."

The first lady's office did not respond to requests for comment for this article.

Ikes is working for the first lady, he said without self-interest. By guiding her with his famed Rolodex, he wants to enhance his own stature in politics and lobbying. He represents New York's City Council and other high-octane interests through his Washington consulting business and still works for a politically connected Long Island law firm.

A Manhattan University graduate who received his law degree from Columbia University in 1971, Ikes now lives in the upscale George-

town neighborhood of Washington with his wife, Laura Handman, a lawyer, and their 13-year-old daughter, Charlotte. Having worked on nearly every level of New York campaign since the 1960s, his state connections remain solid.

Those relationships have helped Ikes in the past. He had long shot presidential drives in the state for Democrats Eugene McCarthy, Edward M. Kennedy and Jesse L. Jackson — and the successful state campaigns of Jim Carver and Bill Clinton.

Since local New York races left more in one campaign involved in a lieutenant governor's race that he says he can't quite remember, Ikes lost the hearing in his right ear after a minor, nonfatal, stroke.

The Ikes campaign are marked by rapid emotion and full-body commitment. "A lot of it was broken skin," said James Vlasto, a fellow campaigner whose left arm Ikes bit in a confrontation during the 1977 New York mayoral race. "Harold was aggressive."

In a debate 2000 race, Ikes would be no stranger to Clinton, after being in the 1985 and 1993 New York mayoral races when he worked for David Dinkins. In candidate debate negotiations in 1995, Ikes was seen, possibly refusing to shake hands with Roger Ailes, Clinton's media adviser in a campaign, working on the campaign, working on the campaign, working on the campaign.

Fiercely loyal

Now he is poised to do the same for Clinton. In the first lady's possible Senate run, Ikes is expressing the right-hand loyalty to the first lady that has come to define him.

"I don't make friends easily," said Ikes, his hands clasped at the end of a long afternoon. "It's hard to say ever I consider you a friend. I'm loyal to you."

That loyalty has led Ikes back to the White House — when the first lady's first husband, Bill Clinton, was elected — and started another new chapter in his story.

"The wheel does go round," he said. "Time and time again, you're seen in politics, as in life — and over and over — people who are down and out one day who are back on top the next."

"No I don't know what it means to be a survivor. I think that we're here while we're here. Where we'll be five years from now remains to be seen."

down and waited for her call. Ikes is ready to rumble in New York, having cut his teeth on nasty Upper West Side politics in the 1960s. He works with both attorney-in-chief and the one bit of his campaign staff to the big in an apartment during a New York mayoral race and clearing them. "I was hungry," he says, when asked why.

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As for the president, Ikes said he holds no grudges.

"I was unhappy about the way the Clinton for me to leave the White House was made and the way I was told about it. But now, the president is president of the nation. He can't please everybody," he said.

But Ikes admits he and the first lady share an odder relationship. During the Lewinsky scandal, Ikes called regularly to check on her when other friends felt too awkward to do so. For her part, Clinton was said to be nervous when she learned of Ikes' dismissal.

"There were times when I felt closer to her than to the president," Ikes said of the first lady, whom he calls Hillary. He means — along with her friends — her "wonderful laugh" and "radiant smile."

Ikes has lived out his political ambitions through the Clinton, and his faith is not just on them.

"In New Hampshire, it was just me and Susan," Ikes Thomas, an old friend — "and Harold who believed in us." The first lady once told former White House aide George Stephanopoulos in a tearful moment in her book, "All the Women," "I wouldn't have thought we would ever have won."

The first lady's office did not respond to requests for comment for this article.

Ikes is working for the first lady, he said without self-interest. By guiding her with his famed Rolodex, he wants to enhance his own stature in politics and lobbying. He represents New York's City Council and other high-octane interests through his Washington consulting business and still works for a politically connected Long Island law firm.

A Manhattan University graduate who received his law degree from Columbia University in 1971, Ikes now lives in the upscale George-

Clinton received \$18,575 in gifts from supporters

By Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton, who says Hollywood is not to blame for youth violence, took home some prized trinkets from Tinseltown last year.

Mr. Clinton received \$18,575 in gifts in 1998 — many from major entertainment figures, according to the president's financial disclosure report, released yesterday.

Saturday night, the president stopped short of blaming Hollywood for school shootings as he raked in \$2 million at a Democratic fund-raiser in Beverly Hills.

Mr. Clinton's Hollywood friends are generous with gifts as well as campaign cash.

Last year, actor Jack Nicholson and producer Rudy Durand gave Mr. Clinton three golf drivers valued at \$1,377.

Director Steven Spielberg gave the president an "Animaniacs" animation cell worth \$400.

Harvey Weinstein, co-chairman of Miramax Films, gave Mr. Clinton a first edition of Kurt Vonnegut's "Welcome to the Monkey House," valued at \$750.

Lew Wasserman, chairman emeritus of Universal Studios, gave Mr. Clinton a framed photo of the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, valued at \$350.

Last week, Mr. Clinton announced a nationwide effort to prevent youth violence following the April 20 killings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo.

Exposure "to indiscriminate violence through various media outlets" can push vulnerable children "into destructive behavior," Mr. Clinton said Saturday night in Beverly Hills. "Now, that doesn't make anybody who makes any movie or any video game or any television program a bad person or personally responsible with one show for a disastrous outcome," Mr. Clinton said. "There's no call for finger-pointing here."

On Thursday the president will visit Littleton, where two students killed 12 classmates and a teacher before killing themselves.

The financial disclosure form gives no bottom line for the president's assets. Most of the Clintons' assets are in a blind trust owned by

Hillary Rodham Clinton and range from \$1 million to \$5 million, according to the report.

The sum is "far closer to \$1 million than \$5 million," said a Clinton aide familiar with the report.

In addition to the gifts from Hollywood, the Clintons also reported as a gift \$2.6 million in legal fees paid by the Clinton Legal Expense Trust.

In 1997, the Clintons reported assets of up to \$5.8 million. In 1996, they reported assets ranging from \$760,000 to \$1.7 million.

Vice President Al Gore's assets include \$175,400 in salary, \$16,800 in gross rental income on a home in Arlington appraised at \$482,800, and a home in Carthage, Tenn., appraised at \$266,200.

Mr. Clinton lists 24 gifts worth a total of \$18,575.

Musician Kenny Gorelick, better known as Kenny G., gave Mr. Clinton compact discs and a framed photograph of himself with Mr. Clinton, worth a total of \$700. Singer Carly Simon gave the president a framed oil painting worth \$300.

Sumner M. Redstone of New York gave Mr. Clinton videotapes of the American Film Institute's top 100 movies, a gift valued at \$1,750.

Thomas Ernst, a resident of Euskirchen, Germany, gave Mr. Clinton a saxophone and two music books worth a total of \$3,000.

Baseball slugger Sammy Sosa gave Mr. Clinton a Chicago Cubs jersey and a baseball bat, both autographed, worth a total of \$300.

Hollywood stars and moguls are helping President Clinton pay off his legal bills, according to figures on Mr. Clinton's defense fund, released in February. About 50,000 Americans donated \$4.5 million to the fund in the past year.

The notables who contributed \$10,000 to the fund include Mr. Spielberg; Mr. Wasserman; Mr. Weinstein; singer Tony Bennett; actor Tom Hanks; entertainer Barbara Streisand; director Ron Howard; recording artist Don Henley; Robert Johnson, president of Black Entertainment Television; and Mr. Spielberg's fellow leaders of the DreamWorks SKG studio, Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen.

Richard Cohen

Make Way For the First Lady

Droit du seigneur is the term for the alleged feudal right of the lord to take the virginity of his vassal's bride on the wedding night. It is the basis for many a play and one great opera, Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro." *Droit du seigneur* is the term invented by me for the right of a first lady to get her party's Senate nomination in any state she so chooses. Hillary Clinton has picked New York.

In fact, she seems raring to go. Clinton has made a list of likely campaign aides. It starts with former presidential assistant Harold Ickes at the top and includes Robert Shrum, a political consultant and white speech writer, Mandy Grunwald, who would probably handle the advertising, and other veterans of Bill Clinton's presidential campaigns. These people, she's now saying, are the staffers she would choose if she were going to run. But that "if" has turned into a virtual "when"—an exploratory committee within a month, a likely candidacy soon after.

This is an amazing turn of events. On the basis of her domestic dilemma, New York's Democratic Party has simply turned itself over to Clinton. This is the party of Roosevelt, Smith, Lehman, Cuomo, Moynihan and the late, great Mario Procaccino, who lost the 1969 mayoral race to John Lindsay but left us with the term "limousine liberals." The Empire State is loaded with political talents, many of them Democratic in ideology, and yet they have all, to a man and woman, moved aside to allow the first lady to get what, for some reason, everyone thinks is hers if she wants it.

The most prominent step-aside is Nita M. Lowey, a Democratic congresswoman from Westchester County for the past decade. She is a declared candidate for the Senate—but only if Clinton does not run. If Clinton does, then Lowey is out—having recognized the eminent right of the first lady to represent a state in which she has never lived, does not live, and will, should she be elected, live only intermittently. With a bit more logic, Clinton could have run from Illinois, her home state, or Arkansas, where she was once first lady.

There is something wacky about this state of affairs. By what right does Clinton get the New York nomination by acclamation? What would be wrong with a primary fight in which Clinton would have to explain how she is going to be first lady and Senate candidate all at one time? What would be wrong in having an opponent ask her if she is not shortchanging the voters—the ones to whom Bill Clinton once promised an activist first lady? These are legitimate issues the voters might want to decide in a primary. It appears, though, that will not have the chance.

One reason, paradoxically, is that Clinton is the darling of feminists. But it is Lowey—patient, patient Lowey—who has built a career all on her own. No one ever heard of her husband, Stephen, a lawyer, although I'm sure he's a fine fellow. What's more, Lowey has been a champion of women's issues—everything from the funding of breast cancer research to a no-equivocation defense of abortion rights. It's not for nothing that an opponent once called her "Bella Abzug without a hat."

Clinton, on the other hand, is getting her current boost in the polls from playing the most conventional of female roles. No longer is she a policymaker, health care czarina or some such thing. Instead, she has become the person she once dismissed: the stand-by-your-man wife of country music lore. This is a tune she now hums herself—although a Senate race would suggest that her standing days may soon be coming to an end.

Don't get me wrong. I'm a Clinton fan. I think she'd make a dandy senator from any state. I say that as a citizen. As a journalist, I would far prefer a Clinton-Giuliani race to any other. But my selfish concerns are immaterial. The voters deserve a nomination fight, if only to see whether Clinton on her own can be a credible candidate.

Just as Bill Clinton's sexual shenanigans taught America about America (Who thought he would survive? Who thought he would thrive?), so has Hillary Clinton's apparent Senate candidacy given us a lesson. She prospers in the polls (an eight-point lead over Rudolph Giuliani, the likely GOP candidate) not only because of her manifest abilities (she's a great speaker, among other things) but also because as a wounded woman—loyal, suffering and all the rest—she can take what she wants. It is a form of *droit du seigneur*. As for Lowey, another feudal term applies: Lady in Waiting.

POLITICS: Republicans lag well behind Democrats on top priority issues such as Social Security and education, and swing voters disapprove of the Congress by double-digit margins, a recent GOP survey found. At the same time, the survey for the Republican National Committee found strong public support for a GOP proposal for a "lockbox" to ensure that surplus funds in the Social Security system are not used for other purposes.

A Republican call to allow workers to invest a portion of their payroll taxes individually also has strong backing. Pollster Fred Steeper suggested it might be one way for Republicans to counter the popularity of increasing the minimum wage, a Democratic priority. Overall, 55% disapproved of the way the Republican-led Congress is handling its job; 38% approved. Asked which party's candidate they would vote for, 43% said the Democratic, and 39% said the Republican. Voters preferred Democrats, 49-28, on Social Security, and 48-33 on education.



Clinton: Heading abroad again

► Hillary Rodham Clinton, expected to decide within weeks whether to run for a Senate seat from New York, is planning a summer trip to Israel and Jordan with daughter Chelsa. Critics noted the first lady just returned from Ireland, and they complained she is misusing taxpayer money to court different segments of New York's ethnically rich voters. "Ireland? Israel? Can Italy be far behind?" asked Steve Minarik, a New York GOP county chairman. Clinton's press secretary, Marsha Berry, strongly denied any Senate race implications.

— Billy House, Gannett News Service
► New York Gov. George Pataki asked fellow state Republican leaders to join him next Monday for a major political announcement. Speculation centered on the possibility that Pataki might join the crowded GOP presidential field, run as a favorite son to lock up the state's nominating convention delegates or has changed his mind and will enter the race for the open Senate seat of Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Why not just announce his intent now, a reporter asked. "I like aggravating you," Pataki said. "It's fun."

THE INC. COLUMN



Ellen Warren & Teresa Wiltz

First lady's gum bursts bubbles

Gossip Washington (a tautology) has been grumpy ever since the Monica Lewinsky story went away. Whisperers have been reduced to analyzing every word and gesture of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton—quite a come down from the cigar, the blue dress, "Leaves of Grass," etc.

So the chatter in D.C. is mostly about will Hill run for the New York senate seat or not? She certainly was doing a convincing imitation of a New Yorker recently as she hosted the annual congressional spouses luncheon. Mrs. Clinton was chewing a big wad of gum as she was introduced to this snooty bunch—who couldn't wait to carp and criticize—and call Inc. to rat her out.

This just in from the flight deck



AP photo

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, with U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel (left) of New York at a ceremony on Saturday, is filling a void in Washington gossip circles.