

Newsweek

FALLOUT

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FINAL DAYS

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PAKISTAN
REVIVE THE
WORLD'S
NUCLEAR
FEARS**



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"Yes, by the grace of God."

Foreign Minister **Gohar Ayub Khan**, when asked if Pakistan had carried out additional nuclear tests on Saturday. Pakistan set off five test blasts last Thursday in response to India's detonations three weeks ago.



© 1998 DEERING—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

"He'll be a chapter in American history; those of us who followed him will be footnotes." Sen. **John McCain**, on former Arizona senator Barry Goldwater, who died Friday at the age of 89

"I figured I'd come over and we'd complain about our husbands." **Andrea Diamond**, on a call she received from Phil Hartman's wife, Brynn, to schedule a play date Thursday for their daughters. Hartman and his wife were found dead that day in a suspected murder-suicide.

"Don't confuse having a career with having a life. They are not the same." First Lady **Hillary Clinton**, delivering Howard University's commencement speech



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"The priority for these people right now is not AIDS. It's security. When people can die tomorrow from a machete wound, I'm not sure they think much about AIDS, from which they could die in 10 years." CARE's anti-AIDS program director **Pascale Crussard**, on Rwanda's growing epidemic. HIV infection in the countryside has gone from 1.3 percent in 1986 to nearly 11 percent today.

"They don't use real words much anymore." **Karen Raskin-Young**, whose son Jeremy lost in round six of the National Spelling Bee for misspelling "fodient," a burrowing animal

"New Jersey's place in history shouldn't be questioned by anybody." Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman**, on the Supreme Court's ruling that New Jersey, not New York, owns the landfill part of Ellis Island—nearly 90 percent of the historic site



© 1998 MIKE LUCKOVICH—ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"I don't care who it is, mate, rules are rules. Switch it off." An unnamed airplane pilot quoted by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who was ordered to hang up when he received a cell-phone call from the queen just as his plane was about to take off

"No one has a monopoly on views of Jesus." Playwright **Craig Lucas**, on death threats received by Terrence McNally for his new play "Corpus Christi," which has been characterized as depicting a Christ-like figure who has sex with his disciples

"I'm just a singer, not some magical baseball genie who can make or break someone's game." **Mariah Carey**, responding to rumors that Yankee shortstop Derek Jeter was warned by boss George Steinbrenner that his romance with the singer was hurting his game

The Pain Of Scandal

Public Dramas Exacted a Heavy Private Toll on the First Lady

This is the second of three excerpts from "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate." Copyright © 1999 by Bob Woodward, Simon and Schuster.

By BOB WOODWARD
Washington Post Staff Writer

On an Aug. 18, 1998, helicopter ride out to Andrews Air Force Base to catch a plane to Martha's Vineyard, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton basically were not speaking to each other. A day earlier, the president had testified before a grand jury about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Press secretary Michael McCurry tried to defuse the tension.

McCurry, whose job included studying the president's demeanor and moods, noticed that Clinton looked as if he didn't know what to expect from his own family. Hillary appeared drained. Chelsea Clinton looked so sad that McCurry thought he did not want to ever see a kid look like



PHOTO ILLUSTRATION—THE WASHINGTON POST

that again in his life.

McCurry finally had some time alone with Hillary in Martha's Vineyard. She had been instrumental in his hiring. He had always tried to support her.

Showing emotion, the first lady said to McCurry that there was no way to understand what she was going through. As a woman, she said, as a spouse, and as a mother, it was complex.

She offered a glimpse into her pain and asked five questions:

- "Do I feel angry?"
- "Do I feel betrayed?"
- "Do I feel lonely?"

See SHADOW, A12, Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Tense Time: *The Clintons walk to a helicopter Aug. 18, 1998. The president and first lady were basically not speaking to each other on the first leg of the trip to Martha's Vineyard.*



FILE PHOTO BY ROBERT A. REE

PHOTOCOPY
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SHADOW, From A1

"Do I feel exasperated?"

"And humiliated?"

McCurry gasped, nearly whispered thank you. There it all was in those five questions. This great public drama was, to the first lady, something more real and personal—anger, betrayal, loneliness, exasperation and humiliation. McCurry's fondness and empathy for her ascended off the charts.

The one-dimensional portraits of Hillary in the media—whatever version anyone might pick—were unfair, shallow, missed the layers, McCurry felt. Here was this woman, almost frail and breakable, but still standing, mustering whatever dignity was left her. Any question of punishment, which McCurry felt the president richly deserved, seemed beside the point in the face of her endurance. Could there be nobility amid this squalor?

In her heart, she said, she still believed in the work Bill was doing as president.

As for forgiveness—No, she said, she was not at the point emotionally where she *wanted* to forgive him.

Incongruously, Hillary Clinton's humiliation gave her status—in the relationship and in the world.

In the past, she had seemed to believe that the only public face that would work for her would be a tough and confrontational one. Charm wouldn't work. In 1993, Dick Morris, President Clinton's longtime adviser, had urged her to soften her image. "One of the most appealing things about public figures is when they lead with their vulnerabilities," Morris said. "They talk about their defects and people cut them a lot of slack." He cited Eleanor Roosevelt's shyness, or even Ronald Reagan's jokes about his poor memory. Defects and weaknesses can be assets, he argued.

"I can't think of any," Hillary had said. "I'm not good at that. What do you want me to do?"

She was unsure of her role. As the family's lawyer and investor she had screwed up Whitewater and then in 1994 she had lost what was supposed to be the crown jewel of her husband's presidency: health care reform.

"I'm just confused," she told Morris at the time. "I don't know what works or what doesn't work. I don't know why this is happening. I'm just so confused."

But Mrs. Clinton's scandal-managing role continued. By the summer of 1995, Whitewater was causing her real anguish. In Newsweek that August, Joe Klein wrote that the scandal had exposed the character of the Clintons. "They are the Tom and Daisy Buchanans of the Baby Boom Political Elite." The Buchanans were the 1920s-style careless people of F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Great Gatsby."

"They smashed up lives and didn't notice," Klein wrote.

He laid out in harsh terms how Hillary's chief of staff, Maggie Williams, had broken down in tears while testifying the previous week at the hearings chaired by Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. Williams was saddled with large legal bills, virtually abandoned by her patrons in the White House. "How could the first lady allow her chief of staff to spend \$140,000 on legal fees?" Klein asked. "Why hasn't she come forward and said, 'Stop



FILE PHOTO BY SUSAN BIDDLE—TP

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Sherburne said her testimony would have multiple legal ramifications. What about Starr, his investigation and grand juries? Politically, how would D'Amato and the other Republicans handle her? Her husband's reelection bid was a little more than a year off. The basic strategy on Whitewater was to calm the waters, avoid confrontation, minimize news coverage.

Sobbing again, Hillary said her parents had always told her not to be guided by the opinions of others. "You have to live with yourself." Well, now the law and politics had cornered her. It wasn't a matter of appearances—appearing cold and indifferent to her friends and staff. If she stood by silently she would be that person they accused her of being.

"That is not who I am!" Hillary said, crying, pleading. "I take care of people."

Sherburne realized that Hillary had become the person she, at all costs, did not want to be. It was not

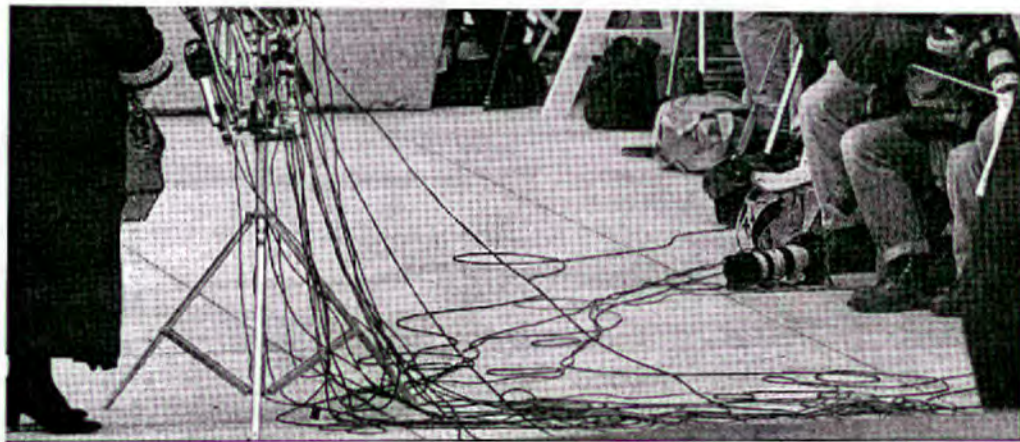
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How Can I Go On? How Can I?

In January 1996, Hillary looked forward to assuming the role she most liked, planning an 11-city tour for her book "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." But the discovery of a memo written by David Watkins saying Hillary was responsible for the 1993 travel office firings and the reappearance of Mrs. Clinton's long-lost Rose Law Firm billing records shifted the focus to her role in the scandals.

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Hillary wanted to discuss her issues—children's issues—but she agreed to answer questions about the scandals. On Jan. 15, she appeared on "The Diane Sawyer Show," a serious, popular Washington talk-show program.

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"I can't take this anymore," Hillary said. It was the voice of someone at the end of her rope. "How can I go on?" she asked. "How can I?"

'I Have to Take This Punishment'

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under a microscope and look at this guy! No one says anything negative about him. How can he get away with this?"

Hillary wanted the White House to call attention to the independent counsel's potential conflicts of interest and Starr's part-time status, the types of criticisms that she kept hearing on the news and reading in the newspapers.

Fabiani did not believe they dared declare open war on the independent counsel. The White House's relationship with the independent counsel's staff would deteriorate rapidly. Fabiani also felt a public attack is what many would expect, and to a certain extent that would mitigate any potential damage to Starr.

Sherburne decided not to tell Hillary that Fabiani had collected publicly available negative background information on the independent counsel and quietly given it to reporters. She hoped to protect the first lady and the president. But Hillary continued to vent in private about the administration's failure to attack Starr.

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PHOTO ILLUSTRATION—THE WASHINGTON POST

BORN TODAY

Lawyer F. Lee Bailey _____
Novelist Saul Bellow _____
Singer Faith Evans _____
Architectural Elizabeth H. _____
Actress Elizabeth Shue _____

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(Photos Illustrations by David J. Hoffman, USA TODAY)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

IS A BAD

When students came to hug her, she was uncomfortable; sensing this, a Secret Service agent pushed them away.

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more." Then there's the fact that Hillary Clinton is burdened, perhaps unfairly, by comparisons with the campaign style of her husband, who wins over audiences with charm, wit and a genuine desire to dive into a rope-line with both hands at the ready. We forget that for many years it's been him, not her, who's been handed the babies to hug, the hands to shake.

"She's been insulated in the cocoon so long that she's definitely uncomfortable," said WNBC reporter Gabe Pressman, the dean of the city's press corps and president of the New York Press Club.

"She's not used to hugs and it shows. But she can learn to do it, just like that other alleged carpetbagger, Bobby Kennedy. He was stiff when he started, too."

It's a problem she will need to work on if she wants to connect with voters outside the cozy party fund-raisers and hand-picked audiences to which she's played.

Unlike Mayor Giuliani, her presumptive rival, Clinton has not made herself available to reporters every day. At such sessions, Giuliani is forced to defend his stewardship of the city and his positions on every issue from commercial garbage to community gardens.

Clinton's media advisors, on the other hand, inform camera crews to be prepared for a "70-foot throw" — campaign-speak for the distance reporters will be kept from the candidate.

At the Grissom school appearance, an announcement over the PA system even went so far as to tell the students that "There is to be no approaching her under any circumstances."

And when one student told a touching story about his fear of being beaten up by older gang members, Clinton started ever so slightly to comfort the student — only to withdraw her hand before making contact.

And when she dutifully posed for more photos with Democratic Party officials from all over the state last week, Clinton always made sure to keep plenty of daylight between her and her supporters.

And yet, whether you listen to polls or to loyal New York Democrats, Hillary Clinton is already a star.

Democratic officials go beyond the usual party bias when they talk of

CAMPAIGNER

Hillary Clinton. To them, she is more than a standard-bearer who's "right on all the issues," as one county chairman said.

She is their Teflon candidate, a woman who stood by her man yet didn't alienate feminists; who failed on health care, yet didn't alienate liberals; who hasn't advocated any specific policy since her health-care debacle, yet hasn't alienated the wonks; and who advocated a Palestinian state, yet did not fully alienate Jewish supporters such as Sen. Chuck Schumer.

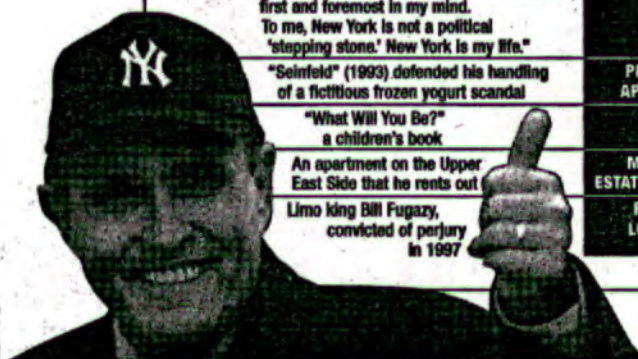
"She is the best crowd-producer we've ever had," said Erie County Democratic Chairman Steve Pigeon, pointing out the toughest challenge of politics. "And the reason that she fills a room is because she's a historic figure. Everyone wants to meet her."

When the First Lady was presented with a Yankee cap at a fund-raiser last week, she didn't put it on — killing a great photo opportunity.

New York Post David Rindin

RUDY VS. HILLARY: A TALE OF THE TAPE

RUDY	CANDIDATE	HILLARY
55	AGE	51
Tenacious like a pitbull	CAMPAIGN STYLE	Exhibits an icy, Queen Elizabeth-like reserve in public
Always tell them, to their horror, how their problems are the same as New York's problems	GRATUITOUS APPEAL TO UPSTATE	Frequently mentions Elmira and farm products
What hairstyle? You mean the Rudy comb-over?	HAIRSTYLE	Finally settled on a feathered, modern Maggie Thatcher look
Spouse wants him to move to D.C. and be Senator	MARITAL STATUS	Spouse wants her to move to New York and be Senator
Dressed as a drug user and scored crack in Washington Heights	LOWLIGHT OF LEGAL CAREER	Misplaced billing records from Rose Law Firm
"Love me or hate me, I don't think there is anyone in our state who would ever accuse me of not having the interests of the people of New York absolutely first and foremost in my mind. To me, New York is not a political 'stepping stone.' New York is my life."	STUMP QUOTE	Vague rhetoric such as "We have to pursue strategies that work... that actually lift up students, not just score political points."
"Seinfeld" (1993) defended his handling of a fictitious frozen yogurt scandal	PRINCIPAL TV APPEARANCES	Defended her husband on "60 Minutes" (1992) and "Today" (1993)
"What Will You Be?" a children's book	BOOKS	"It Takes a Village" and "Dear Socks, Dear Buddy"
An apartment on the Upper East Side that he rents out	MAJOR REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS	Whitewater
Limo king Bill Fugazy, convicted of perjury in 1997	FRIENDS IN LOW PLACES	Webster Hubbell, who went to jail in 1994 for bilking law clients



PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

WHY HILLARY

By GERSH KUNITZMAN

It was the kind of hoop-out lib that usually gets a spouse in trouble.

Hillary Clinton — First Lady of the United States and would-be senator from New York — recently invited former Wellesley classmate to dinner at the White House and, as part of the affair, she and her president husband posed with each and every guest.

The president was in his element, laughing and enjoying the several-hour photo op.

When one guest thanked the president for taking the time to pose, he joked, "Well, Hillary needs the press."

The president wasn't just kidding around. During the First Lady's "practitioner" sessions around New York — today's trip to the city will be the 12th — we have seen a person committed, and informed about the issues, but, as I know firsthand from having followed her, a sturdy campaigner.

There's no question that the Hillary Clinton gives a good speech, honing in on the concerns of her audience, but one-on-one or in an impromptu situation, she's made more than one startling faux pas.

For instance: ■ After a party fund-raiser recently at Tavern on the Green, she tentatively walked the crowd — one that had already been thinned by advance Secret Service agents.

As fans swarmed around her and shouted everything from "You're great!" to "When are you going to come to Germany?" she shook only a few hands.

■ At the Tavern fund-raiser last week, Joseph P. Kamp, a former New York Times reporter, asked Hillary Clinton to hug him. She refused, and he walked away with a bruised ego.

■ At the floor behind her — and with it the chance to have her picture in every newspaper in the state.

At the City College graduation, the same day students spilled into the aisle to hug her as she made her way to the podium, the First Lady shook some hands, but she was clearly uncomfortable. Sensing this, a Secret Service agent — dressed in a graduation gown to better blend in with the students — pushed graduates away.

Days after the Columbia HS massacre, the First Lady served as principal for a day at the Virgil Grissom JHS in Queens, where she was asked to do to prevent future school shootings.

Instead of knocking that softball out of the park, Clinton bumbled, delivering a five-minute kitchen-sink of a monologue that landed on America's "culture of violence," gun control, parenting skills and school-based mental health services, yes, odd, never actually advocating a policy.

"One thing is certain," she concluded, taking no chances, "we can't just write our hands or walk away in denial." The president is right: His wife needs the practice.

The question is why? After years of stamping for her husband and for her issues, you'd think Hillary Clinton would be adept at the give and take of on-the-fly campaigning.

Those who know her — and those who have studied her — say that Hillary Clinton's discomfort may stem from over-sensitivity arising from mistakes she made earlier in her public life, as when she seemingly mocked stay-at-home moms who "take cookies and make tea" or when she complained of a "vast, right-wing, conspiracy."

She's much more cautious now because she's been burned by those remarks, off-the-cuff remarks, said Joyce Milton, author of "The First Partner," a biography of Hillary Clinton. "You don't see her making

President Clinton has never had trouble working a crowd — even a very young one.

New York Post David Rindin



HILLARY'S ROLE MODELS



Photo by James R. Brantley/The Washington Times

The Clintons appear at the North Portico with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and his wife, Zsuzsanna.

Hungary honored with state dinner

Writer-president gets cultural feast

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Having as guests more writers and reporters than politicians was possibly a record of another kind.

That wasn't an accident, of course, since Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, 78, is a noted playwright who has translated the work of a great many U.S. authors, including Susan Sontag and William Styron, both of whom were present.

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State dinner for Hungarian president

President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton
Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, and his wife, Zsuzsanna
Janos Martonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and his wife, Rozalia Rabol
Geza Jeszenszky, ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the United States, and his wife, Edit
Attila Chikan, minister of economic affairs
Gyorgy Suranyi, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank
Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, member of parliament and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the parliament
Karoly Szunovszky, titular state secretary and head of the Office of the President
Gen. Ferenc Vegh, commander of Hungarian defense forces and chief of the general staff
Denes Tormai, deputy state secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Andras Gulyas, senior foreign policy adviser to the president
Andras Farago, spokesman of the president
Rep. Gary L. Ackerman, New York Democrat, and Jack Rosenthal Sr., founder, Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Study
Charles Babington, reporter, The Washington Post, and Norma Babington, writer, Anne Arundel Medical Center
Kathy Baczo, McLean, and Joseph R. Baczo, chairman and CEO, Frank's Nursery and Crafts Inc.
Charlene Barshefsky, United States trade representative, and Edward B. Cohen, deputy solicitor, Department of the Interior
Paul Begala, co-host of "Equal Time," MSNBC, and Diane Begala
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George Dadas, president, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, and Matilda Dadas
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Sara Ehrman, senior adviser, Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation, and Mark Ginsberg, chairman, Georgetown Global Investment
Charles Fenyvesi, senior writer, Radio Free Europe and Liberty, senior correspondent

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For his part, Mr. Clinton made a joking reference to Mr. Goncz's writings. "You even translated the 1988 campaign biography of George Bush," he told the Hungarian president.

Author E.L. Doctorow was among the guests, as was Kitty Kelley, who received a warm hug from Mrs. Clinton in the receiving line. Miss Sontag was accompanied by her son, the writer David Rieff.

Besides writers, there was Charles Nagy, starting pitcher for the Cleveland Indians, and actor Tony Curtis from Hollywood.

The New York contingent included Ronald Lauder, a former U.S. ambassador to Austria, and fashion mogul Adrienne Vittadini.

The humanitarian front was well served by Elie Wiesel of Boston University. From the cyberworld there was Charles Simonyi, Microsoft's chief architect, who brought Martha Stewart of book, magazine and TV fame.

After-dinner entertainment was provided via a medley of Hungarian folk music prepared by the Marine Band Strolling Strings and by Cory Pesaturo, a 12-year-old virtuoso from Rhode Island.

Then singer-songwriter Judy Collins took over the corner stage, singing some of her hits that, appropriately, included "Chelsea Morning," a request of the Clintons.

Mr. Goncz, who is known to favor U.S. folk music, also heard

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Carleton S. Finkbeiner, mayor of Toledo, Ohio, and Amy Finkbeiner
Stephen Flanagan, special assistant to the president and senior director for Central and Eastern European affairs, National Security Council, and Lynn Flanagan, senior attorney, Office of the General Counsel, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Ella Freilich, Riverdale, N.Y., and Ary Freilich, partner, Blumberg & Freilich Equities
Mary Mel French, U.S. chief of protocol, and Molly Raiser, former chief of protocol
Istvan Gereben, retired oceanographer, and Erzsébet Gereben
Ralph J. Gerson, president and CEO, Guardian International Corp., and Erica Word Gerson, partner, Skadden, Arps, Slate Meagher and Flom
Francine Goldstein, marketing consultant, Aviation Products Management Inc., and Sandra Wagenfeld, partner, Aviation Technologies Inc.
Marc Grossman, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, Department of State, and Margaret Hawthorne, special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for European affairs, Department of State
Margaret Ham, McLean, and Dr. Tiber Ham, Vienna, Va.
Laszlo Homos, president, Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, and Zsuzsa Homos
Richard Holbrook, vice chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston
Rep. Steny H. Hoyer, Maryland Democrat

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Sen. William V. Roth Jr., Delaware Republican, and Jane R. Roth, U.S. circuit judge
Sen. Richard C. Shelby, Alabama Republican
Charles Simonyi, chief architect, Microsoft Corp., and Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia
Maj. Gen. John Smith, adjutant general, Ohio National Guard, and Anita Smith
Deborah Smulyan, vice president, Emmis International, and Randall Bangortien, president, Emmis International
Susan Sontag, writer, and David Rieff, writer
David Steiner, chairman, Steiner Equities Group, and Sylvia Steiner
William Styron, writer, and Rose Styron, poet and human rights activist
Rep. Ellen O. Tauscher, California Democrat, and Sally Bender
Peter Tuto, U.S. ambassador to Hungary, and Countess Zita Pallavicini
Peter S. Uivagi, president, Toledo, Ohio, City Council, and Krizlina Uivagi, member, Hungarian-American Coalition
Andrew Vaina, president, Cineri Productions, and Kate Dabo, actress
Balint Vazsonyi, concert pianist and director, Center for the American Founding, and Barbara Vazsonyi, executive associate, Center for the American Founding
Adrienne Vittadini, founder, Adrienne Vittadini Inc., and Gian Luigi Vittadini, co-founder, Adrienne Vittadini Inc.
Russell Walden, music director for Judy Collins
Elie Wiesel, professor, Boston University, and Marion Wiesel, vice president, the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity

Miss Collins' own composition "Walls," which she explained was written at the time her husband, sculptor Louis Nelson, was designing the Korean War Memorial Veterans Mural in 1995.

"I think it realizes many facets," Miss Collins said, referring to "everybody who has lost people and everybody who is looking forward to the time when . . . we won't have these terrible conflicts anymore."

Miss Collins, who spent the night at the White House last night, called the mansion "our home. It's everybody's home in the country."

The dinner was a celebration of U.S. spring produce as much as the

entertainment proved to be a cross-cultural feast.

There was Alaskan salmon with a Hungarian touch of woodsy mushrooms, lamb crusted with pecans and toasted caraway seeds, barbecued peach ragout.

Dessert was an extravagant creation by chef Roland Messnier: a meringue inside a delicate, crisp and crystalline dough, which itself was inside a chocolate shell also containing some of the first Bing cherries of the season. The accompanying sweets — petits fours — surrounded a chocolate violin in a tribute to Bela Bartok, the redoubtable Hungarian composer.

You can bet these caustic characters will run a grate race

THE Hillary-Rudy Senate battle will be Viagra for the media.

But for the voters, it will be a busted car alarm — screeching noise you can't shut off.

As a columnist, I welcome the pure theater of such Extreme Politics.

But as a New Yorker, I would have preferred Carl McCall vs. Peter King. Or Andrew Cuomo vs. Rick Lazio. I would have preferred a choice between candidates less deeply flawed and divisive.

The dirty little secret behind Hillary vs. Rudy is how similar they are.

They both favor gay rights, abortion rights and the death penalty; endorsed Mario Cuomo in 1994; opposed Bill Clinton's impeachment; and despise Al D'Amato.

They both have incomprehensible marriages.

They both leaked stories about dancing with their spouses.

They both loathe reporters and scapegoat the media.

They both want to be president, and see the Senate as a stepping stone.

They are both their parties' favorites because they can raise the most money and hire the most consultants.

They are both super-smart lawyers.



The differences between Hillary and Rudy are just the generic differences between a moderate Democrat and a moderate Republican.

The biggest difference is Hillary's superiority on education and kids.

It will be a nasty, negative election because they are nasty, negative people who don't have a lot to argue about.

Giuliani is more of a known quantity, having been mayor since 1993.

Rudy is essentially a one-trick pony. He cut crime and improved the quality of life.

He never found a second trick.

Giuliani stopped growing. He stopped having strong people, like Bill Bratton, around him.

In his second term, Giuliani has become too dependent on insult and intimidation — attacking the Diallo protesters, feuding with the PBA and Gov. Pataki, bashing Rudy Crew, trying to deny other elected officials access to city records, repudiating his commission on police abuses.

Giuliani's strength was that voters thought he was a non-partisan problem solver. Now he seems like a chameleon, changing to blend in with his new upstate Republican environment.

In 1996, Giuliani accurately said, "Most of [President] Clinton's policies are very similar to most of mine."

Now he says, "Every single one of the 10 or 15 Republican candidates for president is better than Al Gore."

In 1996, he was blasting one of those currently superior candidates — Pat Buchanan — as anti-New York and insensitive to Jews.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is much more of an unknown quantity.

Her marriage is a complete mystery to the world. She hides her basic identity as if it were the nuclear code. She uses the Secret Service to keep reporters away as if they are plague carriers.

Hillary's biggest liabilities are all the scandals she has never effectively explained.

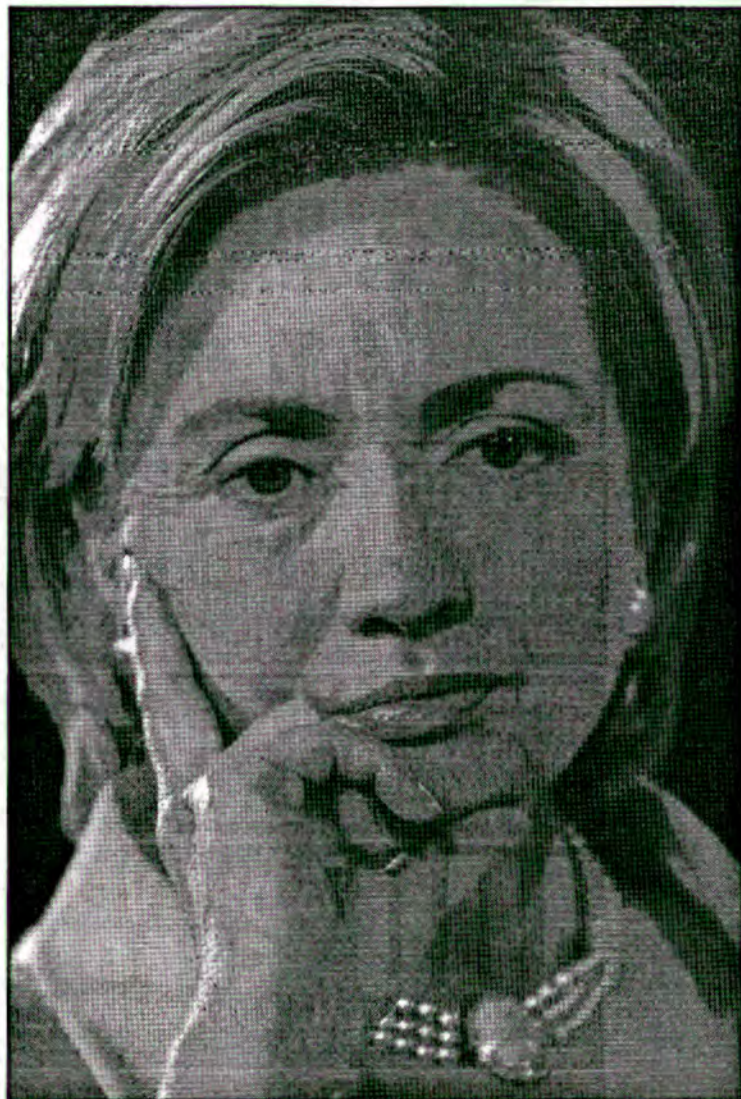
How did she make that \$100,000 profit on trading cattle futures? Her claim that she did it by reading The Wall Street Journal is preposterous.

She could become Giuliani's last insider-trading case.

Where were those billing records from the Rose Law Firm for two years?

What was she really doing in the Castle Grande real-estate scam?

In 1995, she swore to bank regulators she knew nothing about the deal.



MUCH TO ANSWER FOR: Hillary Rodham Clinton would have to address such scandals as her cattle-futures bonanza and Travelgate if she runs for Senate. *Reuter*

In 1996, Rose Law Firm records revealed she had submitted bills for 14 meetings and conversations with a Madison Guaranty bank exec about Castle Grande. We need full disclosure.

Why did she intervene to fire those seven employees of the White House Travel Office and hire cronies

from Arkansas?

Remember the memo that quoted her telling David Watkins, "We need those people out, and our people in?"

This sounds more like Boss Tweed than Eleanor Roosevelt.

After reading the Hillary sections of the David Maraniss and Jim Stew-

art books, she comes across as a grandiose, overly entitled materialist — almost a yuppie Ma Barker.

What a race, Ma Barker vs. Eliot Ness.

As a tabloid columnist, I'd love it.

But New York would be better off without it.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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Gores and Clintons, Relaxed and Intent, Turn to Initiatives on

By MELINDA HENNEBERGER

WASHINGTON, June 7 — The Gores and Clintons shared a stage for two hours at the White House Conference on Mental Health today, and took turns interviewing people who have struggled with mental illness as a patient, parent or researcher.

"This is the last great stigma of the 20th century that we need to make sure ends here and now," said Tipper Gore, who ran the show and who recently revealed that she was clinically depressed after her son, Albert, nearly died when he was hit by a car in 1989 at age 6.

"I was not myself," Mrs. Gore said today, until she sought medical help, including medication. "I'm happy to say that it worked."

President Clinton asked Congress today to insure that Americans with mental illness get the same insurance benefits for depression as they do for asthma or any other physical ailment, and he announced that the Federal Government would now make sure its employees had coverage for mental illness that was as good as coverage for any other malady. The Government sent a letter today to 285 health plans it offers, telling them that they must comply.

The President also said 1,000 schools would get free satellite programming on dealing with students prone to violence, and he announced several other programs for mentally ill homeless people, the elderly and American Indian young people.

"It's been too long since we've come together over something this real that touches so many of us," Mr. Clinton said, and he praised the Gores by saying that while most politicians talk about family values, "no couple in public life has ever done remotely as much to try and figure out how to help families."

The conference, held at Howard University, featured the Gores and the Clintons at the interview session, attended by several hundred, and included several events throughout the day.

Mrs. Gore is the President's mental health adviser, and she bounded upon the stage as pumped as for a political rally, giving the thumbs up and even jumping a little at one point.

As the Gores and Clintons sat side by side for two hours, the dynamic among the four of them, at a time when Vice President Al Gore has been portrayed as competing with Hillary Clinton as campaign season approaches, ranged from supportive to adoring.

Each nodded attentively at the other's remarks, and Mrs. Gore introduced Mrs. Clinton by saying that when it came to shedding light on new research about how the brain works, "no one could do that any better than the sunshine of all our lives, our First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton."

Mrs. Clinton returned the compliment. "If I had any voice," she said,



Paul Rose/Photo: The New York Times

Mike Wallace, left, talked about his depression yesterday at a White House conference run by the Clintons and the Gores. Jennifer Gates, second from right, spoke of fighting anorexia, and John Wong, back to camera and next to Mrs. Clinton, talked of his schizophrenia as a teen-ager.

Mental Illness

viding preventive treatment and full mental health benefits saved his company money.

Then Mrs. Clinton led a discussion with researchers and Representative Lynn Rivers, Democrat of Michigan, who said that drugs to treat her bipolar disorder had at one time eaten up half of her family's income.

Finally, the President spoke, saying he had been educated about mental illness by the work of the novelist William Styron, then adding, "But it is not enough to be moved."

"I sort of feel like an antichrist at this convention," he said, praising those who had told their stories.

In the afternoon, the Gores held what they called a town meeting on the theme of "busting myths" about mental illness.

"Another myth," Mr. Gore said, "is that if you pray hard enough, if you get your relationship with God in order, that's going to handle this. For those of us who are religious, that's the first thing we turn to but as John Lewis said in his book, 'When you pray, move your feet.' If you needed a heart transplant, you wouldn't think, 'If I just pray harder, it will take the place of a new heart.' You need to work with God."

"I'd break into 'You Are the Sunshine of My Life' and dedicate it to Tipper."

In her role as moderator, Mrs. Gore choreographed the Clintons and her husband, at one point telling the Vice President, "You might want to get up and go over now," pointing him toward a corner where he was to interview two more people about their experiences with mental illness.

"Yes, ma'am," he told her, laughing. "I'm anxious to follow instructions carefully, but to depart from my destruct— or, to depart from my instructions, I want to say I hope you can see how proud I am of Tipper."

Mrs. Gore began the program by interviewing Mike Wallace of "60 Minutes" about his depression, repeatedly patting his hand and arm as he spoke. When he tried to break off at one point, saying, "I don't want to monopolize this," Mrs. Gore urged him to continue.

"It's important," she said, "because you're a man and you come forward and you help so many men."

Mr. Wallace told the audience that his depression surfaced during a libel trial.

"I was in effect on trial for my life," he said, describing his weeks in a courtroom where the case was being heard and his being sharply questioned by other journalists.

"I was lower than a snake's belly," he said. He took to calling his doctor late at night, he said, wondering what was wrong, but was told, basically, to buck up. He was eventually hospitalized, and after winning the libel case relapsed because he went off his medication. Now, on medication "for the rest of my life, I feel better up here than ever in my life," Mr. Wallace said, pointing to his head.

Mr. Clinton seemed riveted by the story of a young woman who had battled anorexia, once limiting herself to only 20 calories a day, less than half an apple, and doing sit-ups until her back was covered with sores. "How much weight did you lose?" the President asked her.

"How much did you weigh?" When it came Mr. Gore's turn to interview a mother whose eighth grader has bipolar disorder, he sounded a little like a therapist himself, saying, "What I believe most children

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's Bleak Future Will Fuel Her N.Y. Run Now

•Republicans have been making the same mistake they usually do: Instead of getting a head start on their own agenda, they try to win by focusing on why Hillary shouldn't run.

The election will show that New Yorkers don't care that she's a carpetbagger, because they care about her issues. Hillary is going to come and show us just how much she does know about New York.

She knows New York is a liberal state, and she could win solely on her support of five key issues: abortion on demand, money for schools and teachers, more monetary handouts for those who can but won't work, universal health care and gun control.

As a pro-life and generally conservative voter, my political peers sound to me as if they are afraid of a Hillary campaign. Listen up, Republicans: Get your agenda together now, and present your issues clearly, with evidence and without shame before you blunder again.

Debra Arlante

Hopewell Junction (via e-mail)

•Dick Morris' suggestion that Hillary Clinton may "take the money and not run" for Senate in New York is implausible — Mrs. Clinton's lust for power far exceeds her self-respect and sense of discretion ("Hill might turn funds into Ill.-gotten gains," June 4). Look at who she stayed married to in order to keep house in Washington.

Mr. Morris wonders whether Mrs. Clinton will "use the Made in New York money to pay for

her political expenses for the next few years while she waits for a Senate race she can win." No, she won't. She can't. Between now and 2002, when she could choose to run for the Senate in Illinois, several things will happen:

Mrs. Clinton's husband will vacate the presidency in 2001, which will greatly weaken both of them politically. They will become much more vulnerable to criminal and civil prosecution. The charges could come from their political enemies, Ken Starr or Mr. Clinton's numerous sexual conquests.

Chelsea will no longer be taboo. The media could dig up information about her relationship with her parents that may prove to be very embarrassing.

If a Republican beats Al Gore in 2000, which is much more likely than not to happen, that Republican will sweep through the Executive Branch with a heavy broom. What we will discover about the extent of the present administration's incompetence, mendacity and corruption will make the Cox Report look like a carbon copy of the Constitution.

And if Al Gore wins the presidency and the economy goes south, all Democrats will be at risk, especially Mrs. Clinton.

If she loses in New York, she can blame it on easy targets like the carpetbagging issue, or her likely opponent, Mayor Giuliani, and still retain some "dignity."

Lee Nichols

Coram (via e-mail)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's Elmira Gap

It was Hillary Rodham Clinton at her most sanctimonious.

Smarting from gibes that the would-be U.S. senator from New York probably couldn't even find Elmira on a map, the First Lady boasted at a luncheon last week: "There are a number of people here from Elmira — I have been to Elmira."

It was said with a "that'll teach you" expression on her face. Predictably enough, her supporters rocked the rafters with cheers.

But is it true?

After veteran local Democratic leaders said they couldn't recall ever seeing Mrs. Clinton in the area, reporters checked with the White House and got this response: "She was in Elmira probably 40 years ago, on a family excursion between Chicago and Scranton." Oh.

As the local paper, the Star-Gazette, noted, whether Hillary Clinton ever came to Elmira is less important than whether she *understands* Elmira. But it's also important what kind of half-truths she self-righteously

thinks she can slip past the voters.

It's a technique her husband has honed to perfection. Three years ago, during the alleged epidemic of black-church burnings, an emotional Bill Clinton told the nation that "I have vivid and painful memories of black churches being burned in my own state when I was a child."

It was a powerful personal statement — except that those painful memories were of something that never happened. No one in Arkansas could recall any black churches having been burned in the 1950s or '60s — not the state historian or even the head of the state NAACP.

The White House released a list of three black churches in Arkansas that had burned in Clinton's youth. But it turned out that two of the fires weren't arson and no cause was determined for the other.

Mrs. Clinton's Elmira jibe is about more than local geography. It says everything about whether she enters the Senate race with a credibility gap that can only get bigger and bigger.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton's Piecing Together Reforms in Health Care

■ **Social services:** Latest move is to urge insurers to offer equal coverage for mental and physical disorders. President starts with largest private carrier.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Although the nation roundly rejected their ambitious bid to revamp America's health care system five years ago, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton are back at it, churning out narrower health care proposals that, put together, are almost as sweeping.

From universal prescription drug coverage for the aged to their newest initiative—expanded mental health benefits—the president and the first lady seem to have a solution for every perceived health problem.

On Monday the Clintons convened the first-ever White House conference on mental health and

both fervently urged insurers to offer coverage for disorders of the mind equal to coverage for the rest of the body—while rejecting the industry's contention that “parity” would drive up premiums for all.

“We must do whatever it takes,” declared Mrs. Clinton.

“It is high time that our health plans treat all Americans equally,” the president added. “Government can and must lead the way to meet this challenge.”

Setting the standard, Clinton directed the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, the nation's largest private insurer, to provide full parity by 2001 to its 9 million beneficiaries.

Hailing the fact that mental illness no longer carries the stigma it once did, the president added: “Attitudes are fine, but treatment matters most.”

Expanding mental health benefits is only one of an array of administration initiatives that would bring far-reaching changes to the nation's health care system.

The White House also wants to

strengthen the rights of managed care patients, enroll early retirees in Medicare, expand coverage to children, protect privacy of health records, provide tax credits for long-term care and improve nursing home quality, to name a few of its initiatives.

“What was being done all at once is being addressed one at a time, in piecemeal and incremental fashion,” said Dr. Bernard S. Arons, a government physician who helped draft Clinton's controversial 1,342-page “Health Security Act” in 1993-94.

“There's a tremendous amount of activity,” added Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-Conn.). “The problems didn't go away just because Congress didn't act.”

Although it was a Democratic-controlled Congress in 1994 that killed the massive health care reform plan produced by Mrs. Clinton's task force, most Democrats today are more in sync with the Clintons on an array of health care issues.

Thus even though Congress is now under GOP control, some of

the administration's proposals could pass—especially with health care costs again on the rise, at an annual rate of 9% this year, along with the steady increase in the number of uninsured Americans, now estimated at 43.5 million people.

But other initiatives, such as Medicare reform, remain longshots at best.

The Clintons' health care agenda says a lot not only about the domestic business that the president has in mind for his remaining 17 months—but also what his wife is considering in her likely Senate race in New York.

For the president, it is a matter of legacy. For the first lady, it is no less personal. By championing health issues, however, she will be reminding voters of her role in what was the president's most spectacular failure.

In addition to calling for mental health parity, the president on Monday also announced an array of new initiatives to improve public awareness and care of mental illness, including \$61 million to fund new National Institute of

Mental Health clinical studies to find more effective treatments.

The daylong mental health conference was chaired by Tipper Gore, wife of the vice president. She disclosed recently that she was treated for depression 10 years ago after the couple's only son was struck by a car and nearly died.

That both Clintons spoke passionately about mental health was no surprise to activists like Ron Pollock, head of Families USA, an organization that promotes universal health insurance coverage.

“This is an area where the president has the deepest set of convictions,” Pollock said. “He knows that there's a lot that remains to be done.”

In his remarks at the conference, Clinton conceded—but only in part—that medical insurers have a legitimate concern that providing parity for mental health will “send costs and premiums skyrocketing.”

But he added: “Now there may be arguments to be made at the margins on both sides of these is-

suues. But I believe that providing parity is something we can do at reasonable cost, benefit millions of Americans and, over the long run, have a healthier country and lower health care costs.”

The president also urged Congress to conduct hearings on the issue of parity in coverage, saying that 24 states and numerous businesses “have begun” to provide such parity and that their overall costs are “not notably increasing.”

One of the administration's biggest fights may come over revamping Medicare, the health insurance program for the elderly and the disabled.

John Podesta, the White House chief of staff, said on Sunday that the president intends to propose that all 39 million Medicare recipients be made eligible for coverage for outpatient prescription drugs—a costly tab that seniors now must pay themselves.

To be eligible, however, beneficiaries would have to pay an as-yet unspecified monthly premium, Podesta said.

First Lady's Best Issues Could Shape Senate Race

Allies Point to Family and Health Expertise

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, June 6 — As she inches closer to running for senator from New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton is preparing to build a campaign around education, family and health care issues — the areas where she has the clearest record of accomplishment, and failure, Democrats close to the First Lady say.

Those three areas would be a natural focus of Mrs. Clinton's campaign, because she cares passionately about them and has become a leading Administration voice on all three. For someone who has never run for office, Mrs. Clinton has also established a remarkably long and detailed track record on the issues during two decades of public life.

That record — established in leading an education commission in Arkansas, in her much criticized handling of the 1993 health care debate and in her more recent but less noticed role in negotiating adoption and bankruptcy legislation — is sure to be a target of Republicans.

But Mrs. Clinton's advisers believe that there would be a clear political payoff to constructing a campaign around her keenest interests. For one thing, they say, she has developed an encyclopedic expertise on the three subjects that enables her to debate arcane policy and give seamless speeches without a text or notes.

Democrats also assert that New York voters have grown increasingly concerned about the quality of their schools and the availability of health care, while crime — the issue on which voters tend to give higher marks to Republicans — has fallen somewhat in importance in polls.

"There were other moments when Mrs. Clinton might not have been the right candidate for New York State," a top adviser to Mrs. Clinton said. "But a happy confluence of events has made this an ideal time for her."

Finally, many prominent Democrats believe that Mrs. Clinton's positions on education and health care would provide the sharpest contrasts between her and the man they expect to be her Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Another possible opponent is Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican, who has said he might enter the race. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the three-term

Democrat who holds the seat, is retiring at the end of next year.

While Mrs. Clinton has yet to announce formally that she is running, she announced on Friday that she would register an exploratory committee with the Federal Election Commission. She has also spent recent months talking to advisers and aides about possible strategy for such a campaign.

Beyond policy, Mrs. Clinton's advisers also expect her to attack Mr. Giuliani's hard-edged style if he is the candidate. "The temperament to be a senator is very different from being a mayor," said State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, a Democrat. "Many people will not see Giuliani as somebody with the ability to get along with others."

Finding contrasts with Mr. Giuliani is important to many Democrats because, even though Republicans have sought to paint Mrs. Clinton as an extreme liberal, she and Mr. Giuliani agree on many of the issues that have historically separated Republican and Democratic candidates.

Both support the death penalty, abortion rights and homosexual rights — as does Mr. Lazio. She endorsed the welfare law that helped Mr. Giuliani shrink the city's welfare rolls. And he broke with other Republicans in endorsing the Clinton Administration's crime bill of 1994, which included gun control provisions and money for hiring police officers.

"The kind of contrast that I had with D'Amato on gun control and choice will not be as stark," said Senator Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, referring to former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, whom he unseated last year.

But on education, there are clear differences. Mr. Giuliani has clashed with New York City school officials over what he considers their excessive spending, and has strongly advocated vouchers to allow more students to attend private schools. Mrs. Clinton has been an ardent supporter of increased spending on public schools and an outspoken critic of vouchers.

On health care, many Democrats say that Mrs. Clinton should attack Mr. Giuliani for having tried to privatize the municipal hospitals. Those Democrats assert that even though



Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed New York Democratic labor officials last week during a luncheon in Manhattan. Friends say that despite Republicans' skepticism she is quickly learning state issues.

Mrs. Clinton's highly publicized efforts to win sweeping health care changes in 1993 was a signal failure of her husband's first term, most New Yorkers now support her goal of making health care coverage available for everyone.

"People are going to say she was out there way ahead of her time," said Mr. McCall, contrasting Mrs. Clinton with Mr. Giuliani. "People see him as someone who tried to downsize and privatize hospitals, not being an advocate for improving health care."

In recent New York appearances, Mrs. Clinton seems to have tailored her speeches to draw distinctions between herself and Mr. Giuliani, without mentioning his name.

"We can never lift up our public schools, or the students they serve, by tearing them down," she said to roaring applause at City College last week, in what seemed a reference to Mr. Giuliani's feud with Chancellor Rudy Crew.

And in an address at Teachers College at Columbia University in April, Mrs. Clinton urged her audience not "to be pulled off track by false debates" advanced by advocates of publicly financed vouchers.

Republicans have already begun attacking Mrs. Clinton by depicting her as being out of the mainstream,

and say they are likely to use the health care debate as evidence that she is at heart a big-government liberal. Her allies say she is more of a pragmatist than the Republicans realize.

Republicans also say they are likely to try to cast Mrs. Clinton as having grand but gauzy ideas on a few national subjects, but little knowledge of regional issues like dairy prices or mass transit. Mr. Giuliani has already repeatedly assailed Mrs. Clinton as an out-of-stater who cannot find her way around the state.

Democrats say she is well on her way to learning local issues. Those Democrats say Mrs. Clinton's greater challenge, similar to that facing Vice President Al Gore, will be to demonstrate that she has been more than just a spokeswoman for her husband.

But Mrs. Clinton can point to her own record on education, family and health care issues, dating back to her Arkansas days. On most issues, Mrs. Clinton's positions are indistinguishable from her husband's — which is not necessarily a bad thing in New York State, where the President's policies have been widely popular.

But there have been some cracks between Mrs. Clinton's and the Ad-

ministration's positions. For instance, Mrs. Clinton in 1998 endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state, position not taken by the Administration. Mr. Giuliani has already begun criticizing her stand.

Republicans are also likely to attack those Administration policies that are viewed as harmful to the state, trying to force Mrs. Clinton who would be the first First Lady to seek office, to choose between criticizing her husband or defending unpopular positions.

Paradoxically, Democrats have been the first to do that, urging Mrs. Clinton to oppose the Administration's efforts to cut Medicare. In a sign of how difficult it may be to run for office while living in the White House, 1199, the National Health and Human Service Employees Union which is reliably Democratic, has begun an advertising campaign attacking the President's Medicare cuts. Though the campaign does not mention Mrs. Clinton, its message is clear.

"I have every reason to believe that Hillary Clinton will be defending the interests of all New Yorkers, and one of them will be defending the health care community of New York," said Dennis Rivera, the union president and one of Mrs. Clinton's strongest backers.

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Summer musical tours preview/Cover Story



THE MONTGOMERY Journal

The daily newspaper of Montgomery County, Md.

Friday, June 4, 1992

Vol. 27, No. 128



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton receives a gift of sunglasses from Bethesda-Chesapeake graduates David Minberg during commencement yesterday at DAR Constitution Hall in Washington. Clinton is the first first lady to speak at B-CC's graduation since Eleanor Roosevelt more than 60 years ago.

Photos by Katherine Frey/Journal



Clinton Wows B-CC grads

First lady puts emphasis on high school friendships

By JENNIFER JACOBSON

Journal staff writer
More than 60 years ago, Bethesda-Chesapeake High School had its first first lady speak at commencement. Yesterday it had its second.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who spoke at commencement exercises in Washington's DAR Constitution Hall, reminded graduates of what Eleanor Roosevelt had said to the class of '32 that "young people are needed today to help solve the problems of the future."

"I've learned that everywhere I go, Eleanor Roosevelt has been there first," said Clinton to the class of '92.

Clinton was guest speaker at the request of B-CC seniors Carter Beech, Mitch Beech and Jonathan Ruckman.

Beech's mom, Carol Beech, is a writer for Clinton. "I asked my mom if it was possible to have [Clinton] speak," he said. "Then we started making connections between people at school and her staff."

Clinton and his friends wrote Clinton, inviting her to speak. "Obviously, we wanted to aim high, to get the most prominent graduation speaker that we could," he said.

As for Clinton, "I am just delighted to be here," she began her speech. "I particularly want to commend the parents and the citizens who support this school for understanding how important investing in education is. For me it is an honor to commend the county, the village if you will, that supports this school."

Clinton said she had been told that the class seated before her was very special and "that's not just because I know some of your parents."

B-CC graduates like Bethanie Weitz believed her.

"I thought she was sincere, which was hard to do because she knows so little about our school," Weitz said. "I thought she was poised and funny."

So did B-CC math teacher Tammy Berg.

"I just think she spoke so elegantly," she said. "It felt like she was speaking from the heart. She never looked down at her paper. It felt like she'd gone home."

Clinton urged graduates to remember their high school friends and said that her own have helped her through tough times.

"They've been a great source of support for me over the years, especially the White House years," she said. "We'll sit around and talk about everything else [other] than what's in the headlines."

Graduate Edwin Lutin said that the first lady has handled recent headlines — including those that speculate as to whether she will seek a U.S. Senate seat representing New York next year — quite well.

"Through the scandals and everything she really acted like a lady," he said. "That's what I like about her."

"I thought she was sincere, which was hard to do because she knows so little about our school. I thought she was poised and funny."

— Bethanie Weitz, B-CC graduate, discussing Hillary Rodham Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
CONSERVATION

Lady Macbeth of Little Rock plays Hamlet of Manhattan

The Hillary Rodham Clinton staring back from the cover of the New York Times Sunday magazine isn't the glamorously-alluring woman of Vogue. James Bennet's profile, eagerly awaited as the introduction of the "campaign Hillary,"



Suzanne Fields

wasn't quite a puff piece. But it was pretty puffed up. "Hillary Herself" was interrupted by two pages devoted to rocker Gwen Stefani, provided, no doubt, for glamorous relief. Ms. Stefani is a singer who enjoys the decorations of femininity without losing "parity

with men."

Hillary, by contrast, seeks such parity, but with a different style. At Buffalo State College, she wears her uniform, "a dark pants suit and the blonde helmet that ended her hairstyle quest." She takes her seat on the podium with five women she had asked to wear clothes they wear on the job.

Hillary's pant suits may be "too Midwestern" for New Yorkers who can't abide Illinois and her hair a tad dowager for the chic set. Young women aren't dying to find out her brand and color of lipstick as they yearned to know what Monica was wearing in her interview with Barbara Walters.

But if Hillary can finally separate herself from her husband in the public eye, we may see more of the woman who, like Ms. Stefani, enjoys "parity with men." Unfortunately the political world, unlike the entertainment world, has potholes as well as pitfalls.

Will Hillary, for example, be the feminist candidate her core constituency wants her to be? As a Senate candidate would she dare castigate "the patriarchy" as she did in her speech commemorating International Women's Day? (patriarchs

vote, too.) She could not have missed the personal hypocrisy: "We can point to many problems around the world today where women — for reasons of history culture, discrimination, prejudice — are used to lift up patriarchy, are used really as objects in order for others to exercise power." Hillary, who enjoys her maiden name, can finally discard "Clinton" entirely, as she did when Bill first ran for governor of Arkansas. (But I wouldn't bet on it.)

Hillary's greatest public triumph springs from her image as the Wronged Clinton. No one has been so successful in linking



HILLARY CLINTON

the personal with the political. But if she runs for the Senate she'll have to find new ways to unlink her political life from her husband's personal life. That's quite a challenge.

She will have to change her methods of exercising power. When she speaks of the disaster she made of her health care policy, she is self-

go try that again, rest assured... I come from the school of small steps now, the belief that making smaller changes, incremental changes that will help some people, is better than walking away."

But this is talk only about policy, not process. Especially troublesome was the way she conducted her health care meetings, closing all doors, keeping the public out. Hillary Clinton, in the words of her biographer Joyce Milton, shares a bad habit with her husband. She exposes as little as she thinks she can get by with. She doesn't trust "the people" to understand. By keeping what she really sets out to do under wraps (as in the case of health care) or having others do her dirty work (as in Travelgate), lying before getting caught (as revealed in the billing records for Castle Grande), or using self-aggrandizing deception (as in crediting her reading of the Wall Street Journal for her unprecedented killing in the commodities markets), she tried to control what people thought of her. Sometimes it worked. Sometimes it didn't.

Monica Lewinsky compares herself to Princess Di. Hillary is more like the Queen — imperiously manipulating and maneuvering behind the scenes. But the White House is not Buckingham Palace and New York is not Merry Olde England. Without the protections of being first lady, it's difficult to imagine how Hillary can engage in the raw-fisted punching that comes with the territory of a Senate election campaign in New York.

As the first lady continues to debate "to run or not to run," the Lady MacBeth of Little Rock morphs into the Hamlet of Manhattan, deciding "whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune/Or to take arms against a sea of troubles." To continue with Hamlet's line of thinking, she must decide whether she should stay put and "bear those ills we have/Than to fly to others that we know not of."

Her husband got it just right: She had better know why she wants to

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally

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Senator Clinton?

The trickle is giving way to, if not a flood, at least a stream of confirmations of the first lady's intentions to run for the U.S. Senate in the state of New York. There are the anonymous friends, the odd pol from Staten Island, and now a couple of news organizations, all reporting that a Senate campaign is a certainty. More significantly, Mrs. Clinton began interviewing New York political pros this week, from Hank Morris, the consultant who last year ran Sen. Charles Schumer's race against Al D'Amato, to Dick Riley, a press spokesman for former New York City mayor Ed Koch.

Mrs. Clinton's poll numbers, which initially placed her ahead of one likely opponent, New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani, may have dropped, but her resolve seems to have strengthened. She remains coy on the subject, however, undoubtedly relishing the speculation now reaching feverish pitches among her boosters.

But with all the forecasting, all the handicapping, all the heavy political breathing, how little attention is being paid to what once would have been labeled Mrs. Clinton's baggage — her hip-deep immersion in a trail of political mud stretching from here to Arkansas and back again. Candidate Hillary must rise to a level of accountability that first lady Hillary has successfully ducked, on everything from disappearing billing records, to cattle futures, to the disastrous advice she reportedly gave her husband on the Paula Jones case. Her scandal-pocked past however, is so far regarded not only as if it has been nicely smoothed and rectified, but as if doesn't even exist.

To wit: The New York Times Magazine, which last Sunday devoted itself to the subject of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy with a lengthy cover story and beatifically monastic pictorial (the black Chinese-style collar was a nice touch), identifies her primary political lia-

bility as — get this — the suspicion that she would have her eye on concerns far from Binghamton or the Bronx. Then, the magazine ticks off, there's the question of her physical stamina, her Midwestern style (i.e., she doesn't *tawk* right), and, horrors, her penchant for pastels. One may well wonder if the nation has lived through the last seven years for nothing.

Scandals aside, what of Mrs. Clinton's politics? Mrs. Clinton is widely viewed as more liberal than her husband, but there is not much evidence to support that, the New York Times Magazine declares, painting her a Head Start-happy cipher, as if there is not a lifelong record of never-repudiated (let alone discussed) radicalism on behalf of the Black Panthers, the legal-services movement, the right of children to sue their parents and Palestinian statehood, just to name a few of Mrs. Clinton's pet projects down through the years.

Rather than bite down on such 14-carat issues, however, the magazine looks to Maggie Williams, Mrs. Clinton's former chief of staff, for a friendly quotation. And Ms. Williams — she who gained fame for making Johnny Chung her personal affirmative action project (as Clinton biographer Joyce Milton put it) in allowing him to hang around the first lady's office admiring snapshots and dropping off \$50,000 checks — delivers: "You know, people think she's such a big lib. I think she's extremely conservative. I think she has more in common with people in upstate New York than in New York City, in a lot of ways."

Does simply saying this make it so? In the ever-spun world of public opinion, it is up to the press to provide the facts. Should Mrs. Clinton run, both her actions — indeed, her character — and her ideas should be carefully scrutinized. One hopes the press, after all these years, is up to it.

NATION

Hillary works young crowd at New York commencement

Governor raises carpetbagger issue

NEW YORK (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton made her 10th trip of the year to New York yesterday, working the crowd at the City College commencement where she cautioned graduates against those who try to "lift up our public schools and the students they serve by tearing them down."

Mrs. Clinton, who is edging closer to a Senate race, did not name names, but a potential Republican rival, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has frequently criticized the city's public schools.

As she walked through the crowd of 3,000 graduates, Mrs. Clinton shook dozens and dozens of hands thrust out by cheering students, warming to the task as she went along. One man put his arms out for a hug, and she returned his embrace after a moment's hesitation. Later, students chanted, "Run, Hillary, run!"

As she has before, the first lady called for more resources for public schools, improved early childhood education and higher educational standards. Her every sentence was met with a roar from the students, most of them black, Hispanic and from working-class backgrounds. And like a candidate on the campaign trail, Mrs. Clinton's cadences grew stronger with every cheer.

Later, at a state Democratic Committee luncheon, Mrs. Clinton was asked if she had any news to report about a bid for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"I will have something to say later," she said.

Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Mrs. Clinton was not about



Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses 3,000 graduates of the City College of New York yesterday. She pushed for higher educational standards.

to reveal her plans. "She's still weighing the options," said Ms. Berry.

But close associates say they expect Mrs. Clinton to run, barring a sudden change of heart. They say that before making an announcement, she would notify New York Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat

who was considering the race herself, of her plans.

Gov. George E. Pataki criticized Mrs. Clinton as a carpetbagger because she has never lived in New York. "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us," he said.

Pals: Hill's 'definitely running'

She's back for another fund-raiser

By DEBORAH ORIN,
ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and FREDRIC U. DICKER

Hillary Rodham Clinton is back in New York today for her 10th visit this year — fresh from a day of interviewing potential campaign staffers for the Senate race her allies say looks all but certain.

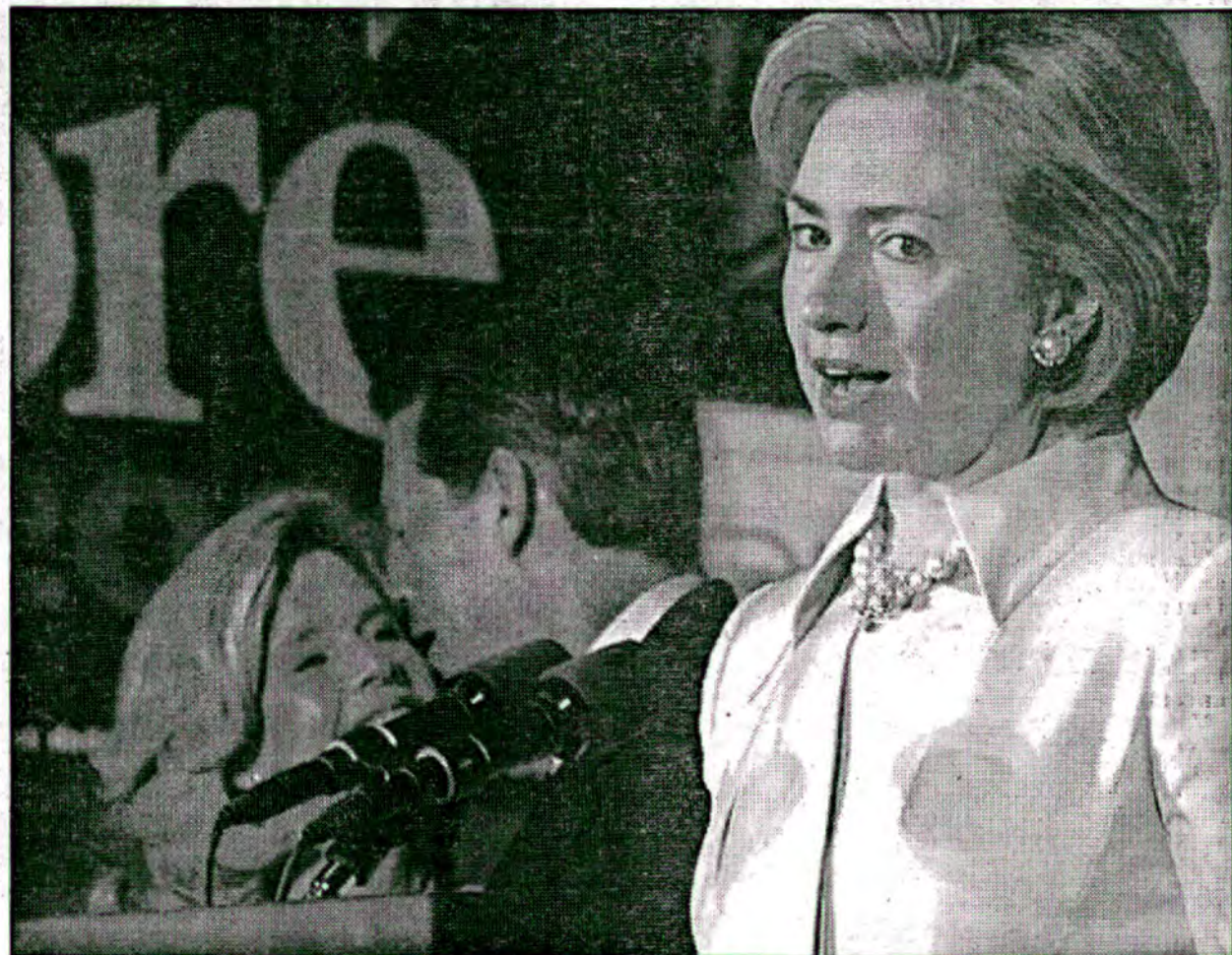
"She's out there telling people she's definitely running," a well-placed New York Democrat told The Post after being deluged with calls about the job interviews conducted at the White House.

But one ally of the First Lady cautioned: "I think she fully intends to run — but until she actually announces she is running, it isn't final and she could change her mind."

One of those Mrs. Clinton interviewed yesterday for a campaign slot, sources said, was media man Hank Morris — who ran Sen. Charles Schumer's winning 1998 Senate race against Republican Alfonse D'Amato.

Also interviewed, sources said, was Gabrielle Fialkoff, chief fund-raiser for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's losing gubernatorial bid. The Vallone campaign didn't raise much cash, but that wouldn't be a problem for Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton's close



TUNING UP: The Gores huddle (left) while Mrs. Clinton endorses the veep at a rally in Washington yesterday. AP

friend Harold Ickes described the interviews as "discussions" more than job interviews and said the First Lady also spoke with Dick Riley, a veteran press spokesman in New York.

Asked if she has made up her mind about running, Ickes said: "Not as far as I know, and I spoke to her late today [Tuesday]."

The First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, downplayed the significance of the job inter-

views, insisting: "That's all part of the process of trying to decide what to do."

Mrs. Clinton had said she'd use her just-completed five-day Florida vacation to decide whether to run.

"She has not decided," Berry insisted. "She's moving closer to trying to make a decision."

Today, Mrs. Clinton is in the Big Apple to give the City College commencement speech and raise

cash for state Democrats and Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-Manhattan). She's due to visit upstate next week.

But there was also a reminder that any plans she has to run for office could be jolted by past controversies like Whitewater and her lost-and-found billing records.

A federal appeals court yesterday reinstated a criminal charge alleging that Mrs. Clinton's ex-law partner, disgraced Justice official Webster Hubbell,

hid legal work that she (and he) did on a fraudulent Arkansas land deal.

The 3-0 decision all but guarantees that Hubbell's trial, slated to start Aug. 9, will air charges that the First Lady was involved in land fraud.

At issue in the Hubbell case is her work on the Castle Grande project, as detailed in her legal billing records — which were subpoenaed, but vanished for two years before turning up outside her office at the White House with her fingerprints on them.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The surplus projection for this year grew by \$20 billion to \$99 billion, he said, and the black ink next year will include a \$5 billion surplus even excluding the Social Security Trust Fund, the first such surplus in four decades.

Clinton's news, which he heralded in a self-congratulatory South Lawn announcement, is likely to fuel debate and perhaps improve the prospects that Democrats and Republicans can both win some of their priorities in a pre-election year that has been marked by gridlock.

The Congressional Budget Office is expected to release even bigger revised projections Thursday.

At the White House today, Clinton unveils his long-awaited plan to overhaul the Medicare health care program for seniors, including a new prescription drug benefit.

After Starr gathered his top advisers for two weeks of meetings earlier this month to thrash out the cases against Hubbell, as well as the future of Starr's investigation.

Those advisers argued that a conviction of Hubbell was not a sure thing in the post-Monica Lewinsky era and that Hubbell could be viewed as a sympathetic witness, people with knowledge of the discussions said.

This is the second time Hubbell and Starr have reached a deal. In 1994, Hubbell pleaded guilty to stealing almost \$500,000 from the Rose Law Firm and served 15 months in prison and three months in a halfway house.

Under the 1994 agreement, Hubbell was to "fully cooperate" with Starr's probe. However, Starr's office accused Hubbell of not living up to that part of the agreement.

After he finished serving his sentence in February 1997, Hubbell vowed not to cooperate further with Starr's office.

And last November, when he was indicted on the Castle Grande charges, Hubbell said Starr's office could "indict my dog. They can indict my cat. But I'm not going to lie about the president. I'm not going to lie about the first lady or anyone else."

Hubbell, a former associate attorney general, was accused of concealing his and Hillary Clinton's legal work on Castle Grande, a 1,050-acre development south of Little Rock. Clinton and Hubbell

Starr, Hubbell agrees to "fully cooperate" with Starr.

June 1995: Hubbell is sentenced to 21 months in prison. Starr, unhappy with Hubbell's reported lack of cooperation, refuses to support a reduced sentence.

Nov. 18, 1996: Hubbell leaves prison after serving 15 months. He spends three months in a halfway house.

April 30, 1998: Starr brings a 10-count indictment on tax evasion charges against Hubbell for the more than \$700,000 he collected in consulting fees during 1994. Starr calls the fees "hush money."

Nov. 13, 1998: Starr brings a 15-count indictment against Hubbell relating to the Castle Grande real estate development in Arkansas. One count is later dismissed.

June 23, 1999: Hillary Rodham Clinton and 62 other people are named as possible prosecution witnesses for the Castle Grande trial. The trial is set for Aug. 9.

Monday: Hubbell and Starr agree to settle the Castle Grande and tax evasion cases. Hubbell is set to plead guilty Wednesday to one felony and one misdemeanor.

By Tom Squitieri

were partners in the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock. The legal work they did on Castle Grande was not revealed until Clinton's billing records turned up without explanation in the White House family residence in 1996, two years after Starr's office subpoenaed them.

► Plea bargain set, 1A



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The expanded benefit for minimum agree to pay an additional prescription drugs for those who expanding benefits to cover pre-abled. He'll also propose extending the life of Medicare, the national health program for senior citizens and the disabled. Clinton today will outline his proposal to protect today's baby boomers. The retirement by the retirement gram's current date of insolvency triggered by the retirement

Source: Office of Management and Budget	
09	\$393
08	\$354
07	\$320
06	\$309
05	\$428
04	\$473

Hubbell, centered on \$884,936 Hubbell collected after he left his Justice Department post and while under investigation by Starr's office.

About \$700,000 of that amount was consulting fees. Starr's office has suggested those payments were "hush money" designed to make it easier for Hubbell not to cooperate with the investigation. Hubbell denied that.

► Mutual interests, 2A

Mutual interests for Hubbell, Starr

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — For years, Webster Hubbell vowed never to deal with Whitewater independent counsel Ken Starr.

Starr insisted that Hubbell had valuable information to provide against Bill and Hillary Clinton and others involved in the Whitewater matter and would be called to task.

In the end, both men looked beyond their past statements to their respective futures in striking a plea bargain to end their battle.

Hubbell is expected to appear in U.S. District Court on Wednesday to plead guilty to one felony count related to the Castle Grande land deal in Arkansas and one misdemeanor count related to income tax evasion, people with knowledge of the deal said Monday.

In return, Starr's office will recommend Hubbell not be given any time in prison or ordered to pay a fine.

The reported deal meets requirements for both sides:

► Hubbell refused to be required to cooperate in any manner with Starr's office.

► Starr demanded that Hubbell plead guilty to at least one felony count.

The makings of the deal began to take shape early in June and was close to complete last week when the two sides were in court for a status hearing.

Word of the deal came after Starr gathered his top advisers for two weeks of meetings earlier this month to thrash out the cases against Hubbell, as well as the future of Starr's investigation.

Those advisers argued that a conviction of Hubbell was not a sure thing in the post-Monica Lewinsky era and that Hubbell could be viewed as a sympathetic witness, people with knowledge of the discussions said.

This is the second time Hubbell and Starr have reached a deal. In 1994, Hubbell pleaded guilty to stealing almost \$500,000 from the Rose Law Firm and served 15 months in prison and three months in a halfway house.

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By Dennis Cook, AP

Hubbell: Expected to plead guilty in Castle Grande case

Chronology

Key dates in the investigation of Webster Hubbell:

March 1994: Hubbell's former partners at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock say they are considering filing ethics charges against him after an internal probe finds he failed to document hundreds of thousands of dollars in expenses billed to clients. Hubbell resigns as associate attorney general. Over the next several months, Hubbell receives more than \$700,000 in consulting fees arranged by Democratic activists and Clinton aides.

Dec. 6, 1994: Hubbell pleads guilty to two felony counts of mail fraud and tax evasion after admitting he stole \$482,410 from the Rose Law Firm and failed to pay \$143,747 in taxes. The plea is part of a deal with Whitewater independent counsel Ken Starr. Hubbell agrees to "fully cooperate" with Starr.

June 1995: Hubbell is sentenced to 21 months in prison. Starr, unhappy with Hubbell's reported lack of cooperation, refuses to support a reduced sentence.

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Monday: Hubbell and

Plea deal may signal the end of Whitewater

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Former associate attorney general Webster Hubbell agreed Monday to plead guilty to two Whitewater-related charges, a likely signal independent counsel Ken Starr is winding down his five-year investigation.

People with knowledge of the deal said Hubbell plans to plead guilty Wednesday in U.S. District Court to:

► One felony count related to the Castle Grande land deal in Arkansas.

► One misdemeanor count related to a separate income tax evasion case.

The plea bargain means that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will not take the stand as a possible prosecution witness in the Castle Grande trial that was to begin Aug. 9.

Clinton, a former partner of Hubbell's at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, had faced the prospect of testifying at a time she is exploring a U.S. Senate race in New York.

His lawyers did not return calls, but Hubbell, 51, is not expected to receive prison time or pay a fine. Under the deal, Starr's office will drop charges against Hubbell's wife, lawyer and accountant that were part of the tax evasion case.

The agreement means that Starr has resolved the only pending cases in his \$40 million investigation into the Clintons' business and political activities.

Starr is required by the independent counsel law to prepare a final report about his investigation, a process expected to take several months.

The law expires Wednesday, but Starr and four other independent counsels can continue their work. Starr might soon announce a "drawdown" of his probe, people with knowledge of the investigation said.

Starr has been under increasing pressure from some of his current and former prosecutors to settle the Hubbell matter and wrap up his tenure on a winning note.

Starr's last two trials ended inconclusively. In April, a jury acquitted Susan McDougal, a former business partner of the Clintons', on one count and deadlocked on the remaining charges. In May, a jury deadlocked on the charges against Julie Hiatt Steele, a peripheral figure in the Monica Lewinsky investigation. Starr chose not to retry those cases.

Hubbell, Clinton's friend and golfing buddy, was accused of concealing his and Hillary Clinton's legal work on Castle Grande, a 1,050-acre development south of Little Rock that regulators concluded was riddled with "insider dealing, fictitious sales and land flips."

The legal work Hubbell and Hillary Clinton did on Castle Grande was not revealed until her billing records turned up

POLITICS

Both of the Clintons slip in ratings



The percentages of people who have favorable opinions of President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton have dropped:

Bill Clinton

Poll	Favorable	Unfavorable
April 30-May 2	53%	45%
Now	48%	50%

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Poll	Favorable	Unfavorable
March 5-7	65%	31%
Now	56%	42%

If you lived in New York, would you vote for Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. senator?

Poll	Yes	No
April 30-May 2	47%	49%
Now	45%	52%

Presidential race

Support for the GOP nomination for president among Republicans and those leaning toward voting Republican:

Candidate	June 4-5 poll	Now
George W. Bush	46%	59%
Elizabeth Dole	14%	8%
Dan Quayle	9%	6%
Steve Forbes	5%	6%
John McCain	5%	5%
Pat Buchanan	6%	3%
John Kasich	1%	3%
Lamar Alexander	3%	2%
Gary Bauer	1%	2%
Orin Hatch	N/A	2%
Bob Smith	1%	1%

Support for the Democratic nomination for president among Democrats and those leaning toward voting Democrat:

Candidate	June 4-5 poll	Now
Al Gore	63%	64%
Bill Bradley	28%	28%

Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll of 1,016 adults Friday-Sunday. Margin of error: +/-3 percentage points. Questions of Republican and Democratic presidential preference have a margin of error of +/-5 percentage points. Responses of "no opinion" are not shown.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady in a Messy Fight On the Eve of Her Campaign

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON — Since the collapse of her health care project in 1994, Hillary Rodham Clinton has seemed to retreat from the gladiator pit of high-profile policy issues, devoting herself instead to less visible topics like foster care and adoption.

But for more than a year, Mrs. Clinton has been engaged behind the scenes on a legislative issue — consumer bankruptcy — that could prove politically tricky for other Democrats and for her own political ambitions.

The high-powered banking and

credit card industries, concentrated in New York, are concerned that too many people with money are filing for bankruptcy as a financial planning tool, and the industries are aggressively pushing legislation to make it harder for consumers to use bankruptcy to walk away from their debts.

But Mrs. Clinton has made it clear that she thinks the legislation, which the credit industry essentially wrote, is unfair to women and children, and she has been just as aggressively pushing to amend it. The banking and credit card industries are generous campaign contributors and could favor her competitors in a run for the Senate in New York.

What is more, this is one of the few causes Mrs. Clinton has taken up that her own party is divided over. Democratic support for the legislation is strong enough that the House has already passed it by a veto-proof margin, last month. And the Senate is poised to do the same when the matter comes up later this summer. As one Administration official said, "For many Democrats, this is a free, pro-business vote."

Mrs. Clinton was drawn to the issue through her decades-long interest in matters affecting women and children. Though she supports an overhaul of the bankruptcy system and says that those who can repay their debts should, she says the credit industry should be held equally

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Is In Messy Fight on Eve of Campaign

Continued From Page 1

PRESS AIDE FOR FIRST LADY

accountable for making credit too

Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that she had hired a press secretary.

(88) 568-VAT11

PLACE FOR A NEW MILLENNIUM

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the final Senate bill looks like.

Administration officials say that so far the Senate has not adequately addressed the concerns of Mrs. Clinton, who wants both the priority for women and children, and greater accountability by creditors, but they are circumspect about how far the White House will go in pressing for changes, especially if many Democratic senators are satisfied.

"She's very practical," said an official close to Mrs. Clinton. "She wants to improve the bill. She doesn't want to be obstructionist. She thinks, 'What are our major issues, what is our strategy and where are we at the end of the day?'"

Another complicating factor is this: some of the Democrats sympathetic to the Republican proposals that Mrs. Clinton opposes are also major fund-raisers for their party, and the banking and credit interests are prime sources of big campaign contributions.

In the last election cycle, the credit industry, including credit card companies, banks and retailers, gave more than \$4.5 million in campaign contributions, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

"It was a combination of aggressive industry lobbying, by retailers as well as creditors, and they spent a great deal of money," said Stephen Brobeck, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America.

"At the same time, people going into bankruptcy are not at all organized. You've got some women's groups and, increasingly, labor, but it's not their No. 1 priority."

He added: "Some Democrats in the House thought this was a free vote because they didn't think the Senate would approve such a draconian piece of legislation or it would be vetoed by the Administration."

William P. Binzel, a spokesman for Mastercard International, said that Mrs. Clinton had worked hard and made her opposition well known but that she had not been able to overcome the industry's basic argument for the legislation.

"It's not a hard sell to say there's a fundamental flaw in the current law when debtors are allowed to walk away from their debts when they have the ability to pay," Mr. Binzel said. "It's fair to say there is strong bipartisan support for bankruptcy reform."



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has been battling proposed bankruptcy legislation, is concerned about the impact on women and children.

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- Proview 17" Monitor

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Proview 19" Color Monitor

- 26mm dot pitch
- 1280 x 1024 max resolution
- 17.9" viewable

\$999

First Lady Is In Messy Fight on Eve of

Continued From Page 1

accountable for making credit too easily available to people who cannot pay their bills.

She also views the legislation as making it harder for women to receive alimony and child support if their former husbands file for bankruptcy, say members of Congress, advisers to Mrs. Clinton and policy experts who have followed the issue. While current law forces debtors to make a priority of claims for alimony and child support, critics of the proposed legislation say it would give equal status to credit card companies and other lenders seeking to recoup money from a limited pool. This could put a single mother in competition with, say, a professional collection agency working for a big bank or credit card company to retrieve money from a bankrupt former husband.

Single women now constitute the largest group of people who file for bankruptcy, making up 39 percent of the nation's annual 1.4 million filings, according to a recent Harvard study. Single men make up 28 percent and married couples 33 percent.

"There is a big stake in this for women and children," said Joan Entmacher, vice president of the National Women's Law Center in Washington. "It was a really critical role that Mrs. Clinton played in having the White House insist that the final bill had to protect those populations."

Some Democrats who support the legislation, however, have played

A G.O.P. measure is called unfair to women and children.

down the effect on women and dismiss it as not significant enough to derail the legislation.

Mrs. Clinton immersed herself in the topic last year, before she considered running for the seat of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, even before Senator Moynihan announced that he was retiring. (She is expected to begin her campaign shortly after July 4 with a 10-day announcement tour across upstate New York.) Her involvement was remarkable for any first lady but particularly for one who had been so seared by the public when she ventured into the policy-making arena on health care.

"She has essentially been functioning as a senior adviser to the President," said Carl Sferrazza Anthony, author of several books on first ladies. He said such a role could be tricky during her Senate campaign because her involvement in various issues will bolster her credibility as someone who cares about public policy and legislation, and yet she needs to steer clear of implications that she has been operating as an unelected co-President.

PRESS AIDE FOR FIRST LADY

Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that she had hired a press secretary for her Senate exploratory committee. Page 24.

cy law from a Harvard law professor, Elizabeth Warren, who has strongly opposed the legislation. Ms. Warren said she met with Mrs. Clinton alone for more than half an hour, with Mrs. Clinton "cross-examining" her about how bankruptcy works and the effects of the bill.

Mrs. Clinton directed her staff to delve into the details and held numerous policy discussions. She devoted two of her weekly newspaper columns to the issue. She wrote dozens of personal notes to lawmakers last year as the bills made their tortuous way through the Congressional process. And she, along with Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, played what the bill's opponents say was a decisive role in helping to kill the legislation last year.

Representative Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat and strong critic of the legislation, said that he called the White House last October to alert Mrs. Clinton that Senator Trent Lott, the Republican leader, was trying to slip the bankruptcy legislation into the final omnibus spending bill, a move that would have made it virtually impossible for President Clinton to veto.

"We heard that Lott asked the White House for minimally acceptable language, and we heard that some in the White House were trying to work out such language," Mr. Nadler said. "I called Mrs. Clinton to say, 'Stick to your guns.' That's where she was instrumental. She weighed in, and suddenly we were hearing a changed tune." The bill died.

This year, as the legislation re-emerged, Mrs. Clinton has kept her vigil. She spoke out last month at the White House on what she called abusive and predatory practices by credit card companies, which make four billion unsolicited offers of credit cards every year that critics say are aimed at those least likely to pay their bills on time — elderly women, unemployed college students, people without health insurance and those already in debt. And she received a briefing on the bankruptcy bill before she left earlier this month with President Clinton for Europe.

"She has been the principal at the White House who cared most about the fate of the details of the bill," said one Administration official.

Mrs. Clinton's involvement in the bankruptcy issue has been unusual in part because her own party is split over what to do about it. The House passed its version with a veto-proof majority even as advisers to the President recommended he veto it.

The Senate version is also expected to win some support from Democrats, who are negotiating with Republicans over aspects such as means testing and requirements for credit card companies to disclose to consumers how much they will owe if

the final Senate bill looks like.

Administration officials say that so far the Senate has not adequately addressed the concerns of Mrs. Clinton, who wants both the priority for women and children, and greater accountability by creditors, but they are circumspect about how far the White House will go in pressing for changes, especially if many Democratic senators are satisfied.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



ED BAILEY/AP

NEWLY A YANKEE FAN?: Hillary Rodham Clinton, eyeing a run for US Senate in New York, accepted a baseball cap from teachers union official Randi Weingarten at a June 1 fund-raiser.

MRS. CLINTON'S PHILOSOPHY

Sizing up political stripes of first lady

By Alexandra Marks
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK — After exhorting her fellow students to "practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible, possible," Hillary Rodham, the first student ever to give a commencement address at Wellesley College, wandered down to nearby Lake Waban to swim.

She took off her glasses, stripped down to a bathing suit, and waded in. Since it was forbidden to swim in that part of the lake, a security guard who saw her confiscated her clothing and glasses. Dripping, she groped her way back to the dorm in the dark.

Since that warm spring day in 1969, these

two sides of Hillary Rodham Clinton — earnest idealist and occasional rebel — have run through much of her public and private life.

Now, as she prepares for an unusual odyssey in American politics — a probable run for the US Senate in New York — they are emerging as part of a complex persona that in many ways defies the common perception of her as an old-line liberal.

Indeed, what emerges from her writings and speeches is the portrait of a first lady who is multidimensional. While an ardent advocate of gun control, for instance, she favors the death penalty. While a strong supporter of abortion

See **CANDIDATE** page 4

'I come from the school of smaller steps now.'

— Hillary Rodham Clinton, referring to failed 1993 effort to overhaul America's health-care in system.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

1 of 2

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V.M.I. Superintendent, Josiah Bun-
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say, 'Stick to your guns.' That's

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weighed in, and suddenly we were

hearing a changed tune." The bill

died.

This year, as the legislation re-

emerged, Mrs. Clinton has kept her

vigil. She spoke out last month at the

White House on what she called abu-

sive and predatory practices by

credit card companies, which make

four billion unsolicited offers of cred-

it cards every year that critics say

are aimed at those least likely to pay

their bills on time — elderly women,

unemployed college students, people

without health insurance and those

already in debt. And she received a

briefing on the bankruptcy bill be-

fore she left earlier this month with

President Clinton for Europe.

"She has been the principal at the

White House who cared most about

the fate of the details of the bill," said

one Administration official.

Mrs. Clinton's involvement in the

bankruptcy issue has been unusual in

part because her own party is split

over what to do about it. The House

passed its version with a veto-proof

majority even as advisers to the

President recommended he veto it.

The Senate version is also expect-

ed to win some support from Demo-

crats, who are negotiating with Re-

publicans over aspects such as

means testing and requirements for

credit card companies to disclose to

consumers how much they will owe if

they do not pay their bills in full. The

White House is waiting to see what

The commission sued Mrs. Clinton in 1996 on behalf of women who said they had been groped and subjected to lewd jokes and behavior while working at the plant in Normal, Ill.

Mental Patients Win

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Many-faceted first lady

CANDIDATE from page 1

rights, she has said she would not have an abortion herself. While championing women's rights and independence, she has stood by her husband through tumultuous and humiliating times.

"She's squarely middle road," says Carl Sferrazza Anthony, a historian on first ladies. "I think it's a great error for people to assume that she is ideologically left wing. She constantly looks to the private sector to fill in and help out in the community."

Throughout her career, Mrs. Clinton has been a clear advocate for women, a feminist who believes strongly in the importance of strengthening families and protecting children.

It was Clinton who in a speech during the 1992 campaign helped turn the Republican family values

issue into a Democratic cause célèbre by declaring that real "family values are about valuing families." And during her career as a lawyer, child advocate, and supportive political spouse, she has championed issues such as the Family and Medical Leave Act, education, child care and, of course, health care.

Family values

"Especially in connection with the family, marriage, and raising children, she is very much of a traditionalist," says Harold Ickes, her top political adviser. "She really does believe the family is the basic unit of society and a strong family is very important in order to raise children."

Her abortion stance, along with her support for gay rights, causes critics like Randy Tate of the Christian Coalition to question that assessment. He characterizes her public policy stances as "extreme" on family issues.

"She has advocated a greater role for the government, whether it's been that the 'village/government programs should raise our children or run our health care,'" says Mr. Tate. "It runs contrary to the mainstream, common sense approaches supported by most Americans."

Clinton does believe, without apologies, that there is a strong role for government, but in a more neo-liberal sense: only if it's "effective" government.

Her experiences to date have not changed that fundamental commitment to use government to improve children's lives — a calling that came to her, she says, while working at the Yale New Haven Hospital and Child Study Center and the Children's Defense Fund as a law student.

But they have tempered her. Probably none has changed her approach more than the health-care reform debacle of 1993.

With great fanfare, the first lady took on one of the country's most vexing social issues. She created a task force that operated in secret. Many analysts agree the huge bureaucratic overhaul she proposed addressed the major problems. It was a policy masterpiece, but a political disaster.

Its defeat helped spark the Republican takeover of the House in 1994 and tarnished her image, forcing her to take on a more traditional role in the White House. At a speech in April at Hofstra University, Clinton — tellingly — said her methods had changed, but not her motives. "I'm not going to try that again, rest assured," she said. "I come from the school of smaller steps now."

Her health-care agenda now calls for a patient's bill of rights to force insurers to provide access

to specialists, legislation to improve medical-record privacy, and tax breaks to encourage small businesses to offer health insurance. She also supports her husband's proposal to use the federal budget surplus to shore up Medicare.

During her visits to New York this spring, she has emphasized centrist Democratic issues. She's called for rebuilding the state's crumbling schools, turned thumbs down on school vouchers, and called for tougher gun-control laws. She's celebrated women's rights and championed the need for more and better child care. These are her signature issues.

Opponents say they mark her as a typical tax-and-spend liberal — an extremist whose policies will undermine the already fragile American family.

Her supporters counter she is articulating a much-needed family agenda. They see it addressing a culture in which the definition of family is changing, with parents struggling to find the right balance between child rearing and career.

People who've worked closely with the first lady like to point out that she's worked hard to perfect



ON TOUR: The first lady joined President Clinton visiting refugees on the Kosovo-Macedonian border this week. Next: testing Senate waters

that balance in her own life. Caputo, Mrs. Clinton's former press secretary, says during the 1992 campaign the first lady refused to go out on week-long campaign swings, preferring two three-day stints so she could spend time with her daughter Chelsea. Once in the White House, Ms. Caputo says, meetings would come to a halt when Chelsea called.

"Her schedule would be completely

Before she became first lady

Edible allowance: Hillary Rodham performed chores around the house, not for a traditional allowance, but for an extra potato with her dinner.

New kid on the block: As a four-year-old in Park Ridge, Ill., she was told to fight back against a neighborhood bully. Her mother said, "There is no room in this house for cowards," a line Hillary would later repeat to her husband in the White House.

Social activism: Inspired by her youth minister in a Chicago suburb, she organized baby-sitting services for migrant workers.

Not skin-deep: Well before the women's movement redefined beauty, Hillary put grades and good works ahead of applying makeup and doing her hair.

Republican roots: The Rodham family was staunchly Republican, and Hillary the teenager was no exception: She campaigned for Barry Goldwater in 1964, converting to the Democratic Party a few years later.

Children's advocacy: While a student at Yale Law School, she volunteered with what was later to become the Children's Defense Fund, founded by Yale alumna Marian Wright Edelman.

In the minority: During the Nixon impeachment inquiry, she was one of only three women among 43 lawyers for House Judiciary Committee special counsel John Doar.

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the early firings of the White
House travel office staff, to the
Lewinsky scandal, when she de-
fended her husband against a
"vast right-wing conspiracy." Clin-
ton's need to control information
and access has left a trail of trou-
ble that will undoubtedly haunt
her during the coming campaign.

Take-charge style

Critics say her controlling na-
ture will also cause difficulties in
the role of senator, where com-
promise and horse-trading are
necessary to get things done. But
supporters disagree.

"She's extremely smart," says
a former aid. "I think she'd have
as much power as the majority
leader - I mean, I wouldn't want
to be on-the other end of a nego-
tiation with her."

Clinton is expected to form an
official exploratory committee
after the July 4 weekend. She will
then spend most of the month in
New York "listening" to people.

But it's clear she's already has
a basic agenda. It was probably
best articulated when she re-
turned to Wellesley to give an-
other commencement address,
this one in 1992. "Too many of
our children are being impover-
ished financially, socially, and
spiritually," she said. "The
shrinking of their future dimin-
ishes us all."

The question remains whether
her remedies will be the ones New
Yorkers support.

■ Linda Feldmann in Washing-
ton contributed to this report.



SCOTT APPLEWHITE/AP

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Illustration by Richard Beck

CAST OF CHARACTERS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 First lady, whiz-bang attorney, wronged wife, carpetbagging candidate HILLARY CLINTON | 5 Grudge-holding guy and Rudy rival, wax Cuomo GOV. GEORGE PATAKI |
| 2 Uptight chief Gotham street sweeper, would-be-senator MAYOR RUDOLPH GIULIANI | 6 Retiring Democratic sage (exit stage left) SEN. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN |



Illustration by Richard Beckerman

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| ③ WHO? Democratic lady-in-waiting, will wait longer REP. NITA LOWEY | ⑦ Hillary role model and long-distance confidant ELEANOR ROOSEVELT |
| ④ WHO? Republican wild card lurking in burbs REP. RICK LAZIO | ⑧ D'Amato slayer, now in deep debt to Hillary SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER |

New York hardly could field a better candidate. New York at least could come up with someone who lives in the place.

For most New Yorkers, no matter their politics, there's simply something about Hillary Rodham Clinton that makes the blood race. They hardly know her, but they will tell you: They love her. They hate her. And that goes for Democrats and Republicans.

As the first lady inches closer to a historic, now-more-likely-than-ever run for the seat being vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, she can be absolutely certain of one thing: She will be, in effect, at the bull's-eye of the bloodiest, dirtiest and meanest Senate battle in the history of the nation, one that handily will vie with the 2000 presidential race in terms of media coverage and candidate casualties.

No question. New York practices the political equivalent of jungle warfare in an ever-shifting terrain teeming with predators and laced with land mines. Having weathered the heights of scrutiny by Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and the depths of slime during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Clinton already has successfully completed what may have been

SEE NEW YORK, PAGE 7

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Broadway blockbuster

Hillary vs. Rudy:
It's bound to be a spectacle

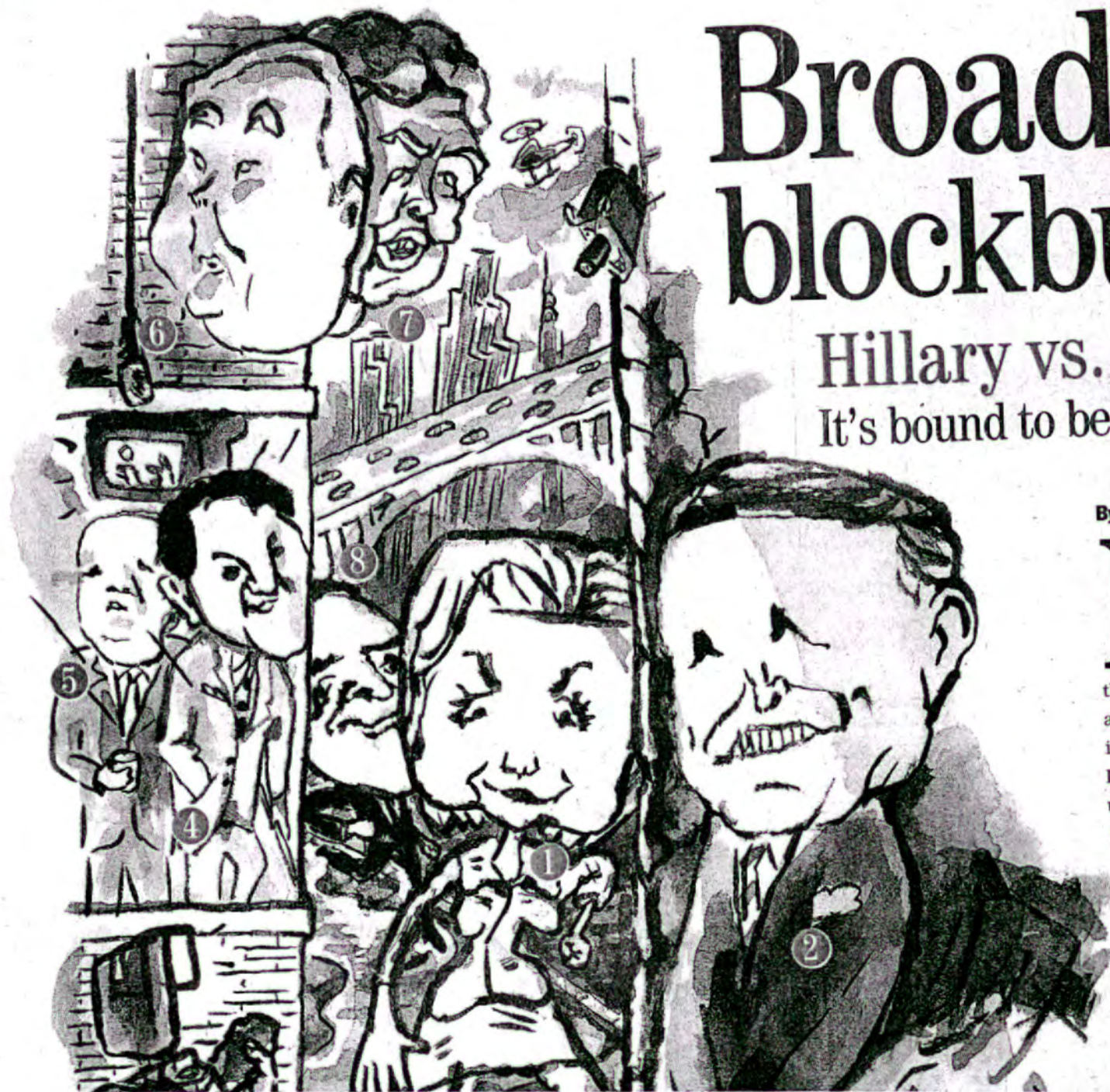
By Lisa Anderson

NEW YORK—THERE'S something about Hillary. She's the saintly wronged wife. She's the weaselly carpetbagger. Strong and smart, she'll safeguard an important U.S. Senate seat for the Democrats. Machiavellian, but untested, she'll unite a fractious GOP in ferocious opposition.

New York hardly could field a better candidate. New York at least could come up with someone who lives in the place.

For most New Yorkers, no matter their politics, there's simply something about

William Rodham Clinton that



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New York

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the perfect boot camp for her New York bid.

Those spectacularly painful experiences not only tempered her, but actually endeared her to some of the same people who once derided, and even despised, Clinton as a bossy, brassily feminist first lady who meddled in affairs of state and got her comeuppance with the embarrassing collapse of her health-care reforms.

Now, it's payback time. The Yale-educated lawyer, who soldiered long and hard to get her husband from the Arkansas governor's mansion into the White House, is ready for an elected role of her own. Appropriately, she will run for office from New York, the same state that unsuccessfully beseeched her role model, former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, to do the same a half-century ago.

Clinton, the humiliated wife, who to near-universal astonishment stood with stoic dignity beside her philandering husband, seems eager to forge a new identity and perhaps a new life, far from Pennsylvania Avenue. And, despite all the hand-wringing over the ferocity of the New York press corps, the once-accomplished lawyer probably can handle it.

In the aftermath of Clinton's own *annus horribilis*, her popularity has never been higher. In a national survey conducted for The Associated Press earlier this month, Hillary Clinton's approval rating stood at 57 percent, compared with 48 percent for her husband.

But that poll measured Hillary the First Lady.

Hillary the Candidate, who must eventually check her First Ladyhood at the White House door, currently enjoys no such towering numbers. In New York polls, she is running neck and neck with the man expected to be

affectionately, dubbed "Manhattan's Mussolini" and "Hitler on the Hudson," the mayor has, indeed, made New York a safer, if not kinder, place to live and visit.

Never a comfortable fit within the conservative New York Republican establishment, Giuliani has broken ranks with his party more than once, most notably with his 1994 endorsement of incumbent Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo. Currently, he is at odds on a number of issues with GOP Gov. George Pataki, who beat Cuomo and has never forgotten Giuliani's perfidy.

After bringing crime to an all-time low and sending Triple X-rated shops and bars into virtual hiding, Giuliani vigorously has inflicted his brand of tough love on such threats to the citizenry as street vendors, cabdrivers and unleashed dogs.

The upshot: To many, he's seen as a bully, an image hardly enhanced by a recent spate of incidents, such as the police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima and the slaying by police of African immigrant Amadou Diallo.

But Giuliani is a New York bully, born and bred. He knows the state and has a good track record here. That's a big advantage.

Clinton has had plenty of experience dealing with bullies, ranging from former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), who seemingly delighted in eviscerating her during his endless Whitewater investigation and surely will not absent himself from the upcoming race, to Starr, who never managed to indict her but still threatens to release a very nasty report on her role in Whitewater and other scandals.

What Clinton doesn't have, and never did, is a record as an elected official, not to mention, a New York address.

Clinton may never have held elected office, but, in effect, she

anyone from running successfully from the Empire State. Long a magnet for immigrants and newcomers from around the nation, New York may not overtly embrace a so-called carpetbagger, but neither does it reflexively snub one. In fact, the state constitution requires only that a person become a legal resident before Election Day.

Former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy did not have a legal New York address until just before New York elected him to the Senate in 1964. Ditto for James Buckley, a Republican from Connecticut, who was elected in 1970.

Sure to be flogged by the Republicans, the carpetbagger label may pose some problems for Clinton, who was born in Illinois and spent most of her adult life in Arkansas, but it doesn't seem to bother the New York Democratic Party a bit.

For months, since the very first rumblings surfaced of a possible Clinton run, New York's top Democrats have cajoled and wooed her like lovesick suitors. Among the most ardent has been Sen. Charles Schumer, who defeated the formidable D'Amato last November with the help of tireless campaigning by Hillary Clinton. In retrospect, of course, those frequent trips to New York on Schumer's behalf may have doubled as reconnaissance missions. Whatever. They worked.

Moreover, the woman the party originally planned to run for the Senate, Rep. Nita Lowey, graciously held off announcing her candidacy until Clinton made up her mind. Rather than wait for what increasingly seemed like the inevitable, Lowey finally decided this month to withdraw from the Senate race in favor of running again for her House seat.

Clearly, the Democrats believe they have a far better chance with a celebrity outlander than with a little-known home-grown



New York Times photo

Hillary Rodham Clinton talks with New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner earlier this month at a White House ceremony honoring the World Series champs. She professes to be a big fan of the team, though New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani scoffs at the idea.

fundraisers who would expect little problem finding the estimated \$50 million a Senate bid in New York would cost.

They already have dueling Web sites—RunHillary.com and RudyYes.com—but Clinton and Giuliani actually have a lot more in common. He is perceived as a liberal conservative. She is increasingly viewed as a conservative liberal. Both publicly endured problems in their marriages. Both expect the

be prepared for coverage and questions that will be constant and often uncomfortably up-close and personal. This will be a challenge to both of them. Neither Giuliani nor Clinton is particularly fond of the press, and neither radiates much in the way of warmth, though Clinton may hold an edge over the austere Giuliani in the hugability factor.

There is, however, at least one wild card. Rep. Rick Lazio, a

First lady praises Fisher's peace efforts

By NICK MANETTO
Staff Writer

EWING — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton asked some tough questions of a group of middle school students last week. Their answers backed up her claim that the nation must do more to prevent youth violence.

In a visit to Fisher Middle School, Clinton also lauded the school's peacemaking initiative, saying the program should be implemented in schools across the nation.

To gauge their exposure to violence, Clinton asked students a series of questions, such as how many of them knew someone who carried a weapon to school; how many knew someone injured or killed by gun violence; how many played violent video games or watched violent movies?

Numerous hands sprang up in the sweltering auditorium filled with students wearing red "Increase the Peace" T-shirts.

When asked how many students would report a student whose behavior concerned them, the number of hands raised dwindled. But when asked if they would report students confidentially, more hands again pointed toward the rafters.

"These are all questions that I really appreciate your answering because they're questions our entire country has to ask and answer," Clinton said.

Only by effectively answering these questions, she said, will the number of hands raised decrease the next time such questions are posed.

IN HER ADDRESS to the students, Clinton said a national campaign targeting youth violence is needed and that part of the campaign will require people and phone hotlines for students to report students whose behavior worries them.

She also urged the students to push members of Congress to sponsor tougher gun-control legislation to keep guns out of the wrong hands.

The reason tougher laws are not yet in place, she said,

Clinton, who appeared with U.S. Rep. Rush Holt, D-Hopewell Township, praised the Fisher students and staff for their yearlong campaign for peace.

"I wanted to come with the congressman to this school because of what you have done here this past year. From what I've heard about the Peacemakers Club and what you've accomplished, I know it's a program that I would like to see in more schools," Clinton said.

"The values you're learning as members of this club are the values we need to be reminded of as Americans," she said, adding that "word of what you've done has certainly made it to the White House and to the Congress."

The first lady's visit was a big hit with the students, especially the members of the Peacemakers Club, who were invited to join her on stage. Some students watched the event on television in the school's gym, but even they got a glimpse of Clinton when she strolled through the school after her speech.

EIGHTH-GRADER Alicia Davis had part of her poem entitled "America's Wake Up Call" read by Clinton during her speech. Davis and other students said they hope to continue their peacemaking in high school.

Some students said the event was their first encounter with a celebrity but also said they would remember her message of peace.

Marossa Davis, a Fisher guidance counselor who helped develop the peacemaking initiative, said, "I am so pleased. It far exceeded my expectations."

Next year, the school plans to expand the initiative by adding a peer adviser program where every staff member will work with 10 students so they will have one more resource to whom they can turn.

School and Ewing police officials said the students and staff were lauded for their behavior throughout the week by U.S. Secret Service agents and White House officials.

Ewing police said yesterday no roads were closed to traffic because Clinton did not want to bring added attention and disruption by her visit. Security at the school

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Staff photos by Keith D. Bedford

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The reason tougher laws are not yet in place, she said, is because "There are some very powerful groups in our country, led by the National Rifle Association ... that have convinced enough members of Congress that if they vote for gun control they'll lose their jobs."

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Clinton flew into and out of Trenton Mercer Airport, where the Mercer County Sheriff's Office handled security.



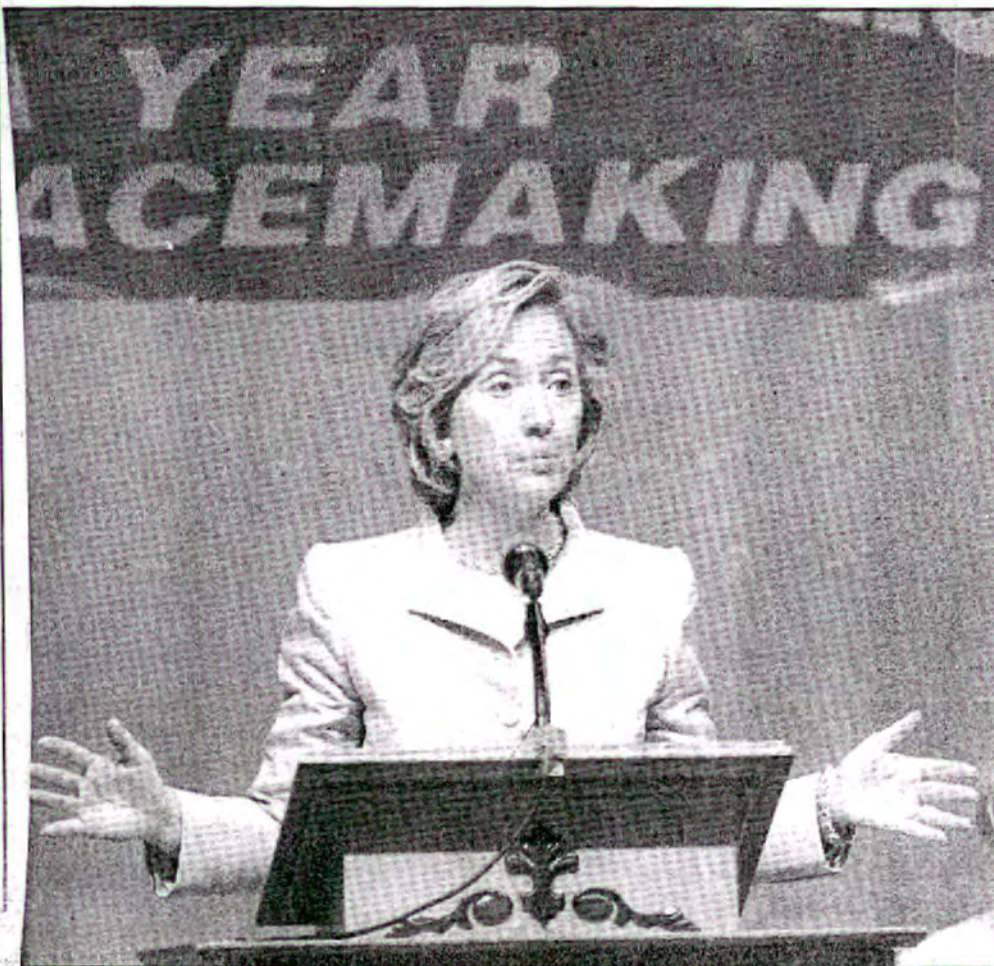
Staff photos by Keith D. Bedford

Fisher Middle School students raise their hands in answer to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's questions about their encounters with violence last week. Below, she discusses the need for gun control.



Staff photo by Keith D. Bedford

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks last week at Fisher Middle School about preventing violence. Programs such as Fisher's peacemaking initiative are invaluable, she said. Story, Page 13.



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What Clinton doesn't have, and D'Amato did, is a record as an elected official, not to mention, a New York address.

Clinton may never have held elected office, but, in effect, she has as well have. She can point to an impressive record of sponsoring education and health care as well as a host of women's issues in Arkansas and the White House. She also has led extensively and reasonably claim more foreign travel experience than any other date. And, by all accounts, a smart, quick study with an eidetic memory. If, as one put it a few weeks ago, she needed the CIA to find the fabled Elmiras, N.Y., by now, she probably recite the history of upstate town.

Unfortunately for her, lack of a New York address never stopped

anyone from running successfully from the Empire State. Long a magnet for immigrants and newcomers from around the nation, New York may not overtly embrace a so-called carpetbagger, but neither does it reflexively snub one. In fact, the state constitution requires only that a person become a legal resident before Election Day.

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Clearly, the Democrats believe they have a far better chance with a celebrity outlander than with a little-known, home-grown suburbanite, and they may be right.

When it comes to politics, New Yorkers are more starstruck than Hollywood. Pothole issues are fine, but, befitting their perhaps inflated opinion of themselves, New Yorkers prefer their senators to be national figures who can bring home the bacon and bring glory to the state. Internal Clinton polls, it is said, support this view.

That would benefit Clinton, but it also works to some extent for Giuliani, who has made several speaking forays around the country and a name for himself, particularly among the law-and-order crowd. Both are superb



New York Times photo

Hillary Rodham Clinton talks with New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner earlier this month at a White House ceremony honoring the World Series champs. She professes to be a big fan of the team, though New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani scoffs at the idea.

fundraisers who would expect little problem finding the estimated \$50 million a Senate bid in New York would cost.

They already have dueling Web sites—RunHillary.com and RudyYes.com—but Clinton and Giuliani actually have a lot more in common. He is perceived as a liberal conservative. She is increasingly viewed as a conservative liberal. Both publicly endured problems in their marriages. Both support the death penalty, gay rights, abortion rights and welfare reform. At the moment, the only major issue they disagree on is in the area of education: Clinton opposes school vouchers, Giuliani favors them.

As a result, personality, to a great extent, may be the determinant in this race. Unfolding in the media capital of the world, this contest will get the kind of mega-exposure usually reserved for presidential campaigns and might even surpass that if Giuliani and Clinton turn out to be friskier subjects than the presidential wannabes.

Thus, Giuliani and Clinton must

be prepared for coverage and questions that will be constant and often uncomfortably up-close and personal. This will be a challenge to both of them. Neither Giuliani nor Clinton is particularly fond of the press, and neither radiates much in the way of warmth, though Clinton may hold an edge over the austere Giuliani in the hugability factor.

There is, however, at least one wild card. Rep. Rick Lazio, a Republican from suburban Long Island, is toying with entering the Senate race, a notion said to be blessed by Pataki. A conservative, Lazio has touted himself as less polarizing than Giuliani, a trait he believes may become crucial if the race is to be won in New York's suburbs and upstate rural areas.

Should Lazio upset Giuliani in the GOP primary, Clinton may face a very different kind of problem. Pitted against a relative unknown, some analysts say, the race may well simply become a referendum on Hillary Clinton. And that is probably the last thing that she wants.

Lisa Anderson is the Tribune's New York bureau chief.

The Ewing Weekly Times

Ewing official miffed by first lady's 'snub'

By NICK MANETTO
Staff Writer

EWING — Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to a district school last week was not a big hit with one school board member, who complained last night that no board members were on the official invitation list.

Frank Fontana, who is also chairman of the Ewing Republican Club, said he was concerned with the restrictions he said White House officials placed on Clinton's visit to Fisher Middle School.

Fontana said that all local political leaders were invited but all of the school board members were ignored. He also was upset because Mayor Al Bridges was mentioned by Clinton in her speech while no board members — not even board President Maria Bua — were recognized.

Bua was in the audience as a parent but was not invited as the board president. She said she

viewed the incident as a oversight by the White House, but added that the board should be invited to similar events in the future.

Fontana also said he wants access granted to board members for future events.

The ongoing debate on school bus safety continued last night as Don Brown, a parent of a student at Lore Elementary School, said he has noticed driver inconsistency and poor driver performance in recent days.

Brown said he recently noticed a bus idling with no driver and also saw a bus run a stop sign. He said he has reported his concerns to district officials but added that there is no effective way for parents to learn whether any records are kept of such complaints.

Last month, the district approved its bus contracts for next year with the stipulation the companies must have "a plan to improve driver consistency."

Fontana said the district should consider including performance clauses in bus contracts,

saying bus companies may better understand the message if money is at stake.

Board Vice President Edward Vickner asked Superintendent Tim Wade if the district could consider an environmental clause in the school operating policy that would state that it is unhealthy to be in a school building when the temperature is extremely high or extremely low.

He said he has heard concerns from staff members upset at being in school during last week's hot weather.

Wade said the district would not benefit from such a clause because it could be used against the district in unusual circumstances. He said the best way to handle weather related school closings is on a day-by-day basis.

Wade added that he did not hear of many problems from teachers and said they were given the liberty to take their classes to air conditioned areas of school buildings.

He also said it may be better for students to be in school instead of outside playing in hot weather or home without parental supervision.

PHOTOCOPY
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1 of 2

A Prosecutor Bound by Duty

Behind the Scenes, Starr's Zeal Led the Charge

This is the last of three excerpts from "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate." Copyright ©1999 by Bob Woodward, Simon and Schuster.

By BOB WOODWARD
Washington Post Staff Writer

The morning of Sept. 9, 1998, was D-Day for independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, the final deadline he had set for completion of his impeachment referral against President Clinton. As far as Starr was concerned, this was the last opportunity to deliver his findings to Congress without seeming to interfere with the coming election.

For months, Starr and his lawyers had been working secretly to prepare the report. When it was drafted a debate broke out

inside the counsel's office about the graphic sexual details of Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky.

Two lawyers in the office, Starr protégé Brett Kavanaugh and Notre Dame law professor William Kelley, went to the independent counsel to object. The first section, in narrative form, had grown to more than 200 pages with 1,000 footnotes. Kavanaugh pointed out that they should not be trapped by their earlier drafts, when the president was still denying any relationship with Lewinsky. They didn't need to prove what Clinton no longer denied.

A more effective tactic, the lawyers told Starr, would be to send only a grounds section that would relate all the evidence to specific charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. They had come up with 11 in a chapter that read like an expanded



PHOTO ILLUSTRATION—THE WASHINGTON POST

indictment. The narrative was extraneous.

"No," Starr said, "we need to have an encyclopedia. It will show all the information. It will show how much work we did."

Kavanaugh was concerned that Starr thought it was the catalogue of Clinton's sexual behavior that provided a basis for recommending that Clinton should be bounced out of office, rather than the alleged crimes. The narrative was going to give ammunition to Starr's critics that he was a

See SHADOW, A10, Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Duty-Bound

SHADOW, From A1

sex-crazed prosecutor.

All the attorneys in the office continued to discuss the role of the independent counsel in an impeachment. Was it to remove Clinton from office, try to convict him as a regular prosecutor might? Or was it to provide information to the House?

The three senior attorneys who had interrogated President Clinton—Jackie Bennett, Bob Bittman and Sol Wisenberg—argued that there were crimes and that impeachment was the proper vehicle to try a president.

"The narrative shows how pathetic Clinton is," Kavanaugh argued, "that he needs therapy, not removal. It's a sad story. Our job is not to get Clinton out. It is just to give information."

In late August, Kavanaugh and Kelley proposed to Starr that their grounds section be placed before the long narrative in the formal impeachment referral document to Congress. Starr rejected their suggestion. "I love the narrative!" he said.

By the morning of Sept. 9, the lawyers were tired, operating on little sleep. Tensions were high. Starr had read through the entire referral a number of times, giving or withholding his approval for all the changes. The language was getting stronger.

Just after 3 p.m., the report was sent to Congress.

Early Battles With the Clintons

Ever since his appointment as independent counsel in August 1994, Starr had battled the Clinton White House—investigating Whitewater, the 1993 travel office firings, the White House collection of prominent Republicans' FBI files, and finally, the Lewinsky matter. The wrangling had begun almost from the start.

Back in the spring of 1995, Starr called then-White House counsel Abner Mikva and asked to question the president and first lady under oath. Mikva proposed that Starr take the testimony at the White House on a weekend. Starr agreed that would be fine in lieu of formal grand jury appearances.

Saturday, April 22, Mikva Treaty Room of the White House. Mikva could see that Clinton seemed to like Starr. They almost hit it off. At the end, Starr, a history buff, made some comments and asked some friendly questions about the White House.

"Ab," Clinton said, "when we're through, make sure Judge Starr sees the Lincoln Bedroom."

As the president was saying that, Hillary Clinton entered the room. "Don't you dare show him the Lincoln Bedroom," she whispered to Mikva.

Mikva decided to obey the last order. Starr did not see the famous room.

The president left, and Hillary sat down. She was measurably cooler. After a few minutes there was a knock at the door. A White House steward entered the room.

"Golf clubs! Golf clubs!" the steward exclaimed. He opened a closet, took out a set of golf clubs and exited with them hurriedly.

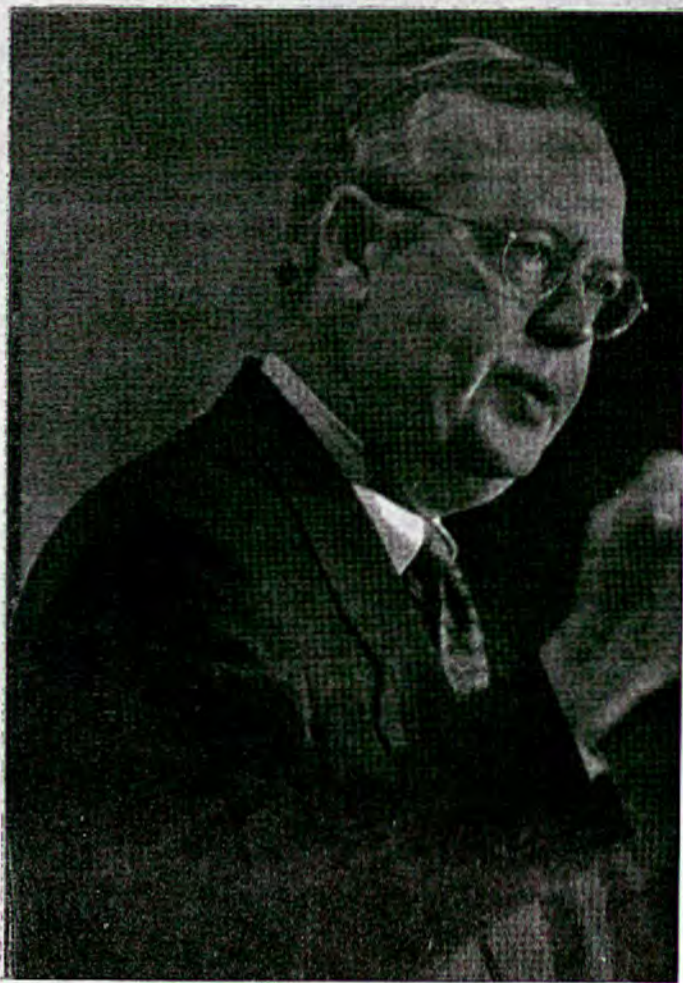
Starr and the lawyer who accompanied him realized suddenly that Mikva had called to advance the session an hour so Clinton could get in a full round on the spring Saturday. Mikva was looking at the ceiling.

As Starr's investigation continued, relations with the White House deteriorated. Throughout, Hillary Clinton was a focus of the investigation. In 1997, the independent counsel convened a formal meeting of his attorneys to review the evidence against the first lady. His prosecutors from Little Rock joined in on the speakerphone.

"She's the queen," Hickman Ewing, Starr's hardball Little Rock deputy, said from Arkansas. He had drafted an indictment of the first lady.

"It is not appropriate to refer to Mrs. Clinton that way," Starr said, interrupting. He went on a tirade in his schoolmarmish, prissy way. "She is the first lady," he declared indignantly, as if the others might have forgotten.

After hours they concluded they had a circumstantial case but no direct, compelling evidence, no witness alleging specific crimes by Mrs. Clinton. Sam Dash, the former Senate Watergate Committee chief counsel now serving as Starr's ethics adviser, said that to indict



Obligation: Kenneth Starr insisted that his report include Clinton's sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky "to

He began an investigation that continued for months while the Clinton White House attacked his prosecutorial tactics. In June, Starr made his own attack on defense lawyers. "At what point does a lawyer's manipulation of the system become an obstruction of the truth?" he asked in a speech June 1 in Charlotte. "A good lawyer, acting as a counselor,

Starr seemed to be calling on attorneys to turn in their clients. Some of his own prosecutors reacted critically to the speech. They had seen Starr's criticism of defense lawyers harden. He had argued in the office that it was best for a guilty person to confess and accept punishment so the guilty would be, as he once put it, "better off in this life and the life after."

Starr was behaving as a preacher and father-confessor, not as a lawyer. Some of the attorneys joked that Starr wanted the defense lawyers, who were bound to protect their clients and their rights, to commit malpractice.

"So defense lawyers are supposed to confess," one Starr deputy joked.

Starr seemed to suggest that Clinton's personal attorney, David Kendall, knew the president was guilty in the Lewinsky case, and therefore Kendall shouldn't invoke privileges that deflected Starr from his path to the truth.

Meanwhile, Starr was already preparing for the impeachment referral.

He had carefully studied section 595(c) of the Ethics in Government Act, which dictated his duties in a possible impeachment. The law directed that an independent counsel "shall advise the House of Representatives of any substantial and credible information ... that may constitute grounds for an impeachment."

He interpreted the law to mean that he had no choice but to advise the House if he had evidence that "may" be grounds for impeachment.

The "may," Starr felt, was an incredibly low legal standard. It meant the "likelihood" or "chance" that the information might be grounds for an impeachment.

He believed they had met that standard in the Lewinsky investigation. He directed a team of three lawyers to begin drafting a document outlining the information gathered in the Lewinsky probe for possible referral to the House on Clinton.

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FILE PHOTO BY JAMES A. PARCELL—THE WASHINGTON POST

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Even with that dilemma unresolved, work was speeding. By late June, Starr had reviewed several hundred pages his staff had written on the evidence, which claimed that Clinton had lied and perhaps obstructed justice.

"This is good," Starr said. "This is strong."

Dash and Kavanaugh and some of the other experienced prosecutors tried to slow Starr down, because they did not have either Clinton or Lewinsky

providing direct testimony.

"I've got a strong circumstantial case," Starr said. "It would be improper to withhold it from Congress unless it was weightless."

Some of the attorneys argued against the significance of what they had at that point.

"I feel like I've been in 595(c) territory since the spring," Starr replied to their objections at one discussion, pounding the table for emphasis, "and I have a statutory obligation to get this to Congress."

Starr said the White House strategy was to delay so any referral would not be ready until fall, to force him to put off sending the referral until after the November congressional elections.

Starr recalled the controversy in 1992 when Iran-contra independent counsel Lawrence Walsh had released material adverse to President George Bush—the famous "VP favored" note about arms-for-hostage deals—just five days before the election.

"I don't want to do what Judge Walsh did," he said. "The electorate did not have time to absorb the significance of it."

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Five days later, the court issued a sealed order "permitting disclosure of all grand jury material that the independent counsel deems necessary." It was a blank check.

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Dash was also outraged when he learned that Starr had made July 31 a final deadline for the referral. He heard that unnamed members of the Republican leadership had told Starr that if Congress didn't get the referral by July 31, action would have to wait until after the election.

He wrote Starr a memo arguing that the important portion of 595(c) was not the "may," but the provision that said the independent counsel should send information if it was "substantial and credible."

Circumstantial evidence by definition, Dash argued, was not "substantial and credible," not sufficient to trigger impeachment of the president.

Starr rebuffed Kavanaugh and Dash.

"We're sending it up July 31," he said. He cited senior members of his staff. "Tom Bienert says I have an overwhelming case. Ronald Mann says I have an overwhelming case. I have a duty."

Kavanaugh checked with Bienert and Mann. They said it was a strong circumstantial case, but only that. Dash told Starr he would resign if they sent up a flimsy referral without solid evidence.

The arguments grew more heated. As Kavanaugh

going to release the report without reading it.

Starr agreed. Draft another letter warning the House leaders, Newt Gingrich and Richard Gephardt, about the explicit material, Starr said.

"I caution against a blanket release of the referral without an initial review by some members of the Congress," Kavanaugh drafted for Starr. It was "almost certainly inappropriate for wide public dissemination. . . ."

"We believe the nation and all parties involved would be best served by such a measured approach," the draft letter concluded.

Kavanaugh brought a computer disk containing the draft to Starr's secretary. The House was voting at this point on whether to release the referral.

Starr began editing. He added "highly" so that a sentence in the letter read, "Certain matters in the narrative and grounds sections are highly explicit."

They had a mini-conference to discuss whether to send the warning. Bittman and Jackie Bennett agreed with Kavanaugh. But the main author of the report, Stephen Bates, disagreed. Paul Rosenzweig, the prosecutor who had the first contact with the Paula Jones legal team in January, was quite vocal.

"Look, it's out of our hands," he said. "They know it's about sex. You've got to let them handle it."

"You're right," Starr said, changing his mind, "it's in their hands." He would not send the letter.

'My Order Says I Have to'

Starr's report was completed, but his investigation was not over. Months later, after the House impeached President Clinton and the Senate began a full-scale trial, Starr was planning to indict Julie Hiatt Steele, a woman whose testimony contradicted former White House volunteer Kathleen Willey's allegation that the president had groped her.

Kavanaugh was appalled. Steele was so tangential—she had nothing to do with Clinton or Lewinsky. An indictment of Steele, Kavanaugh wrote in a memo to Starr, would win the "trifecta" for abuse of the independent counsel law. It would be too hard on a bit player, too late in the investigation, and not weighty enough, he argued.

On Jan. 7, 1999, the same day that the Senate trial began, Starr indicted Steele, the only person formally charged in the sex scandal. He claimed he had a duty.

The independent counsel also would not let go of the investigation, now in its sixth year, into the removal of documents from Vince Foster's White House office the night he died. His staff had delivered a 330-page memo to him showing there was no case.

Starr said he believed Henry O'Neill, a uniformed Secret Service officer who had testified that he had seen Maggie Williams, then Hillary Clinton's chief of staff, with a box. "He is a sworn, trained law enforcement officer!" Starr said, pounding on the desk.

His deputies reminded Starr that O'Neill's job was to escort the White House janitors removing the trash on the midnight shift.

Starr did not accept that. The investigation would remain open.

He said he had the same obligation with the travel office investigation. Yes, the president was cleared, but not Hillary Clinton, he said. He recited David Watkins's memo that claimed that Mrs. Clinton was behind the 1993 firings. The inquiry would remain open.

He also would proceed with the FBI files probe. Again, Clinton was absolved. His staff had written a 400-page memo showing that they had no evidence tying Clinton to the files. Why continue?

"My order says I have to focus on Anthony Marceca and others!" Starr said in protest, referring to the Army detailee who had worked updating FBI files collected by the White House. That investigation would remain open, too. He had a duty.

Researcher Jeff Glasser contributed to this report.

How the Research Was Conducted

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

"Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate" is based on presidential documents, diaries, prosecutorial records and hundreds of interviews with firsthand witnesses.

Former presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter were interviewed on the record, Ronald Reagan could not be interviewed because of his health, George Bush answered by letter and Bill Clinton declined to be interviewed.

most of the interviews were conducted on the record. Documentary material from the presidential libraries and the National Archives also was used extensively. Nearly all of the interviews in the Clinton sections were conducted on journalistic ground rules of "background" or "deep background," meaning the information could be used, but the sources of the information would not be identified.

Each major scene depicted in these excerpts comes from at least one knowledgeable source, often supplemented by records or contemporaneous notes and documents.



that Starr take the testimony at the White House on a weekend. Starr agreed that would be fine in lieu of formal grand jury appearances.

It was to start at 1 p.m. Saturday, April 22. Mikva and Starr that morning and asked to do it at noon instead. Starr agreed. They gathered at noon in the Treaty Room of the White House. Mikva could see that Clinton seemed to like Starr. They almost hit it off. At the end, Starr, a history buff, made some comments and asked some friendly questions about the White House.

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After hours they concluded they had a circumstantial case but no direct, compelling evidence, no witness alleging specific crimes by Mrs. Clinton. Sam Dash, the former Senate Watergate Committee chief counsel now serving as Starr's ethics adviser, said that to indict a first lady they would have to have unusually strong evidence, proof that would convince the public that something was truly rotten and wrong. Dash thought Starr agreed.

But Starr seemed more willing to continue than others on his staff. He was reluctant to close anything out while there was still a possibility.

Interpreting His Mandate

When the Lewinsky scandal broke in January 1998, Starr saw it as a chance to break into the ring of silence that had surrounded Clinton for years.

Excerpts From 'Shadow'

Sunday: President Clinton's isolation

Monday: The anguish of Hillary Clinton

Today: The Starr investigation

Next Sunday in The Washington Post Magazine: The scandal culture's toll on the Bush presidency.

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PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY THE WASHINGTON POST

How the Research Works

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In the first half of the book, covering the period 1

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Hillary: Get ready for battle

The Hartford Courant

I don't know whether it's the height of arrogance or bravery or naivete, whether to be scared for her, or scared of her. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton taking on New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, toughest prosecutor ever to hold the U.S. attorney's office: nothing in Washington, nothing in Arkansas, nothing in her suburban Chicago upbringing could have prepared her for this.

Prime those parental controls on your TV set, because this competition for one of New York's Senate seats is going to be more like Ultimate Fighting or a steel-cage wrestling match than a political race.

Rudy Giuliani is a nasty, nasty man, a provocative little nipper, and Hillary's vulnerable. Whitewater. Vince Foster. The health care policy fiasco. The White House travel office scandal. Oh, joy! Such a plump meaty morsel.

He'll goad her and goad her — possibly into a corner. After all, Ken Starr hasn't hung up his shingle. America's first lady could say something to incriminate herself. She could end up indicted, instead of elected.

They're so much alike; equally imperious, arrogant and defensive, equally renowned for their tempers — a couple of alligators, really.

But only one knows the swamp.

Rudy could tell her the Washington press corps are lapdogs compared to the New York media. Hillary's advisers should tell her. Harold Ickes, Mandy Grunwald and Sen. Chuck Schumer, they all know the score — but I'm betting they haven't. Their heads are still on.

Kill the messenger! Slowly! That's the lady's pleasure. Talk to former adviser Dick Morris about what it was like, giving her unfavorable poll results. Ask George Stephanopoulos what happened when he advised the Clintons (wisely) to give up the Whitewater documents from the get-go. She was all over his case like a hammer drill. Went ballistic. Accused him of disloyalty.

Still, somebody should tell her. You can't negate your husband's endless philandering by swearing "my abiding commitment to my marriage," as she did with Dan Rather, and it ain't over in 60 minutes, either.

She'll have 30 people, maybe 50, shoving notebooks, cameras, microphones at her, shouting "Mrs. Clinton, give it a break, you think anybody actually believes you?"

Canned answers won't cut it. The New York press corps will go after her one slash at a time until she pops her lid.

Pagnozzi is a Courtant staff writer.

AMY
PAGNOZZI

affair ... an abortion ... smoked pot?"

The Secret Service men will do their best — but roughing up the media doesn't make for good press. The thrill of the chase is a strange, sick dynamic. A tabloid reporter gets knocked down and stepped on by cameramen, she doesn't seek first aid — she crawls through their legs to regain her position.

You don't see Helen Thomas or Sam Donaldson in Washington pecking at Hillary's ankles. You don't see them contradicting her either. The wife gets slack. The candidate does not.

New York is not the place to fake it till you make it.

You don't tell a Manhattan audience, as Hillary did last week, that you have been to Elmira in upstate New York, because there will be a newspaper there, however small, and reporters will get every Democratic leader for miles stating for the record they have never seen you.

The lawyerly explanation offered by Hillary's press secretary, Marsha Berry? "She was in Elmira probably 40 years ago on a family excursion between Chicago and Scranton."

In other words, she drove through, but she didn't inhale. It won't do.

You're a carpetbagger? Tackle it head-on before anybody else does.

Say, "If your only qualification for this job is that the candidate be a native New Yorker, then vote for the other guy. But if you think there may be other qualities in a candidate that may be more important. ..."

You're a cuckoldress? Reveal yourself to be human. Concede that your husband's adultery pained you and your daughter.

You're a stiff with scant sense of humor? Scant's still better than none, making you one up on Rudy. So work it.

When they ask you about Whitewater, say, "How would I know how those documents got on the kitchen table? I haven't been in the kitchen since I made cookies for the '92 election."

You don't have to go on MTV and talk about your underwear, but you must go on Imus, who's going to throttle you if you don't bring something to the table besides those moralistic parables you love so much.

Skip Howard Stern altogether; most of his listeners would be flummoxed in a voting booth anyway, there being no slot to drop in the tokens for the babe behind the curtains.

Rush Limbaugh's another story. Most of his listeners are

"What do you tell your daughter Chelsea about her father?"

"Have you ever had an

registered, he's on for three hours a day, and when Juanita Broadrick surfaced to charge your husband with rape, he introduced every segment show with your ringing endorsement of Anita Hill, your ardent pleas for sexual abuse victims to come forward.

Broadrick, Kathleen Willey, Paula Jones: as a candidate, a feminist, a lawyer, you'll be called upon to come up with something other than the "nuts and sluts" theory.

And they'll be called to talk about you. Gennifer Flowers, Monica Lewinsky, your pesky little brother-in-law Roger... everybody you ever slept with or slighted in high school: grist for the media mill.

You can't control everybody, so don't try. When your mother Dorothy gave an interview to Vanity Fair you stashed her in a spare room at the White House. But even the White House won't hold everybody with loose lips who's ever known you.

Learn to laugh at yourself. Tell on yourself, before others do.

If you're lucky, you'll happen upon a hamlet or two in upstate New York where you'll majestically descend in your helicopter and locals will be wowed by your stateliness, rolling out the red carpet as the high school band plays a thumping rendition of Sousa. (Don't mention you want to take away their guns.)

But you're also going to be posing with prize-winning pigs and their owners at 4H Club shows.

And standing in front of subways during morning rush, pumping sweaty hands of commuters hollering at you because their trains are too hot.

And schmoozing soccer moms about the nanny crisis at endless country clubs.

It's going to be plenty weird, given your dislike of receiving lines, your disinclination to shake one more hand than you have to. Heck, at Matilda Cuomo's book party at Le Cirque 2000 (not exactly a dive), you were in and out in a flash, ignoring Harry Belafonte and Doris Kearns Goodwin.

When it comes to strangers touching me, I'm with you, not your husband. Taco Nights at Elk and Rotary Clubs. Buffalo chicken wing contests! Yuck! I'd need desensitization therapy, but you don't have time. All you can do is to stock up with those little Purell bottles and sterilize your hands on the run.

Lady, they're going to stuff corn dogs, knishes, and falafels into your mouth while the flashes go off, and there's not much you can do about it.

Stand in front of a mirror, stuff some cotton into your mouth, practice saying "Rudy's a cheeseball."

Makes me smile, anyhow.

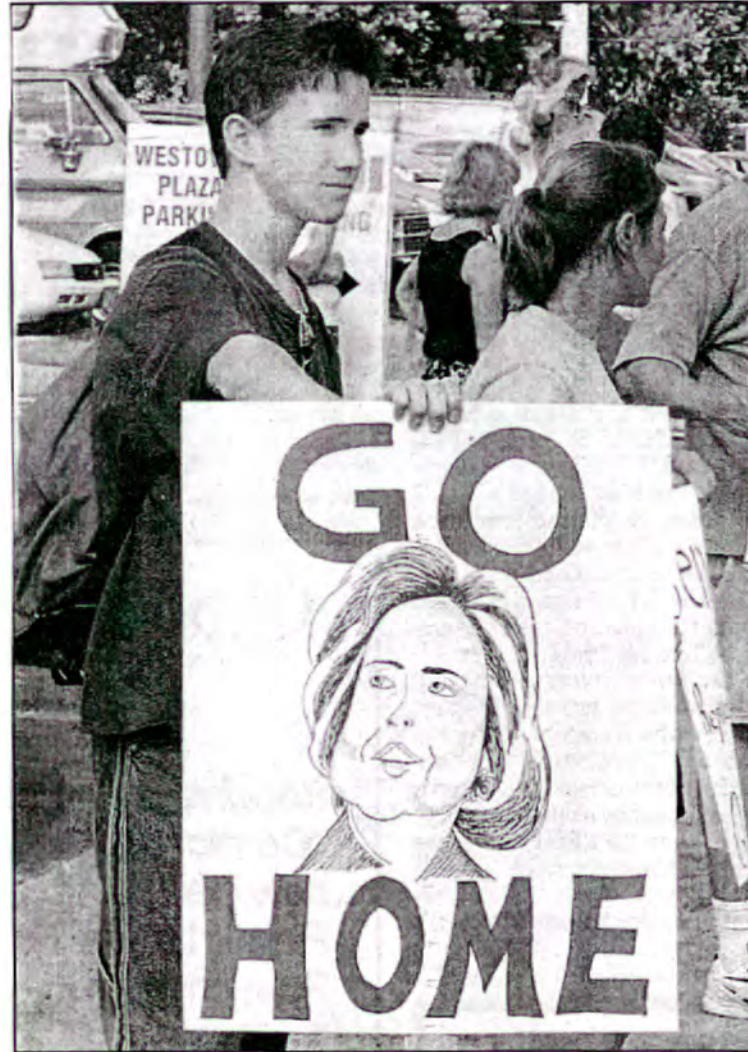
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PRESERVATION

Don't miss the article on back.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

6A

Finger Lakes Times, Geneva, N.Y. Thursday, June 10, 1999



The Associated Press

Greg Shrader of Nichols, joins other anti-Hillary Rodham Clinton protesters across from a Lockheed Martin plant in Johnson City.

Hillary Clinton met by protesters

BINGHAMTON (AP) — Prospective Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton, met by protesters carrying "Carpetbagger Go Home" signs, told high-tech factory workers Wednesday the nation has been so successful "because of people who have been willing to try new things."

"There are too many people locked into old thinking ... We are all such prisoners of our past," the first lady told about 40 hand-picked employees brought together at a Lockheed Martin plant just outside Binghamton to discuss economic issues with the first lady.

While Mrs. Clinton's comments dealt with the high technology work being done at the plant, they served to perhaps shed some light on her own thought process about the possible Senate race.

However, some people tried to dissuade her from thinking about seeking the Senate seat being vacated next year by fellow Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. About three dozen demonstrators chanting "Go home" were waiting for Mrs. Clinton when she left the plant. One sign said "Queen Hillary go home." There were a scattering of signs supporting the first lady.

"There are pros and cons and that's just the fact of political

life," Mrs. Clinton said when asked about the protesters.

In an indication of how seriously Mrs. Clinton is taking the Senate race, she staged an impromptu news conference with reporters as the protesters shouted from across the street. Her advisers have been encouraging her to interact more with the media as she travels across the state.

Asked why she was considering running for New York's Senate seat, she said, "New York really is the Empire State and is a state that is on the cutting edge of where we're going in the future."

The subject of Mrs. Clinton's possible candidacy never came up during the almost one-hour question and answer session with the plant employees.

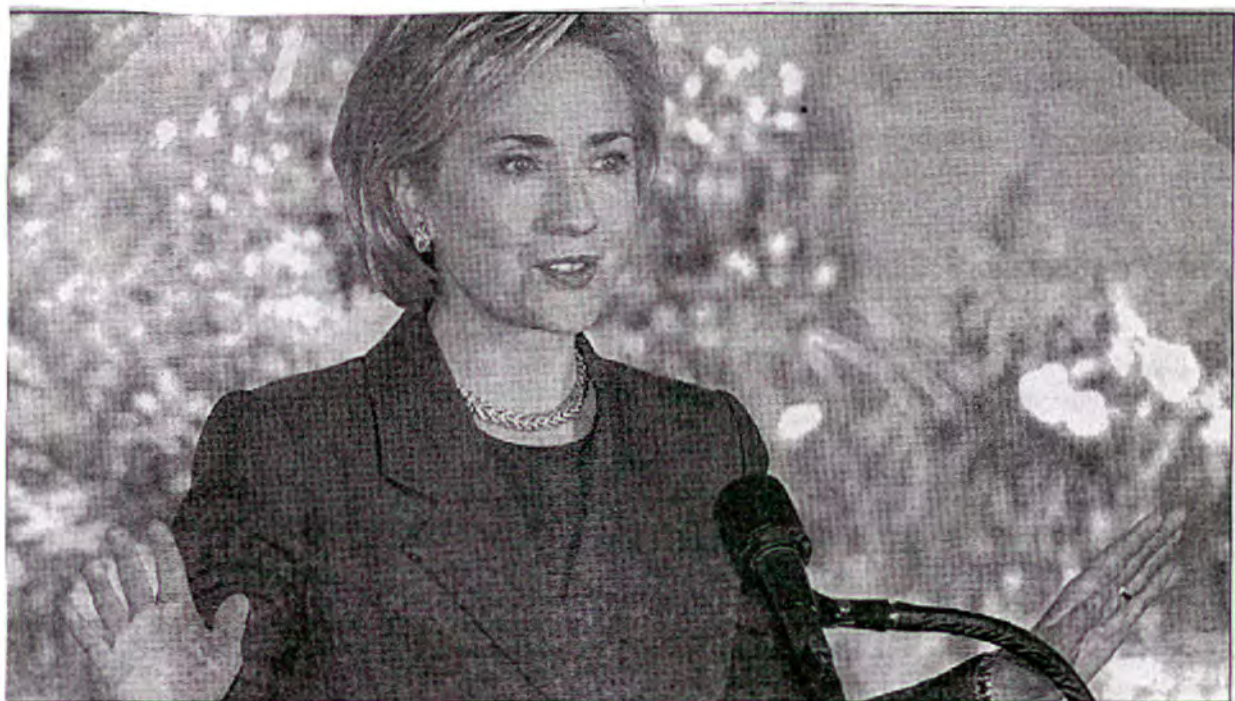
It was Mrs. Clinton's 11th visit to New York this year and her first since announcing Friday she would form an exploratory committee to continue preparations for the Senate race her advisers expect her to enter.

The race could pit Mrs. Clinton against Republican New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who formed an exploratory committee in April. Also eyeing the GOP nomination is Rep. Rick Lazio of Long Island.



By John Deering, Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, for USA TODAY

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Should Hillary Run?

Should the first lady run for the Senate from New York? Republicans have come down hard on the idea, but most of them would oppose her election as town librarian. The more interesting question is: What do Democrats think?

Few Democrats will express their qualms about her Senate candidacy publicly, and not just because picking a fight with the first family is impolitic. Democrats are loath to give comfort to—pardon me—the vast right-wing conspiracy by questioning Hillary Clinton.

But give Democrats a chance to talk when their names won't be attached to their words, and you find a lot of unease about her Senate adventure. Here's the result of my survey of seven Democratic campaign veterans—most of them fans of Mrs. Clinton.

Can she win? Of course she can. The Republicans seem to be cooperating by moving toward a divisive primary between New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio of Long Island.

But there is also unanimity that she could lose. Two consultants I spoke with argued that Rep. Nita Lowey, who bowed out of the race in deference to Mrs. Clinton, might be the stronger candidate.

Why? If Giuliani is the Republican candidate, his record and outsized personality would normally make him the issue. But if Mrs. Clinton runs, said one consultant, "you make Hillary Clinton the issue instead of Giuliani." Who needs all the speculation about why she is doing this and what it has to do with her relationship with her husband?

Then there's carpetbagging—"a more serious problem for her than Whitewater," said one pollster.

Robert F. Kennedy's election to the Senate in 1964 by no means proved New Yorkers love voting for out-of-staters. Yes, RFK defeated Republican Sen. Ken Keating by 719,000 votes. But he did so as Lyndon Johnson was carrying the state over Barry Goldwater by more than 2.6 million votes. That 1.9 million vote difference is worth thinking about. Keating's slogan, by the way, was "New York's Own."

Will she hurt other Democrats, especially Al Gore? "I don't go with all this crepe-hanging," said one consultant. Gore, he said, will stand or fall on his own.

Not so, said another adviser. "Absent her running, the overwhelming priority of the administration would have been electing Al Gore. Now you've got a three-ring circus at the White House—Clinton's working on his legacy, Gore's running for

president, and Mrs. Clinton is running for the Senate. If you think the most important thing Democrats can do is elect Al Gore, this is a terrible idea." The generally good reviews of George W. Bush's campaign kickoff—it reached New Hampshire yesterday—make that issue a trifle more urgent.

Some argued that Mrs. Clinton would pull money away from the rest of the party. But one consultant noted that she "would open up pocketbooks that might not otherwise be open."

Will her candidacy promote Clinton fatigue and reopen the Clinton Psychodrama? This is the Big Fear. The consultants think that if her foes harp too much on scandal, she'll benefit. "If they create a garbage dump around Hillary, they're going to pay the price," argued one. Whether that analysis applies to the impending actions of independent counsel Kenneth Starr (whatever they turn out to be) remains to be seen. "She's paid more than anyone should for somebody else's shortcomings, and I think people will want to hear her on her own terms," said another.

But the same consultant worries that Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would feed Clinton fatigue: "I don't think people want this act to go on a lot longer." Her running, said a media adviser, would be a "reminder" of "why we want something different from more Clinton stuff."

What has she got to lose? Mrs. Clinton is said by friends to believe the only way to create a legitimate "platform" for her views is to win ratification from voters. That's a fine democratic sentiment. But several of my informants argued she already has such a platform.

"But for running here, she could be a spectacular worldwide figure," said one. "And now she's going to be in the muck of a New York Senate race." To win, said another, she'll have to run a partially negative campaign, which can only diminish her current prestige.

And you know this: If Mrs. Clinton loses, the vast right-wing conspiracy will make more hay than Archer Daniels Midland makes ethanol. "Her defeat will be seen as a defeat for feminism, for liberalism, not just a defeat for her personally," said one consultant. For Republicans, this Democrat said, beating the first lady "would be like us beating Jesse Helms."

Most Democrats, of course, would cheer if Mrs. Clinton won and their party kept the White House. But the risks her candidacy carries are not just to herself. Her friends hope that's something she's thinking about.

PUBLICITÉ



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NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1999

Mortgage won't strain Clintons: real-estate pros

By ANDY GELLER

A middle-class couple earning \$500,000 a year — even if they owe \$10 million, like Bill and Hillary Clinton — can still afford an \$800,000 to \$1.5 million home in North Salem, mortgage experts say.

A couple earning \$500,000 and having an average amount of debt can do even better.

They could get financing for a house costing up to \$2.6 million, about 60 percent of the 18-room, \$3.8 million manse — on 17 acres — Hillary is eyeing.

The First Couple's tax forms and financial-disclosure statements reveal they earned \$504,109 last year and owed \$10 million — his legal bills.

Exact comparisons aren't possible — how many American couples have legal defense funds to pay for their debts?

But if a couple in the same financial position as the Clintons applied for a mortgage, this is how it would be computed, said Melissa Cohn, chairman of Manhattan Mortgage Co., a top broker for luxury homes:

For starters, the bank pegs the upper limit on total debt at 38 percent of monthly income.

That comes to \$15,833 for a couple like the Clintons.

Now comes the tricky part — the whopping \$10 million debt.

Cohn said the bank wouldn't take the staggering sum into account until a civil suit was filed to recover it — which hasn't happened in the Clintons' case.

But for the purposes of example, Cohn estimated a payback rate of one tenth of one percent of the total — \$10,000 a month.

That reduces the amount available for housing debt to \$5,833.

From that, subtract real-estate taxes averaging \$15,000 a year, or \$1,250 a month. That cuts the amount available for a mortgage to \$4,583.

At a rate of 7.5 percent, that means they could afford a 30-year mortgage of \$654,000.

With a typical 20 percent down payment, their total home-buying budget tops out at \$800,000.

Cohn said some banks figure 48 percent of monthly income as their limit in computing mortgages.

Using that figure and going through the steps again gives a mortgage of \$1.25 million and a purchase price of \$1.5 million.

The "realtor.com" Web site lists seven North Salem homes priced from \$800,000 to \$1.5 million — from a five-bedroom, 10-room house with swimming pool for \$965,000 to a six-bedroom, 13-room colonial farm house for \$1.395 million.

POSTOPINION

Hillary's House Hunt: Please, Dear, Get Real

YOU think Buffalo's too obvious?"

"Yes," I replied.

"How about Long Island?"

"Okay, but North Shore," I said in mock seriousness.

We were talking, of course, about where Hillary Clinton could or should live when she moves to New York state and pretends to be a New Yorker. The person I was speaking with was not one of the First Lady's advisers, but it is not too much to say that he advises those advisers. I advised him that Buffalo would seem a patently political choice. Also, it's cold in the winter.

When the search shifted from a residence to a vacation spot, we were told it could not be Martha's Vineyard, where the Clintons have vacationed in the past, since it is not in New York state. It could not be, either, the Sodom-and-Gomorrah-ish Hamptons because they bespeak all that is morally decadent in America: movies, records, books, magazines and arugula salad.

So attention has been paid to the Adirondacks, a wild and wonderful area, so pristine that even the ascetically inclined Bill McKibben lives there, but it is sort of famous for its flies and for the fact — beyond dispute — that it is not on the water.

One is tempted to say, "Enough!" In fact, I will. It is well known that Hillary Clinton does not live in New York

state and never has. It is further well known that, given her druthers, she prefers to vacation on Martha's Vineyard. Why all this play-acting? Why this pretense that the voters of the Empire State will not notice that she has not been one of them — and that all will be forgiven if, perhaps, she spends a bit of August swatting flies while canoeing on Saranac Lake?

It's hard to say whether these leaks about the Clintons' vacation and residence plans reflect serious thinking within the White House or whether they reflect nothing more than the prattling of people pretending to have inside info. But two things have to be said. The first is that nobody's denying anything; the second is that this sort of thing is typical of the Clintons, at least of the one named Bill. Too often, he finds his convictions in the polls. He inhales oxygen and exhales insincerity.

Dick Morris, the former first pollster and campaign consultant, recounted in his book how he tried to get the Clin-

tons to shun the Vineyard for a Western camping vacation since that played better in the polls. Clinton responded with commendable sarcasm — "What if I hike, set up my campsite, and go fishing but don't catch anything? Will that be OK?" — but he did not go to the Vineyard that year. The president, saying he was "a big national parks person," went West. For enough votes, he would have said he was a big Bert Parks person.

It's not known if Hillary Clinton has polled as to where she should vacation or live. It is known, though, that she strains credulity in attempting to portray herself as, well, sort of a New Yorker. She always was a Yankee fan, she asserted recently. That's odd. She grew up in Chicago, once confessed to being a Cubs fan and now says that she always felt an obligation to root for an American League

team as well. Sure.

Around the same time, Mrs. Clinton said she had been to Elmira. Funny. No one could remember her ever being there — and in Elmira you would notice. Turns out, she passed through on a family trip some 40 years ago — or so she says.

But why bother to say anything? Why this compulsion to be someone she's not? No one would expect her to be a Yankee fan or know anything much about Elmira. A D'Amato-ish talent for knowing every sewer commissioner is not what the voters expect of Clinton anyway. What they should expect is a

woman who knows who she is and is not afraid to be that person. Instead they are seeing a parody of the pre-packaged politician, her husband's wife

down to the last lip bite of insincerity. What kind of person is she, anyway? What does she believe?

Where should Hillary Clinton live? Where should the Clintons vacation? The answers are easy: She should live where she wants and vacation where she likes and stop trying to be anyone other than herself.



**RICHARD
COHEN**

Senator vs. Senator

WASHINGTON

One Senate. Two Clintons.

It is a concept so novel, so alarming, attention must be paid.

Jeffrey Toobin caused a kerfuffle when he wrote in *The New Yorker* this week that Bill Clinton was interested in running for the Senate from Arkansas in 2002. If Mr. Clinton won in his home state and Mrs. Clinton won in somebody else's home state, they would make history as the first connubial Senate team.

When the President called the story "crazy," I knew it could be true.

As Hal Bruno, formerly of ABC, said of the Clinton crowd: "You're dealing with very unpredictable and, at times, unstable people."

With Larry King, Mr. Toobin evoked the image of a cool Tracy-Hepburn pair working the cloakroom: "I think the opportunity for them to serve in the Senate together, doing public service, which is what they both seem to want to do, would be a tremendous opportunity for them."

A little more public service from the Clintons and we will all expire.

If anyone thinks Bill Clinton would be motivated to run for the Senate by the chance to work closely with his wife on more allegedly urgent policy wonkery, I have a bridge to the future I'd like to sell him.

The man can't function unless he is causing dysfunction. He's already driven Washington completely bananas. He can't help it. This is what he does. And he does what he wants. The more Hillary and Al try to get away from Bill, the more he'll croon and wiggle his hips and make pouty lips until he gets back the spotlight.

Elvis will never leave the building.

Why should President Clinton go back to Little Rock to try to make world peace, like Jimmy Carter, or go off to Hollywood to fetch Jeffrey Katzenberg's coffee, when he could stay here and torment us — not to mention his wife — some more? Why have a legacy when you can have "Groundhog Day"? Why have an amicable divorce when you can have "War of the Roses"?

Just picture this scary 2003 scenario: a Bush in the White House, two Doles and a Gore lobbying on K Street, and two Clintons battling each other on the floor of the Senate.

If both Clintons did become Senators, Hillary would have seniority. You've gotta love that.

So if she catches him with another buxom intern in a Capitol hideaway, used through the ages by lawmakers

on the make, she could really mess with him. No more having to cast that adoring glare when he talks.

Now she can refuse to yield her remaining time to the gentleman from Arkansas. She can filibuster him, he can filibuster her, and they can bring a couple branches of government to a screeching halt again.

With her seniority and her big state, she'll be on Finance and Foreign Relations, and she could make sure he

A capital horror story.

was on a loser panel like the Transportation and Infrastructure Subcommittee. Obviously, he is not suited for the Select Committee on Ethics or Veterans' Affairs and would cringe from the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

It will be wonderful to watch Hillary exact parliamentary revenge from her perch on the Appropriations Committee. Whenever her hubby tries to steer money to Arkadelphia, she can reroute it to Elmira, if she can remember where it is. He may wind up feeling lucky that he has no legacy for her to undo.

She will arrange a rapprochement between two cagey and ruthless New Yorkers, Harold Ickes and Dick Morris, and bring them on as her top aides. With that triangulation of revenge, she will always outmaneuver the Senator from Arkansas.

Of course, having experienced his wife's lash so often, Bill may be reluctant to support her for Whip.

Senator Clinton and Senator Clinton will have to abide by the Congressional rules of collegiality and civility in addressing one another. You can just hear them now:

He: "May I ask the esteemed harri-dan from New York why she has transferred funds from my Presidential Library to Project Cleanup in Schenectady?"

She: "Need I tell the distinguished rake from Arkansas that I no longer have to feign interest in his tacky and Zabar-less state? And my lecherous friend should not expect to see his face on a postage stamp any time in this century."

I suspect she will see no reason to revise and amend her remarks. □

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PRESERVATION

Gender gap

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's expected race for the

Senate is opening one of the deepest gender gaps in recent polling history, with female New Yorkers from both parties rallying to her as the new national champion of women's rights and many men vowing to support anyone else, Scripps Howard News Service reports.

GOP pollster Frank Luntz says his June 10 survey of 800 New Yorkers shows that a Senate race between Mrs. Clinton and New York's Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani would be a much closer contest than many pundits have projected.

Mr. Luntz's poll showed Mr. Giuliani leading 48 percent to 44 percent. The poll has a margin of error of 3.5 percent.

Although Mrs. Clinton is registering strong support among women, men have a different view.

"To older men, she reminds them of their first wife," Mr. Luntz said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

VERTIGINOUS IN NEW YORK

Third, fourth, fifth and sixth parties may decide next year's most watched Senate race

By GEORGE F. WILL

HILLARY CLINTON IS A LEADING CULTURAL INDICATOR, and New York politics, with enough variables to induce vertigo, illustrates the definition of politics as the organization of animosities. So consider the complexities surrounding her evident determination to occupy—do not say fill—the seat of retiring Sen. Pat Moynihan.

Why would she run? Never mind the psychotherapeutic hypothesis that after Monica and decades of Monica's antecedents, she needs a self-esteem infusion. She is running because running is what the Clintons *do*. Campaigning may be a metabolic necessity for them; it certainly is their lifetime vocation.

He has been campaigning since law school. Tagging along, she has led an entirely derivative life, from rainmaker for an unsavory Little Rock law firm to unmaker of health-care reform. But now she inherits the family business, which consists of living off the land, nomadically soliciting money to fuel campaigns. Well-known not for any achievements but only for her well-knownness, she personifies the politics of celebrity.

Does she worry that by keeping the cloud of Clintonism on the public's horizon, and by siphoning up Democratic money, she will hurt Al Gore? Are you kidding? A reasonable surmise is that she *wants* him to lose, so she can fulfill her manifest destiny in 2004.

Can she beat Mayor Rudy Giuliani? Hold on. He may not run. If he runs, he may not be nominated in the primary a year from this September. And if he is nominated, votes necessary for a November victory may be siphoned off by candidates on ballot lines denied to him. So, meet Mike Long, head of New York's Conservative Party, which has 175,000 members, and an attitude.

When Giuliani ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1989 and successfully in 1993, the Conservative Party ran candidates against him. Since then he has compiled a sparkling conservative record in reducing crime and welfare rolls. However, he is liberal regarding gay rights, racial preferences and abortion, even partial-birth abortion. And in 1994 he supported Gov. Mario Cuomo against the winner, Republican George Pataki, who remembers.

Giuliani recently opposed repeal of the commuter tax, which is despised in suburban counties where Republican primary voters are thick on the ground. Furthermore, in 1993 and 1997 Giuliani ran on the Liberal Party line as well as the Republican line. Although a shadow of its former self, the Liberal Party has 97,000 members and is run by a Giuliani friend.

In 1998, Pataki won 348,727 votes on the Conservative line. Mike Long says his party will not endorse Giuliani if he is on the Liberal line, or if he continues to support partial-birth abortion. It has been 25 years since a Republican won statewide without the Conservative

Party endorsement. Sen. Jacob Javits did in 1974, when he had the Liberal as well as the Republican line.

Pataki and former senator Al D'Amato may avenge Giuliani's Cuomo endorsement by supporting Rep. Rick Lazio, a pro-choice moderate from Long Island, in the primary. Absent a Giuliani reversal on partial-birth abortion, the Conservative Party would have to support Lazio in the primary and, if Giuliani wins anyway, would oppose him in the general election.

But suppose Rep. Peter King, a pugna-cious conservative from Long Island, seeks the Republican Senate nomination, which he says he is seriously considering. Although King angered conservatives by voting against impeaching Hillary's husband, he is right to life and more attuned than Giuliani and Lazio are to Republican primary voters, about 85 percent of whom live outside Giuliani's city, which they believe is pestiferous.

King and Giuliani were interns together in Richard Nixon's law firm in 1967, and King says: "Then Giuliani was a left-wing liberal, a Stokely Carmichael-Rap Brown kind of guy, a Bobby Kennedy kind of guy, but more left-wing." King says merrily,



"I could work my way into his mind." And into the Conservative Party's endorsement. In addition, King, unlike Lazio or Giuliani, could have the Right to Life Party's important place on the ballot. In a primary, King, who has just published a novel sympathetic to Sinn Féin and the IRA, would draw Irish-Americans while Lazio and Giuliani would divide Italian-Americans.

Mike Long, wary of Giuliani's versatility of allegiance that resulted in the endorsement of Cuomo, wonders: Suppose in October 2000 Al Gore is well ahead of George W. Bush in New York and Giuliani is a few points behind Hillary. Might Giuliani endorse Gore? Besides, will Giuliani even ask for the Conservative endorsement? "He's not," says Long dryly, "the asking type." And, Long adds, Giuliani probably knows he would hate being 1 percent of the Senate, so maybe he will skip the Senate race, finish as mayor in 2001 and run for what he really craves, the governorship.

Mrs. Clinton might get the Liberal line. In the Liberal Party's 54 years, no Democrat has successfully run statewide without the Liberal endorsement. And Giuliani might get neither the Conservative nor the Right to Life line. Feeling vertiginous? There is more.

The parties' places on New York's ballots are determined by the votes they won in the preceding gubernatorial election. In 1998 Tom Golisano, a wealthy businessman, ran for governor as head of the Independence Party (fiscally conservative, socially liberal). He got 7.3 percent of the votes, enough to wrest from the Conservative Party the right to the third line on the ballot in 2000.

Last week Hillary's husband called a Tom Golisano, inviting him to a Yankee game. It was the wrong Tom Golisano—a distant cousin. Clearly Bill is courting the correct Golisano, hoping he will help put Hillary on the third line on the ballot. And speaking of the Yankees...

"The fact is," Mrs. Clinton recently burred, "I've always been a Yankees fan." I have always admired Islam, said Napoleon, in an attempt to gull the natives at the beginning of his campaign in Egypt. That campaign did not go well.

18 ROOMS

By ADAM MILLER
and CATHY BURKE

The apple of Hillary Clinton's eye, residentially speaking, appears to be a sumptuous, 17-acre mansion owned by Democratic financier and Wall Street wiz James Kohlberg.

The 18-room, 10,000-square-foot home on Mills Road in North Salem, one of Westchester's ritziest bucolic enclaves, went on the market in the spring for a balmy \$3.8 million.

On Monday, the Secret Service came a'knockin' at the 40-year-old place, several sources said.

There was plenty to see.

The property boasts five bedrooms, 6½ baths, a pool and poolhouse, tennis court, wine cellar, indoor lap pool, squash court

and master bedroom with a wet bar and Jacuzzi, according to documents filed in North Salem.

Buddy might love the dog room, with sink. And the Secret Service might find it cozy to settle into a staff apartment on the property, or the caretaker's cottage closer to the road.

Also on the 17 acres of rolling hills, small pond and woods overlooking Titicus Reservoir is a barn. When he's not baling hay, Bill can take it easy at any of six golf clubs within 10 miles.

The Secret Service mission to the estate was unclear — a spokeswoman for the First Lady did not return a phone call for comment.

One realtor told The Post the place had been rented for the summer for \$120,000, but didn't name the renter.

Though town officials say the area is predominantly Republican, the master of

LIFE

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NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1999

AFTER THE WHITE HOUSE

IN W'CHESTER

W/VIEW

House-huntin' Hill eyes \$3M mansion

the house is definitely not.

Listed owner of the property is Kohlberg, who also owns the corporate offices and is managing partner of Kohlberg & Co. in Mount Kisco.

James Kohlberg is the son of Jerome Kohlberg, one of the founders of the legendary Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., which pulled off the R.J.R. Nabisco takeover in the go-go '80s.

The takeover came to symbolize the powerful image of the corporate raid.

Wall Street scion James also has been known to toss a few spare hundreds of thousands of dollars at Democratic candidates.

Political Finance & Lobby Reporter said last November that James Kohlberg financed a \$466,029 "independent expenditure" by the Campaign for America used to make TV commercials for Rep. Scotty Baesler (D-Ky.) in his race against Rep. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.). Bunning won.

Kohlberg was not available for comment.

Whether the First Lady settles in North Salem or not, celebrity is no big deal there. The small town — it has only a post office, restaurant and a bank — boasts an ex-president in its history. Ulysses S. Grant spent several summers at the home of his son and daughter-in-law in North Salem, realtors claim.

North Salem is home to talk-show host David Letterman, actor Stanley Tucci, retired Yankee hurler Jimmy Key, Mott's apple juice king Stanley Mott, composer Alan Menken and former ice skating champ Dick Button.

"Hillary's welcome here, but everybody is very concerned that there could be a big problem because it will disrupt our way of life, with traffic, a lot of media constantly stirring around and the Secret Service," said County Supervisor Sy Globerman, a Republican.

"I'm really worried about the complaints neighbors may have."

Neighbors are already griping.

"We don't want them here," said nurse Florence Gironda, 44. "Let them move somewhere else. ... It'll be like a zoo."

Karen DeMarmes, 51, an estate manager, said the last thing the town needed was a "carpetbagger."

"It'll be too much of a headache," she said. "Let them move somewhere else, preferably back to Arkansas."

Not everyone wanted the Clintons to look elsewhere.

"She's welcome here," said John Vassak, 58.

"But I sure won't vote for her. I want someone who's from the state."

B ROOMS

By ADAM MILLER
and CATHY BURKE

le of Hillary Clinton's
entially speaking, ap-
e a sumptuous, 17-acre
owned by Democratic
and Wall Street wiz
alberg.

om, 10,000- square-foot
ills Road in North Salem,
tchester's ritziest bucolic
ent on the market in the
balmy \$3.8 million.

y, the Secret Service came
the 40-year-old place, sev-
said.

plenty to see.

ty boasts five bedrooms, 6½
and poolhouse, tennis court,
ndoor lap pool, squash court

and master bedroom with a wet bar and
Jacuzzi, according to documents filed in
North Salem.

Buddy might love the dog room, with
sink. And the Secret Service might find it
cozy to settle into a staff apartment on
the property, or the caretaker's cottage
closer to the road.

Also on the 17 acres of rolling hills,
small pond and woods overlooking Titi-
cus Reservoir is a barn. When he's not
baling hay, Bill can take it easy at any of
six golf clubs within 10 miles.

The Secret Service mission to the estate
was unclear — a spokeswoman for the
First Lady did not return a phone call for
comment.

One realtor told The Post the place had
been rented for the summer for \$120,000,
but didn't name the renter.

Though town officials say the area is
predominantly Republican, the master of

LIFE

W/VIEW

House-huntin' Hill eyes \$3M mansion

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IN W'CHESTER

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton targets video violence

Calls for study of industry ethics in marketing to children

By Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton, who last month soft-pedaled his criticism of Hollywood as he raked in \$2 million for the Democratic Party in Los Angeles, yesterday announced a federal study into whether entertainment companies market violence to children.

"Our children are being fed a dependable daily dose of violence — and it sells," Mr. Clinton said in the Rose Garden, nearly six weeks after the massacre at Columbine High School in Colorado.

"We have got to quit fooling around with this. I know this stuff sells, but that doesn't make it right," he said.

The entertainment industry, meanwhile, accused Mr. Clinton of playing politics with the study,

which Sen. Sam Brownback, Kansas Republican, first proposed as an amendment to a juvenile justice bill.

"The president stole an idea of Senator Brownback and is looking for a headline of the week," said Hilary Rosen, president of the Recording Industry Association of America, said in a telephone interview.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch released a statement welcoming Mr. Clinton and his "newfound interest" to the Republican fold.

Under Mr. Clinton's proposal, the Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Department will conduct a \$1 million study of which entertainment firms market violence to children. The study could take 12 to 18 months, which means the results could come out in the

heat of next year's presidential campaign.

The FTC has the power to subpoena documents. That means the study moves beyond rhetoric and pits Mr. Clinton against an entertainment industry that helped bankroll his presidential campaigns and his legal defense fund.

"One can value the First Amendment right to free speech and at the same time care for and act with restraint," Mr. Clinton said.

Mr. Clinton — who previously took on Joe Camel, calling the cartoon a symbol of tobacco marketing to children — yesterday held up print ads for video games, including one ad that invites players to "Kill your friends, guilt-free."

A cross-section of Republicans, see CLINTON, page A8

such as presidential candidate Gary Bauer, have pressured Mr. Clinton to hold Hollywood accountable for what they term gratuitous violence in movies, television shows, video games and recordings.

"Our companies will certainly cooperate with the FTC. We have nothing to hide," Miss Rosen said. "We don't market violence to children. It's the White House's tactics I object to."

The Motion Picture Association of America, representing the movie industry, declined to comment on the proposed study.

Mr. Clinton's endorsement "will move the agenda forward," Mr. Brownback said yesterday.

Mr. Clinton thanked Mr. Brownback and Mr. Hatch, Utah Republican, as well as Sens. Joseph I. Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat, and Herb Kohl, Wisconsin Democrat, "for the bipartisan work they have done on this issue."

Mr. Clinton embarked on a national campaign against youth violence after the April 20 shooting at Columbine High School in which two students killed 12 fellow students and a teacher, then killed themselves.

The president was about to leave for Littleton, Colo., on May 20 when he learned that a high school sophomore with a gun in Conyers, Ga., wounded six fellow students at a high school.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said the massacre at Columbine High School "pierced the heart of America."

"What kind of values are we promoting when a child can walk into a store and find video games where you win based on how many people you can kill or how many places you can blow up?" she said.

But Douglas Lowenstein, president of the Interactive Digital Software Association, said, "The nation should not lose sight of the fact that parents, not kids, buy most games."

"And therefore keeping games not appropriate for children out of their hands starts and ends at home."

Robert Pitofsky, chairman of the FTC, said makers of violent movies and video games should not market their products to children.

Still, he warned that "concerns about the content of these products arise in an area of artistic expression and that they border on areas protected by the First Amendment against government intrusion."

Arthur Sawe, 9, a fourth-grader from Seattle, told Mr. Clinton yesterday that he entered a movie store a year ago to rent some movies and he picked up a magazine about video games.

One ad promoted a game that was "more fun than shooting your neighbor's cat." It suggested the customer "take aim at something that sounds better when it explodes."

Mr. Clinton challenged the owners of movie theaters and video stores to enforce ratings that restrict games and films to children.

"To any company that sells violent products, I say, children are more than consumers," Mr. Clinton said.

Attorney General Janet Reno said the administration wants "to work with the entertainment industry and not against it."

"The impact of media violence on children is one piece of a larger concern: the reduction and prevention of violence in society," she said.

"We have made very real and substantial progress in recent years in reducing violent behavior in children and adolescents, but we've got to do much more, and we must learn much more about the problem."

Miss Reno said numerous studies have shown that "violent programming can promote violent tendencies in children" and that such programming can have a "particularly negative effect on children who are already vulnerable."

The Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention will provide \$250,000 to support the joint study. The office, in a recent study, said children under the age of 18 were the victims in nearly 20 percent of the violent crimes committed by criminals now in state prison, and

In September 1996, Mr. Clinton raised \$4 million for his re-election campaign at a Hollywood gala attended by such stars as director Steven Spielberg, actor Tom Hanks and entertainer Barbra Streisand.

The notables who contributed \$10,000 to his legal defense fund include Mr. Hanks; Miss Streisand; director Ron Howard; Lew R. Wasserman, chairman emeritus of Universal Studios; Harvey Weinstein, co-chairman of Miramax Films; Robert Johnson, president of Black Entertainment Television; and all three leaders of the DreamWorks SKG studio — Mr. Spielberg, Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen. Actor Robert DeNiro chipped in \$5,000.

• Jerry Seper contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In N.Y., The Senate Polls Keep Coming

■ IN YET ANOTHER SURVEY on the possible matchup between Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in next year's New York Senate race, Republican pollster Frank Luntz has found Giuliani with a slight advantage.

The poll of 800 registered voters, conducted June 10 and released Tuesday, gives Giuliani a 48-44 percent lead — just outside the survey's 3.5 point error margin.

While Luntz worked for Giuliani's mayoral campaigns in 1993 and 1997, the latest poll was not conducted for Giuliani — but involved adding Senate questions to a poll Luntz was conducting for a corporate client.

Giuliani has a 54-37 percent lead

among men, while Clinton has a 50-42 percent advantage among women.

Luntz told a group of reporters that if Clinton and Giuliani end up as the two nominees for the seat of retiring **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, D-N.Y., "you will see the biggest difference in gender probably of any modern statewide campaign."

While the gender gap is nothing new, Luntz said in this case "it is deep and it expands" — and could lead to a gender realignment in New York politics.

Luntz also cautioned the "carpetbagger" issue is overrated.

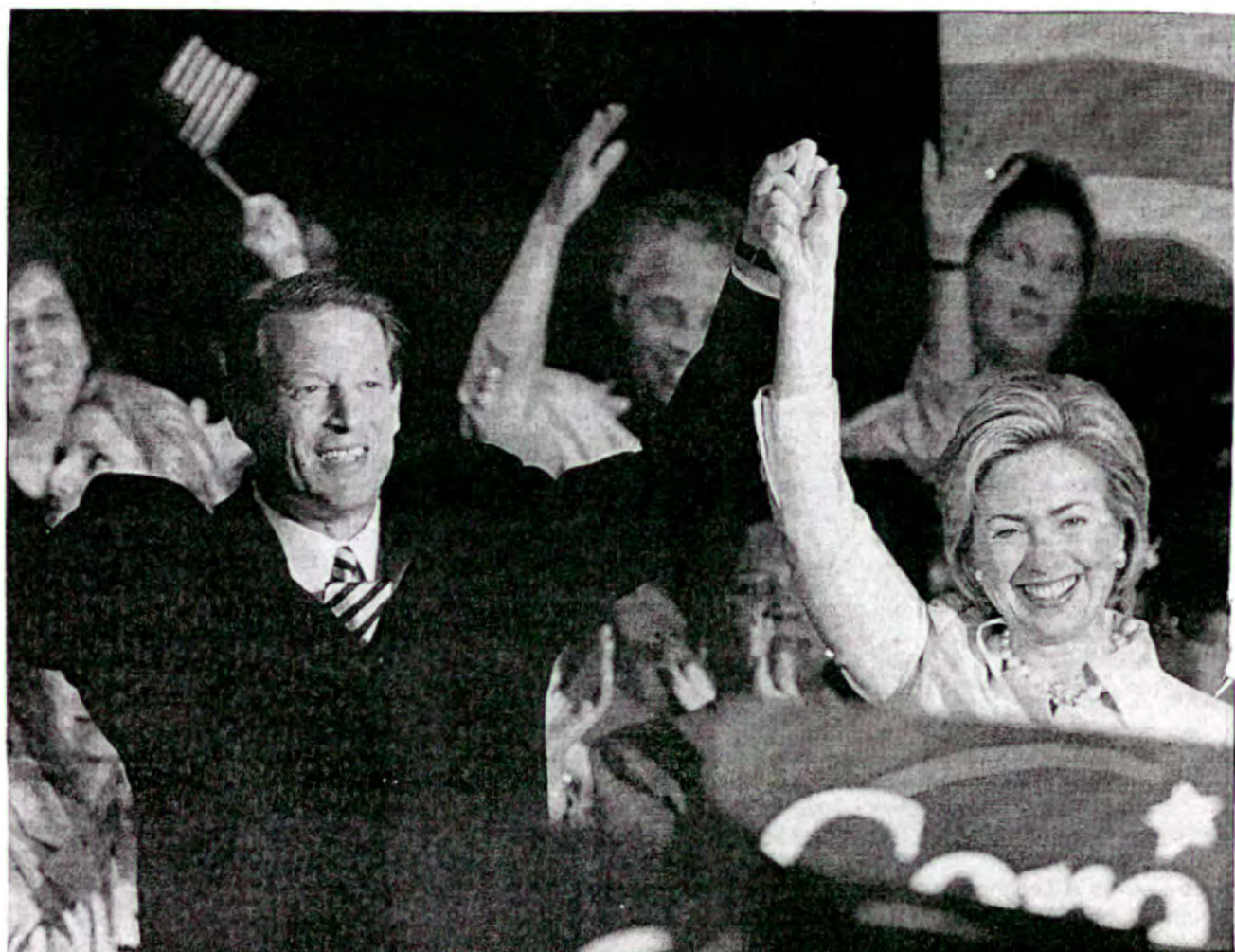
"It is an excuse for people who don't like Clinton," he said. "You will find very few people in New York who would vote for her except for the fact that she is a carpetbagger."

He added, "It is not something I would run a campaign on."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1999
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Reuters

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton shows her support for Vice President Al Gore at a rally in Washington.

Gore Targets Women Voters

■ **Politics:** First lady Hillary Clinton is trying to help vice president connect with key bloc.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Today Tipper Gore does Oprah.

On Tuesday, Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped before television cameras to effusively proclaim Al Gore as her husband's worthiest successor.

The one-two punch is no coincidence.

Polls suggest that the vice president is not connecting very well with women—a key voting bloc in next year's election.

So it's no wonder that even as Gore distances himself from one Clinton (Bill), he is embracing another (Hillary) in a sustained bear hug at center stage during a pep rally staged here to trumpet women's support for him.

Gore plans to formally declare his candidacy June 16, he told the Mem-

phis Commercial Appeal in a Tuesday interview to be published today.

Analysts believe that Gore's tepid backing among women—compared to Bill Clinton or GOP front-runners George W. Bush and Elizabeth Hanford Dole—is largely because of “Clinton fatigue” in general and Gore's inability to project Clinton's “I-feel-your-pain” empathy that resonates with many women.

Gore strategists say his gender gap will dissipate once he successfully introduces himself as a champion of issues important to women.

“They don't know his record yet,” said Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. “But he's terrific on these issues, as he demonstrated today.”

Moments earlier, Gore had pledged his unwavering support for abortion rights; pay equity; broader educational opportunities, starting

with preschool; stricter gun controls; and cleaner environments—all issues that he said “touch all of our families and all of our lives.”

Gore further noted that 12 years ago, as a senator from Tennessee, he had co-sponsored a bill that became the Family and Medical Leave Act, the first law that Clinton signed as president.

The vice president vowed to “lead the fight against domestic violence” and added, “Women's health will always be at the top of my agenda.”

Gore concluded: “I want to create a 21st century in which my three daughters have every opportunity that my son will have.”

The embrace between Gore and Mrs. Clinton was striking because it comes amid vigorous debate among Democrats over whether a Hillary Clinton bid for a Senate seat will

Please see GORE, A10

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GORE

Continued from A3

hurt or help Gore's chances in 2000.

In contrast, during a joint appearance a week ago in south Texas, Gore only mentioned the president once—in an aside.

Recent polls have shown that Gore does not command the support among women that Clinton, Bush or Dole do.

In last week's Gallup Poll, for instance, the Texas governor led Gore 54% to 40% overall—and led among men by a margin of 57% to 37% and among women 52% to 42%.

That means Gore is attracting six percentage points fewer men than Clinton did in 1996 (37% to 43%) and 12 points fewer women (42% to 54%).

"Al Gore is having a problem with voters generally. But there's no question that he needs to shore up women's support," said Susan Carroll, senior research associate at Rutgers University's Center for the American Woman and Politics. "They have become a really important core constituency in the Democratic Party."

Tipper Gore made the same point at

Tuesday's Women For Gore rally. "One of the main goals of the campaign," she said, "is to get women to vote for Al."

"Clinton was able to make women—especially middle-income and independent women of modest means—feel that he identified with their problems and knew how to do something about it," said Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center.

"Gore has not yet demonstrated those empathetic, sympathetic qualities in ways that say: 'I understand your problems and can do something about them,'" Kohut said.

For that reason alone, Gore loyalists were ecstatic that Mrs. Clinton enthusiastically endorsed him on Tuesday.

Calling the vice president "someone whom I admire and respect so much," the first lady told an audience of several hundred women, who filled half a hotel ballroom here:

"He is my choice—and I hope your choice—for the next president of the United States!"

Gore strategists also were delighted by his speech, which the vice president delivered with passion and conviction—qualities that he displays only occasionally.

"The more that American women understand what Al Gore has been fighting for . . . and the more they see the comparisons [to his rivals], the easier their choice is going to be," said Marla Romash, vice chairwoman of his campaign.

Another longtime strategist put it this way: "If there's a problem, it's with independent women, who don't know his issues yet. . . . The issues he's running on are the issues that are going to win for him."

Gore also spoke at length at the rally about his mother, Pauline, who was among the first women students at the Vanderbilt University Law School and later an attorney in the gas and oil industry in Texarkana, Texas.

In previous campaigns, the vice president has talked about other relatives—in 1992 about his son's near-fatal accident and in 1996 about the harrowing death of his sister from lung cancer.

In doing so, he drew some criticism and ridicule, mostly from Republicans for seeking to exploit his relatives.

But on Tuesday, there seemed nothing but admiration for Gore's mother, who lives on the family farm in Carthage, Tenn.

As Mrs. Clinton remarked, to the

crowd's roaring approval: "We also have a lot in common, the vice president and I—we're both the products of strong mothers."

With Mrs. Clinton sharing the lime-light Tuesday with the vice president, many continued to debate whether a Senate bid by the first lady would overshadow Gore's 2000 campaign while siphoning money and energy from it.

Some Democrats fear that, if Mrs. Clinton runs for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), she would not have much time to campaign for the national ticket. But others say her presence on the ballot, albeit in only one state, would generate nationwide excitement—and turnout—among Democrats.

During Tuesday's pep rally, the only reference to Mrs. Clinton's political aspirations was an oblique one, when Tipper Gore said: "I wish I had a chance this morning to endorse someone for some other race."

As the placard-waving crowd shouted its approval, the first lady smiled coyly but said nothing.

Times political writer Ron Brownstein contributed to this story.

Hear Brownstein discuss the candidacies of Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush on The Times' Web site: <http://www.latimes.com/politics>

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1999

First Lady Talks to Political Strategists

■ **Politics:** Advisors say she is a breath away from declaring candidacy for New York Senate seat.

By GERALDINE BAUM
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Tuesday interviewed two political operatives at the White House about working to get her elected to the Senate, and the worse-kept secret in Washington and New York became that much more public.

While key advisors to Clinton confirm that she is a breath away from declaring her candidacy for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), they also say she is purposely being elusive about her final decision, to be certain that she is prepared for the public reaction.

"She's lining up people who are going to do the nuts and bolts of her campaign," said an advisor familiar with Tuesday's meeting at the White House. "It's significant that she's looking for the people who are going to do the real work, not just the strategists, but the people who do the nitty-gritty."

The two potential campaign workers Clinton spoke with Tuesday are both experienced in New York politics: one in fund-raising, the other in grass-roots constituent work.

Clinton is planning within a week to inform Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.) of her decision, according to another advisor to the first lady. There was speculation that Clinton, who is in New York City today for a series of events, would meet also with Lowey, who has expressed interest in Moynihan's seat. But that meeting was put off

so that the intense chatter about the Senate race would not overshadow the substance of Clinton's remarks today when she gives the commencement address at the City University of New York and attends two fund-raising events.

One of her advisors said, "Other than her husband, probably one of the first people she will tell if she's running—and it sure seems she is—is Mrs. Lowey, out of common courtesy."

Clinton is not expected to take the next step, the announcement of an exploratory committee, until early July, after she returns from

a trip abroad.

But even that is short of a full-blown announcement. She'll travel June 15-30, first through Europe with her husband to the summit of G-8 leaders in Germany. She will then split off for a solo tour through Israel, Jordan and Morocco.

By her return, advisors expect to have a "skeletal list" of people for an exploratory committee.

"Then someday she'll actually announce she's running," said a source. "But by then the world will know it."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Let's party

Bring her on, says Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, that is.

"I did not think she would run, but it now looks like she is going to run," Mr. Nicholson tells Inside the Beltway in an interview, referring to the New York Senate seat up for grabs.

First up, though, is the state's GOP primary.

"We have two really good candidates up there," Mr. Nicholson notes, referring to New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Rep. Rick A. Lazio, New York Republican.

"That can end up being very good for us, either way," he adds. "Lazio is from Long Island, and Rudy is from New York. Whoever the nominee is, they will do very well, there will be a huge crossover vote."

Mr. Nicholson explains that many Democrats won't support Mrs. Clinton "because she's too liberal."

"My wife is from the Hudson Valley, and she knows [Democrats] who won't vote for her," he says.

Mrs. Clinton's other major stumbling block is her lack of New York roots.

"New Yorkers want to be represented by someone who knows their problems, just like everybody else in America," Mr. Nicholson says.

And finally, there's the Bill Clinton factor.

"Clinton's approval ratings are falling," Mr. Nicholson says,

which isn't helping his two biggest "cheerleaders" — Mrs. Clinton and the Democratic presidential front-runner, Al Gore.



Democrats won't support Hillary Rodham Clinton "because she is too liberal," says RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary must win over Jews to make successful Senate run

Analysts split on whether Palestinian comments will hurt first lady

By Dan Freedman
HEARST NEWSPAPERS

If Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the Senate from New York, she will be hoping for support from the Empire State's sizable Jewish population to win.

A key adviser, who asked not to be identified, said that while the first lady has no specific aide working on the Jewish vote, she has received advice from several political figures and experts on Jewish politics in the state.

With a population of 1.6 million — 9.1 percent of the state's total — Jews are a key ingredient to victory in New York.

But their vote, although traditionally Democratic, is not guaranteed.

For openers, Mrs. Clinton, if she runs, will have to explain remarks she made last year favoring creation of a Palestinian state, still a sore point among many Jews.

Her May 1998 statement that it is "in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state" came in the midst of delicate peace negotiations and created a brief but intense controversy. The White House politely disavowed her comments. Israel has long opposed Palestinian statehood as a threat to Israeli security.

But in Israeli elections earlier this month, incumbent Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu lost to challenger Ehud Barak, who has vowed to jump-start negotiations that might ultimately lead to Palestinian statehood.

The election signaled a turning point that may end up countering the fallout of Mrs. Clinton's Pal-

"I think Hillary Clinton will find that support in the Jewish community will not be as easy as she thinks it is."

—Matthew Brooks

estinian-statehood remark among Jewish voters, her supporters said. Several pointed to the decision last week by the influential American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) — a pro-Israel lobbying group — to drop its opposition to a Palestinian state.

"Clearly, the atmospherics are changing," said David Singer, research director for the American Jewish Committee (AJC), a New York-based organization devoted to civil rights and religious freedom.

Republicans say Mrs. Clinton is vulnerable among Jewish voters.

"The Jewish community has a long memory," said Matthew Brooks, executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition. "I think Hillary Clinton will find that support in the Jewish community will not be as easy as she thinks it is."

For Jewish voters, he added, a race involving Mrs. Clinton is just as likely to turn on issues such as crime, education and saving Social Security.

Mr. Brooks also pointed to the 1997 re-election victory of New

York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is seen as the leading Republican contender for the Senate seat being vacated in 2000 by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

In that race, Mr. Giuliani won 70 percent of the Jewish vote against Democratic challenger Ruth Messinger, who is Jewish.

"If I were a Democratic strategist, I'd be very concerned about Giuliani's ability to leverage his strength by bringing those constituencies into supporting Republican candidates," Mr. Brooks said.

Whichever way it leans in any given election, the Jewish vote is not monolithic. In New York City, with a million Jewish residents, 10 percent to 15 percent of the Jewish population is Orthodox or ultra-Orthodox, according to Mr. Singer. Though many of these Jews are loyal Democrats, they also are politically conservative when compared with more secular Jews, Mr. Singer said.

Some polls show Mrs. Clinton doing well among Jews. In a survey last week of 807 voters by the Hamden, Conn.-based Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, Mrs. Clinton beat Mr. Giuliani 48 percent to 42 percent. Among Jewish voters, who made up 8 percent of those questioned, Mrs. Clinton beat Mr. Giuliani 60 percent to 33 percent.

Yet a poll of 748 voters two weeks ago by Zogby International of Utica, N.Y., showed Mr. Giuliani beating Mrs. Clinton among Jewish voters 50 percent to 36 percent. Among voters overall, Mr. Giuliani beat Mrs. Clinton 49 percent to 44 percent, the poll said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL

POLITICS

Michael Grunwald

Back in New York, and 'Almost Definitely In'

Hillary Rodham Clinton is coming back to New York today, for yet another prearranged visit that just happens to coincide with her possible interest in pursuing a job there. As they like to say in the first lady's press office, "this trip was planned long ago."

Still, what timing! New York's Democratic elites are no longer atwitter about Clinton's possible race for Senate. The word on the street that she's in, she's "almost definitely" in, she's "basically decided" she's in, she's "in unless she changes her mind."

Yesterday's gossip was that she is Getting Her Team In Place. There's top adviser **Harold Ickes** and loyal consultant **Mandy Grunwald**. But yesterday, Clinton met at the White House with New York politico **Hank Morris**, who coordinated the strategy that helped Rep. **Charles E. Schumer** defeat Sen. **Alfonse M. D'Amato** last year, and with moneywoman **Gabrielle Fialkoff**, who raised the money that did not stop City Council Speaker **Peter Vallone** from getting thrashed by Gov. **George E. Pataki** (R) last year.

"Obviously, she's still operating from the assumption that she's in," one Democratic insider said. "We're all operating from that assumption. But you never know."

The next step would be to form an exploratory committee, which last month's buzz said could happen after the first family's trip to Florida—i.e., now—but now seems likely to happen early next month, after Hillary Clinton returns from Germany and the Middle East. Today, all she's going to do is speak at the City College of New York commencement, appear at the annual New York Democratic labor luncheon and raise money for Rep. **Carolyn Maloney**.

"Until she says it publicly, it's not a done deal," one Democrat said. "But wow. It sure looks like she's in."

Iowa to See GOP Bumper Crop

June 12 is going to be a busy day for Iowa Republicans. That is the day Texas Gov. **George W. Bush** comes a-calling for the first time anywhere as a fellow who is, technically speaking, exploring a candidacy for the presidency.

But some of Bush's rivals won't let him have the Iowa stage to himself, even for a day. Yesterday, **Elizabeth Dole** said she is planning a one-day foray into the Hawkeye state on June 12—for what she pointedly noted would be her eighth day of campaigning there this year. Her press spokesman added, "You can expect straight talk" from her—not just airy generalizations from You Know Who."

But wait, there is more. **Lamar Alexander** will be in Des Moines that day, talking to the pork producers' convention. And Ohio Rep. **John R. Kasich** will be there as well. **Dan Quayle** will not be campaigning that day, but he has an excuse. He will be with his mother on her birthday.

Right-Wing Conspiracy Revisited

President Clinton has discovered a vast right-wing conspiracy—not aimed at removing him from office

but blocking Vice President Gore's path to the Oval Office. In 850,000 fund-raising letters sent yesterday by the Gore campaign, Clinton warns that "powerful forces want to keep Al Gore from this mission" of succeeding Clinton.

He's talking about the Republicans, not **Bill Bradley**, Gore's rival for the Democratic nomination. Clinton doesn't actually name the Republicans but he says these "powerful forces" are the people who "struggled against our economic plan . . . shut the government down . . . and tried to poison our country with partisanship."

But there's good news: "Al Gore can stop them."

Buchanan Hammers Foes on Kosovo

If **Patrick J. Buchanan** has his way, the hostilities in Kosovo are going to be an issue in the 2000 campaign. Lighting into Republican rivals **Bush**, **Dole**, **Malcolm S. "Steve" Forbes** and Arizona Sen. **John McCain**, all of whom have supported the bombing campaign, as "virtual Xerox copies" of Clinton and Gore, the third-time candidate declared "I am unalterably opposed" to continuing or expanding the Balkan war.

"This war is a historic blunder that may prove the ruin of the most successful alliance in history," he said yesterday in a speech at the National Press Club. "It is an illegal and unconstitutional war, launched without authorization by Congress. There is not now, and there never has been, any vital U.S. interest in whose flag flies over Pristina."

Buchanan took direct issue with McCain, who has argued for a ground-force invasion of Serbia if bombing fails to force the Serbs out of Kosovo. "If a war is unjust or unwise—or unwinnable except at exorbitant cost—you do not send 200,000 soldiers to rectify the blunder. You seek an armistice and end it . . . and let the blunderers go off somewhere and write their memoirs." As for Forbes's suggestion that NATO arm the Kosovo Liberation Army, Buchanan said, "That would ensure an Afghanistan-type war between Muslims and Christians in . . . Europe."

Christian Coalition Reorganizes

The Christian Coalition is undergoing another management reorganization, with founder **Pat Robertson** taking more control over the operations and public statements of the political organization.

He has eliminated the position of executive director, the title held by former representative **Randy Tate** since **Ralph Reed**'s resignation in 1997. Tate becomes a senior vice president, based in Washington, in charge of public policy and government relations for the coalition. In other words, lobbying Congress.

Spokesman **Mike Russell** said, "It's safe to say that Pat is going to take an even more active role in the organization's day-to-day activities and is going to be commenting on a wide array of issues that impact the pro-family movement."

Staff writers **David S. Broder** and **Thomas B. Edsall** contributed to this report.

Hillary ready

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton returned from her Florida vacation with the president and told friends and advisers that she is 100 percent sure of running for a U.S. Senate seat in New York, the Fox News Channel reports.

Sources told the network that she and Mr. Clinton had spent much of their vacation discussing the pros and cons of a Senate race and are wholeheartedly in agreement on her candidacy.

However, Mrs. Clinton will not officially announce the decision until later this summer, although she will form an exploratory committee at the end of this month or in early July, Fox said, citing the anonymous sources.

Meanwhile, a new national organization announced yesterday that it will conduct a "well-funded" independent expenditure campaign urging New Yorkers to reject Mrs. Clinton.

Conservatives for Effective Leadership, a political action committee, "will conduct the media blitz in the Empire State to ensure that New Yorkers will have a qualified, scandal-free senator who really wants to lead for New York, not just improve their resume for a run at the White House," the group said in a prepared statement.

The PAC is led by syndicated radio talk-show host Gary Nolan, a former New Yorker.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton: FTC to Study Marketing of Violence

CLINTON, From A1

Garden ceremony, he read aloud from ads for video games, including one that promised to help people "get in touch with your gun-toting, cold-blooded murdering side," and another that boasted it is "more fun than shooting your neighbor's cat."

While Clinton has occasionally lectured entertainment leaders about their less-wholesome content, the FTC study represents the first official proceeding in recent years.

White House officials said Clinton hopes the study will produce valuable information, and was not prejudging that it will lead to new regulations or laws regulating the marketing practices of an industry that prizes its First Amendment freedoms. And unlike a past FTC probe into the use of cartoon character Joe Camel to market cigarettes, this study is not questioning the legality of the entertainment industry's marketing—only its appropriateness.

Primarily, aides said, Clinton hopes the study can advance a broad national debate, in the wake of the Columbine High School massacre, about the various influences that contribute to youth violence.

The suggestion that entertainment companies are behaving negligently prompted many industry leaders to question Clinton's proposal yesterday—complaining that he was seeking publicity at their expense, and that complying with an FTC study could be a burden.

"I'm frustrated," said Hilary Rosen, president of the Recording Industry Association of America. "The White House was seeking a headline and an opportunity" to move ahead of pending legislation in Congress that would have mandated a study.

She said her industry, which has come under criticism for violent rap and heavy metal music, will cooperate with the FTC because "we have nothing to hide, and we don't market to children." But she said the White House, itself the target of numerous legal inquiries, "should know something about document production" and its headaches.

"We're a fat, inviting target," said Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America. "Politicians know that when you trash the movie industry—it's soiling the culture—your numbers go up. They're looking for something to fix it quickly." But there are signs that the industry is feeling the pressure of either potential government intrusion, or a consumer backlash against it, and is prepared to take steps to head that off.

Last week, Valenti held a closed-door meeting at the Peninsula Hotel in Beverly Hills with senior executives from all the major studios to brief them on Washington's concerns and discuss voluntary measures to address violence in movies.

Valenti disclosed few details about the content of the discussion but said he is "trying to come forward with a positive program."



BY GERALD MARTINEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST

Arthur Sawe enters the Rose Garden between hosts Hillary Rodham and President Clinton to give a speech on his reaction to marketing of violent video games. The Seattle fourth-grader and his mother campaigned to enforce standards in Washington state.

Valenti has scheduled four other meetings in coming weeks with writers, directors, producers and actors.

The FTC is an independent agency; Clinton cannot order it to do a study. But yesterday's announcement was clearly carried out under White House orchestration. Clinton announced that he was directing Justice Department funds to be used to help underwrite the study.

As part of a juvenile justice bill pending on Capitol Hill, Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) had called for just such a study. Brownback praised Clinton's action, calling it a "modest, but necessary, first step towards encouraging a sense of corporate responsibility among some of the most powerful corpo-

rations in the world."

The FTC study will not look at television programming. A White House aide said that is because there are already considerable Federal Communications Commission rules governing broadcasters, and because all new televisions will soon possess a "V-chip" allowing parents to block out violent content.

Clinton said his concern is that many firms in the entertainment industry are not complying with voluntary standards that have already been adapted to try to shield young people from inappropriate material. "The time has come to show some restraint, even if it has a short-term impact on the bottom line," Clinton said.

Clinton has shown signs of ambivalence about how sternly to lecture Hollywood. At a Los Angeles fund-raiser two weeks ago, he told some of the industry's most powerful film executives, "There's no call for finger-pointing here."

Some executives yesterday believed Clinton was doing exactly that—and said Democrats may pay a price in contributions for what many believed is political posturing. "At some point Hollywood wakes up and says what exactly is going on here?" one studio executive said yesterday.

Staff writers Paul Farhi and Ruth Marcus contributed to this report. Waxman reported from Los Angeles.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton Says FTC to Study Marketing Of Violence

By JOHN F. HARRIS
and SHARON WAXMAN
Washington Post Staff Writers

Warning that American children are being fed a "dependable daily dose of violence" from the entertainment industry, President Clinton yesterday announced a federal government study into the marketing strategies used to sell movies, music and video games.

The Federal Trade Commission's \$1 million study, to be carried out over the next 18 months, will have the legal power to demand documents from the entertainment industry, and is designed to lift a veil on whether production companies are deliberately using violent imagery and language to lure young consumers.

Clinton accompanied the announcement with some of the most condemnatory language he has used against an industry that includes several of the Democratic Party's most loyal contributors. At a Rose

See CLINTON, A9, Col. 1



Arthur Sawe, 9, of Seattle is applauded by the Clintons after he spoke at a White House event about his role in a campaign

against violent video games. The president announced a \$1 million U.S. study of the marketing of violence in entertainment.

BY GERALD MARTINEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1999

M4

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL NEWS

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CLINTON, From A1

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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Arthur Saxe

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999 / NA

Nation's Chief Now a Chief Advisor

■ **Politics:** Clinton offers counsel to his wife and Gore. But as his public service career nears an end, he has yet to make any decisions about his own future.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Figure out why you want the job and then condense your sales pitch into sound bites. Develop a 30-second version and a five-minute version. But be prepared to talk for half an hour as well.

That was among the free advice that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton got last week as she contemplated running for a Senate seat in New York next year.

It came from one of the best politicians of her time: the president of the United States.

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job," Bill Clinton told his wife during their vacation in Florida.

"I got elected president because I knew I had a very good idea what I wanted to do, and I think it's very important," he told her.

"I think that consultants and the polls, all that stuff, it's all very important. But the most important thing is that you know why you want to serve and what you'll do," Clinton added. "It makes the effort of the campaign worth it—and it makes the risk of losing bearable."

The president looked relaxed and rested, despite a rash of mosquito bites, as he recounted some of his advice to the first lady Sunday night aboard Air Force One as they returned from a five-day stay at a secluded wildlife preserve near Jacksonville, Fla.

When reporters asked if Hillary Clinton had reached a decision on whether to run, the president smiled coyly and said: "Whatever she's for, I'm for."

While discussing her political prospects, Clinton rued the fact that his own public service career, which spans three decades, is drawing to an end.

"If I could run again, I would," he said.

He added that he supports presidential term limits but looks favorably upon the notion of giving a two-term president another shot after he or she has been out of office for a spell.

But even having passed the halfway point of his second term, Clinton is hardly sitting idly

by while Campaign 2000 gets underway, as illustrated by advice he gave his wife and Vice President Al Gore.

With Gore mounting his own bid for the White House, and Hillary Clinton reportedly inching closer to a campaign for the Senate, the president has assumed the role of a behind-the-scenes strategist.

He has urged Gore to let his hair down, take off his jacket and "just be yourself, Al," when the vice president campaigns in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Clinton characterized his advice to his wife as standard fare. "I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody," the president said, adding that he reminded her that a political campaign resembles a job interview: Candidates are the applicants, voters chose whom to hire.

Although he clearly envies his wife's political options, the president showed no signs of resentment.

"I never had a day in my life where I was unhappy," he said. "I always knew what I wanted to do. I was happy doing it, and every day was good to me."

Clinton did not respond directly to a question about whether he would run for a third term. **Please see CLINTONS, A15**

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTONS

Continued from A3

tion about whether any post-White House pursuit for him would be anticlimactic. Rather, he said simply that he has not made any decisions about his next career.

"But I've got a lot of ideas," Clinton added. "I'm looking forward to being a person again—to having a life."

During the 15 minutes or so that he spent chatting with reporters, the president also raved about his vacation. Its only downside, evidently, was the profusion of mosquitoes that easily penetrated the Secret Service protective bubble around the commander in chief.

Clinton displayed three large mosquito bites on one forearm and said he acquired so many more on his legs that his lower limbs look as if he's suffering from a bad case of measles.

One reason that the president seemed upbeat was his golf game. "I had the best round of my life the other day—I had a 75," Clinton said, adding that he took only one "mulligan," or a do-over shot, during an 18-hole round.

He played on a nine-hole course on the grounds of the White Oak Plantation, a pristine 7,500-acre conservancy where he and the first lady stayed in a five-bedroom house with a swimming pool.

The plantation also contains a 600-acre wildlife preserve that is home to many endangered species. From their window, the Clintons could see a white rhinoceros and her calf.

The president said he took delight in feeding pine cones to eight black rhinos.

At another point, Clinton bounced up and down in the aisle of Air Force One to simulate the effect of riding on the bumpy, unpaved road that led to White Oak. He also recalled petting a baby giraffe and said he saw more species at the plantation than he did in Africa last year.

The president spent parts of each day working, including calling foreign leaders to consult on the Balkans crisis and reading a briefing book on Medicare.

But for the most part, the Clintons relaxed. They biked and hiked around the plantation. And Hillary Clinton also played one round of golf with her husband—an annual tradition.

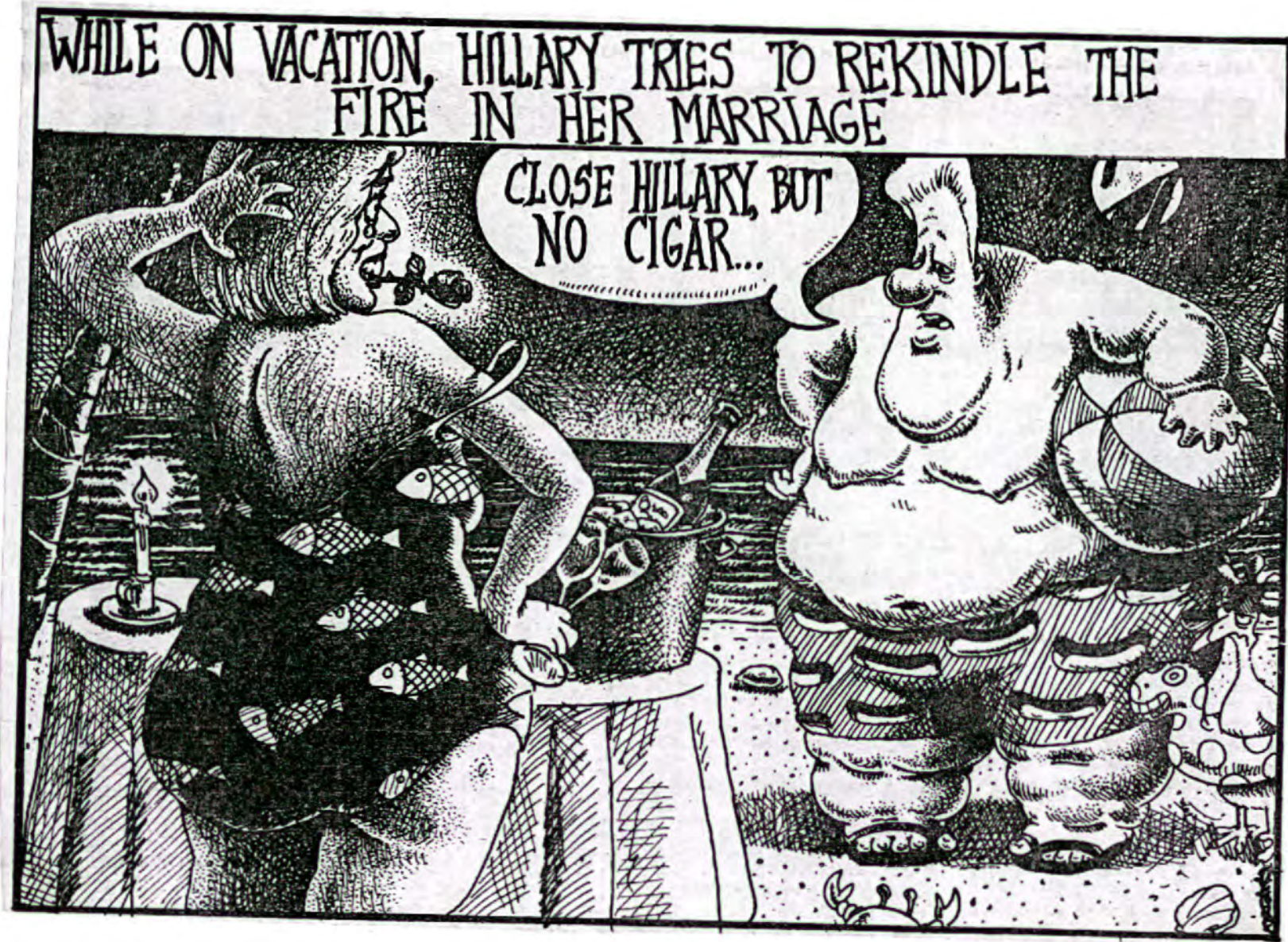
"We just had a really good time," the president said.

When asked if they might vacation in New York in August, the president replied: "I'll go wherever she wants to go. From now on."

PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

POSTOPINION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



CBS NEWS

Future: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton discusses personal and political plans with CBS News anchor Dan Rather in interview aired last week.

Voters in New York could do U.S. a favor

Hillary Clinton's advisers say she doesn't want to be "thrust straight into obscurity" ("Aides: Now it's how, not if, Hillary Clinton will run," News, May 25).

For the sake of the people whose voice she so desperately wants to represent, won't someone please tell Mrs. Clinton that the country is fatigued by the scandals and moral bankruptcy with which she is associated?

If the prevailing wisdom of her advisers is that anyone in America truly wants more Clinton leadership, they are out of touch with the country. The nation is tired of the lies, deception and incompetence synonymous with anything "Clinton." Hillary Clinton's programs have been faulty; her agenda is self-serving. It's a testament to Mrs. Clinton's delusion that if elected to the U.S. Senate by New York voters, she would continue to speak with a national voice.

She should brace herself. If elected,

the senior Senate leadership would not countenance continued self-aggrandizement from a junior member. She would be one voice among 100 working within the framework of a team concept she seems to know little about.

Teamwork, not "remaining in the spotlight," is the hallmark of leadership. Clinton's consuming need to take center stage casts serious doubt on her true motives. Apparently aware for years of her husband's peccadilloes, she remains by his side, presumably for the power.

I hope New York voters do the country a favor by curtailing Hillary Clinton's lust for power. They should thrust her into the obscurity she wants to avoid, along with a strong message that the Clintons are finished as leaders and representatives of the people they have betrayed brazenly and repeatedly.

Ralph Hamblin
Topeka, Kan.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999 ***

Have reason to run, Clinton tells Hillary

He compares campaign to job interview

By Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton said he told his wife during their vacation last week to be certain she knows why she wants to run for the U.S. Senate next year, because that's the only way to make "the risk of losing bearable."

Mr. Clinton, who angered Vice President Al Gore last month by offering unsolicited political advice through a newspaper reporter, redirected his campaign counsel toward first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton during a five-day stay at the exclusive White Oak Plantation in northern Florida.

"I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody," the president

told a handful of reporters aboard Air Force One on the way back to Washington late Sunday night.

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job. You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds. You have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes. You have to be able to give a 30-minute talk" to explain the reasons in full detail, he said.

Mrs. Clinton is considering running for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, who is retiring. New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is likely to seek the Republican nomination.

The president said that a campaign is like a job interview, with the candidate functioning as an ap-

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job. You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds. You have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes."

— President Clinton

plicant and the voters as employers.

"I got elected president because I knew I had a very good idea what I wanted to do," Mr. Clinton said. "I think it's very important. I think that consultants and the polls, all that stuff, it's all very important. But the most important thing is that you know why you want to serve and what you'll do. . . ."

"It makes the effort of the campaign worth it," he added. "And it makes the risk of losing bearable."

Asked whether Mrs. Clinton

see HILLARY, page A6

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

From page A1

knows why she wants to serve, the president said his wife would have to speak for herself. Asked whether his wife had reached a decision on whether to seek the Senate seat, he smiled coyly and shrugged.

"Whatever she's for," the president said, "I'm for."

Mr. Clinton said he envied his wife's political options because he can no longer run for office. He added that although he supports term limits for president, he wouldn't mind seeing the rules eased so that a two-term president could have another shot at the White House after being out of office for a while.

"If I could run again, I would," he said. "But I'm not unhappy about it."

Mr. Clinton was asked whether being president would prove a tough act to follow and whether his post-presidential career might be anticlimactic, no matter what path he chooses. He said each step of his career has been fulfilling and emphasized the importance of thinking long and hard about future steps.

He added that he had numerous options open to him, but had not yet decided on what to do.

"I'm looking forward to being a person again," he said. "To having a life."

Although the president's affair with former intern Monica Lewinsky appeared to have strained his marriage last year, all outward

signs pointed to a mending of the relationship during last week's vacation. The first couple never ventured from the 7,500-acre plantation during their five-day stay and seemed rested and relaxed when they finally emerged Sunday night.

"Hillary and I had a really good time," the president enthused. "We just had a really good time."

The Clintons smiled and posed for photographs — separately and together — with about 50 well wishers who had waited for hours outside the gates of the plantation for a glimpse of the departing first couple. They did not greet a smaller group of people across the street who carried signs of protest, including one that said, "Clinton lies while China spies."

But when they reached the airport a few minutes later, the Clintons seemed the picture of ease and affability as they chatted and shook hands with two dozen people at the foot of the stairs to Air Force One.

The president draped his left arm across his wife's shoulders as they posed for pictures with toddlers and their parents. When presidential pet Buddy the dog joined the group, Mr. Clinton picked up his front paws as the dog reared up on its haunches. The children squealed with delight.

Shortly after takeoff, Mr. Clinton made an unscheduled visit to the press cabin of the plane, accompanied by White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart. Standing before a dozen reporters, photographers and cameramen, the president leaned casually against a

wall and held forth for at least 15 minutes on the joys of his just-completed vacation. Such impromptu bull sessions with the press have been rare since the Lewinsky scandal erupted early last year.

Mr. Clinton bragged that during his vacation, he shot the best round of golf in his life — a 75.

He said his game improved markedly under the tutelage of the pros, who helped him regain some of the skills that had diminished in the wake of a knee injury.

Mr. Clinton also raved about the wild animals he had seen at a game preserve on the plantation. He talked at great length about the survival of sea turtles, a cheetah that had undergone hip-replacement surgery, fierce-sounding turkeys and the world's largest species of zebra.

The president said he had the opportunity to pat rhinos on their horns and scratch them behind their ears, which he said is the only soft place on a rhino. He also gushed about petting a week-old giraffe, saying: "It came out of its mother's womb six feet tall!"

There was one group of creatures the president did not appreciate — insects. He complained about having been bitten by so many mosquitoes and flies that his legs looked as though he had a bad case of measles.

He offered to show his legs to reporters, but thought better of the idea after someone reminded him of the ridicule heaped on President Johnson after he pulled up his shirt to display a scar on his abdomen.

California group wants Hillary for president

But first lady signals she favors seat in Senate

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

*She knows the issues,
She wheels and deals.
Let's elect a leader
Who looks good in high heels.*

And so goes the new campaign ditty for a California group determined to transform Hillary Rodham Clinton from first lady into president of the United States.

It would save her a move, they reason.

The "Hillary for President 2000" headquarters opens Saturday in Los Angeles, intent on collecting 50 million signatures of support — and a dollar from each signer, too.

That's a \$50 million campaign fund.

The group has press kits poised, a Web site and a motivational CD that suggests Mrs. Clinton rather than Mr. Clinton be "put back in the White House."

This comes after four months of public speculation over Mrs. Clinton's possible run for senator in New York. Indeed, her eyes seem trained on Park Avenue rather than Pennsylvania Avenue.

"I had been thinking about and talking to Bill about living [in New York] after we finish in the White House," Mrs. Clinton told CBS Wednesday. "I think that both of us would really enjoy that."

In an apres-White House world, many supposed that Mr. Clinton might return to Arkansas or run off to California to work with high-rolling chums in Hollywood.

Mrs. Clinton, on the other hand, could be ambassador, CEO, lawyer — or heed the siren call of public office in the Big Apple.

According to Judith Hope of New York's state Democratic Party, Mrs. Clinton plans to form an exploratory committee for a Senate run there in midsummer.

After taking care of "first lady things," Mrs. Hope said Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton planned to visit folks upstate on a kind of campaign swing this summer.

Mrs. Clinton would only allow, "I'm still thinking about it."

She is flattered people would consider her a candidate, she said. It's such a big decision.

"Six months ago it wasn't anything that I had ever thought about."

But as CBS' Dan Rather noted, Mrs. Clinton was "once a political lightning rod. Today she is political lightning — a crowd pleaser and first-class fund-raiser ... she kisses babies with the best of them."

Mrs. Clinton's approval numbers have never been higher. They are at 71 percent, according to a CNN poll released Thursday.

She has played many roles in the past year, from attack wife to diplomat, humanitarian and policy advocate. Much media ado erupted last fall when cameras caught Mrs. Clinton shrinking away from the touch of her husband.

She was, NBC proclaimed, "no longer the defender in chief."

Advice came in from all sides: Dump the chump. Keep your dignity. Write a book and make money.



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Glamour magazine even turned it into a feature, calling upon "worldly women" to advise the first lady.

"She should get the best divorce lawyer, she should get some professional counseling and she should stay out of politics," offered singer Naomi Judd.

"It may seem like we see many Hillary characters in the media," said Carl Anthony, a historian who researches both first ladies and White House families.

"Actually, we're seeing the same Hillary surface time and again. And that is a woman who is extraordinarily traditional, even conservative towards marriage and motherhood. But she has very liberal views on political issues."

This combination rings true, at least this week. Mrs. Clinton told CBS that her main concerns are "education and health care, better jobs, balance between work and family," and then later said, "I am old fashioned enough not to talk about my private life."

No matter how earnest her concerns, Mr. Anthony said, she has encountered persistent questions about her marriage, impeachment and Whitewater.

"Perhaps she might have eluded criticism in the past if she had been more subversive about her stand on politics," he added.

In her CBS interview, Mrs. Clinton reaffirmed her commitment to her husband and declared she was a "transition figure in the lives of Americans because of the age in which we came into office, the backgrounds we brought, the things we worked on, my concerns, which I tried to continue to advocate."

Judging by the use of the word "we," Mrs. Clinton is in a co-presidency. But she remains ever the deft politician.

"I still really believe that we are blessed to be Americans," Mrs. Clinton said. "And that public service is a privilege."

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's revenge

If Hillary Rodham Clinton decides to run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York, "she is likely to limit her husband's role, though he will try to meddle," James Bennet writes in a cover story on the first lady in the New York Times Magazine.

"Indeed, it has not escaped some of her friends that being forced onto the sidelines would be excruciating punishment for him, as, without a campaign of his own, he watches his wife and his vice president run. But Hillary Clinton wants to find out what she can do on her own, they say. Further, having her husband front and center would make her look weak."

Mrs. Clinton, in an interview with Mr. Bennett, said she had never known her husband "when he wasn't very interested in elected political life."

"We'll just have to see how that — how that works," she said breaking into what the author called "a raucous laugh." She added: "You know, I'd be interested in what the odds are about how long it'll take before he runs for something else!"

Another myth

The new biography of the president's wife, "The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton," by Joyce Milton, "makes clear that the notion frequently advanced by the Clinton spin machine — that Mrs. Clinton would have been a successful politician without her extraordinary husband — is simply fiction," the ubiquitous Dick Morris writes in National Review.

Mrs. Clinton tried only five cases in her 15-year legal career, and there is no evidence that she received offers from any law firms, big or small, during the year after she graduated from Yale Law School but before she landed in Arkansas, said the former Clinton political adviser in his book review.

"The Hillary Rodham of the 1970s was a very different person from the Hillary Clinton of the 1990s. She was not charismatic, she was abrasive. She was not conciliatory, she was dogmatic. Her style, her manner, even her appearance were off-putting — hardly the attributes of a winning candidate. Her later attempts to become a popular figure have ranged from unsuccessful to disastrous."

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

Tuesday, June 1, 1999

N.Y. no easier for Hillary than for Bobby

HOW WILL THE first lady do if she goes into New York and runs for the Senate? My reference point here is the Robert Kennedy-Ken Keating Senate race that I covered back in 1964.

Kennedy was perceived as a "carpetbagger." And he won. Should that indicate Hillary Rodham Clinton won't be rejected by the voters because she is an outsider? Not necessarily.

Actually, Kennedy, who was stepping down from being Attorney General to make the race, never was able to shake what he called the "carpetbagger issue." At stops where he made campaign speeches it was inevitable that he would see signs like these in the crowd: "Boston Needs Bobby," and "Go Home Bobby."

And Kennedy, either in his speech or in answering questions, would spend time defending his right to come into the state and run for office. He said that, while the perception was that he hailed from Massachusetts, he had spent much time in New York. And he would usually close his argument with: "There have been many similar cases around the country and even here in New York. In fact, the first senator from the State of New York, Rufus King, was from Massachusetts. And he served the state well."

Now let's look at some figures. Kennedy beat Keating, the Republican incumbent,

3,728,864 to 3,078,557. You can't say that was a razor-edge victory; but it was fairly close. Then look at what President Lyndon Johnson did to Barry Goldwater on that same day in New York: He overwhelmed his GOP challenger 4,925,880 to 2,259,167. This was part of Johnson's landslide when, nationwide, he beat Goldwater by more than 15 million votes and 486 to 52 in the electoral college.

**Godfrey
SPERLING**

The similarity of Kennedy's and Mrs. Clinton's entries into the New York Senate races stands out so much that it cries out for comparison. Clinton, like Kennedy, would bring a famous name into the race. Clinton, like Kennedy, has already made a name for herself and has become a national figure.

Also Kennedy faced a tough opponent and Clinton seems likely to have a strong adversary in New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Indeed, the chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Mitch McConnell, told Monitor breakfasters the other morning that "if the first lady runs, we'll have two national elections - one for president and the other for New York senator."

Mr. McConnell is convinced, and he cites polls to back him up, that the public is "fatigued" with the Clintons and those around them - "even if people didn't want to throw him out." He says this fatigue will show up

particularly in the presidential and in New York races, "if Hillary runs."

Let's go back to that Johnson landslide and Kennedy's fairly close win. My reading then - and now - is that not only was Kennedy helped by Johnson's coattails, but he wouldn't have beaten Keating without Johnson and Johnson's popularity. This definitely is not a judgment that Robert Kennedy himself, or any of the Kennedys would have liked - or accepted. It is well known that Bobby and Lyndon had nothing but contempt for each other.

So I reject the early predictions that the first lady will be a shoo-in if she becomes a candidate. I think she will suffer from being regarded by many voters as a carpetbagger. And, also, the "Clinton fatigue" factor will work against her.

So, as I see it, she's going to need a Democratic presidential victory to pull her through - maybe a one-sided one.

I remember well the day when New York's Democratic state convention delegates gave Bobby Kennedy the senatorial nomination by a lopsided vote. Kennedy ran up to the rostrum and his first words were these, "Fellow New Yorkers." And he smiled - and smiled. The applause was loud and sustained - and his short speech interrupted 24 times with more applause.

And today, even off stage, the first lady receiving this kind of applause from New York's Democrats.

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IN YACHT TIDE NEW YORK
NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

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PRESERVATION

Bill to Hill: Ya gotta want the job

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

President Clinton says he told wife Hillary she shouldn't run for the Senate unless she's sure she wants the job — and can explain why in 30 seconds.

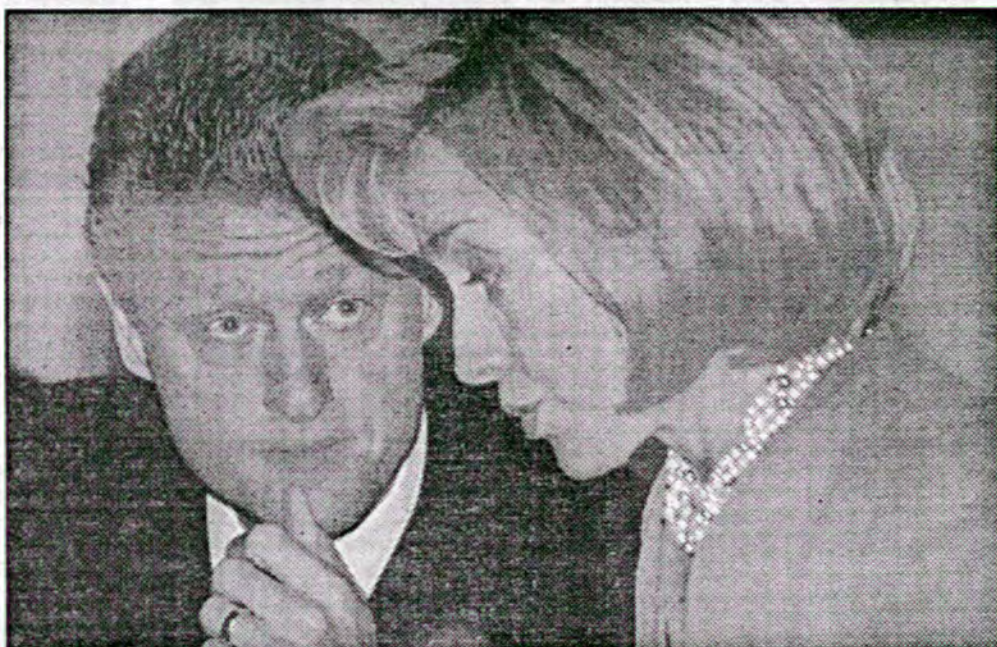
Hillary still hasn't made up her mind, he said — but close allies of the First Lady have said that unless she says no within a week or so, they'll assume she's running.

"I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody: You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job," Clinton told reporters aboard Air Force One flying back from a five-day freebie Florida vacation.

"You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds, you have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes, you have to be able to give a 30-minute talk."

Clinton said he'll support any decision his wife makes.

"Whatever she's for, I'm



DECISIONS, DECISIONS: President Clinton says Hillary must be able to sell New Yorkers on why she wants the job if she runs for Senate.

Reuter

for ... I'll go wherever she wants to go. From now on."

Before the vacation, at a Florida nature preserve, Mrs. Clinton said she planned to use the time to decide whether to run.

The Post reported yesterday that one of her close allies said: "If you don't hear a 'no' there's an implicit 'yes.' If she doesn't say 'no' by early June, the dynamic is that she's running."

In an interview with the

New York Times Magazine published Sunday, Mrs. Clinton insisted she'd have no trouble contradicting her husband if she runs to represent New York, a state where she has never lived.

POLITICS

If first lady steps forward, can husband step back?

Senate bid by Hillary Clinton would mean transition for both

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Their roles have been set for decades: Bill Clinton the candidate and officeholder, Hillary Rodham Clinton the supportive if sometimes untraditional wife, applauding and just slightly out of focus as she stands behind him on the dais.

Now that Hillary Clinton apparently is ready to step forward and run for a Senate seat from New York, is her husband ready to step back and become the silent spouse?

The part may prove harder to play than it looks.

"If you've been the key person, you just haven't been conditioned to be in that supportive role," says Pat Schroeder, who broke a series of gender barriers during her years in Congress from Colorado. "Suddenly they're the wind beneath the wings rather than the one up there flapping them."

The Clintons discussed the Senate bid during a secluded Florida vacation that ended Sunday, and advisers to Hillary Clinton say they are all but certain she is ready to move forward by forming a campaign exploratory committee in July.

The campaign would mark a transition not only for her but also for

him — from the person at the center of the limelight to the one standing at its edge, from the candidate who makes the final decisions to the spouse who can only offer advice.

Hillary Clinton's advisers and female candidates with politically active husbands see opportunities and pitfalls ahead. But it's uncharted territory: There's really no precedent for the role of the president when the first lady runs for office.

"I would say he would be an adviser and loyal spouse, much the same as his wife has been for him," says White House counselor Doug Sosnik. Sunday on Air Force One, Clinton seemed to be practicing his new lines: "Whatever she's for, I'm for," he told reporters. "I'll go wherever she wants to go, from now on."

But there are more tricky questions than easy answers: As a candidate, will she get credit for her husband's successes? What about blame for his scandals? If he stands by her side, does she look supported or overshadowed? Will voters be uncomfortable if and when the Clintons disagree on an important issue?

Aides to the president say he has urged his wife to enter the race and is eager to do whatever he can to help her win. "One would hope he owes her this after all he's put her through," says former representative



By Ron Edmonds, AP

No precedent for president: With Hillary Rodham Clinton leaning toward running for Congress, questions arise about what role Bill Clinton should play.

Susan Molinari of New York. That sentiment is echoed privately by people close to the Clintons. Another incentive: Aides say Clinton sees his wife's election as a continuation and affirmation of his own legacy.

What do others say he should do?

► First, raise money. "He's got a lot of chits out there," notes Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman on a major party's national ticket, as the Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 1984.

► Show up enough to make it clear that the state of your marriage shouldn't be an issue. It gradually dawned on Maine Sen. Olympia Snowe, then a House member, that voters wanted some reassurances after she married John McKernan, at the time the state's governor, in 1989. "They were always asking me, when did I see my husband? I thought that was very nice; then I started to realize there was more to that question than met the eye," she recalls.

► Offer behind-the-scenes advice. Clinton believes he understands New York's fierce interest-group politics and tabloid-driven press corps after surviving the New York Democratic primary in 1992. It is now one of his strongest states. Advisers say he also is likely to counsel his wife on some of the political tactics at which he excels, including how to connect with an audience.

► Know when to keep your mouth shut. Former Senate majority leader and 1996 Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole was sent to "the family woodshed" after he suggested in a *New York Times* interview last month that his wife, Elizabeth Dole, might not be able to raise the money necessary to sustain her nascent presidential campaign. Dole added that he had thought about contributing to one of her rivals.

A few days earlier, Clinton raised Vice President Gore's ire by suggesting in another interview that he ought to loosen up on the stump.

Schroeder's counsel: "Engage brain before starting mouth."

► Stay away, unless invited.

One of Hillary Clinton's first tasks will be to establish her independent standing as a political candidate, strategists say, one with views distinct

from and occasionally conflicting with those of her husband.

"She has to establish that she is an independent person, and therefore his public role should be muted, at least initially," says former deputy White House chief of staff Harold Ickes, her chief adviser on the race.

Clinton understands that, Sosnik says, whether the candidate in question is his wife or his running mate. "Ultimately in this day and age, whether you're running for president as vice president, for senator as first lady, or for Congress as a state representative — ultimately, the voters want to cut out the middleman and hear directly from the person," Sosnik says.

Of course, Hillary Clinton's ties to the president will be no secret, and to some degree she'll be buoyed by his popularity and burdened by his controversies. "The good and the bad transfers" from a political spouse, Snowe says.

Then there's his Southern accent. Republican pollster Frank Luntz says the sound of the president's voice could reinforce the perception that Hillary Clinton is a carpetbagger. "She's got the personality of a New Yorker," he says. "The problem is, he's got the accent of an Arkansan."

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Hillary's big adventure

■ **Wrong race:** *The first lady's claim to high public office should be built on a record closer to home.*

HILLARY Rodham Clinton's quest for independent validation and a life after the White House is understandable, but it's not the job of New Yorkers to provide either.

The state's voters will be the final arbiters. But the nation and its commentators should pause before legitimizing the critical path to the U.S. Senate that seems to open periodically for national stars in search of a new constellation. Like Robert F. Kennedy, who had a blissful marriage of convenience with the Empire State, Mrs. Clinton asks to become a native daughter overnight.

Columnists and reporters — not to mention Jay Leno, David Letterman and Rush Limbaugh — though, are salivating at the prospect of a collision between:

■ Mrs. Clinton and combative New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the likely GOP nominee.

■ Mrs. Clinton and the ghosts of Whitewater.

■ Mrs. Clinton and her inexperience.

Mr. Giuliani would take a zero-tolerance approach to Mrs. Clinton as an interloping Democratic pretender to the seat now held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. If the mayor is not too shrill, his complaint may fall on receptive New York ears.

But some will see her as the best hope for derailing Mayor Giuliani.

That's all beside the point. Some may say that having ties to a district before running to represent it has lost its meaning in a fully wired, global society: Everybody lives everywhere all the time. Don't believe it. All politics is still local.

If Mrs. Clinton cares as much about public service as we think, she should pick another route to high public office. Why not stay in the District of Columbia, work for statehood and earn the right to run for the U.S. Senate? If she runs in New York, she'll be running on her husband's coattails.

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PRESERVATION

First Lady Prepares to Raise Funds

Advisers Develop Plan to Finance Still-Unannounced Senate Bid

By SUSAN B. GLASSER
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hillary Clinton's top advisers met last week to map out an ambitious fund-raising strategy for the New York Senate race she is exploring, an up-to-\$20 million effort that will be guided in part by Terence R. McAuliffe, the real estate developer who was the chief money man for her husband's 1996 reelection bid.

Seeking to capitalize on her national stature and the unprecedented nature of a Senate campaign featuring a first lady, Clinton's advisers are planning to tap small donors around the country through an aggressive direct-mail program. Sources close to the effort said that non-New Yorker Clinton's fund-raising for the New York Senate race will also include big money events in two other states she has called home: Illinois and Arkansas.

But, with the first lady already acutely sensitive about carpet-bagging charges, "she has to have a very New York-based fund-raising operation," said one of her top financial advisers. As finance director, Clinton's team has hired New Yorker Gabrielle Fialkoff, who was the chief fundraiser for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's unsuc-

cessful gubernatorial bid.

"It's an expensive race," said Harold Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff who's been spearheading the first lady's still-unofficial Senate bid. Noting that New York Democratic Sen. Charles E. Schumer spent more than \$15 million winning election last year, Ickes said, "it's certainly not going to be less than that."

While Clinton does not plan to start actively raising money until she officially registers her exploratory committee next month with the Federal Election Commission, Ickes said some unsolicited checks have already come in. "We're not going to reveal how much," he said.

FEC rules require candidates who have raised at least \$5,000 to report their fund-raising activity, but Clinton can operate under a "testing the waters" exemption as she nears her decision. The money she has already taken in will have to be disclosed once she formally decides to run.

Sources said Ickes met last Wednesday with McAuliffe, Fialkoff and Laura Hartigan, McAuliffe's deputy for the 1996 Clinton-Gore reelection, to set the fund-raising goals. "The idea is for a New York money-based

campaign," said one source, who said veterans of President Clinton's campaigns such as New York venture capitalist Alan Patricof and his wife, Susan, and former deputy treasury secretary Roger C. Altman will be involved.

"We're envisioning lots of house parties and small donor events as well," said another source. Clinton also hopes to tap into the network of female donors to the Democratic National Committee, a Women's Leadership Forum she has cultivated over the last several years.

New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Clinton's likely Republican rival, has already been raising money aggressively for the 2000 Senate contest. He reported about \$700,000 cash on hand at the end of March and sources said he's looking to bank \$2.8 million by the end of June.

This week, "we'll make our first foray into Washington," a Giuliani adviser said, for a \$1,000-a-person fund-raising dinner sponsored by the entire Senate GOP leadership. Tweaking Clinton on her home turf is more than just a D.C. matter for Giuliani's team, which has also scheduled fund-raisers in Arkansas and Illinois.

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Next Starr Report

Kenneth Starr has apparently decided to tie up the many loose ends of his mammoth investigation with a final, detailed report on a range of questionable activities involving Bill and Hillary Clinton that disappeared from public view the moment Monica Lewinsky came along. According to the law and by precedents set by earlier independent counsels, the public deserves a final accounting, and Mr. Starr has the right to give his view on matters that did not rise to criminal indictments. But what he does not have a right to do is disrupt New York's Senate campaign, which is likely to include Mrs. Clinton. He should not time his report to the electoral calendar or slant it to present her in the worst light.

Indeed, Mr. Starr can partly repair his reputation for bad judgment by getting this report right as to both timing and tone. Given the fact that his predecessor, Robert Fiske, began investigating Whitewater five years ago, there is no reason that Mr. Starr cannot present his report in fairly short order. To wait until next year, when Mrs. Clinton's campaign would be in full swing, would simply confirm her allies' worst suspicions. In addition, the report should be an evenhanded recitation of the evidence, including any exculpatory findings.

Of course, any report on Whitewater, the mysteriously migrating Rose Law Firm records, Tra-

velgate and Filegate is likely to discomfit Mrs. Clinton. So may the two forthcoming trials involving Webster Hubbell, the former Associate Attorney General and a longtime friend of the Clintons. But since Mr. Starr has decided not to indict Mrs. Clinton, the task of bringing these matters into the electoral arena belongs to her prospective Senate opponents, not Mr. Starr.

All that said, it is to be hoped that if Mrs. Clinton does enter New York politics, she will remember all the harm that Arkansas-style stonewalling did to her husband's Administration and to the nation. The Clintons' decision not to answer reasonable questions about Whitewater led directly to the appointment of a special prosecutor. Congress, in turn, was repeatedly frustrated by the White House's blocking tactics, by its meddling with legitimate investigative arms of the Federal Government and by its refusal, from the 1992 campaign onward, to provide a consistent factual narrative of the Clintons' financial history. Had the President and his associates provided all the evidence on Whitewater and the other assorted scandals when they were invited to, Mrs. Clinton would not have to worry about Mr. Starr's final report. Indeed, she and her husband might not even have encountered Mr. Starr to begin with.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NGOs learn to take advantage of the media

May Farah
Daily Star staff

Very few events in Lebanon can boast a stamp of approval from the first lady of the United States. But a workshop on non-governmental organizations not only received a letter of encouragement signed by Hillary Rodham Clinton, but also words of support from the American ambassador and the president of the Lebanese American University.

Organized by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World and the U.S. Embassy, the three-day workshop – Building NGOs' Communication and Media Skills – begins Wednesday with a series of case studies of women who have faced challenges and succeeded.

At the inauguration Tuesday evening, LAU president Riyad Nassar reminded participants that such workshops were important because they addressed the need to develop human resources, and, as he noted, "in Lebanon, we don't have any other resource except the individual."

U.S. Ambassador David Satterfield agreed and noted the role of the university as "a place for

dialogue and debate where members of society can participate."

But the highlight of the ceremony was a letter read by Susan Hovanec, the public-affairs officer at the embassy, which was sent by Clinton. In the letter, the first lady stressed the need to protect the fundamental rights of all women and to ensure that women in Lebanon "have access to the tools of opportunity."

**'We don't
have any
resource
except the
individual'**

"As I have traveled around the world, I have seen first-hand that investing in girls and women helps to transform communities which in turn can transform societies," Clinton wrote.

As long as there were broad inequities against women, she added, "a stable, prosperous world will be far from reality."

Before the ceremony, Hovanec said that after Beirut, the

workshop – which focuses on women-led NGOs devoted to environmental efforts and family and health issues – would be moving to Zahle, the Chouf, Tripoli and Adonis.

In addition to a series of case studies, the focus will be on a number of issues identified as obstacles and challenges to women-led NGOs in their ability to participate fully in Lebanese society. "There are four such issues of major concern to all women, including work, decision-making, elected office and the family," said Hovanec.

As its title suggests, the workshop will also deal with the relationship between the media and NGOs and how it can be enhanced to raise awareness.

"The problem with NGOs in many countries, including Lebanon is not being able to effectively deal with the news media," explained Steve Lotterer, a media consultant based in Washington who, along with Heba al-Shazli of Egypt, is in Beirut to help conduct the workshop. "They need to learn to convey through the media what they believe in and what they'd like to see happen," he added.

Eunuch geek men

"[Hillary Rodham Clinton] is, I have said, a Protestant nun, and she's closer to Evita [Peron] than anything else. . . . She thinks she speaks for the common people. That woman should

not be anywhere near our government, OK? — because look at the guys she surrounds herself with — those geeks, those eunuch geeks! She loves eunuch geek men. . . .

"Oh my God, look at them all! Sidney Blumenthal, Ira Magaziner, Harold Ickes — they all look alike. They are all weird Ichabod Crane men, all high IQ men who have no natural virility, OK? It's really weird. She loves to have her little cabals with them.



Hillary



Blumenthal



Ickes

. . . She's the one down the line who's been the mastermind of a lot of this stuff. That woman is an authoritarian who should be kept out of democratic government. She's a tyrant who thinks she knows what's best for the people. She's Orwellian in her attitude toward the rest of humanity."

— Camille Paglia, interviewed by Charlotte Hays, in the spring issue of the *Women's Quarterly*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'Won't be fooled'

"Hillary's pretensions to having loved New York all her life are just convenient fabrications," writes Dick Morris, who was a longtime political adviser to the Clintons.

"I have been one of the three or four New Yorkers who she has known best in her life. Never, never did she comment on the state or city to me, ask any questions about it, or show any interest in its people, culture or politics. Not once," Mr. Morris said in his New York Post column.

He added: "We won't be fooled. When Hillary poses in a Yankee hat, it turns our stomachs. Cosmopolitan Manhattanites who feel more connected to Zurich than to Brooklyn will wonder why the first lady meets with a wall of rejection. But thechutzpah she shows in thinking she can put one over on us exposes why we must and will reject her."

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1999

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PRESERVATION



MAYOR GIULIANI
Heading for infamous river.

Rudy paddles Hill with raft of ridicule on Whitewater

By TOM TOPOUSIS

Taking a jab at another of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's political soft spots, Mayor Giuliani yesterday said he'll visit the "Whitewater River" while he's in Arkansas next month for a fundraiser.

"There are a number of places I want to visit, but the one that I'm really interested in seeing — if it exists — is the Whitewater River," said Giuliani in a thinly veiled reference to the infamous land-speculation scandal involving the Clintons.

"I've heard a lot about the Whitewater River, and I don't know if this is a fictional, mythological place or a real place. But I'm hoping that I'll be able to do a press conference right from — directly, live from the Whitewater River. It'll be fun," Giuliani said.

In fact, Giuliani won't find a Whitewater River in Arkansas — only the White River.

"Whitewater River? Isn't that on the banks of the Honalee, like in 'Puff the Magic Dragon?'" asked Glen Hooks, executive director of the Arkansas Democratic Party. "There is no Whitewater River."

Whitewater is the failed development — located on a bluff overlooking the White River — that was launched in 1978 by the Clintons and their friends James and Susan McDougal.

Years later, charges that the Clintons profited improperly from the deal led to the appointment of independent counsel Kenneth Starr.

Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton are all-but-announced candidates for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

The mayor, who once said he wouldn't attack the First Lady as a carpetbagger and vowed to steer clear of the Starr investigation, has now reversed himself on both counts.

But Giuliani's repeated jokes about going to Arkansas to run for Senate landed him the invitation to the \$500-a-head July 27 Little Rock fund-raiser.

Marsha Berry, a spokeswoman for the First Lady, declined comment.

a's Prosperity



BANNER DAZE: Vice President Al Gore tries to keep his composure as banner-waving AIDS protesters heckle him yesterday during a campaign stop in Manchester, N.H. AP

Gore camp hopes GOP plays rough with Hillary

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

Vice President Al Gore's campaign chief says he'd love to see Republicans "beat up" on Hillary Rodham Clinton in a New York Senate race — because it'll help Gore.

"I love the Republicans going after Hillary. The Republicans want to beat up on Hillary, that's fine. She's going to activate the Democratic base. I love it," said Gore campaign chairman Tony Coelho.

He spoke aboard Air Force Two as he flew with Gore to New York for a Wall Street rally and \$900,000 fund-raiser the day after the veep officially declared he's a candidate for president.

Gore seemed less eager to discuss Clinton's campaign, but said:

"I'm all for it. It will be a positive course. It will generate enthusiasm [in New York] and around the country."

At City Hall, Mayor Giuliani — Clinton's potential Republican rival — said: "I don't intend to beat up on anybody. I'm not like that."

Some analysts say a Senate bid by the First Lady, who says she'll launch an exploratory committee next month, could steal Gore's thunder, overshadow him and compete with his fund-raising.

But Coelho predicted Gore's fund-raising will be done before Clinton's starts and that she'll energize women "across the board" in states like New York, boosting other Democrats like the veep.

Gore has stressed moral values and distanced himself from President Clinton's Sexgate mess over

the past few days.

Asked if he can promise America won't see any Sexgate-style shenanigans if he becomes president, Gore told American Urban Radio Networks: "Assuredly. I am what I am."

An adviser said Gore's trip to New York was aimed at avoiding an embarrassment from his sole Democratic rival, ex-Knick Bill Bradley, who's playing on home turf here.

At a flag-waving Wall Street rally, Gore claimed credit for the booming stock market and contrasted that with what he called the "trickle-down travesty" of seven years ago — when Bush's dad was president.

Al Gore, liar: Editorial / Page 28

FROM PAGE ONE

First lady defends role of government

By Stewart M. Powell
HEARST NEWSPAPERS

PARIS — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, on the cusp of launching her campaign for a Senate seat from New York, defended the role of government yesterday and urged expanded government action worldwide to give everyone a chance to succeed in the high-tech age.

In her hourlong remarks at the Sorbonne university, Mrs. Clinton urged governments to invest in education, health care and child care to equip citizens for fast changing economic developments.

Without citing any group by name, Mrs. Clinton said: "There are those, particularly in my country, who insist on assaulting government, who claim that if we would only abolish or severely weaken it, then everyone's freedom and prosperity would blossom."

That is "a very mistaken notion,"

said Mrs. Clinton, who is making plans for her campaign to succeed retiring veteran Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, next year.

"We need strong and efficient governments, not oppressive or weak ones, that are able to empower citizens, to help them take responsibilities for their families and their communities," she said.

Mrs. Clinton decried apocalyptic pessimism and anti-government sentiment in some popular movies in which "we have space aliens who are always blowing up Washington, D.C., and the White House."

Her audience included her daughter, Chelsea, U.S. Ambassador to France Felix Rohatyn and French first lady Bernadette Chirac.

Mrs. Clinton did not mention her personal political plans during her remarks. She later flew to Fez, Morocco, to inaugurate a maternity



Creperie worker Mina Lahouiry greets President Clinton, taking a break from G-8 talks, during his stroll through downtown Paris yesterday.

operating room and to participate in a discussion about ways for humanitarian nongovernmental organizations to become more effective.

Today Mrs. Clinton speak in Palermo, Sicily, on ways to build citizen action and activism before she flies to Cologne, Germany, to join President Clinton for the annual Group of Eight summit.

The first lady defended her priorities against critics who, she said, warn against the "feminization of politics."

Mrs. Clinton made a glancing reference to her own ambitions.

"I look forward to the leadership that will come in the public and the private sectors to create the kind of future that is worthy of our past ideals," she said.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

\$ could get Sta

HILLARY Clinton's political campaign will have money problems.

Don't misunderstand. The First Lady seems perfectly capable of raising as much money as she wants, as long as she keeps chowing down at benefits in the Big Apple.

The problems that she'll encounter have more to do with her attitude toward money back in her Arkansas days when she got into several financial schemes — yes, including Whitewater — that would have gotten any ordinary person, much less a lawyer who should have known better, into deep legal trouble.

I reported a long time ago that

Independent Counsel Ken Starr was seriously contemplating indicting Mrs. Clinton on a variety of charges, most of which had to do with financial wrongdoing and the subsequent coverup.

A few months ago Hickman Ewing, Starr's right-hand man in Arkansas, confirmed under oath that he had actually drafted an indictment of the First Lady. But no details were ever given of the charges contained in that indictment.

Then just a few days ago, Starr himself — between doing mea culpas for botching the investigation — said he wouldn't indict Bill or Hillary Clinton after all. But Starr said he was considering

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PRESERVATION

rring role in Hil's race



**JOHN
CRUDELE**

issuing his final report to the three-judge panel to whom he reports.

With Hillary Clinton now as close to being a Senate candidate as one can get without announcing, there were complaints that this report would interfere with her plans. So let me be the first to tell you (and her) what will be in the report and what was in the draft indictment. And she might want to rethink her plans.

Here are the facts.

There were around a dozen charges that were contained in the indictment that Ewing, a professional prosecutor from Memphis with a reputation for being tough, had drafted against Mrs. Clinton. Twelve felonies.

I say a dozen because the Independent Counsel hadn't decided on how many perjury charges to go after, which could have gotten

the count to about 15, or even 100 if they decided to be sticklers.

The foundation for almost all the charges were financial deals that the Clintons became involved in during the mid-1980s. Whitewater, Castle Grande, Flowerwood Farms are the names.

With time running out on the statute of limitations, sources tell me that Starr was about to shift the focus away from the actual financial frauds and toward the coverups, obstruction and perjury that occurred when Bill and Hillary Clinton were questioned under oath about the transactions in the '90s.

As it turned out, one source says, Hillary Clinton lucked out when Jim McDougal died suddenly and the government's chief witness in the cases (and the guy who could prove perjury) was no longer available except on tape.

Candidate Hillary will not only have to explain her now famous commodities deal and some alleged insider trading she did in the early 1980s, but Starr's report will likely deal with things like bills that Mrs. Clinton's Rose Law Firm charged to McDougal's

Madison Guaranty for work she may never have done; a federal loan that Susan McDougal got from David Hale with Hillary Clinton's help that allegedly contained bogus information; a questionable loan she (and Bill and Susan and Jim McDougal) squeezed out of little Stephens Banks, and allegedly false statements made on all of the above — etc.

In essence, money went here and there but seldom ended up where it was supposed to go.

I have a list of the questions Mrs. Clinton was asked by Starr, just in case some enterprising Republican or Democrat cares to know how messy the campaign will become.

The list is long and it contains the sort of things that are easy for voters to understand and easy for opponents to use in a very successful smear campaign.

Starr wasn't about to go after Mrs. Clinton for anything related to the White House Travel Office, although the report to the judges will contain everything — including a count of the paper clips used — related to the investigation. So Travelgate will be in it also.

What won't be in the report are the personal stories that are easily obtained in Arkansas. Stories about Hillary Clinton's famous temper and more. Tales that'll make a good book someday and good attack fodder now.

What if the report doesn't become public? There's a very good possibility of that happening. Even if Starr turns the report over to the judges, they might not release it.

But the details will come out anyway. This stuff isn't so hard to get.

What incredible luck.

At precisely 1:30 p.m. on Tuesday a rumor spread on Wall Street that the next day's consumer price index of inflation would be better than expected, maybe even negative. Stocks and bonds rallied on the rumor.

On Wednesday, the government reported that the CPI was unchanged for May, which was better than the 0.2 percent rise Wall Street was expecting and a whole lot more calming than the 0.7 percent rise in April.

Stocks and bonds rallied on the news. What incredible luck.

Next month's inflation number will come after the Fed has de-

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JUNE 18, 1999

NEW YORK POST

The First Shopper: Hillary Lands in Paris, Scopes the Boutiques

By Janet Ozzard and Sarah Raper

PARIS — What does every red-blooded American woman do when



The First Lady
at J.P. Tod's.

she comes to Paris?

Hit the boutiques,
of course.

That's what Hillary Rodham Clinton did Wednesday when she and Bill Clinton arrived here from Geneva on an official visit.

Air Force One touched down at Orly at 2:45 p.m., and by 4 o'clock

See The First, Page 20



Hillary
Rodham
Clinton
shopping at
J.P. Tod's in
Paris.

The First Shopper

Continued from page 1

the First Lady was shopping on the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. Could this be the new leading economic indicator?

While Bill spent the afternoon working, Hillary grabbed Elizabeth Rohatyn and headed out to J.P. Tod's, across the street from the ambassador's residence, where the Clintons are staying.

Both women were trailed by six beefy assistant shoppers with earplugs.

"She looked around the store and was very natural with all the other customers," reported a Tod's spokeswoman, who added that the company had not been warned of Clinton's visit.

When the First Lady zeroed in on a pair of leather and fabric loafers, she was told that her size — 39 in French sizing, a size 8 American — was not in stock.

But some quick-thinking Tod's salesperson — and no doubt there would have been hell to pay if the superstar visitor had left empty-handed — offered Hillary a consolation prize.

The store gave her two "D" bags, named for the late Princess Diana, in natural leather.

"They were a gift from Diego Della Valle," said a saleswoman at Tod's, referring to the store's owner.

The out-of-stock loafers — perfect for pounding the campaign trail, should Hillary join the New York Senate race, as expected — will be forwarded to the White House.

Rohatyn, the wife of U.S. Ambassador Felix Rohatyn, also directed Hillary to Apostrophe, a sportswear boutique down the street. There she picked out five outfits and the store manager suggested five more.

Hillary didn't commit. The store wrapped up everything and sent it over to the residence — where, the store manager said, "she can try everything en tout intimité."

"It's exceptional to let someone take things home without paying," she added. "But it is the First Lady."

The manager also let slip what amounts to a minor state secret: "Mme. Clinton is a classic size — a 40," she said. That's about an 8 in the U.S.

There probably won't be more shopping time for Hillary during the Clintons' short stay in Paris. This morning, she was scheduled to give a speech at the Sorbonne before heading to Morocco later in the day.

President Clinton's official duties in Europe include a meeting here with French President Jacques Chirac and a trip to Cologne, Germany, for the G8 summit.

But before that, the Clintons were scheduled to double date with Jacques and Bernadette Chirac Wednesday night.

The Chiracs booked a table at the famously expensive and heart-stoppingly rich L'Ambi Louis, where the Clintons are guaranteed the kind of high-fat, high-calorie, high-sodium meal that's probably illegal in D.C.

Chef Louis Gadby, who planned to roll past security into the kitchen not long before the 8 p.m. table call, was nonplussed at the thought of dignitaries descending on his tiny and ancient basement restaurant. He hasn't even closed his doors for the evening — there were 10 other reservations on the books for the night.

"Chirac comes here from time to time," said the chef. "He's a hearty eater. He likes *côte de boeuf*, *tête de veau*, that kind of thing. It's not exactly barbecue, but Bubba should like it, too."

— With contributions from Robert Murphy and Dan Peres

fax: 202-456-6771

Hi Missy —
Just 2 for FYI!
talk to you soon —
(from WWD, June 17, 1999)
Sincerely, Kevin
Gucci —
Nuc

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TOTAL P.01

Clinton Samples German Sauerbraten At Local Restaurant
REUTERS 9.05 a.m. ET (1306 GMT) June 18, 1999

COLOGNE, Germany — President Clinton wasted little time soaking up the local culture Thursday night, turning up at a German beer garden not long after arriving for a weekend summit.

Relaxed and chatty, dressed in a dark green golf shirt and blazer, Clinton ate sauerbraten, a highly seasoned dish of marinated beef, with a helping of dumplings and apple puree.

Clinton arrived from Paris for a summit of leaders of the world's seven largest industrial democracies plus Russia.

A small group of White House reporters dined with Clinton at the Brauerei Zur Malzmuehle on condition that his comments be kept off the record.

Besides a weighty discussion of various issues, Clinton talked about films, novels and food.

In remarks that White House spokesman Joe Lockhart allowed to be put on the record, Clinton professed ignorance as to whether or not his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for a Senate seat representing New York, despite clear indications that she will.

"I really don't know if she's going to run," he insisted.

Mrs. Clinton next month plans to form an exploratory committee allowing her to raise money to pay for travel to New York on her increasingly political trips there.

comments@newsdigital.com

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Clintons face role reversal

■ **Campaign:** President's friends and aides ponder what sort of Senate spouse he would be.

By JONATHAN WEISMAN
AND ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — At a swank Democratic fund-raiser this month, Ann W. Richards, the mischievous former governor of Texas, warmly welcomed Hillary Rodham Clinton as "the next junior

senator from New York."

Then, after a pregnant pause, Richards added, "and of course, her lovely husband, Bill."

It was a brief glimpse at a state of affairs that, Mrs. Clinton herself acknowledged at that event, "just brings an enormous smile to my face": the perpetual-pol Bill Clinton as a second-fiddle political spouse.

Will the former president of the United States soon be attending senatorial-spouse tea parties? Will he stand silently and smile adoringly behind his wife as she makes policy pronouncements, or hold her hand on the campaign trail to prove that the Clintons still believe in marital bliss and family values?

"You get a lot of strange pictures when you think about it, none of which make a lot of sense," Leon E. Panetta, a former Clinton chief of staff, said with a laugh. "I can tell you, he will not just be satisfied with going to lunches and teas."

White House aides and friends of the first couple have already begun thinking about what role the president should take if his wife decides to run for the Senate seat of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a New York Democrat who is retiring next year. Bill Clinton has quietly taken on an informal role in his wife's nascent campaign, White House aides say, helping the first lady plan her

[See Clinton, 11A]

Friends ponder president's role in wife's Senate bid

[Clinton, from Page 1A]

electoral strategy, shape an image and formulate a platform.

"He is a political spouse right now," said one top presidential adviser.

But as the first lady moves toward a formal announcement of her candidacy, she must decide whether her husband's backstage role should be taken public. Some

of the Clintons' friends say the president can do no wrong as they imagine him morphing to husband in chief. Indeed, for a man who has lived and breathed politics for most of his adult life, the prospects of one more campaign — even if it is his wife's — must be irresistible as his own tenure comes to a close.

"I think he'd be a great political spouse," said Bill Curry, a former

political and policy adviser in the Clinton White House. "He already has the best adoring gaze since Nancy Reagan."

No doubt, after the first lady stood loyally by the president throughout the public humiliation of the Monica Lewinsky affair and the ensuing impeachment trauma, the president owes his wife a lot, Panetta said. And as penance, some presidential associates say,

Bill Clinton appears willing to do just about anything his wife asks of him.

"Clinton has told me he'll go run an election district in New York if that's what she wants," said Harold Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's lead political adviser.

'Whatever role she wants'

Advisers say the president's proper role will become apparent

if and when the first lady's campaign gains altitude.

"I think it's fair to say that will play whatever role she want said one of the first lady's strategists. "He wants to do everything he can do to help her win. If that means endorsing her, he'll endorse her; if that means disavowing her, he'll disavow her."

In his campaigns, Clinton far well in the Empire State, even the less-Democratic upstate regions that would be critical to wife's success. In the 1996 presidential election, he picked up 41 of the 51 counties located outside New York City and its immediate

suburbs.

By contrast, in 1998, Democrat Charles E. Schumer picked up only six of those upstate counties, though he still managed to unseat Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato with a solid showing in the city and suburbs.

But Republicans and Democrats alike say the 2000 election will be different. The president might have garnered extraordinary support during the impeachment saga, but the partisanship and gridlock that have gripped Washington since his acquittal could be ushering in a sense of "Clinton fatigue" among voters that could keep the president off the campaign trail.

'Last thing you would want'

"I don't think I'd want him around," said Ed Gillespie, a Republican political consultant. "The last thing you would want is having Bill Clinton out there campaigning for you."

They might not put it so bluntly, but even Clinton aides agree, suggesting that the president is unlikely to show up on the campaign trail very often, if at all. After a lifetime of working on her husband's behalf, Mrs. Clinton needs to establish herself as a political entity in her own right. In his own advice to his wife, the president said, he made the same point.

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job," the president told reporters late last month, recounting the conversation he had had with his wife during their Florida vacation. He said he told her to devise 30-second, five-minute and half-hour versions of her standard campaign speech and to make clear to the public her reasons for running.

That is not to say the president will not have a public role. His presence may have an unpredictable effect on swing voters and serve as a lightning rod for conservatives, but he remains his party's biggest celebrity. Mrs. Clinton's advisers are considering putting the president's face and name on direct-mail advertising to potential supporters of the first lady and certainly using him at fund-raisers, where he can command several million dollars with a mere appearance. The president will be in New York on June 28 — without his wife — to catch a performance of "The Iceman Cometh" on Broadway and to raise money for Democratic congressional candidates.

"I don't see where his presence is needed at all, except fund raising," said Rep. Charles B. Rangel, a New York City Democrat who has been advising the first lady.

And he is still president, which has subtle, and not so subtle, advantages for his candidate wife. Some critical legislation for New York is likely to reach the president's desk before the election, such as a lucrative airport construction bill. Other bills that would have broad appeal to New York voters that are pending in Congress include an overhaul of the financial services industry and a proposal to exempt Holocaust restitution funds from federal income taxation.

Bob Beckel, a Democratic political consultant, suggested: "He ought to triple the grants to New York and let her hand them all out."

'The spouses club'

If the first lady is elected, the president himself has insisted that he will relish joining what he called "the spouses club."

"I'm looking forward to it," he told the Democratic faithful gathered June 7 at the sumptuous Washington home of Beth Dozoretz, a party activist.

Some Democrats say no one should expect the president to play Mr. Wynette — standing by his woman with apron and cookies. He would be no typical spouse.

"No one's going to sit him at a dinner next to the wife of some anonymous congressman," Curry said. "He is, after all, the former leader of the free world."

Indeed, remaining in his wife's shadow may be the hardest job in politics that Clinton will ever have had. But, confidants say, after all he has put his wife through, that is precisely the sacrifice he must be willing to make.

"He certainly owes her a lot," Panetta said. "I think fulfilling that kind of commitment involves letting her be herself."

PHOTOCOPY PROTECTED

COMMENTARY

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■ *First lady's emotional detractors aren't letting logic or taste stand in their way.*

Hillary haters having field day

It is said that a race for a New York Senate seat between Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Rodham Clinton will be more interesting than the presidential race of 2000. I doubt that. But one of the most interesting aspects of the New York race will be the emotional excesses of the Hillary haters, who are already plangently loony.

Paul Gigot of the Wall Street Journal says that Clinton is succumbing to "an almost maniacal" drive in this race. Peggy Noonan, writing in the same paper, says that the president's wife cannot be launching a normal political campaign—it is, rather, "some revenge psychodrama," one that expresses "mad boomer selfishness."

Others complain that Clinton is considering a Senate seat only as a way of clambering up to the presidency. These people are more intimate with Clinton's "only" innermost motive than I am, though I do not know of any candidate for the Senate who would not like to be president someday. We do not normally consider these people crazed with ambition. Only a woman as unsettling as Clinton is to her critics is suspected of wanting to rule the universe

to aspire to the Senate in a first electoral effort. Normal ambition is not allowed her.

Noonan is so carried away by her revulsion for the first lady that she repeats a serious blunder committed by Sally Quinn in the Washington Post. In a now notorious article, Quinn interviewed fellow members of the Washington establishment and echoed their disapproval of the Clintons as upstart outsiders. The columnist David Broder was quoted as accusing the Clintons of "trashing the place, and it is not even their place." Whose place is it? Broder's, of course, and Quinn's. The fact that Bill Clinton was brought to Washington by the votes of American citizens across the nation did not give him a right to be there. Only the approval of the gatekeepers of the Quinn salon could do that.

Noonan's piece reads almost like a satirical replay of Quinn's—only Noonan clearly means it. She sums up the true New Yorker's reaction to a Clinton campaign this way: "Who are these people? And why do they think they are necessary to us?" Clinton is accused of wanting "to fill up the vacuum in her life with our money and



Garry
WILLS



ED BAILEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton, shown receiving a Yankees cap from United Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten on June 2, faces a cacophony of criticism.

New Yorkers' freedom by running for office? The answer is that of a true New Yorker. She will tie up traffic when she is in town. There goes the whole state's freedom, enslaved by a motorcade.

Clinton is accused of not knowing or caring for much of the state outside the city of New York. Whatever her shortcomings in that regard, they dwindle to invisibility next to the haughty Noonan's claim that a traffic jam in the city enslaves the whole state. Besides, Clinton's motorcades can be more troublesome than any other candidate's only if she is getting more attention—and New Yorkers themselves will be guilty of giving that, if it is given at all.

Noonan's defense of New York's freedom

having infringed on that already by treating a great city as "your own personal cash machine." If Clinton raised money there, it was freely given. She did not ride in at night and crack bank safes. It was New York money only in the sense that New Yorkers donated it. Noonan would like to take away donors' right to do that in the name of "freeing them." For her, obviously, freedom means the right to do things she approves of.

Such a spectacular collapse of logic, taste and equanimity is amusing to behold. We shall be seeing a lot of it.

Garry Wills is adjunct professor of history at Northwestern University and winner of numerous awards, including the Pulitzer

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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WILLS



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Noonan's defense of New York's freedom is a very odd one. She accuses Clinton of

having infringed on that already by treating a great city as "your own personal cash machine." If Clinton raised money there, it was freely given. She did not ride in at night and crack bank safes. It was New York money only in the sense that New Yorkers donated it. Noonan would like to take away donors' right to do that in the name of "freeing them." For her, obviously, freedom means the right to do things she approves of.

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Garry Wills is adjunct professor of history at Northwestern University and winner of numerous awards, including the Pulitzer Prize and the National Humanities Medal.

This just in

"The fact is, I've always been a Yankees fan."—Hillary Clinton.

And now for the rest of the story from the Apocryphal Press:

WASHINGTON—At a ceremony for the New York Knicks yesterday at the White House, first lady Hillary R. Clinton revealed that she has been a fan of the Knicks since she worked as a ball girl during her childhood years in Schenectady. "My dad used to read me the sports page every night when I was a little girl," the first lady said.

"My great uncle actually came up with the name Knickerbockers," added Mrs. Clinton, who dismissed accounts that she was born and raised in Chicago as "sloppy reporting."



The first lady said she recalls advising former Knicks star Bill Bradley to "consider a career in politics."

"It was either that," she said, "or develop a better first step to the basket."

Complaining that she "just can't find a good bagel in the Beltway," Mrs. Clinton said she still hasn't made up her mind yet about a race for the Senate from New York. But, she added, "it'd be great to represent the old 'hoods again."

Mrs. Clinton, who rarely attends sports-related events, smiled broadly throughout the ceremonies until she was asked by a reporter if she would also keep a residence in Arkansas, where, according to unconfirmed reports, the presidential library is to be built. "You'll have to ask Bill about that Arkansas rumor," the first lady said, donning a Yankees baseball cap to the shock of hairdressers everywhere. "I've never been there."

Regrets supporting Clinton in governor's race, pastor says

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

ATLANTA — Wiley Drake, pastor of First Southern Baptist Church of Buena Park, Calif., wishes he could have seen into the future a few years back.

If he could have, the man who has dogged Bill Clinton in recent years at Southern Baptist conventions says he never would have helped the political campaigns of his fellow Arkansan in the 1980s.

Drake, born in Magnolia in 1943, lived in Arkansas until 1960, when he moved to California. After years in the Navy, training as a pastor, and after some time away from the church, he returned to ministering and to Arkansas in 1980. He became pastor of Canfield Baptist Church in southwest Arkansas, where he also ran Camp Canfield and drove a school bus for local Christian schools.

That was when he met Clinton.

"He was running for governor the third time, after having lost, and asked to meet with about a dozen pastors from small towns around Texarkana," Drake, the author of the Baptists' motion to boycott the Disney Co. two years ago, said Wednesday.

"He told us 'I'm running for governor again, and the only way I can win is with the help of Southern Baptists,'" Drake said. "He told us he wanted to put Christian principles back in the Governor's Mansion, and I was all for that."

So Drake, in his capacity as a pastor, campaigned for Clinton.

"I told people 'I can't tell you who to vote for but I've met Bill Clinton and he wants to put Christian principles and Southern Baptists back into the Governor's Mansion,'" Drake recalled.

"Looking back now, I regret it."

letters@nypost.com

Do America A Favor and Say 'No' to Hillary

• Dick Morris ask rhetorically: "Is there really any sensible or even sensate [New Yorker] who actually believes that the First Lady would grace us with her residence if there were no Senate vacancy? ... Will we be fooled?" ("The First Lady's Little Problem," Post Opinion, Dick Morris, June 15).

May I remind New Yorkers that both Clintons are obvious students of Niccolo Machiavelli who, in the 18th chapter of "The Prince," his treatise on how to acquire and maintain power,

had this to say: "But it is necessary to know well how to disguise this characteristic [of the fox], and to be a great pretender and dissembler; and men are so simple, and so subject to present necessities, that he who seeks to deceive will always find someone who will allow himself to be deceived."

Do the rest of us a favor, New York, and don't be deceived. Haven't we had enough of the Clintons yet?

Chip Schoch
Mason, Ohio (via e-mail)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



WINGING IT: The Clintons, Chelsea, and Madeleine Albright board Air Force One in Geneva yesterday.

AP

Hill could cash in on prez's \$\$ bash

President Clinton is coming to New York this month to make his first pitch for campaign megabucks that could help elect wife Hillary to the U.S. Senate.

Clinton will be in the Big Apple on June 28 for a cash-bash to boost Democratic Senate and House candidates in 2000 — the target is at least \$1 million in chunks of as

much as \$50,000 per couple.

For now at least, though, the First Lady won't be joining her husband as he makes his first pitch for cash that could go into her campaign coffers.

"She is not scheduled to go," said spokeswoman Toby Graff said, adding that a last-minute change is always possible.

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee will get half the take from the event. Although the New York money won't be pledged to specific candidates, Mrs. Clinton stands to benefit and will be one of her party's top priorities if she runs.

Clinton, as the incumbent president, is the Democratic Party's most powerful fund-raiser. *Deborah Orin*

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying at college commencements

Congrats, seniors; now save the world



By Stuart Ramson, AP

Higher education: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses graduates of City College of New York.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON at City College of New York: "We know that in today's global, information-based economy, higher education is often the fault line between those who will make it and those who are left behind. There are countless young people in this city who are not here in an institution of higher education, who somewhere along the line were discouraged, were put down, were sent the wrong messages, didn't get the kind of support that it does take a village and a strong family to provide. Each of you can reach out in your own ways to the young people of this city, to lift them up and point them forward."

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1999



BY MICHEL LIPCHITZ—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chelsea Clinton, next to lawyer Samuel Pizar, listens as her mother delivers a speech at the Sorbonne.

Hillary Clinton's Paris Surprise

The First Lady's Speech Causes a Very Minor Sensation

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

PARIS, June 17—Paris probably would have hailed Hillary Rodham Clinton like a movie star today, pulling her to its Gallic bosom, toasting her on the Left Bank and Right.

Ordinary Parisians—especially women and girls—rallied to her side during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, viewing her as a strong and stoic wife, mother and leader.

"I think she's a wonderful woman!" gushed Caroline Culliere, 16, one of several high school girls who applauded enthusiastically when the first lady took to a stage at the Sorbonne to present a speech to a tiny, invitation-only crowd. "She's a good representative for the United States and the world. . . . I think she can go far and even be the president," Caroline said.

We'll never know if Clinton might have exceeded even the tumultuous reception accorded to Jackie Kennedy in 1961, however, because Mrs. Clinton's visit here as part of her husband's seven-day European tour was one of the best-kept secrets in town.

"It would have been mobbed" had the public been allowed in, said Julia Makris-Frencia, one of the Hillary fans at the Sorbonne who seemed thrilled by their heroine's appearance but frustrated in any hope of approaching her.

Mrs. Clinton never gave the poor city a chance. She did a little shoe shopping Wednesday on the Rue

Saint-Louis en L'Île—at Todd's and Apostrophe—but no one breathed a word to the press, so there were few photographers to alert the locals that a celebrity was abroad, and zero mention in today's papers.

She seemed to go out of her way to ensure a tepid response to her speech. Not one sentence in her solemn, 39-minute address at the revered university was designed for applause, and no one clapped except when she began and ended. Those two long, loud ovations, however, suggested this audience was eager to raise hosannas if she had only offered a punch line here, a little call to arms there.

The magnificent but cozy auditorium was nearly half empty, and the event received virtually no advance publicity.

Clinton shook no hands at the Sorbonne, except those of four local dignitaries—President Jacques Chirac's wife, Bernadette, among them—who were haltingly led onstage shortly before the guest of honor turned and left. All her other events were private, including a reception the Clintons hosted at the U.S. Embassy, and the Wednesday night dinner with the Chiracs at Chez L'Ami Louis, a bistro in the Marais district.

Parisians who did make it into the first lady's speech—like Caroline and her schoolmates—are well aware that she is likely to run for the Senate from New York. They seemed almost eager to send some francs to her campaign.

"I think she could lead the country," said Valentine Kahn-Sriber, 15. Asked about *l'affaire Lewinsky*, she rolled her eyes and said, "The French were supportive of Hillary because of lot of people thought Bill Clinton had been hard to her. He's not a good husband."

The girls gamely followed the Sorbonne speech, even though it took 23 minutes of stentorian oratory about "globalization," the evils of Slobodan Milosevic and the wisdom of Voltaire, Rousseau and America's "forefathers and foremothers" before Clinton dispensed with the introductions and announced: "Today I want to focus on the . . . civil society."

From there, it was an additional 16 minutes of grave, somber analysis of the need for a greater world community, where good citizens can be created only by civil societies.

Afterward, Bucharest-born and Barnard-educated Eva Maze, a retiree, declared the speech a great success. "It must have been very easy for the interpreter," Maze said, "because her pace was so good."

That was a kind way of saying the first lady spoke . . . very . . . slowly . . . and . . . clearly.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

June 22, 1999

Mrs. Clinton visits rehab center for mine victims

ASSOCIATED PRESS

LJUBLJANA, Slovenia—"Don't do that!" the head of an organization trying to remove a million mines from Bosnia exclaimed Monday when Hillary Rodham Clinton lifted a mine on display at a medical institute here and touched its fuse.

"No, no, I won't [activate it]," the first lady told Jernej Cimpersek with a smile, putting the mine

safely away during her tour of the National Institute for Rehabilitation.

After the admonishment, Cimpersek, director of the International Trust Fund for Demining and Mine Victims' Assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina, gave Clinton a protective jacket like those worn by Slovenian crews when they clear minefields in Bosnia. She put it on over her brown suit.

On a large map of Bosnia,

Cimpersek showed Clinton where the mines are concentrated while noting that a million mines remain strewn all over Bosnia.

Clinton then toured an institute ward where 10 Bosnian mine victims are being rehabilitated.

She was greeted near the entrance by a girl in a wheelchair holding flowers for her and visited a room for neurology patients.

There she headed straight for 10-month-old Anna Marija Okolic,

who was born with cerebral paralysis.

She grasped the baby's hand, spoke to her quietly and, still holding her hand, spoke to a nurse and the child's mother through an interpreter about the girl's condition and other personal details.

Anna busied herself by playing with Mrs. Clinton's necklace.

The trust fund was established to organize mine removal in Bosnia-Herzegovina and rehabilitate Bosnian mine victims. Slovenia gave \$1.2 million. The United States, the main contributor thus far, gave \$28 million.

Other donations came mostly from Japan, Germany, Norway and the Czech Republic.

Later at City Hall, Mrs. Clinton met with 10 women representatives of Slovenian public life and spoke to them mainly about how life has changed after Slovenia emerged from decades of communist rule.

When some of the women told about the difficulties they still face, the American first lady told them: "Don't give up, because sometimes it takes more than one time to gain something."

But even here, Clinton couldn't escape questions about her own future.

At the end, Cvetka Selsek, president of the board of SKB bank, Slovenia's second-largest bank, told her: "I have a proposal: We would very much support it if you ran for the presidency of the United States."

Clinton rolled her eyes and smiled, waving her arms in a "no way" reaction.

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Political complications

"Whether it's Senator Clinton or Senator Giuliani, the political complications will be endless," Jerry Nachman writes in the New York Times, referring to first lady Hillary Rodham and Mayor Rudy of New York.

"Alfonse D'Amato is the de facto head of the state Republican Party. Rudolph Giuliani is the titular bogymen of the same party, despised by Gov. George Pataki and his behind-the-scene followers, and unforgiven by D'Amato as a traitor," said Mr. Nachman, a former editor of the New York Post.

"The mayor has been at war with the City Council and the state legislature since his first inauguration. As senator, he would be one of 'them,' a legislator. The first lady would be joining a body that spent years investigating her, her husband and most of their friends and political comrades.

"Senator Clinton would also face the precisely 50 percent likelihood that any fellow member she talks to voted to convict her husband of an impeachable offense. Not exactly a petri dish for comity."

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Hillary vs. Rudy? Either Way,

New York State Loses

By Jerry Nachman

We had some good things going for a long time. For years it was a team center field in New York: Willie, Mickey and the Duke. Each in perfect in some aspect where

Jerry Nachman was news director of WCBS-TV and WNBC-TV, both in New York, as well as editor of The New York Post.

the others were merely spectacular.

Years later came another only-in-New York parlay: the two guys we sent to the Senate for most of two decades. It was a classic Mutt-and-Jeff team — the patrician Daniel Patrick Moynihan and the flamboyantly egalitarian Alfonse D'Amato.

The Prof and the Fonz. Statesman and pol. One beyond reproach, the other chronically reproached. One viewed the Empire State as the evolution of the best of ancient Greece and Rome. Another saw New York State as a wonderful place wrapped around Island Park, Long Island.

It won't be nearly the same come

One candidate is a lightning rod. The other is lightning.

January 2001, when the New York Senate team is likely to be Chuck and Hillary. Or Chuck and Rudy. Either way, the World's Greatest Deliberative Body will change and, I'm betting, not in New York's better interests.

Work it through either way. A Senate debate is under way. The parliamentary officer bangs a gavel and says, "Will the Gentle Lady yield?" My guess is that a Senator Clinton will answer, "When I'm finished, buddy."

If the request goes to "the Gentleman from New York," a Senator Giuliani, viewing all questions as flashbacks to hostile City Hall press conferences, may respond: "Now you're being silly. And stupid. Next question."

Neither is known to be especially collegial. Both will have been separated from cushy public housing where government workers answer the phones, provide meals and snacks on

demand and iron the clothes. Each bears the baggage of what might be called quirky marriages.

Whether it's Senator Clinton or Senator Giuliani, the political complications will be endless. Alfonse D'Amato is the de facto head of the state Republican Party. Rudolph Giuliani is the titular bogymen of the same party, despised by Gov. George Pataki and his behind-the-scene followers, and unforgiven by D'Amato as a traitor.

The Mayor has been at war with the City Council and the State Legislature since his first inauguration. As Senator, he would be one of "them," a legislator. The First Lady would be joining a body that spent years investigating her, her husband and most of their friends and political comrades.

Senator Clinton would also face the precisely 50 percent likelihood that any fellow member she talks to voted to convict her husband of an impeachable offense. Not exactly a petri dish for comity.

Then there is the matter of senatorial courtesies. Newcomers are expected to sit in the back, be quiet, learn the ropes, take their turn. Really? There's also the tradition of the junior senator deferring to his or her senior. Charles Schumer may turn a bit prickly when his buddy Hillary arrives on Capitol Hill to become the Robert Torricelli to his Frank Lautenberg, immediately occupying center stage over a politician with a lifelong addiction to television cameras and news releases. At least with Giuliani there would be no friendship to rupture.

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One led a controversial life indicting people. The other became controversial for nearly getting indicted. Both were forced to seek new work because of term limits. While Senators Moynihan and D'Amato viewed their tenures as monumental and life-affirming achievements, Senator Clinton or Senator Giuliani will view his or her new posting as a rest stop, a place with less absolute power than that which came before, somewhere to catch a breath en route to the "real" job both truly want.

Both Pat and Al laugh easily. Moynihan addresses you as "kind sir" without apparent affectation. D'Amato gets away with calling everyone "babe." Both the First Lady and the Mayor grimace.

I'm not certain that either prospective Senate candidate is a particularly happy person. The anhedonia shows. Perhaps it's the torture of ambition. Whoever wins, New York will suffer. And we'll look back at Pat and Al as another cheery chapter of New York's good old days. Like Willie, Mickey and the Duke.

It's New York For Both of Us, Clinton Says

By DAVID JOHNSTON

WASHINGTON, June 20 — President Clinton said today that he and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton intend to "get a place" in New York — soon enough to allow Mrs. Clinton to use it as a residence if she decides to run for the Senate.

Answering the question of a possible move more clearly than he has in the past, Mr. Clinton, in an interview on CNN's "Late Edition," left the impression that the First Couple might be house-hunting soon. He did not say where in New York the couple wanted to live.

Under New York law, a United States Senate candidate does not have to establish residency in the state until the election.

Mrs. Clinton said earlier this month that she would form an exploratory committee for a possible campaign in 2000 for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who is retiring after four terms.

Mr. Clinton dismissed a report in U.S. News and World Report that said Mrs. Clinton's move to New York was already "in the works," apparently without her husband.

That report, in the issue that goes on sale Monday, said that Mrs. Clinton would move out of the White House by the fall and suggested that she would return sporadically for official events.

In the CNN interview, Mr. Clinton said, "Well, it's not true that she's going to move out of the White House."

He added: "Months ago, we said that we intended to get a place in New York. We talked, we started talking not long after we moved to the White House about where we would live when we got out. She's always wanted to live in New York, so we said we'd do that. And I would divide my time between New York and going home to Arkansas and finishing my library and doing my work there."

In his comments, the President said that if Mrs. Clinton ran for the Senate, she would spend part of her time away from the White House, but not all of it.

"Now if she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there," Mr. Clinton said. "But it will be more like an incumbent member of Congress running for re-election; that is, she's not going to stop being First Lady and doing her other responsibilities, but she'll have to spend a lot more time in New York, and we'll have to get a place there for her to be while she's spending the time there."

The President said he might change his own residency from Arkansas to New York before he left office so that he could vote for his wife in the Senate race.

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MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1999 • USA TODAY

N.Y. SENATE RACE: In the same CNN interview, Clinton denied a report that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is considering moving from the White House to a place in New York this fall in order to better campaign for the Senate seat.

"It's not true that she's going to move out of the White House," he said. But, he said, "if she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there . . . and we'll have to get a place there for her to be while she's spending the time there."

U.S. News & World Report, in editions on sale today, quotes one of the first lady's consultants as saying there's no doubt that she will move out of the White House early.

A *New York Daily News* Poll had Clinton leading Republican New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani 46% to 39%. Both are expected to run, although neither is a declared candidate. The poll found that most voters in the state don't care that the first lady has never lived there and they don't believe that her duties would conflict with her campaign.

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