

Will glitter lose its luster in N.Y.?

■ **Politics:** *Hillary Clinton basks in celebrity, but some raise alarms about her political future.*

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — When Hillary Rodham Clinton sets foot in New York, she generates the kind of giddy attention usually reserved for starlets at the Oscars — but these Hollywood moments are not always what they seem.

Already, some New York political operatives are wor-

rying that the victory glitter surrounding the first lady has lost some of its luster.

Clinton, who is steadily moving toward a race for the Senate from New York, hardly seemed concerned yesterday as she basked in the celebrity glow on a daylong visit to New York City.

The trip — her 10th since rumors started flying this year about her possible campaign — was marked by chants of "Run, Hillary, Run" at the City College graduation and the embrace of Democrats at a congressional fund-raiser.

Though she could back out at any [See Clinton, 6A]



Back in New York: Hillary Rodham Clinton and Charles E. Schumer at a Democratic luncheon. This was the first lady's 10th visit to the state.

point, signs are clearly pointing to a campaign. The first lady is expected to announce the formation of an exploratory committee as early as the end of this month — after her return from 15 days of foreign travel with the president. Earlier this week, she met with three top New York political strategists in preliminary interviews for a possible campaign staff.

Many New York Democrats are cheering her efforts. But behind the scenes, some veterans of state politics are raising alarms about her future.

"She's got real problems in this race," said Lawrence O'Donnell Jr., who worked on campaigns for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring New York Democrat whose seat is up for grabs next year. "At first she looked unbeatable. But it's hard to get New Yorkers to vote for Democrats. Very hard."

While the city remains solidly Democratic, the exodus to the suburbs has created a far more conservative base there. Upstate New York has always been a Republican stronghold, and many Democrats acknowledge that it is no longer enough for a Democratic statewide candidate to win just the city.

Among the other tough questions emerging: Why did the first lady begin with a 20-point lead in the polls when her possible campaign hit the headlines in January, only to lose that edge in what is now neck-and-neck polling with her potential Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City?

Ballot box now voters are sound.

Zogby, voters were asked for the one question that they would put to the candidates. The poll responses for Giuliani, all tied at about 10 percent, focused on health care, education and his agenda for Upstate. But for Clinton, 26 percent wanted to know why she was running in New York, and 10 percent wondered why she still stays with her husband.

"That's a little better than one in three voters who are off-message," Zogby said.

Yesterday, in New York City, Clinton acted every inch the candidate. She offered a veiled criticism of Giuliani by urging students to resist those who try to "score political points" by criticizing the schools. Giuliani is locked in a heated feud with the city

schools chancellor over the condition of the school system.

Later, she attended a state Democratic Committee luncheon and in the evening was to help raise money for Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, a New York Democrat.

Clinton did not address her candidacy directly, but coyly suggested, "I will have something to say later."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GOV 'STATES' CASE AGAINST HILLARY

By ROBERT HARDT Jr. and GREGG BIRNBAUM

Gov. Pataki yesterday said it would be a "mistake" for Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for Senate — as the First Lady, acting more and more like a candidate, spoke at City College and attended fund-raisers here.

In his first comment painting her as a carpetbagger, the governor said, "We need someone who knows this state, knows our issues, knows our policies, knows our needs in Washington."

"We have plenty of people who do that."

Speaking at a ceremony in upstate Rensselaer, he said, "I think it would be a mistake on her part if she does make a determination to run."

The First Lady got rock-star treatment at City College, where her commencement address was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

Never mentioning her likely rival for the Senate race — Mayor Giuliani — she blasted those who are "undermining the public-education system."

"No one wins — especially our children — if politics takes up much needed seats in the classroom," she said.

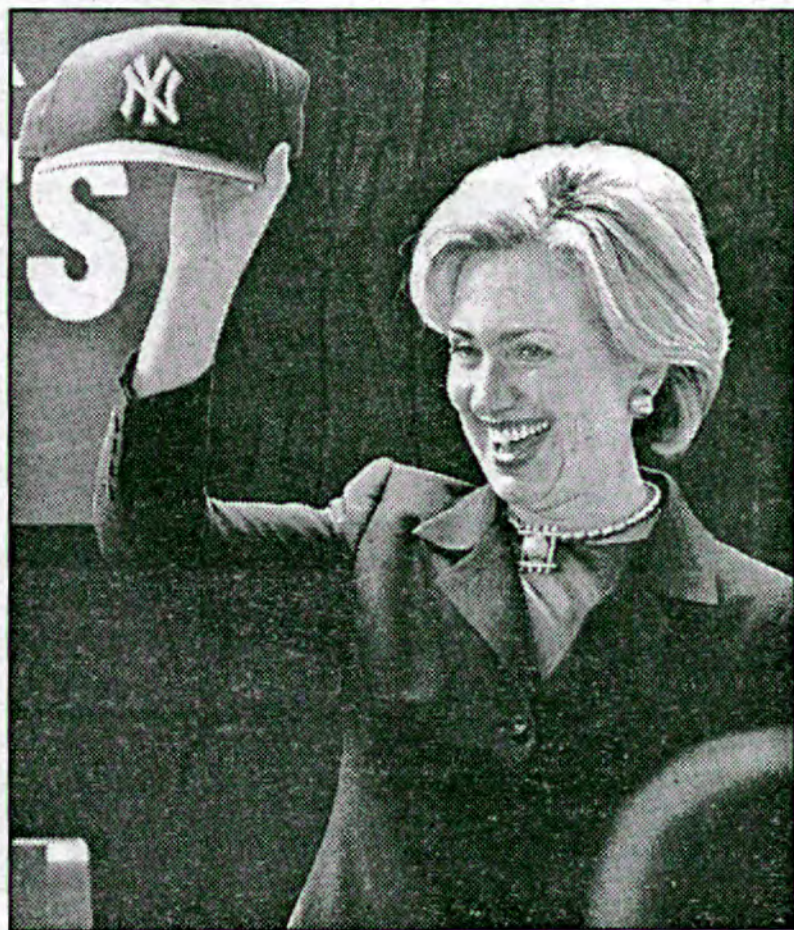
"We have to be willing to demand high standards and accountability, but we have to pursue strategies that work, that actually lift up the performance of students, enabling all schools to do better, not just score political points."

Later, the mayor couldn't resist getting in a few digs.

Asked if he viewed the First Lady's City College address as an attack on his administration, Giuliani said: "Well, I'm glad she found her way there ... It's nice to see she's finding her way around New York. Maybe I'll travel to Arkansas."

Clinton also spoke at a Democratic fund-raiser honoring teachers-union President Randi

Hillary's Starr-crossed campaign / Inside Washington: Page 24



THAT CAPS IT? It's not official, but this Chicago Cub fan looks every bit the candidate in Midtown yesterday. N.Y. Post: David Rentas

Weingarten, and at another fund-raiser for Manhattan Rep. Carolyn Maloney.

"I know from having visited schools here in New York that there are many schools that are in need of modernization, repairs," Clinton told 100 guests at the Weingarten event.

"There are too many overcrowded classrooms and schools

where children get lost ... There is something wrong with our priorities," Clinton said.

She refused to speak to reporters.

But when one shouted a question, "Do you have anything to tell us?" she called out her answer: "I'll have something to say later. Not today."

Hillary might find Senate campaign is Starr-crossed

SEXGATE prober Ken Starr will be haunting Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign in New York if she runs.

Sources say Starr is finally wrapping up his probe of the messy Travelgate charges that the First Lady forced the firing of career travel staffers to make way for Clinton cronies.

Starr's staff may complete its report this summer, but more likely sometime before the end of the year, sources say — just when the First Lady could be getting into high gear for a Senate race.

That Starr report is bound to include the infamous memo from ex-Clinton aide David Watkins saying Mrs. Clinton was adamant about axing hapless staffers — "We need these people out, we need our people in," it quoted her as saying.

The head of the career travel staff, Billy Dale, was even hit with criminal charges — though a jury acquitted him of all counts.

Ex-Clinton aide Dick Morris yesterday confirmed that he's been called in next week to meet

with FBI agents working for Starr about matters like Travelgate involving Hillary Clinton.

Starr's report will get filed with the three-judge appeals-court panel that appointed him. It's up to the court to make it public — but there's little doubt that it will do just that.

And, of course, this summer Starr's team is trying ex-Hillary law partner Webster Hubbell, the disgraced Justice official, on charges he hid legal work that she (and he) did on a shady and fraudulent land deal that she claims she can't remember.

The official Clinton line, no doubt, will be that this is all old news and b-o-r-i-n-g. And that Ken Starr is an evil creep just out to get the Clintons.

The problem is that this all gives new life to those old problems and provides the context to make an anti-Hillary TV ad by Billy Dale, say, suddenly look new.

More to the point, it reminds

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE WASHINGTON



voters that Mrs. Clinton was a player in some of the Clinton messes, not simply a victim of Sexgate.

And the New York press corps can be counted on to ask tough questions about those messes — instead of doing sweetheart interviews like Dan Rather, a two-time guest at Clinton White House state dinners.

Above all, some Democratic

analysts fret, it will underscore the sense of Clinton scandal fatigue and make voters impatient to move on and finally get all the Clinton scandals — and all the Clintons — behind them for the new century.

Speaking of ethics, it will be fascinating to see if — for the first time since moving into the White House — the Clintons actually pay for a vacation this summer when they're likely to beach it in New York so the wannabe senator can hang out with potential constituents (and fat cats).

The Clintons have taken about a dozen free vacations, mooching off rich folks from Martha's Vineyard to California to Jackson Hole, Wyo., to Vail, Colo., to Hilton Head, S.C., to Yulee, Fla. to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands.

Ethics watchdogs frown, but the White House says it's perfectly legal, even though, as a senator, Hillary Clinton would be break-

ing the law if she let anyone buy her a fancy dinner with a tab topping \$50.

In fact, it's illegal for a lowly Senate aide to accept a dinner with a bill above \$50. Which means it could smell bad for a wannabe senator to mooch and borrow a posh estate that it would cost thousands to rent.

She may be gracious and patient but candidate-in-waiting Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester) can't hang in limbo forever waiting for Mrs. Clinton to decide whether to run.

Asked how long Lowey will wait before deciding to drop out of the race, Lowey spokesman Howard Wolfson replied: "Sooner rather than later."

Which means that if Mrs. Clinton exits the Senate race a few months from now, because the polls look bad or because she doesn't like the heat, she'll leave New York Dems in the lurch without a candidate.

PHOTO BY
PRESIDENT

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

LOS ANGELES TIMES

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1999/NA

Back in New York



Agence France-Presse

Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks with students at New York's City College on Wednesday after giving the school's commencement address. The first lady was greeted by a crowd of students chanting, "Run, Hillary, Run." Clinton continues to keep mum on whether she will run for the U.S. Senate seat from New York. She also attended a state Democratic Party fund-raising luncheon.

Non-Candidate Clinton Hits Not-Quite-Hustings

For Someone Who Isn't Running, First Lady Gets Around N.Y.

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 2—Almost-candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton continued her almost-campaign in Manhattan today, taking a veiled shot at a potential rival during a commencement speech, pledging to work to guarantee a "living wage" during a luncheon with labor leaders, and once again whetting the appetites of New York Democrats without promising to run for Senate.

"I will have something to say about [the Senate race] later," Clinton said with a broad smile during her one brief brush with reporters. "Not today."

Sources close to the first lady say she is almost certain to run in 2000; she apparently intends to announce the formation of an exploratory committee early next month. The sources expect her to disclose her plans sometime this week to Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), who has said she will run for Senate if Clinton passes up the race. On the not-quite-campaign-trail today,



BY ED BAILEY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Charles E. Schumer and Hillary Rodham Clinton team up at Democratic fund-raiser.

Democratic insiders who watched Clinton obviously enjoying the media furor over her political future were unanimous in their guesswork: They think she's running.

"It looks like a duck. It quacks like a duck," said Rockland County Democratic Chairman Paul Adler. "I think this might be a duck."

"Women's intuition?" replied Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.), when asked if Clinton would run. "Yes."

Clinton began her day at the City College of New York graduation, calling for tougher educational standards, more resources for early childhood education and a renewed campaign to rebuild dilapidated schools. As students shouted "Run, Hillary, Run," Clinton also dropped a subtle reference to an ongoing public feud between Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), who is also considering a Senate run, and his schools chancellor, Rudy Crew. "We can do this if instead of pointing fingers we roll up our sleeves and pledge to work together," she said.

Clinton never mentioned Giuliani by name, but she seemed to distance herself from his sharp criticisms of the city's public education system, such as his proposal to abolish the Board of Education. "We can never lift up our public schools by tearing them down," she said.

Next, Clinton stopped for a \$500-a-plate union fund-raiser for the state Democratic committee at Tavern on the Green, where she worked the small crowd like a seasoned pol, glad-handing officials from Elmira and laughing at everyone's jokes. "She gets closer and closer and closer," said state committee chairwoman Judith Hope, as the crowd broke into cheers. "And we get more and more and more excited."

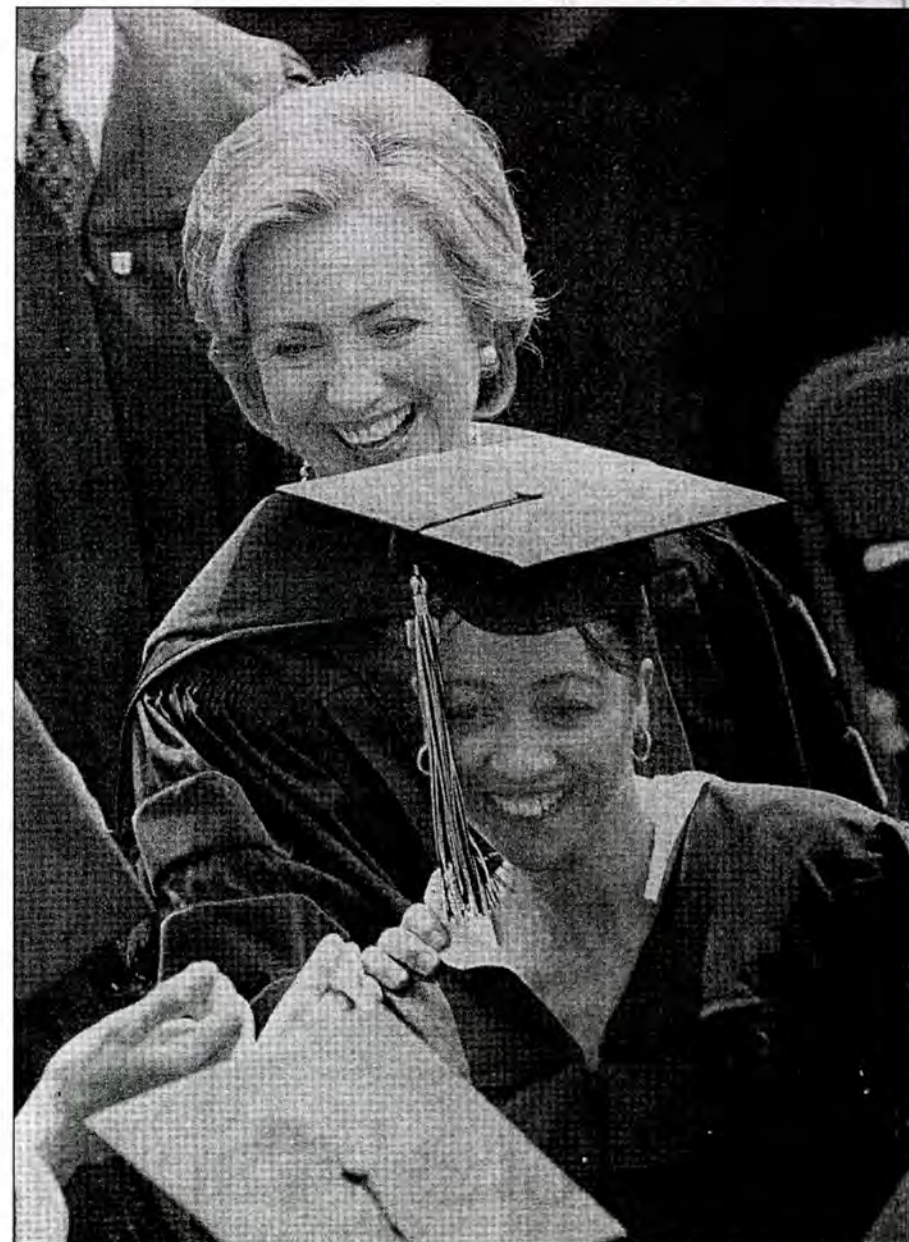
At the luncheon, Clinton emphasized her commitment to several liberal ideals: quality education for all children, health care for all Americans and a living wage that would bring every full-time worker above the poverty line. "That is an unfinished piece of business in this country," she said. "I pledge that I will work to make that happen."

It sure sounded like candidate-talk. Some insiders still caution that Clinton could change her mind, that she may suddenly decide that running for office in a state where she's never lived while her husband is leading a war effort is just too weird. But other veteran New York politicians believe it's all over but the announcement. City Council Speaker Peter F. Vallone, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1998, said Clinton has interviewed several of his campaign aides, including fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff and spokesman David Doak.

"I say she's running," Vallone said. "That's just the way it looks to me."

Clinton finished her day with a Manhattan fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney.

Next week, she's going to Washington.



BY HENRY RAY ABRAMS—AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

CORRECTIONS

A reference in yesterday's Politics column to "airy generalizations" from Texas Gov. George W. Bush was incorrectly included in a quote from a spokesman for Elizabeth Dole.

The time for author Marvin Kaplan's reading at Politics & Prose bookstore was reported incorrectly in the Literary Calendar in Sunday's Book World. The reading will take place at 5 p.m. Sunday. Call 202-364-1919 for details.

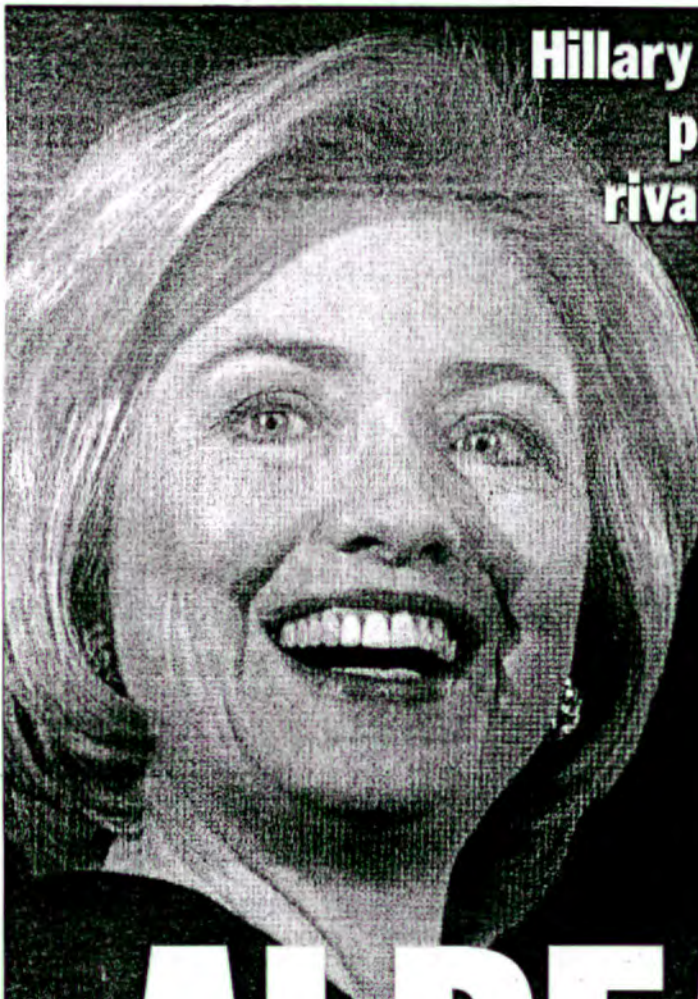
DAILY NEWS

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NEW YORK'S HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER

Friday, June 4, 1999



Hillary to form campaign panel, and her Dem rival quits – but she's still not talking...

SO RUN ALREADY!

SEE PAGE 7

SUSAN WATTS DAILY NEWS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

More steps taken for a Clinton run

Adviser says first lady will form exploratory panel; N.Y. Democrat won't seek Senate seat

By Lisa Anderson
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Positive clues were dropping fast and thick Thursday in the latest, if not final, installment of what has become politics' most-savored, long-running mystery: Will Hillary Rodham Clinton run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York?

Harold Ickes, a former White House deputy chief of staff and a top adviser to the first lady, said Thursday that she will form an exploratory committee early next month to prepare for a possible bid for the Senate seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

At the same time, Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), who had planned to run for the seat if Clinton did not, announced Thursday that she will run for re-election to the House instead. As a result, if Clinton runs, she will likely be unopposed in the Democratic primary.

On Wednesday, Clinton delivered the commencement speech at the City College of New York in Manhattan. It was her 10th visit to the state in almost as many weeks.

In the wake of recent reports that Clinton already is interviewing campaign staffers and rumors that she is considering a summer vacation in New York's Adirondack Mountains and a house in upscale Westchester County, Thursday's developments seemed to confirm that a Clinton candidacy is a done deal.

"All eyes are now focused on Hillary Clinton," said Sen. Charles Schumer, the New York Democrat who unseated GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November with enthusiastic help from the first lady.

The only thing missing is her formal declaration of candidacy. But even her putative Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, hasn't yet done that, although he formed an exploratory committee on April 12.

"I think every indication has been that she's going to run. At this point, I think the surprising news would be anything that contradicted that notion," said David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic strategist in Chicago.

While Axelrod, a friend of the Clintons, had hoped the first lady would spare herself what promises to be a bruising contest, he believes she will win. "She is an extraordinarily empathetic person who has a powerful sense of advo-



Lowey

Clinton

cacy for people. I think that is a strong contrast with Mayor Giuliani, who pulls wings off of flies for fun," he said, referring to Giuliani's reputation as an inveterate, if highly effective, bully.

When pitted against Giuliani in hypothetical contests, Clinton edges him out in opinion polls. However, the double-digit leads she had over him in February have dropped into single digits.

Meanwhile, it is by no means assured that Giuliani will be the Republican nominee. Long regarded warily within his own party, which he shocked by endorsing Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo over GOP challenger and ultimate winner George Pataki in 1994, Giuliani currently is feuding with Pataki. The governor has hinted strongly that he would prefer another Senate candidate.

That candidate may well be Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.), who appears to have Pataki's favor. Lazio, from suburban Long Island and less well-known, has depicted himself as less polarizing and more sympathetic to New Yorkers than the pugacious, highly urban Giuliani.

While there is little doubt that a Clinton-Giuliani fight would be spectacularly bloody, a Clinton-Lazio match might be equally difficult in a different way, said Axelrod.

"The danger with a lesser-known challenger is that the race becomes an up and down referendum on you. Very few people can survive that kind of thing," he said.

Should Clinton decide not to run, it would leave New York Democrats in an awkward position at best. "It would, because no matter who you put in there, if Mother Teresa rose from the dead and ran for the Democrats, she would still have the label 'second choice' written all over her," said Jay Severin, a GOP strategist in New York. "Hillary Clinton has created an environment and expectations so grand that anyone else would pale by comparison."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hil seems set to run

Campaign at the ready as rival bows out

By JOEL SIEGEL
Daily News Senior Political Correspondent



DECISION: Westchester Rep. Nita Lowey is going to run for reelection.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton still isn't talking, but her Senate candidacy became a near certainty yesterday when her only Democratic rival withdrew, and advisers said she intends to form an exploratory committee next month.

Barring a startling change of events, she will be the Democrats' nominee to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan in an epic campaign that could pit her against Mayor Giu-

liani.

From Martha Washington in 1789 to the present, no First Lady has ever run for office. Nor has a woman ever been elected to a major statewide office in New York.

Officially, the First Lady and her advisers continued to maintain that she had not made up her mind. But a five-minute chat between the First Lady and Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester) spoke volumes about Clinton's intentions.

For months, Lowey has served as the First Lady's understudy, poised to become

the Democrats' Senate nominee if Clinton did not run.

But growing weary of her role — and concluding that Clinton had decided to enter the race — Lowey called the First Lady to declare her intention to seek reelection to Congress. Clinton did not try to talk Lowey out of her decision or ask her to postpone it, Lowey said.

Clinton could yet pull out of the race — and some analysts still can't believe she will run. But to withdraw now would seriously hurt her party's chances of keeping Moyni-

han's seat — something her aides have pledged she would not do.

"There is no sign she is not going to run," said a top Democrat who is in regular touch with Clinton. "The First Lady is interviewing [campaign] staff. What more do you want?"

Shortly after Lowey's call, the First Lady's political adviser, Harold Ickes, said she "has every intention of forming an exploratory committee in July."

The committee would allow the First Lady to begin raising campaign money. Clinton — who was born in Illinois and lived in Arkansas — also must find a New York residence.

The developments came a day after the First Lady made her 10th trip to New York this year, a visit that had the flavor of a campaign swing.

Asked about her phone call, Lowey said: "It's time to move on and continue my career in the House. I made it very clear from the beginning that if the First Lady decided to run, I would support her, and it's clear in my judgment she is running. . . . She acts like a candidate, looks like a candidate, talks like a candidate."

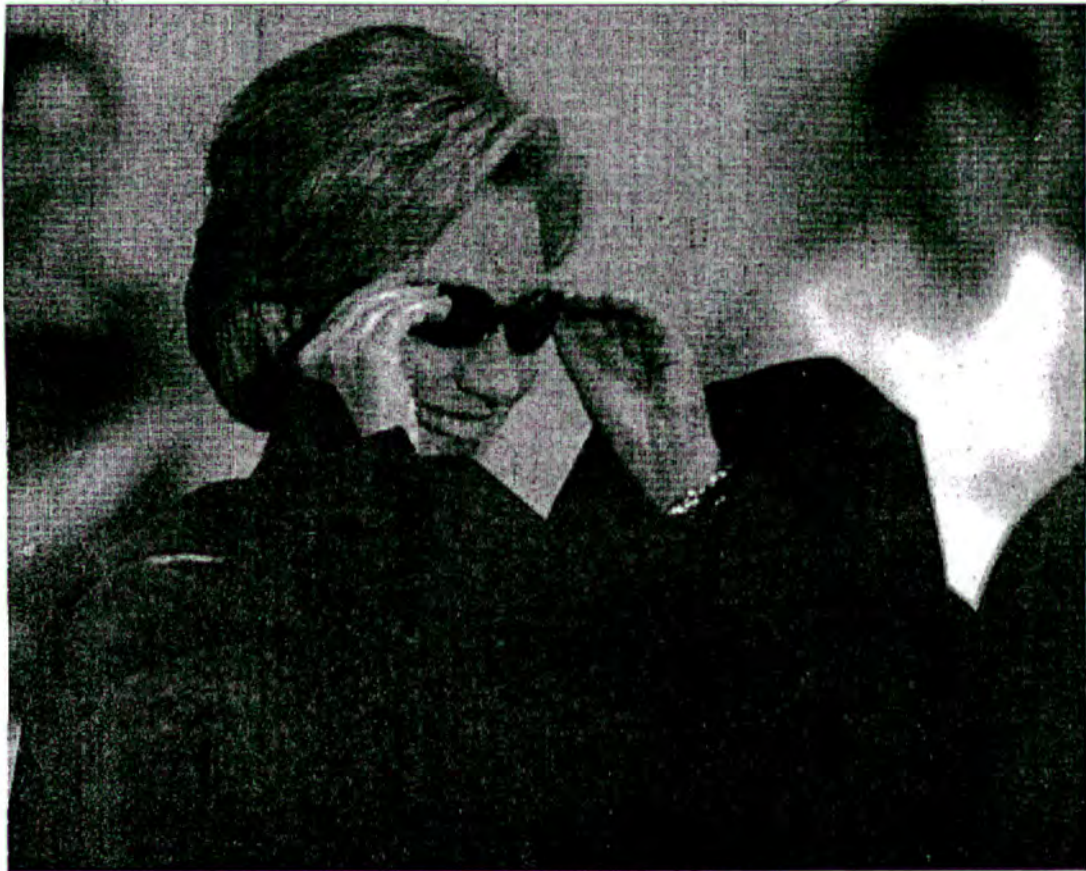
In a statement, Clinton said, "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her." There was no mention of her own plans.

Ickes sidestepped questions about whether Lowey's withdrawal means Clinton is in the race. "I think it is fair to say that she intends to press forward, as she has in the past," he said.

Giuliani and another Republican eyeing the race, Rep. Rick Lazio of Suffolk, pounced on Clinton's status as an out-of-stater. Lazio called her candidacy an "insult to New Yorkers."

Giuliani aide Bruce Teitelbaum said, "We are confident that the next senator from New York will be someone who lives in New York, has a longstanding connection . . . and who understands the needs and concerns of the people of New York."

With Kenneth R. Bazinet
and Timothy J. Burger



MADE IN SHADE: First Lady and keynote speaker Hillary Rodham Clinton dons present of sunglasses at high school graduation in Washington.

HARRY HAMBURG/DAILY NEWS

She's carpetbagger, sez Rudy in fund drive

By MICHAEL R. BLOOD

Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

Warning of a Senate campaign that will be an "all-out war," Mayor Giuliani is appealing for political donations in a fund-raising letter that lances Hillary Rodham Clinton as a carpetbagger driven by ambition — not concern for New Yorkers.

The First Lady "proved in the 1998 elections that she could raise millions of dollars in our state, and she is already rounding up support for her potential Senate bid," the Republican mayor writes in the letter, mailed to

homes across the state.

"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," Giuliani writes. "To me, New York is not a political 'stepping stone.' New York is my life."

Democrats, he adds, "are ready to wage an all-out war to hold the New York Senate seat."

The three-page missive, which banners Giuliani's name on the letterhead, asks for donations of \$1,000 or more to help his all-but-declared Sen-

ate campaign fend off political attacks from his "enemies."

It "will be the toughest challenge of my life — especially if Hillary Rodham Clinton is my opponent," the mayor said. "Many people believe that the New York Senate seat would be a launching pad for her political ambitions."

"My candidacy would not be based on what New York and the people of New York can do for me," Giuliani said.

The First Lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, would not comment on the letter.

Giuliani was in Michigan and unavailable for comment. His political committee would not comment on the letter or discuss how much money it had raised. Last month, the mayor raked in \$2.1 million at a New York City fund-raiser.

The letter — with a tone that ranges from beseeching to alarmist — is sprinkled with themes likely to define Giuliani's campaign: "proven leadership," "tax reductions," "welfare rolls cut."

"I am going to need every ounce, and every dime of help . . . I can get," he writes.

All but a certainty: Hillary Clinton aims at N.Y. Senate run

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — It looks like she's really going to do it. Hillary Rodham Clinton, it seems, is really going to run for the US Senate.

The only other New York Democrat who has expressed interest in the seat, Representative Nita Lowey of Long Island, called her yesterday to say she has dropped her Senate plans and will run for reelection.

Lowey had been saying for months that she would not mount a campaign for the Senate seat if Clinton ran for it — and yesterday, the congresswoman said, it looked more and more clear that the first lady is going to run.

In reply, Clinton offered no encouragement to Lowey, nor did she dispel the premise of her decision. Rather, in a written statement issued through her press office, she said, "I thank Nita for her support. I look forward to working with her."

Clinton's chief political adviser, Harold Ickes, turned this eyebrow-raising development into a tempest when he told the Associated Press, later in the day, that the

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■ **Gore courts labor in New Hampshire. A12.**

Hillary Clinton shifts toward Senate run

■ NEW YORK

Continued from Page A1

first lady "has every intention of setting up an exploratory committee" for a Senate bid "in early July."

In today's politics, that is practically the same thing as tossing your hat in the ring.

"Is this tantamount to declaring her candidacy for the Senate?" mused Hank Sheinkopf, a leading Democratic consultant here. "Absolutely."

Yesterday evening, Ickes backpedaled and said in phone interview: "If I said what I was quoted as saying, I overstated things. Mrs. Clinton is going to continue to press forward, as she has in the past. But no decision has been made about an exploratory committee."

However, a source close to Clinton said, on condition of anonymity, "Mrs. Lowey's no longer in, Mrs. Clinton has said she very much wants a Democrat to keep that Senate seat, and there's no other candidate standing."

Pollster John Zogby made a point that follows that logic to the next step: "What if she doesn't run now? She will have shafted New York Democrats in a big way. They had no other candidate." Zogby's conclusion: "She's running."

Meanwhile, people close to New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani — who has already formed an exploratory committee — have said in recent days that he will "definitely" run for the Senate if Clinton is his opponent.

'What if she doesn't run now? She will have shafted New York Democrats in a big way. They had no other candidate.'

JOHN ZOGBY
Pollster

"He's chomping at the bit for her," one associate said.

So, the race that every politician, bookie, and newspaper columnist in the state has been pining for seems about to come true.

Forming an exploratory committee is particularly crucial for Clinton because it will allow her to raise campaign funds and, therefore, pay for trips to New York out of her own budget. In her increasingly frequent trips here lately, she has scheduled enough appearances that could be deemed "official White House business" to justify flying on a government plane. However, as these trips have become more obviously political, she has been criticized for campaigning at taxpayers' expense.

Analysts of both parties agree that Clinton comes into this race

with a long list of pluses and minuses, many of them stemming from the same set of qualities.

When politicos started buzzing about a possible Hillary-for-Senate campaign late last year — at first, as a lark, with no authorization or even apparent interest from the first lady herself — polls showed her beating Giuliani, in a hypothetical race, by over 20 percent.

Now, every poll shows a very tight contest. Some show her winning, some show her losing, but in every case, the margin of victory or defeat is narrower than the poll's statistical margin of error.

They all show Clinton winning big in New York City, where the population is overwhelmingly Democratic. They also show her winning, generally, among blacks, Hispanics, union workers, and — though not by much — women.

However, the polls show her losing in the suburbs, upstate, and among white men.

Everyone expects it to be one of the closest, most bitterly fought, and most amply funded Senate races next year.

The polls suggest one major issue will be the charge that Hillary Rodham Clinton is a "carpetbagger," someone who has never lived in New York, rarely walked down any of its sidewalks, and who is using the state for her own national ambitions.

Polls indicate that more than 40 percent of voters are concerned about Clinton's nonresident status — even though she has said she will move to New York after leaving the White House, no matter what. The issue has also become a guaranteed laugh-and-applause line in Republican speeches across the state.

Many Democrats dismiss the concern, pointing out that Robert F. Kennedy was elected senator here in 1964, despite his obvious Boston accent.

However, Sheinkopf, who hastened to note that he supports Clinton, said the carpetbagger label could hurt her. "People forget RFK was the brother of the slain president," he said. "They also forget Lyndon Johnson won New York state that year by over 2 million votes. Al Gore isn't going to win New York state by that much. Bobby also spent time in his youth in New York. And — not least — he was Irish Catholic. The Catholic vote determines outcome in this state. And Catholics usually elect Catholics."

The list of recent Catholic officeholders in New York is impressive: Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (who is retiring from the Senate seat in contention), Governor George Pataki, former governors Mario Cuomo and Hugh Carey — and Giuliani.

N.Y. legislator clears way for first lady

Representative
Nita Lowey
won't run
for Senate seat

Mimi Hall
TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton gave the strongest signal yet Thursday that she will run for the U.S. Senate in New York. She opted Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey's decision to take herself out of the race and let it be known that she is to form an exploratory committee in early July.

Lowey, a six-term congresswoman, planned to seek the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan if he didn't. She telephoned the first lady Thursday to say she would run for the Senate and would not seek re-election to the House. Though Clinton is not expected to make a formal announcement of candidacy until the fall or later, "it became increasingly clear that the first lady will run for the Senate," Lowey said in a statement. "I called the first lady to share my decision with her, and I pledged my support for her candidacy."

Lowey's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the first lady thanked Lowey for being a friend.

In her own statement, Clinton said: "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her." She asked whether Lowey had been impatient waiting for Clinton to announce a decision, Wolfson said his boss has found the process to be



By Jeff Christensen, Reuters

Support for Hillary: Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Nita Lowey attend a fundraiser May 24 in New York. Lowey pledged her support for Clinton Thursday.

"very rewarding," but "the law of diminishing returns came into play."

Lowey said she would have considered it an "honor" to run for the Senate, but "I conclude this process with-

out any regrets."

Harold Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff who is advising Clinton on her likely Senate run, said Lowey's decision — and the

first lady's acceptance of it — do not amount to an absolute confirmation that Clinton will run.

But Lowey's aides clearly believe Clinton would have stopped her friend from publicly bowing out of the race if she didn't have every intention of running herself.

"One would think," Wolfson said.

Ickes said the first lady plans to form an exploratory committee after she returns from a two-week trip to Europe, Israel and Jordan at the end of June.

Clinton has faced growing criticism for taking nearly a dozen trips to New York at taxpayer expense since the start of the year, and White House lawyers have advised her to form the committee, so she can raise money to pay for future trips.

Democratic political strategist Mandy Grunwald, who also is advising Clinton, confirmed that the first lady has begun talking to and interviewing potential Senate campaign staffers.

Aides say Clinton knows she'll face a tough campaign against the likely Republican front-runner, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

But they say she has decided that the Senate would provide the best platform for her to promote issues such as health care and child care that she's worked on all her life.

Another factor that may have helped propel Clinton into the race: Disarray among New York Republicans. Although Giuliani is widely believed to have a lock on the GOP nomination if he runs, he might face a primary battle against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio. And a long-simmering dispute between Giuliani and New York's Republican Gov. George Pataki also could hurt Giuliani's standing in more conservative upstate New York.

PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESENTATION

Last Democrat Gives Way To First Lady's Likely Run

Rep. Lowey Abandons N.Y. Senate Race

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
and JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writers

Hillary Rodham Clinton's all-but-announced Senate candidacy in New York became even more of a foregone conclusion yesterday, as the only other potential Democratic candidate said she is dropping out of the race because it is "clear" that Clinton will run.

Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.) yesterday said she is withdrawing from the Senate race to clear the field for the first lady and will instead run for a seventh term in the House. Advisers to Hillary Clinton said she plans to announce the formation of an exploratory committee in early July, and while some still caution that she could change her mind, the adopted-state candidacy that once seemed almost too far-fetched to contemplate is looking more than ever like a done deal.

Clinton, who has never lived in New York and has never run for elective office, met yesterday to talk politics with James Carville, the charismatic consultant so cen-

tral to her husband's 1992 presidential campaign. Carville said the first lady never declared to him that she was running during their chat, but he said the assumption was obvious.

"I don't know if I've ever declared to her that I'm a male," Carville said. "It's understood."

Now that Lowey has pulled out, Clinton is the only Democrat even considering the race to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.); New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.) are likely to compete for the Republican nomination. Lowey, who had pledged to run for Senate if Clinton did not, said she simply realized that the first lady is acting like a candidate and talking like a candidate because she is a candidate.

"She's clearly made the decision to run," said Lowey, who called Clinton yesterday and pledged to support her still-undeclared candidacy. "It was time for me to move on."

Lowey did not rule out the possibility of getting back into the race if Clinton has a change of heart, but Democratic insiders say the party is obviously counting on the first lady to run. Potential candidates such as state Comptroller Carl McCall, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo and environmental activist Robert F. Kennedy Jr. have already taken their names out of circulation, and Clinton advisers acknowledged yesterday that she would put the party in an uncomfortable position were she to forgo the race.

"The ante has been upped on Hillary," one top adviser said.

Other Democrats were even blunter about the first lady's responsibility to the state and national party. Polls suggest that even for Clinton, one of the best-known and most-admired women in America, a celebrity showdown with the pugnacious Giuliani—who pointedly joked during her visit to Manhattan on Tuesday that he was thinking about a visit to Arkansas and yesterday quipped to reporters that "exploring New York is a good thing"—would be no cakewalk. And the longer she stays in the mix, the harder it would be to replace her. "At this point, if she doesn't run, we're screwed," one New York operative said.

For now, though, everyone's assumption is that Clinton is running, even though she has no real ties to New York, even though she just lived through the nightmare of impeachment, even though she would undoubtedly face a barrage of uncomfortable questions about Whitewater, her high-profile fail-

ure to deliver a national health insurance plan and her unusual success in the cattle futures market. When Lowey suggested to Clinton yesterday that she had clearly made up her mind to run, she did not agree, but she did not disagree, either. And while Clinton advisers have been saying for a while that she plans to form an exploratory committee in early July, Harold Ickes yesterday was the first to say so on the record.

"She's pressing forward," he said. "The creation of an exploratory committee would be the obvious next step."

Clinton's interest in the Senate race was evident Sunday at a private meeting in Florida, as she buttonholed a number of Democratic activists for advice about sharpening and shaping her message. Sources said that during breaks from a day-long forum sponsored by the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, she quizzed insiders such as DLC Director Al From, former White House communications director Donald A. Baer, White House pollster Mark Penn, and New York Democratic activists Lynn Forester, Bob Burkett and Bob and Ronay Menschel.

President Clinton, a former DLC chairman, has championed some causes that have angered liberal Democratic constituencies, such as free trade and welfare reform, but no one is quite sure whether his

wife plans to echo those ideas during a campaign in New York. Sources said that at the forum, the first lady batted around ideas about the politics of trade and Social Security, wondering how a New York politician can appeal to both moderates and liberals.

"She clearly is engaged in the challenge of trying to think about how you continue to offer innovative ideas for governing, but without creating ruptures in the broader Democratic coalition," said W.J. Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

Hillary Clinton is an eloquent and often inspiring speaker, and there is no doubt that she could be a prodigious fund-raiser. The national media are dying for her to run, and Democrats see her as a possible future president. But the prospect of a first lady running for office in New York while her husband is running the country in Washington is still a bizarre scenario, and Clinton associates cautioned that it hasn't happened yet.

"This is obviously moving ahead in one direction," said Democratic consultant Mandy Grunwald, another Clinton adviser. "I think she's where she was yesterday and the day before and the day before that. But she hasn't made an announcement. That's where we are."

Staff writer Charles Babington contributed to this report.

PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION

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THE WASHINGTON P

First Lady Exhorts Graduates, Pleases Crowd

By MANUEL PEREZ-RIVAS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Eleanor Roosevelt did it 62 years ago. And yesterday, first lady Hillary Clinton followed in her predecessor's footsteps when she, too, addressed the graduating class of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School.

In the same way Roosevelt urged the Bethesda-Chevy Chase 1937 graduating class to reach out to solve the nation's problems during the Great Depression, Clinton urged the Class of 1999 to help address the country's troubles today: in particular, the issues at the root of the April shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo.

"We all acknowledge that we might never truly know what motivated those two young men [at Columbine High School], or indeed any other young people, to turn reckless on themselves or others," she said. "But even if we cannot fully understand, that does not absolve us of concern and responsibility. We are neither helpless nor hopeless."

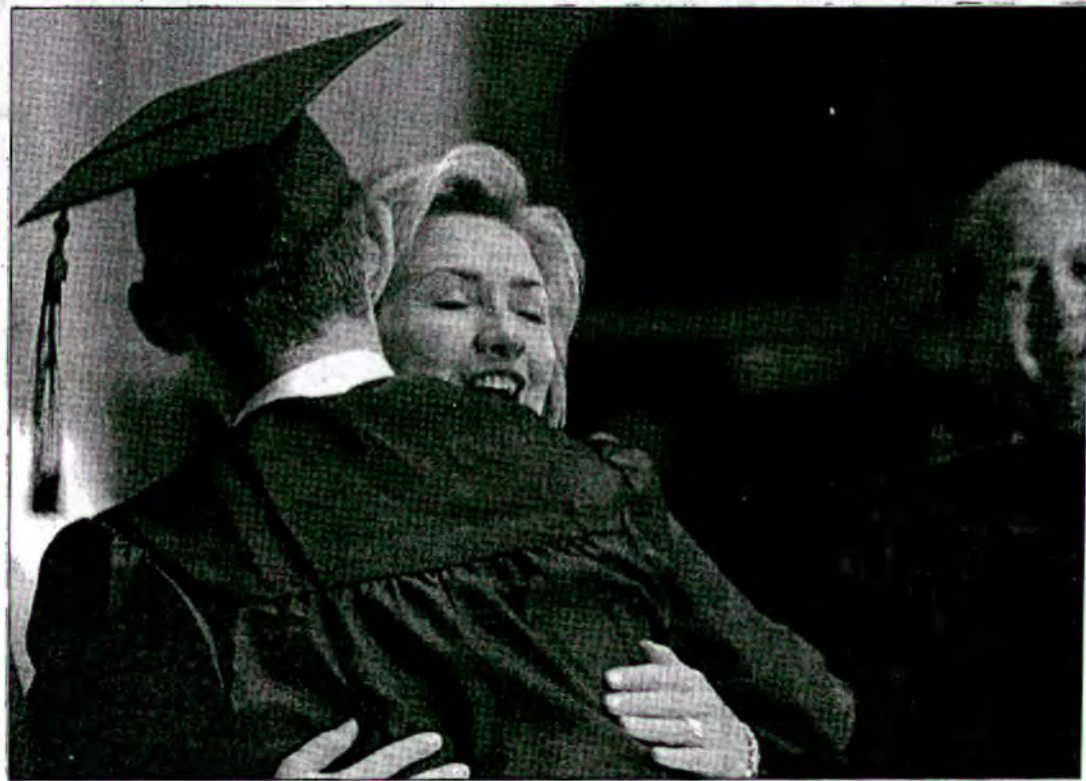
Despite the serious tone of Clinton's address, the morning commencement was a festive occasion.

The first lady hit it off with the students and the hundreds of family members and friends who filled DAR Constitution Hall in the District for the ceremony. She participated in the entire, nearly three-hour ceremony, shaking hands with all of the 260 blue-gowned graduates after they received their diplomas.

She almost escaped without a mention of her possible interest in running for the U.S. Senate. But Stephen N. Abrams, a member of the Montgomery County Board of Education, drew some of the biggest cheers of the day when he mentioned that there might be a job for the first lady just across the District line: "We've heard some speculation about your future plans," Abrams said. "We're currently looking for a superintendent."

Even before Clinton arrived, students speculated about whether she might use the forum to discuss a Senate bid. The graduates seemed thrilled to have her, even those who knew little of her politics or enough to disagree with them.

"She's a remarkable woman, not just because of what she's been



BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST
Hillary Clinton gets a surprise hug from graduate James Finlay at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School commencement.

through in the White House—and all that other stuff—but just the fact that she's, you know, the first lady," said graduate David Melton, 18.

"Not every high school gets to have a first lady come and speak at their graduation and shake everyone's hand," said Marlyn Valerio, 19. "She's a great lady. She's done her best. It was a real honor."

Some students praised her for taking time to learn about the school before giving her speech, and for personalizing it with stories about her own days in high school. The problems of alienation and of dealing with diversity are not new, she said, recalling that she was a member of her high school's "cultural values committee," which strived to bridge barriers between different groups in her school. "This is not a new problem for America," she said.

The first lady agreed to speak at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase graduation after receiving a letter from three of the graduating seniors last winter, who extolled the school's virtues and threw in a little history, including Eleanor Roosevelt's visit. It didn't hurt that the parents of students who wrote the letter know Clinton.

"We basically just aimed as high as we could," said Carter

Beach, whose mother is a writer on the first lady's staff. In the letter, he said, "we bragged about the school, and we included some of the history."

Clinton noted that she was following in Roosevelt's footsteps at the outset of her speech, joking about "talking" with her "just the other night."

"I have learned in my years at the White House that everywhere you go, Mrs. Roosevelt has been first," she said.

"If I'm visiting a factory, or a service project, or some far settlement on this continent or where, I'm likely to be greeted with 'Welcome, but you are the first lady to have come to see us

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

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

THE FIRST LADY zeroes in on a New York address for a likely Senate run.

The Clintons mull a plan to have a friend buy a house in Westchester County so they can lease it. Details, including the friend's identity, are kept secret in a close circle of aides. Advisers consider legal and ethical issues involved in such an arrangement. Veteran fund-raisers Terry McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan will help raise money outside New York.

Some advisers predict the first lady will announce her candidacy in three or four weeks. But others oppose any formal move until year end. Democratic New York Rep. Lowey's decision yesterday to run for reelection rather than the Senate "takes the pressure off" Mrs. Clinton to announce quickly, one adviser says.

Senate Democrats, whose ranks Mrs. Clinton hopes to join, say she is keeping them in the dark.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

Victory Would Be Hillary's Best Revenge

A Republican senator running for re-election next year recently reacted this way to Hillary Rodham Clinton's now probable New York Senate campaign:

"Can't you get her to run against *me*?"

Think of the benefits, added this savvy GOP pol. He could immediately fire his fund-raisers. A couple of national mass-mailings would bring in more than enough campaign cash. The chance to beat the First Tiger Lady would unite otherwise fractious Republicans from Jerry Falwell to Christie Whitman. And victory would make him a national GOP celebrity.

That widely shared sentiment says more about Mrs. Clinton's political ambition than all of the canned public Democratic applause she's now hearing. In private, many Democrats are worried about her candidacy. It's



Hillary Clinton

Republicans who are pleased, if also dumbfounded at her audacity.

"I continue to be astonished that she's going to run," says one operative charged with re-electing a GOP Senate. "There's a virtual certainty that if she runs it hurts everything else Democrats want to do."

No Democrat can afford to say this on the record, of course. And the First Lady's media friends have stayed quiet, perhaps to encourage what everyone understands would be a reporter's dream—two presidential races for the price of one.

The exception is The New Republic, which has trashed her candidacy as loudly as it's promoting Al Gore's—and which is no coincidence, comrade. Its editors know Mr. Gore has enough problems without adding Hillary's.

Any Democrat not inhaling James Carville's exhaust can tell you the risks: She'll suck money and attention away

NITA BOWS OUT OF

SENATE RACE



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

YIELDING TO HILLARY: Westchester Congresswoman Nita Lowey (left) will forgo a Senate run in favor of likely candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Rep. Nita Lowey yesterday ditched her dreams of running for U.S. Senate, to make way for Hillary Rodham Clinton — whose pals quickly upstaged her by saying the First Lady will launch an exploratory committee.

Clinton is now the only Democrat eyeing the 2000 Senate race — meaning state Democrats could be in big trouble, and without a serious candidate, if she bows out later.

"I called [Mrs. Clinton] and said it seemed clear that she was running for Senate — and, therefore, I was going to run for re-election to the House and I wished her well," Lowey, a Westchester congresswoman, told The Post.

"She said she's grateful for my friendship and she wants to continue working with me and she admired me. I said if she moves to Harrison or Bedford, maybe she could come over for a barbecue, and she said she'd love to do that."

Clinton said, "I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her. Nita is a leader on so many critical issues

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

affecting the lives of New Yorkers. I know that she will continue to be an outstanding and effective congresswoman."

Mayor Giuliani, the First Lady's likely GOP rival, quickly jabbed at Clinton, who has never lived in New York, saying: "I think exploring New York is a good thing. Maybe she should explore New York a little."

Giuliani, in Mackinac Island, Mich., for a speech, added: "I remain totally confident that the next senator from New York will be someone who has intimate connections to New York and has lived there a long time."

Lowey said the First Lady didn't explicitly confirm in their brief phone chat that she has decided to run for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan — but didn't dispute it either.

Soon afterward, The Associated Press quoted Harold Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's close pal, as saying:

"Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward."

In an interview with The Post, Ickes didn't deny telling the AP that Clinton would launch her exploratory committee in July, but said such a statement "went further than I intended to go."

Analysts said Lowey was smart to get out gracefully before she started looking silly.

Asked if she'll reconsider if Clinton exits later, Lowey replied: "Never say never — but my plan is to run for re-election to the House."

Aides said Lowey will cease campaigning outside her district.

Political consultant George Arzt said Democrats will be in big trouble if Clinton doesn't run, because "whoever runs would be chicken salad compared to the star that didn't run."

He predicted that if Clinton doesn't run, Democrats will beg state Comptroller Carl McCall to reconsider his decision not to do so.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

True believers

"Hillary Clinton believes in the power of stories. She builds her speeches around anecdotes — 'One single story can pierce through and make it clear that we are all in the same story,' she said at the United Nations in March — and she also believes that politicians can build and maintain support by constructing running stories about themselves and their policies. During the early days of Bill Clinton's first term, she urged his aides to think in terms of a 'story' or 'journey' for the administration. 'Her vision of the journey was that these guys are solid, idealistic Democrats who are coming in to take on entrenched special interests for the sake of the common good,' recalls George Stephanopoulos, the former Clinton aide.

"But that narrative, if ever real, was rudely elbowed aside by others: Whitewater, the health care debacle, the Gingrich revolution, Monica. For New York liberals, however, Hillary Clinton still embodies the idealism of '92. The adoring women — and men —



Eleanor Roosevelt

who flock to her speeches talk less about what she has accomplished than what they are convinced she is capable of doing. . . . You sense, talking with them, that she has not yet proved to be the role model they want — as Sen. Chuck Schumer put it, 'sort of a latter-day Eleanor Roosevelt.'"
— James Bennet, writing on "Hillary, Herself," in Sunday's New York Times Magazine

Lowey won't run for Senate, clears way for Hillary in N.Y.

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton will announce formation of an exploratory committee in early July to begin seeking money and support for an expected run for the Senate seat in New York, Democratic supporters said yesterday.

Former White House aide Harold Ickes, who has been Mrs. Clinton's chief political adviser, revealed the first lady's intentions after Rep. Nita M. Lowey decided not to seek the Democratic nomination to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Mrs. Lowey's decision to seek re-election to her House seat leaves the field wide open for Mrs. Clinton to be the nominee.

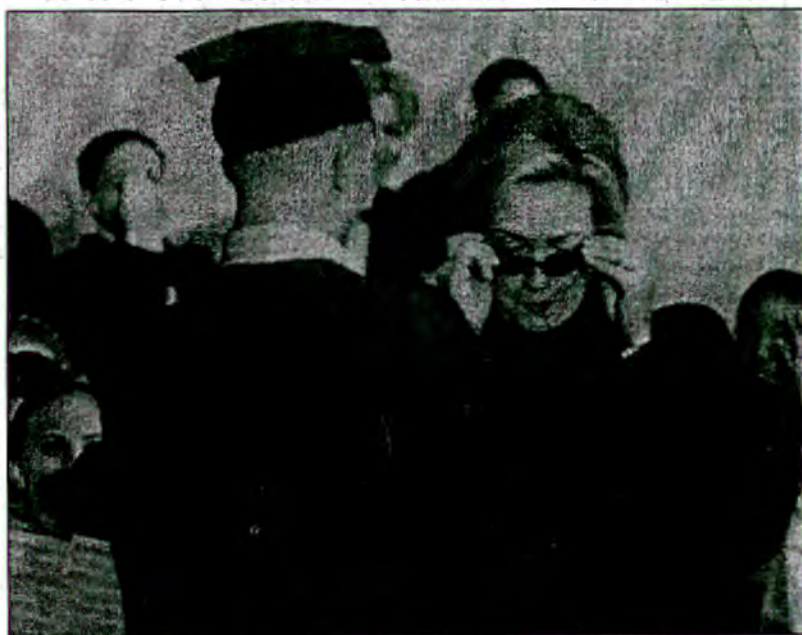
"Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House. I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her," Mrs. Clinton said in a brief statement.

Howard Wolfson, the congresswoman's spokesman, said that "Nita called the first lady, told the first lady that it was clear to her that the first lady was going to run for the Senate and that therefore Nita was going to run for the House."

Mr. Ickes told reporters yesterday that "Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July."

However, the longtime Clinton strategist and New York political operative cautioned that formation of the committee did not guarantee that Mrs. Clinton will run. "This is one step at a time. The initial step forward is to form the exploratory committee and continue to talk to the people of New York," Mrs. Clinton may define her exploratory plans as only a tentative first step, leaving her the option not to run if her prospective candidacy should falter.

"I don't think anybody in New



Hillary Rodham Clinton tries on sunglasses handed her during Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School commencement exercises.

York believes she's not going to run," said former New York Democratic Party Chairman John Marino. "I don't care what Harold says, this is a huge step."

But Mr. Marino, a longtime party strategist, had some strong words of advice for the first lady: start campaigning now.

"Hillary must go out, not to these staged events, but go out to where there are real people, especially in upstate New York. She should spend the summer and fall traveling New York state and spend time listening to what people are saying," he said.

Mr. Marino said that Mrs. Clinton was in for "a very tough campaign" against her likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

"This race will be no better and no worse than a 50-50 proposition for her to win," he said.

Other Democratic supporters said she will have an especially hard time dealing with charges that she has never lived in New York and with the many scandals that have plagued the Clintons during her husband's presidency.

"Hillary Clinton has a problem and that is that the voters are tired of the Clintons. Many of them are saying they have been around for nearly eight years and it's time for them to go. She's going to have a problem with that," said a New York City Democratic strategist.

A sampling of the political problems confronting Mrs. Clinton was revealed in a survey of New York voters taken by independent pollster John Zogby.

"The top questions for the first lady: Why is she running in New York? And why did she stay with him?" Mr. Zogby wrote in the New York Times Wednesday.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

Haunting Hillary

"Sexgate prober Ken Starr will be haunting Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign if she runs," writes New York Post reporter and columnist Deborah Orin.

"Sources say Starr is finally wrapping up his probe of the messy Travelgate charges that the first lady forced the firing of career travel staffers to make way for Clinton cronies," Miss Orin said.

"Starr's staff may complete its report this summer, but more likely sometime before the end of the year, sources say — just when the first lady could be getting into high gear for a Senate race."

The report would remind voters "that Mrs. Clinton was a player in some of the Clinton messes, not simply a victim of Sexgate," Miss Orin said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Female candidates

"Pretty soon, somebody is going to look at next year's Senate races and note that a number of the most competitive, high-profile contests are likely to feature female nominees," political analyst Stuart Rothenberg observes.

"That will provoke a flurry of articles and television reports about female candidates and women in politics," Mr. Rothen-

berg said in his Roll Call column.

"I know that will happen because it ALWAYS happens. . . ."

"This cycle, eight competitive Senate races will almost definitely include female candidates. On the Democratic side, the list includes Michigan (Rep. Debbie Stabenow), Nevada (state Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa), Washington (state Insurance Commissioner Deborah Senn), New York (either first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton or Rep. Nita Lowey) and California (Sen. Dianne Feinstein)."

[Mrs. Lowey announced yesterday, however, that she was forgoing a Senate race, and will instead run for re-election to the House.]

"In three states, the GOP is likely to have female nominees: New Jersey (Gov. Christine Todd Whitman), Maine (Sen. Olympia Snowe) and Texas (Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchinson)."

That's not much different from other elections going back to 1990, which, on average, featured six or seven credible female candidates, Mr. Rothenberg said.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hollywood Hillary

Talk about timing. Just when President Clinton started breaking bad with Hollywood — telling producers to clean up their acts and proposing a \$1 million study on the impact of television and movie violence on society — some guy named "Lawrencio" comes along and takes out ad space in *Movieline* magazine to present his poetic creation, "Lady Named Hillary."

"In 1992 a beautiful lady came shining through with her hopes and dreams to better our country. Negative people have put her down from the start overlooking her talent and kind heart saying hurtful things to tear her apart. Press has not always been kind many times causing her stress but with her grace and style she will never turn her back on a cause worth while. You can see the sparkle in her eye when Chelsea is by her side. She has a smile when Bill is near but her compassion for others is what is so clear and dear. First ladies have come and gone but the lovely lady Hillary will always go on. Just like from the start she will always have a place in our hearts. Lawrencio."

A Democrat Exits for the Undeclared Clinton

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Saying she was convinced that Hillary Rodham Clinton was running for Senator from New York, Representative Nita M. Lowey abandoned her own bid for the position yesterday, announcing her decision in a telephone call to Mrs. Clinton at the White House. Mrs. Clinton made no attempt to dissuade her, and the First Lady's aides later said that she was likely to form an exploratory committee in July.

"It's clear she is running," Ms. Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester, said in an interview shortly after her five-minute conversation with the First Lady. "It's time for me to move on."

The sequence of events — starting with a 1:20 P.M. call by Mrs. Lowey to the White House that had been arranged by aides to the two women

the night before — seemed to leave little doubt that the First Lady intends to seek the Democratic nomination to run in 2000 to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring.

Within hours after Ms. Lowey, who had presented herself as the fallback Democratic candidate in the race, announced her decision, Harold M. Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's senior political adviser, said that the First Lady was

"pressing forward" with her candidacy. He said she was likely to take the first formal step of creating an exploratory committee when she returns from a trip to Europe and the Middle East in July.

In Washington, Mrs. Clinton issued a short statement that praised Ms. Lowey's record as a member of Congress, and hinted at a continued political alliance in the months ahead. "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her," Mrs. Clinton said.

The First Lady had sought to put off giving any firm sign of her intentions until early summer, but by design or not, Ms. Lowey's decision seems to have forced Mrs. Clinton to reveal more than she might have liked at this point. If Mrs. Clinton still

Continued on Page A27

Westchester Democrat Leaves Senate Race to Mrs. Clinton

Continued From Page A1

had serious doubts about making the race, several Democrats said yesterday, she almost certainly would have advised Ms. Lowey to stay on the stage. Ms. Lowey said Mrs. Clinton said nothing of the sort.

In theory at least, Mrs. Clinton could still decide not to run, and Ms. Lowey could reverse herself and get back in the race. But associates of both women called the chances of that remote. Such a move by the First Lady would be highly disruptive to the state Democratic Party, leaving it in the lurch at a time when its leaders are already concerned about holding on to the seat if the Republicans run Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

Ms. Lowey's withdrawal ended one of the odder political entanglements of recent years. Just last week, Mrs. Clinton came to New York to help Ms. Lowey raise \$1 million, money that would have financed a Lowey campaign for Senate if Mrs. Clinton herself did not enter the race.

Some Democrats had begun to suggest that Ms. Lowey's willingness to stand back and quietly await Mrs. Clinton's decision, applauded at first as a sign of loyalty, could begin to seem weak and even farcical, particularly as Mrs. Clinton's candidacy seemed increasingly inevitable.

That said, there were no indications that Ms. Lowey felt any resentment over how she has fared in the public spotlight these last few months. From a political perspective, she is arguably in a much stronger position today than she was at the start of the year, by virtue of having played even a secondary role in such a high-profile contest. She has gone from being a little-known Representative from Westchester to being a statewide Democratic figure.

She raised about \$2 million during the last six months, her spokesman,



James Estrin/The New York Times

Representative Nita M. Lowey calling Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday to tell the First Lady that she had abandoned her bid for the Senate.

Howard Wolfson, said, probably more than she needs for a re-election race. At the age of 61, she is unlikely to have an opportunity to run again for the Senate — the next Senate race after 2000 is 2004, and that seat is already held by a Democrat, Charles E. Schumer — but she is certain to be viewed by Democrats as a stronger contender for governor in 2002.

Ms. Lowey had said she would run for the Senate only if Mrs. Clinton did not. In an interview, she said that she decided to quit her effort after a week in which Mrs. Clinton met with New York political strategists in the White House, and flew to New York to decry the state of the public school system in the city.

"In the past week or so, it was increasingly clear to me that the First Lady had decided to run," Ms. Lowey said. "It didn't make sense for me to stay in."

"The law of diminishing returns had set in," she said.

Mr. Wolfson called Mr. Ickes on Wednesday night to inform him of the decision and to arrange the telephone call, which Ms. Lowey made from her district office on Mamaroneck Avenue in White Plains. Ms. Lowey's aides said they had no idea how the First Lady would respond to the decision, and there was a real sense of suspense in Ms. Lowey's camp.

"I said to her that it was clear to me she was running, and therefore I was going to continue working in the House for re-election," Ms. Lowey said, recounting the conversation. "She said, 'I look forward to working with you.'"

In many ways, the timing of Ms. Lowey's announcement was less than ideal for Mrs. Clinton. She has been enjoying the kind of benefits that come from being a celebrity candidate who has not actually announced for office, drawing tremendous and largely uncritical coverage

A Congresswoman from Westchester says she is convinced the First Lady will run for the Senate.

of her every move. That is likely to change the more she is viewed as a real player on the field.

Mrs. Clinton's advisers said as a formal matter, Ms. Lowey's announcement would not accelerate their own political schedule. "I'm just going to push ahead and take this one step at a time," said Mr. Grunwald, a political consultant who worked for Mr. Moynihan's campaigns and is expected to play a role in Mrs. Clinton's campaign.

In Mackinac Island, Mich., where Mr. Giuliani was addressing a business group yesterday, the Mayor reacted to the news of Mrs. Clinton's consideration of an exploratory committee with his standard refrain of recent days — noting that she was running for Senate from a state where she had never lived.

"Maybe she should explore New York a little more," he said. The Mayor said, "I formed an exploratory committee about six weeks ago."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hill might turn funds into Ill.-gotten gains

YOU'VE heard of take the money and run? Hillary might take the money and *not* run.

There's a little-known quirk in our loophole-laden federal election law: If a Senate candidate forms an exploratory committee — as Hillary is doing — and raises lots of money but doesn't run, she can keep the money and use it for any political purpose she wants.

That's right. She gets to keep the money.

If Hillary raises \$4 million or \$5 million between now and next fall and then bows out, it would be illegal for her to transfer all the money to the Democratic candidate. The most she could give is \$5,000.

What can she spend the rest on? Any political purpose she wants.

She can't buy a house with it. But she can pay for staff, travel, and even fund a future campaign for another Senate seat in another state — like Illinois in 2004, for example.

This may be Hillary's game. Ask yourself why the First Lady should appear to be warming up to the idea of running when:

■ She's 5 to 7 points behind in most polls.

DICK MORRIS



■ She's slipped almost 8 points in most surveys.

■ Her husband's job-performance rating has fallen below 60 for the first time in four years.

■ The likely nominee of her party for president, the top of the ticket in 2000, is 20 points behind.

■ Her likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has rebounded in his ratings since the days of the Amadou Diallo shooting.

Why, indeed? Is she making the appropriate noises to set up a number of million-dollar fundraisers so that she can take the money and not run?

Will she 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?

And while we're at it, why is she going out of her way to signal that she and Bill are an item?

Why the highly publicized joint vacation in Florida? Why

the kiss at the Littleton event? Why the Dan Rather interview about her "abiding commitment" to her husband?

Could it be that it's a lot easier to raise money if you are perceived as staying with the incumbent president rather than seen as likely to leave him?

Which interest group or lobbyist wants a close relationship with an ex-First Lady? Don't most of them want to give Hillary money because of her proximity to you-know-who?

The final piece of evidence for Hillary-watchers is that her "friends" take pains, in every story and every orchestrated leak, to say that she could still back out anytime she wants.

They always leave an escape hatch.

Nobody burns any bridges on her behalf. So she can pull back once the fund-raising has amassed a substantial and portable war chest.

If this sounds too planned, programmed and plotted for Hillary, you just don't know her very well.

Mrs. Clinton talks the talk / Editorial: Page 24

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

NEW Yorkers are beginning to get used to **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and to be a bit blasé about her. But when she appeared in Manhattan last month to be presented with the award for Arts Advocacy by **Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg** at the fourth-annual National Arts Awards, those of us sitting down front got a load of some of her Secret Service's modus operandi.

The Secret Service insisted on a phone being installed as near as possible to the dining area in the New York State Theater. Someone in the First Lady's entourage was overheard: "The phone could be there in case the president needs to call her, although if he called, she'd just say she would call him back. What she wants the phone for is in case **Chelsea** calls. That's a call she always interrupts herself to take!"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

Mrs. Clinton Talks the Talk

Hillary Clinton brought her nascent U.S. Senate campaign to town on Wednesday, trying out some applause lines on an exceedingly receptive audience: graduates of the City College of New York.

Among other graduates, the once-great college now produces would-be teachers, roughly one-half of whom can't pass the state's certification exams — compared with a 90-plus percent pass rate at most other New York colleges and universities.

For this and other reasons, the decline of City College has become central to the current debate over public-education standards in New York City.

So it was useful, if disheartening, to hear the First Lady's words on the subject of public-school excellence in the Big Apple:

"We can never lift up our public schools or the pupils they serve by tearing them down."

Translation: Hillary Clinton stands with the status quo that so fears needed change that it treats justified criticism of the public-education system as if it were an attack.

Then Mrs. Clinton trotted off to fete the president of the United Federation of Teachers, Randi Weingarten. The hugely rich, politically active UFT is as institutionally resistant to meaningful public-education reform as it is rhetorically supportive of change. It talks the talk, but it will never walk the walk.

Does Mrs. Clinton really want to become the spokesman of the past rather than a representative for the future?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton coy about Senate race as she boosts reading program

By Jill Zuckman
GLOBE STAFF

On the day she announced that she will form a committee to explore becoming a candidate for the US Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Boston but was as coy as ever yesterday about her political intentions.

She helped celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Reach Out and Read program at Boston Medical Center, and the 10th anniversary of City Year at Faneuil Hall.

However, Clinton made no direct mention of her political aspirations in the state of New York.

"She's here as first lady," said Marsha Berry, her press secretary. "This is the kind of thing she would do anywhere."

If there was the slightest hint that the Empire State was on her mind, the only reference occurred when Clinton announced that the Cordelia Corp. had pledged \$300,000 for Reach Out and Read, including \$50,000 for Greater New York.

There were a few less-than-ob-

lique allusions to life beyond the White House. House Speaker Thomas M. Finneran presented Clinton with a Dr. Seuss book, "Oh, the Places You'll Go!" inscribed, "Dear Mrs. Clinton, wherever you do go, enjoy the journey."

Dr. Barry Zuckerman of pediatrics at Boston Medical Center, who helped develop the reading program, was slightly more overt.

"I believe the first lady has not yet peaked," he said. "I believe her biggest and most important accomplishments are yet to come."



**Hillary Rodham Clinton made no dir-
rations during yesterday's Reach Out**

First lady presses closer to New York

The Sun : Saturday, June 5, 1999

Full

Democrats in state eager for 'Hillary-Rudy Show' to begin in earnest

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — It looks like a busy New York summer for Hillary Rodham Clinton — filled with as many strategically placed pancake breakfasts, county fairs and red, white and blue barbecues as her all-but-official Senate campaign can handle.

The first lady announced yesterday the next giant step in her likely run: She will establish a formal committee to explore a campaign for the seat of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who is retiring in 2000.

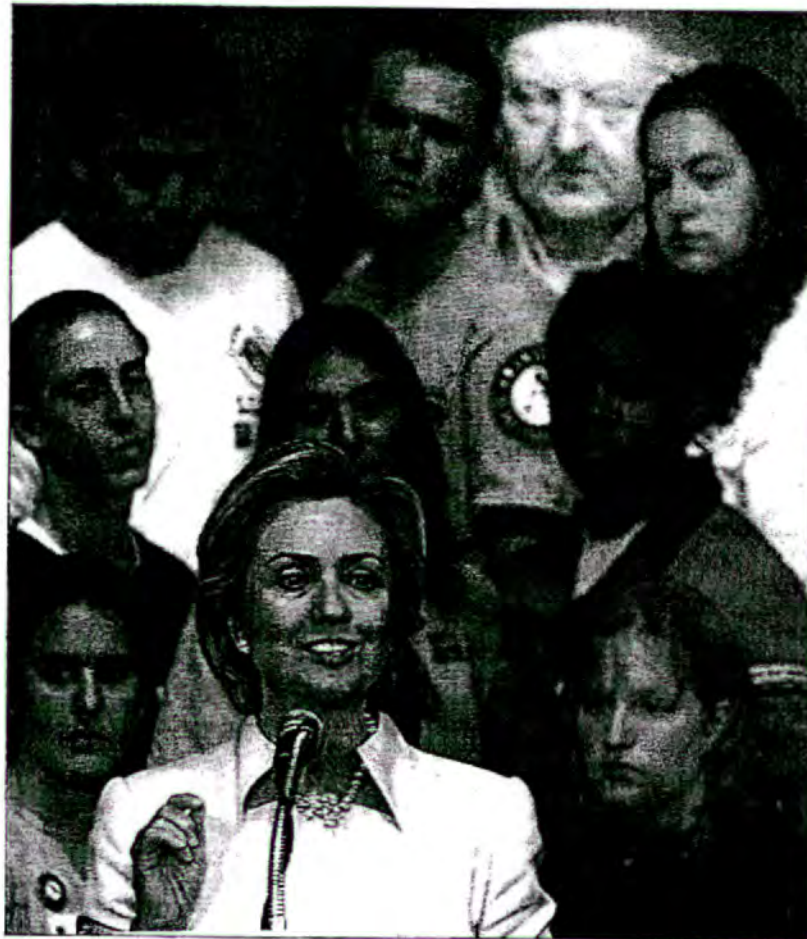
"I'm going to open an exploratory committee in July, and then I'll spend some time — a lot of time — in New York listening to people, and I'm looking forward to that," Clinton said yesterday on ABC's "Good Morning America."

Clinton's comments were seen as the most explicit signal yet of a candidacy. The formation of an exploratory committee will allow the first lady to raise money, put a staff in place and launch a campaign-style travel schedule across the state. This step would be viewed as essentially a declaration of her candidacy.

To this point, klieg-lighted speeches before cheering crowds and closed-door meetings with pricey strategists have been the norm for the first lady. But advisers say that in this next phase, Clinton will get personal with New Yorkers from all walks of life.

"She'll be meeting, as the phrase goes, 'real New Yorkers,'" said Harold Ickes, Clinton's top political adviser, who is beginning to plan city-suburb-upstate trips for the first lady during July and August. "There will be little speechifying and a lot of listening."

Yesterday, Clinton's announcement propelled New York Democrats into high gear, with many of



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Eyes on New York: With a statue of John Adams and youth volunteers looking over her shoulder, Hillary Clinton speaks in Boston.

them calling for her to make more personal visits to see the real New York — from Upper East Side sophisticates to onion farmers upstate — instead of all those friendly, staged events.

Now the talk is getting down to the gritty stuff of campaigns: money and votes.

"I would get to work on some serious direct mail and telemarketing immediately," said John Marino, a former state Democratic chairman. "She'll raise some substantial money inside New York and outside. Clinton's advisers should start that as soon as they set up a committee."

If such talk is premature, few New York Democrats seem willing

to contain it. To them, she's in. Should Clinton turn back now, some say, the Democrats are lost.

Her possible Republican opponent for the Senate seat, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has started raising money, and his supporters have been skewering Clinton on their campaign Web site for weeks. (One page shows how to scroll a "HillaryNo.Com" banner endlessly across computer screens.)

"The Hillary-Rudy show is definitely a good Broadway hit," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist College poll, which shows Clinton and Giuliani in a statistical dead heat. "Every time Giuliani opens his mouth, he says the word

'Arkansas' — he's saying she's a carpetbagger. What Hillary Clinton needs to do now is ground herself in New York and address issues like how do you spell Schenectady and Poughkeepsie."

A Marist poll in April showed that 52 percent of New Yorkers thought Clinton should not run. Many of them were Republicans. But others were Clinton supporters who did not think she needed the headache of a campaign.

Giuliani has problems of his own. He is likely to face a primary challenge from Rep. Rick A. Lazio, a moderate Long Island Republican with close ties to Gov. George E. Pataki and former Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato. That support from the state GOP establishment could corral votes for Lazio.

For Clinton, the field is wide open. Rep. Nita M. Lowey, who was the likely Democratic nominee before Clinton became interested, called the first lady Thursday to say she was abandoning the Senate race.

The first lady is squeezing in a trip to Upstate New York and Manhattan for two Democratic fund-raisers Wednesday, and then will leave for two weeks of foreign travel in the last half of June.

Meanwhile, Ickes is starting to rev up a fund-raising machine. That operation is likely to draw from party donors inside and outside the state, as well as from women's groups, labor unions and other traditional sources.

Some strategists predict that should both Giuliani and Clinton run, the candidates would run neck and neck for the whole race. While Clinton polls well in heavily Democratic New York City, advisers are working on ways to help her penetrate the conservative suburbs and Upstate New York.

"You have to at least be able to break even in the New York suburbs," said Geoffrey Garin, the pollster for Sen. Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat who last year unseated D'Amato in a campaign that cost the candidates a combined \$40 million. "And then there are the five urban counties upstate that are really important."

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PRESERVATION

PUBLIC EYE

Margaret Carlson

Uh-Oh, the Real First Lady Shows Up

On the stump, Hillary comes down in size and sounds more like Al than Bill

SO WHAT DO I DO NOW? HORDES OF MID-LIFE BABY boomers ask themselves that very question, often upon waking at 3 in the morning. But only one has the standing to answer, "Oh, I think it would be nice to move to New York and run for the Senate" and not be laughed at. As I trail around behind Hillary Clinton on her ninth visit to New York since January, her running has gone from unlikely to assumed. The buzz is now all about how best to obscure that she's a carpetbagger, and an especially giant one since she lives famously in a famous house in another city. If she heeds her friend Senator Chuck Schumer's warning not to try to live two lives at once, she will be the first First Lady to abdicate. That certainly turns two for the price of one on its ear.

But she has an even bigger problem: the initial glow of her candidacy has already worn off, and not just because New Yorkers are so easily bored. Those pushing her to run lost sight of the transient reason she had become the most admired woman in the country. It's not the wonders of make-up or the right hairdo or giving up the institutional power of being health-care czar and posing for the cover of *Vogue*. The reason she finally got to that 60% in the polls—to that Sally Field "you like me, you really like me" moment—was that she had become what she swore she wasn't in the *60 Minutes* interview: a long-suffering wife standing by her man.

Now, as she morphs from St. Hillary to Senate candidate, she risks losing the support of the wishy-washy who ardently did not want her husband run out of town by Ken Starr but are perfectly happy to have Clinton go quietly when his term ends. If people think Clinton fatigue is going to hurt Al Gore, imagine how much it could hurt an actual Clinton.

Then there's the fact that she's not a very good candidate. As much as voters want to know what a candidate will do, they also want to know who a person is, what gets them up in the morning, whom they love and why. And on these matters, Hillary is not going to give an inch, proudly. In an interview broadcast last Wednesday, Clinton nods her head patiently throughout, as if to humor Dan Rather, and laughs loudly and mirthlessly when he asks about her mysterious marriage. Despite the false bonhomie, she emits disdain for the idea that matters other than policy are anyone's business.

New York, where folks expect you to be happy when they stuff a blintz in your mouth, is no place for someone like this. Last week she started out at a party for Matilda Cuomo's new book, *The Person Who Changed My Life: Promi-*

nent Americans Recall Their Mentors, at Le Cirque 2000, where she posed for pictures in a small room with Tony Bennett, shoe mogul Kenneth Cole and arts maven Kitty Carlisle Hart, among other luminaries. She then emerged to make a few standard-issue remarks and then—poof!—disappeared, even though she had a crowd of People Who Need No Introduction hoping for some quality time with her. Hey, there's Stanley Tucci, there's Doris Kearns Goodwin, Harry Belafonte, Bob Morgenthau. Warm and funny with her inner circle, she is as eager to flee a room as her husband is to win over every one in it. She doesn't welcome a rope line or shake a hand she doesn't have to. She should have followed former Governor Mario Cuomo around for a few minutes as he pressed every bit of flesh there. ("Scotch-Irish?" he says to an attractive woman. "Your parents lied to you, you're Italian.")

Hillary's next stop was the Grand Hyatt ballroom, where she was the star attraction at a fund raiser for Congresswoman Nita Lowey, who patiently waits in the wings to run if the queen doesn't. Leaving aside the awkward body language (there was a lot of back patting as if each was trying to calm a colicky baby), here was Hillary in the red-hot center of Democrat Love, getting a warm but not ecstatic reception. The room was respectful of her recital of Democratic programs in a sing-song voice, not unlike Gore's, but not enthralled. One of the top party operatives, having shown her face, sneaked out before the speech. In the back, the deeply devoted had to shush those who had drifted off into their own conversations. The topics included how good Hillary looked considering all she had been through (as if she were a widow at a funeral) and whether the Clintons, who vacationed on a ranch in Wyoming because a pollster told them to, would be happy forgoing the Hamptons in favor of the politically correct Adirondacks, a place so sleepy there's a lawn chair named after it.

Two weeks ago, in Littleton, Colo., Hillary gave a touching, eloquent speech to Columbine students. It was the First Lady at her best. There are more of those to give, more causes to pursue, more crises to smooth over and more sunsets to watch from the Truman Balcony. It is generous of her to give up the wealth that awaits her after the White House for the chance to answer Trent Lott's quorum calls. But there are other ways to serve. If nothing else, before making up her mind, she should try out the

middle seat on the Delta Shuttle in place of the soft cocoon of Air Force One. Now that's a reality check. ■

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION: HILLARY CLINTON PHOTO BY BORÉA—AP



House hunting with Hillary

Hello Bush! See ya, Scalia? Rubin for veep, Larry Summers's backhand

BY FRANKLIN FOER

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she plans on moving to New York—no matter what. But where in New York? A leading theory circulating in the White House places her in the burbs. The towns of Pelham and Bronxville, both in Westchester County, are cropping up as politically smart addresses that could boost her prospective Senate campaign: "Soccer moms will be key, and these towns are the heart of soccer-mom country," explains one New York politico. Meanwhile, some of Al Gore's aides are worried that the first lady's candidacy will enrage New York conservatives, sending them to the polls in droves. One adviser says, "New York should be a slam-dunk for Gore. It'll be a big problem if Hillary puts the state in play for a Republican presidential nominee."

Rosie for Liddy

Yes, she shills for Kmart, a gun dealer. But lately talk-show host **Rosie O'Donnell** has become a poster girl for Handgun Control Inc. First, there was her on-air joust with Tom "I am the NRA" Selleck. And in a recent meeting with Elizabeth Dole's staff, O'Donnell saluted the Dole campaign's new antigun stance. According to one aide, "Rosie even said she would raise money to the hilt for Mrs. Dole." Next Tuesday, Dole will make her *Rosie* debut.

Explaining W.

The presidential campaign has accelerated so much that

George W. Bush feels increasing pressure to flesh out his conception of "compassionate conservatism" much earlier than he had anticipated. The explanatory process will begin during his first campaign stops in Iowa and New Hampshire on June 12 and 14, respectively. Advisers say that he hopes to roll out his ideas over time rather than going for broke in a single "vision speech." One reason for this heightened interest in self-definition: The governor was miffed at Vice President Al Gore's recent speech extolling the importance of faith-based institutions in solving social ills—an idea Bush considers his own and thinks Gore is

stealing. "We can't let this happen," a Bush aide says.

Shocking realization

The White House and NATO insist that victory in Kosovo is near. But there are telling signs of doubt in the ranks. In recent days, the CIA held a session on "What's Gone Wrong?" One conclusion: NATO's strategy of gradually escalating the bombing was doomed from the start.

Dissenter will not hold

If Al Gore is elected, then conservative Justice **Antonin Scalia** will resign. At least, that's the spin Republican op-

eratives have been serving up. Their argument: The next president could pick a slew of Supreme Court justices. And Scalia has hinted that he isn't interested in becoming a dissenter, surrounded by Gore's liberal appointees. The spin behind the spin: Conservatives intend to use this scenario to strike fear into the hearts of their rank and file, mobilizing them for the upcoming election.

Friar Bill

President Clinton has a new look: He wants to remake himself as **Mother Teresa**. His latest cause is drawing attention to those left behind by the booming economy. He plans to visit Appalachia and the Mississippi Delta during July. Some of his advisers were initially skeptical of the jaunts, thinking that they would divert time from other projects and call attention to flaws in Clinton's economic policies. But in White House meetings, the president has insisted that he wants to spend much of his remaining months in office "bringing capital to these places." Advisers naturally enough relented.

Phantom Menace

After Littleton, you would think that Hollywood would be eager to clean up its act. Not so. Tinseltown's chief lobbyist, **Jack Valenti**, and his Motion Picture Association of America have been working the phones to weaken legislation that would create a commission on youth violence. Congressional aides claim that Valenti has lobbied hard to prevent the bipartisan



Will Hillary Rodham Clinton want to live in the burbs or the Big Apple?

Starr may drop bombshell on Hillary

Final report could tie her to scandals

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr may have a surprise in store for Hillary Rodham Clinton as she ponders whether to run for a U.S. Senate seat in New York.

His final report on two pending criminal investigations may tie the first lady to the Whitewater and "Travelgate" scandals.

Although Mr. Starr has exonerated President Clinton of criminal acts in Whitewater, Travelgate and "Filegate," he has not done so for the first lady. Investigations are continuing into Whitewater and Travelgate and that prosecutorial decisions are "due soon."

Mr. Starr's office has written at least one draft indictment, accusing the first lady of lying to federal investigators about her role in the Whitewater affair.

The ongoing Whitewater and Travelgate inquiries have focused on Mrs. Clinton, particularly statements she made under oath about her role as a lawyer for Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association, and the 1993 firing of seven White House Travel Office workers who later were replaced by Clinton cronies.

Mr. Starr said questions remain over Mrs. Clinton's role in the legal representation of a failed Madison real estate venture known as Castle Grande, and that evidence regarding her work — specifically her Rose Law Firm billing records — could not be found. The records, subpoenaed in 1994, were discovered without explanation in the White House living quarters in 1996.

"After a thorough investigation, we have found no explanation how the billing records got where they were or why they were not discovered and produced earlier," Mr. Starr said in a statement. "It re-

mains a mystery to this day."

He said Webster L. Hubbell, convicted Whitewater felon now under new indictments in the Starr investigation, "may have additional information pertaining to Castle Grande ... that we have been unable to obtain." Mr. Hubbell, a former associate attorney general, took Rose Law Firm records concerning Madison during the 1992 presidential election.

A week before the billing records were found, the Resolution Trust Corp. (RTC) said in a Dec. 28, 1995, report it had little information on Mrs. Clinton's ties to Madison or Castle Grande. After the records were discovered, the RTC concluded Mrs. Clinton had done more work for Madison and Castle Grande than investigators had thought.

The records show Mrs. Clinton billed Madison for 60 hours of legal work; that she spoke with Madison officials about Castle Grande on 14 occasions; she discussed legal matters with Madison's owners, James or Susan McDougal, 16 times; she had 28 meetings with Rose lawyers on Madison; and she had met with state regulators on Madison business twice.

A major area of concern is an option agreement that facilitated a \$300,000 payment to Seth Ward, the Madison official to whom the first lady spoke about Castle Grande. The agreement was written by Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Hubbell. The transfer guaranteed Mr. Ward a payoff and negated his liability in the project.

Though the option was never exercised, it disguised the reason for the payment and created a paper trail to justify the cash outlay to Mr. Ward, who is Mr. Hubbell's father-in-law.

In September 1996, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. said Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Hubbell drafted



Kenneth W. Starr

legal papers that Madison used to deceive bank examiners and divert the \$300,000 to Mr. Ward. The report said the papers "facilitated the payment of substantial commissions to Mr. Ward, who acted as a straw buyer" in Castle Grande. A straw buyer is one who owns property in name only, having never put up any money or assumed any risk.

The FDIC said the Ward payments were in violation of federal regulations, but did not accuse Mrs. Clinton or Mr. Hubbell of criminal wrongdoing. It raised serious questions, however, about their involvement in a deal that ultimately cost taxpayers \$3.8 million when Castle Grande failed.

Lawyers close to the Starr probe have said the draft indictment of Mrs. Clinton became "a work in progress" after her January 1996 grand jury appearance, when prosecutors concluded she lied under oath in denying she had done legal work for the 1,050-acre Castle Grande venture.

In the Travelgate probe, the Whitewater grand jury in Washington heard testimony from FBI

agents in 1997 concerning a suspected conspiracy involving top White House officials, including Mrs. Clinton, to cover up the May 1993 firing of seven Travel Office workers. Five were rehired later when the charges proved unfounded and one retired. The seventh, director Billy R. Dale, was charged with embezzlement but was later acquitted by a jury.

White House aide David Watkins said in a memo he felt "pressure from above" to fire the workers and that pressure came from Hollywood producer and Clinton friend Harry Thomason. He told the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee Mrs. Clinton gave no specific order to fire the workers but made it clear in a May 1993 phone call that that was his only option. He said the first lady told him, "We should get our people in and get those people out." His memo said there would be "hell to pay" if he did not fire the travel-office workers "in conformity with the first lady's wishes."

White House Deputy Counsel Vincent W. Foster Jr. oversaw the Travelgate episode and questioned the firing of the seven-member staff. "Odds small — there will be smoking gun," he wrote in one of his diaries, revealing Mrs. Clinton was involved and the White House had taken steps to protect her. In one diary, Mr. Foster wrote, "Defend/HRC role whatever is, was in fact or might have been."

Mr. Foster, whose 1993 death has been ruled a suicide, also questioned accusations that Mr. Dale embezzled petty cash, saying there were other "plausible" explanations.

Mrs. Clinton said she "did not have a hand in making the decision" to fire the workers, although they were justified since the accounting firm of Peat Marwick had found financial mismanagement. But the Watkins memo said Mrs. Clinton sought the firings two days before Peat Marwick was hired to conduct the audit.

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PRESERVATION

Web site — www.dscc.org — has been referring to the first lady as Hillary Rodham. No Clinton."

Three mentors

Former New York first lady Matilda Raffa Cuomo's first book, "The Person Who Changed My Life," is a collection of essays from 79 prominent individuals who recall their mentors.

Hillary Rodham Clinton writes the foreword, while three presidential aspirants — Elizabeth Dole, Bill Bradley and, yes, Tipper Gore — reveal their mentors.

Mr. Bradley, former New Jersey senator and professional basketball star — who faces Mrs. Gore and her husband for the Democratic nomination for president — points to Ed Macauley, a former NBA player who taught him "to work endlessly on my game," which ultimately spread to "my life habits."

And Mrs. Dole remembers Mrs. W.W. Meant, her sixth-grade teacher, who "kindled lively discussions on current events that brought the world into our classroom."

The National Italian American Foundation is sponsoring a Capitol Hill reception for Mrs. Cuomo this evening. And tomorrow, from 7:30 to 8:30 p.m., she'll be joined by her son, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo, at a book-signing party at Barnes & Noble in Georgetown.

Lowly senator

We rang the Ladbroke Group, renowned London-based oddsmakers, after Hillary Rodham

Clinton announced she'd be forming an exploratory committee for a possible run at the Senate.

It's not our intention to further agitate Al Gore, but based upon what we've learned, Mrs. Clinton might just as well wager everything on the big prize — 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

"Back on March 31, we put Hillary's chances at becoming the next president of the United States at 1000-to-1," oddsmaker Ed Nicholson tells us. "She was a big outsider.

"But not anymore," he says. "We'll re-evaluate it, but certainly it would be a much smaller margin now."

You don't say?

"Yes, she would easily be half that today, perhaps 250-to-1 to become the next president of the United States."

Stop right there, Mr. Nicholson. Nobody said anything about the Oval Office. We were only inquiring of Mrs. Clinton's chances of becoming the next senator from New York, nothing more.

"We don't get involved in those kinds of bets," he says. "They're too small."

Distancing Hillary

Intriguing that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee's

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Land Mine on the Path From First Lady to Senator

With all the political speculation swirling about whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York, there is a quirky constitutional landmine confronting her that has been overlooked. It isn't a disabling condition, but it could have an important effect on her status in the Senate if she were to be elected. New Yorkers should take special note.

The land mine is something called the Incompatibility Clause, found in Article I, Section 6, Clause 2 of the Constitution. It says: "No person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of

Rule of Law

By James Blumstein

either House during his [or her] Continuance in Office."

The Supreme Court hasn't had a lot to say on the Incompatibility Clause, presumably because the meaning is hard to miss. The last time it came up was the early 1970s, when Vietnam War protesters used it to challenge the ability of certain members of the House and the Senate to remain members of the armed-forces reserves.

The theory was that service in the reserves constituted holding an office, and, under the Incompatibility Clause, the members could not both be officeholders and members of Congress. The lower courts ruled in favor of the challengers, declaring that members of Congress were ineligible simultaneously to serve in the reserves. On appeal, the Supreme Court dodged the merits of the issue on a procedural ground.

The Incompatibility Clause doesn't suggest that a federal officeholder is barred from running for Congress, but it does

indicate that a person cannot serve in both capacities simultaneously. That would be a violation of basic principles of separation of powers.

The question regarding Mrs. Clinton is whether her position as first lady constitutes an "Office under the United States." That issue arose in the context of the administration's health reform task force that Mrs. Clinton chaired in 1993. A group of physicians asserted that the task force was a federal advisory committee and therefore subject to the sunshine provisions that apply to such advisory committees. The Clinton administration countered that the advisory committee law didn't apply because of an exception for groups composed solely of "full-time officers or employees" of the government. It argued that, as first lady, Mrs. Clinton was the functional equivalent of a government officer or employee.

Although noting that the issue was "not an easy one," the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit eventually accepted this argument. It concluded that "Congress itself has recognized that the President's spouse acts as the functional equivalent of an assistant to the President." The Office of the First Lady is established by statute and includes a full-time staff paid for with public funds.

The D.C. Circuit rejected the argument that recognizing the first lady as an "officer or employee" of the federal government could violate anti-nepotism laws. Those prohibit any public official (including the president) from appointing or employing a relative (including a spouse) "in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control." The court found that the White House wasn't such an "agency," so that the anti-nepotism laws weren't inconsistent with a conclusion that the first lady was a federal officer or employee.

The bottom line for the D.C. Circuit was that Mrs. Clinton was considered a "full-time officer or employee of the government" and therefore her task force did not have to comply with the disclosure rules applicable to advisory committees.

The problem this poses for Mrs. Clinton's potential candidacy for the Senate from New York in 2000 is that, if she is an officer of the federal government, she cannot serve as such an officer and as a senator simultaneously. How is this an issue? Under the 20th Amendment, senators elected in 2000 become eligible to take office after noon on Jan. 3, 2001, when the term of those senators leaving office expires. Under the same amendment, Mr. Clinton's term doesn't expire until noon on Jan. 20, 2001.

Under normal circumstances the incompatibility could be resolved by the federal officeholder's resignation from her office. But in the case of the first lady, that isn't so easy. As the Court of Appeals noted: "How, one might ask, could she [Mrs. Clinton] be removed?" It is possible that the president "could withdraw any or all authority delegated to his spouse," but exactly how that would be done is unclear.

Of course, the president could resign from office early in deference to Mrs. Clinton if she were elected, but that would raise its own set of problems. Should Vice President Gore get to be president for 17 days—or, if he wins the presidential election, 17 extra days—so Mrs. Clinton can take her seat at the same time as the other senators?

Absent a presidential resignation,



Hillary Clinton

however, one can predict a squabble in the Senate, which has the authority under the Constitution to determine the qualifications of its own members. Delay in seating a putative Sen. Clinton until Mr. Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, would be a likely scenario in light of the uncertainties associated with the alternatives.

Why might the delay of only a few weeks be of concern to anyone? The answer is Senate seniority—and that's important to New Yorkers.

Unless a special rule were adopted for Mrs. Clinton—and that would disadvantage all other newly elected Democratic senators and would be detrimental to the interest of the citizens of the states they represent—Mrs. Clinton would receive the lowest seniority since she would be the last to take office. That, in turn, could have an effect on her assignment to committees and to her assuming positions of leadership on those committees.

In Tennessee, for example, Sens. Fred Thompson and Bill Frist were both elected in 1994, but Sen. Thompson assumed office a few weeks before Sen. Frist because the incumbent senator left office early. As a result, Sen. Thompson has greater seniority and chairs an important committee while Sen. Frist is working his way up the ranks along with the other Republican senators newly elected with him in 1994.

So, as a result of the intersection of Mrs. Clinton's status as first lady and a little noticed constitutional provision, New Yorkers who might elect Mrs. Clinton as senator in 2000 may face a loss of some seniority for their newly elected junior senator.

Mr. Blumstein is a professor at Vanderbilt Law School.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's candidacy isn't about New York — it's about her

JOHN ELLIS

NEW YORK

In certain circles, it's called "doing a geographic." The idea is that if one moves to someplace new, things will somehow change for the better and the pain will magically disappear. It's delusional, but if the pain is deep enough, belief in magic is sometimes all that remains.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's candidacy for the US Senate is a geographic with a twist, since its unique selling principle is her pain. It is why she imagines voters will root for her. It is how she asks them to relate to her. She is one of them, she says in all but words, because she too has suffered. New York voters are supposed to care.

They don't. The weirdest thing of all is that they're not even that interested. The media are doing everything they can to hype "the Senate Race of the Century" between the first lady and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, but you'd be hard-pressed to find six people outside of politics who have given it a second thought. No one talks about the race, except maybe at a cocktail party and even then it's a subject people want to get away from as quickly as possible.

Nevertheless, it's all but official now. On Thursday Nita Lowey, US representative from Westchester County, who had been planning her own Senate campaign, announced that she would seek reelection instead, thus clearing the path for the first lady's march to the Democratic nomination.

"It's clear she is running," Lowey told The New York

Times. "It's time for me to move." Shortly thereafter, former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes announced that Mrs. Clinton was "pressing forward" with her candidacy. Soon after that, word spread across the state that Hillary's Senate campaign was "a done deal."

On paper, the race is a complete mismatch. Hillary Clinton has no credentials for the job. She has never been elected to anything by anyone and she has accomplished nothing of importance over the course of her 25 years as a political spouse.

Her resume is unimpressive. She was a partner at a second-tier law firm in a third-rate state who couldn't meet her revenue targets. She worked closely at that firm with two other partners; one who committed suicide under mysterious circumstances and the other a convicted felon and thief. During that time she entered into a corrupt real estate partnership that to this day she has never adequately explained. Also during that time, she made \$100,000 with a \$1,000 stake in the commodities market by reading, she said, The Wall Street Journal. Would that we were all so literate.

When her husband first ran for president, she engaged the services of Betsy Wright, his former chief of staff, to set up a vast statewide organization to suppress information about his sexual adventurism. In this effort, she and Wright were quite successful. When they were not, as in the case of Gennifer Flowers, Hillary took to the airwaves to defend her husband's reputation, knowing all the while that she was engaged in blatant deception.

After her husband was elected president, she managed the debacle that was national health insurance. It

was roundly rejected in large measure because of her strategy and tactics and led inexorably to the wholesale dismissal of Democrats from both Houses of Congress. What had seemed firmly under Democratic control was suddenly lost, thanks largely to her incompetence.

She was promptly deep-sixed by the president's handlers and remade as his helpmate. After his reelection, there followed humiliation and degradation so complete it was a wonder she could appear in public at all. When news of Monica first broke, she blamed it all on a "vast right-wing conspiracy." When every word of it turned out to be true, she was left to wallow in the wake of her husband's disgrace.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign for the US Senate is being positioned as an existential mission, during which she will connect with voters and in so doing find her voice. It is more likely a prelude to a possible presidential candidacy in the year 2004 or 2008. She is nothing if not power-hungry and has a zealot's certainty about the righteousness of her stance.

But in the end, it is a delusion. She will not win because her candidacy isn't about New York, or the people who live here, or what she might do for them. It's about her. It's her movie, which she stars in and directs. The problems of others are important only to the degree that they forward her plot.

The moment New Yorkers collectively understand this — that they're being used — will be the moment that her candidacy curdles. What might have been "you go girl," will become "just go away."

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PERISCOPE

NEWSWEEK JUNE 7, 1999

HILLARY

Listen for the Sound of Silence

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

Barring a firm no, Mrs. Clinton is likely to wait until at least late June to announce the formation of an exploratory committee. The reason? She'll be out of the country most of the



Bill has favored a run, and Chelsea just gave her the thumbs up, too

month, traveling to the Mideast and accompanying the president to the G-8 summit in Europe. Meanwhile, she's been phoning Democrats all over the state, boning up on New York issues and trying to ensure that local pols say nice things about her if she runs. Her advisers are also talking to retiring Sen. Pat

Moynihan's staffers, in search of a New York pro to join her campaign. Reports suggest the Clintons are scouting property in Westchester County. But during a campaign, friends say, she would use the White House as home base and could commute to a rented or borrowed pad in New York state.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Deeper and Deeper Edition

As we dust off the Webers and ponder our 401(k)s, the woes of Belgraders—not to mention Kosovars—seem far away. But the CW knows the mess isn't going away any time soon.

C.W.

Slobo	➡	Indicted as a war criminal. Great. How do we negotiate with him now?
Bombing	➡	Belgrade bombardment wearing us down more than the Serbs. Go to ground.
Hillary	↔	Despite flat polls, she's running. Sleeper issue for New Yorkers: she's a Cubs fan.
Spike Lee	➡	Anti-gun director jokes "shoot Heston." Do the right thing: shut up.
Wall St.	➡	Heading for 24-hour trading. Good for Starbucks, bad for sex.
Austin Powers	↔	Enlarged expectations, but will CW fave turn into "The Hype That Shagged Me"?

PHOTOCOPIES
PRESERVED

60-SECOND SYMPOSIUM

LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION

We asked New York real estate agents where Hillary Clinton should live if she aims to make New York her home and Senate seat.



"On Manhattan's East Side, Hillary could buy an apartment near the Armory. She could wave to fund raisers as they walked to the polls on Election Day. Or on Central Park West—the liberals, Hollywood celebs and quick escapes by helicopter would give her the life-style she has grown accustomed to." —**Barbara Corcoran**, the Corcoran Group

"Sagaponack, an oceanside hamlet, would offer Mrs. Clinton a quiet escape before attending those fund-raising parties. The paparazzi would concentrate on other high-profile celebrities, so she could flee the commitments and stop at the Sagg Main Store for a chicken pot pie." —**Peter Hallock**, Allan M. Schneider Associates

"Mrs. Clinton will need the refuge Westchester County can provide: a house near a university and airport, expensive yet unpretentious, with space to entertain, a pool and some acreage—a place for Chelsea's at-home wedding. Space for a doghouse is a plus." —**Rita Steinkamp**, Houlihan Lawrence

By Harriet Barovick, Autumn DeLeon, Michelle Derrow, Tam Gray, Daniel Levy, Lina Lofaro, Anne Moffett, David Spitz and Chris Taylor

TIME, JUNE 7, 1999

2

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

JUNE 7, 1999 NEWSWEEK

PERSPECTIVES

"Everything that happens in America happens in New York."
*First Lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, discussing her possible plans
for a New York Senate bid with CBS's Dan Rather*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON?

GOPers FIRE AWAY AT FIRST OUT-OF-TOWNER

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Wasting no time, Republicans yesterday ripped into Hillary Rodham Clinton as a liberal carpetbagger with zippo know-how.

"I bet she can't even spell Schenectady," national GOP Chairman Jim Nicholson said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Just two days after Clinton finally revealed she'll set up a Senate exploratory committee next month, Republicans opened fire on her maybe-candidacy to replace retiring Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

"She's never lived here. She hasn't worked here. She hasn't spent one day of her life in New York outside The Plaza hotel," Rep. Rick Lazio, the Long Island Republican who might end up challenging Mayor Giuliani in the GOP primary, sniped on "Fox News Sunday."

"This is not about serving the people of New York. This is about personal power."

Democrats quickly came to Clinton's rescue — although Sen. Chuck Schumer, who's been palling around New York with the First Lady, admitted he's not totally sure she'll stay in the race for the long haul.

"You're never certain 'til she announces," Schumer said on ABC's "This Week," although he added that he'd be "very surprised" if she backed out.

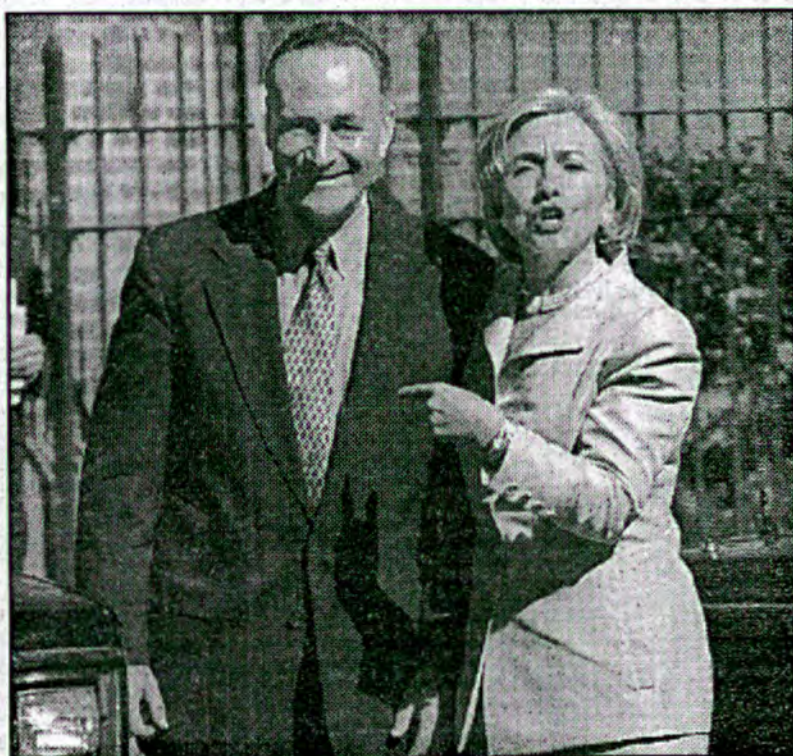
Schumer (D-N.Y.), who toppled incumbent GOPer Al D'Amato last year in a mutually nasty mudfest, also warned that attacking the First Lady "doesn't work."

"The candidate that gives the voters a feeling that he or she is going to focus on issues ... has a leg up," he said.

National Democratic Chairman Roy Romer claimed New Yorkers are so "cosmopolitan," they've not only embraced Mrs. Clinton as an outsider, "in some ways they've drafted her" — although polls show she'd lose to Giuliani if the race were held now.

One Republican, Giuliani supporter Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), also defended Mrs. Clinton, saying either contender would make a "good" senator.

"He's right on the issues but I



ALLIES: Chuck Schumer, who benefited from Hillary's campaign help last year, is sticking up for her this year. N.Y. Post: Tamara Beckwith

respect Mrs. Clinton," Hutchison said.

Nicholson, however, said there were "real serious questions about whether a liberal like Hillary Clinton can win in New York."

He and Lazio blasted the First Lady's lone foray into policy-making — her disastrous na-

tional health-care proposal, whose failure forced her to lie low for months.

"Hillary's never accomplished anything, really," claimed Nicholson who also took a potshot at Clinton for being a Chicago-raised Cub fan.

"I bet you she doesn't even know the Buffalo Sabres are in the Stanley Cup," he said.

PP
PRESERVATION

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON?

Why New Yorkers must run from her if she runs for us



REP. NITA LOWEY
Left dangling by Hillary.

SHE is like some rich kids who want everything given to them — whether they deserve it or not.

Of course, I talk of Hillary Clinton, who has tired of being copresident and now wants to be senator of New York.

Well, at last, someone has asked the question not whether she is qualified to run, but why is she running.

"What is the rationale for her running?" Brit Hume asked his panel on Fox News yesterday.

Truth is, many absolutely more qualified than I can't quite put the finger on that button.

That is, of course, unless she wants to put a country mile between herself and that wandering minstrel, Billy boy.

Apart from knowing the floor plan of Saks Fifth Avenue better than Sen. Chuck Schumer, she knows about as much of New York as Chuck Schumer knows about North Dakota.

But here is the point.

The last time I looked, politicians were supposed to be representative of the streets, the farms, the mountains, the lakes, the beaches, the workers in the land whence they came.

Schumer fought long and hard in his neighborhood in Brooklyn, was a tough congressman for his district, and won his Senate seat for any number of good reasons.

Pat Moynihan pulled himself up by his bootstraps in Hell's Kitchen and knew everywhere from Buffalo to The Bronx as well as he knew his bow tie.

Al D'Amato scaled heights from the lowest in local politics to the highest to be our senator for 18 years.

Rep. Charlie Rangel for decades has fought like a lion for his constituency.

And yet, Schumer, who deserves high marks for his hard work and political savvy, said something yesterday on ABC that astounded me.

"When I was in Schenectady," he said using a word I

doubt Hillary could pronounce, "I spoke to her [Hillary] for about 20 minutes on the telephone and she was asking all sorts of interesting questions."

Chuck, you won your Senate race not by asking questions, but by giving answers.

In treating Rep. Nita Lowey (D. Westchester), who had announced months ago her intention of running for Senate, the way she did, Hillary showed just what a spoiled brat she is. She left Nita, a classy lady, dangling like an old-fashioned toilet chain.

Nita has shown some real class, but the Democratic leadership may have shot themselves in the foot.

STEVE DUNLEAVY



Because, as Fred Barnes told Brit Hume, Hillary is the one person who can unite Republicans — "the one candidate Republicans can demonize."

Barnes, of The Weekly Standard, was asked what question he would ask Hillary at a press conference, to which he replied: "Who is the starting third baseman of the New York Yankees?"

Juan Williams, of The Washington Post: "What is the meaning of 'oy vey'?"

Williams pointed out that she is going to hear those words quite a lot because of her support for a Palestinian state.

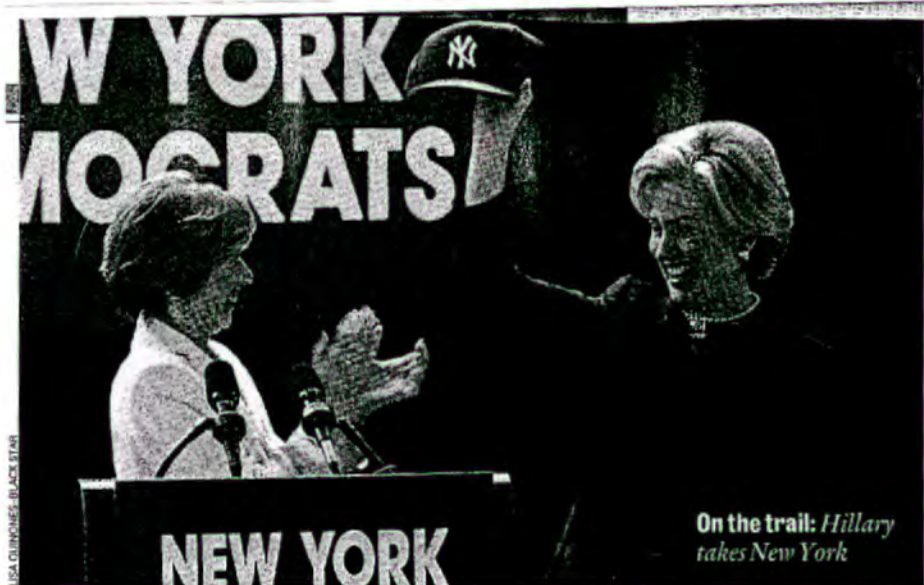
Cokie Roberts addressed a question which puzzles us all about Hillary's dual role in Washington and New York.

"Does a president hire a First Lady?" she asked.

The bottom line is — whether it be Schumer, Moynihan, D'Amato or Rangel — New York has studiously avoided being represented by spoiled brats with private educations paid for by rich parents.

Are we going to start now with a silver-spoon-fed, poor little rich girl from Illinois who probably sees herself one day in the Oval Office?

Considering the activities in that office of recent history, that would be quite a laugh.



On the trail: Hillary takes New York

NEW YORK

With Foes Like These ...

Anticipating Hillary, the GOP is already wrangling

BY HOWARD FINEMAN

NOW HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON has confirmed it: she's jumping Ferragamos-first into the New York Senate race. She said last week that she would form an exploratory committee. She's expected to disclose this week that she's taken a lease on a Manhattan apartment. And while she's lost her first-blush lead in the polls, there's something encouragingly Clintonian about her political situation: she may share her husband's luck in enemies.



Rick Lazio

It's a Clinton family tradition to have Republican antagonists adept at overplaying their hand or tearing each other apart. Remember the House managers? In presidential campaigns, Pat Buchanan eviscerated George Bush (1992) and Bob Dole (1996) before they ever got to Bill Clinton. This time, it seems, the useful enemy could be former GOP senator Al D'Amato. Despite

his loss last year, D'Amato remains an important power broker, and he wants to exact revenge on both Rodham Clinton and the GOP's leading contender to oppose her, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. The resulting turmoil could help the First Lady.

In New York's street-gang-style politics, Giuliani and D'Amato are sworn enemies. The reason: Giuliani's 1994 decision to support a Democrat, Gov. Mario Cuomo, against George Pataki, D'Amato's handpicked candidate for gover-

nor. Pataki won, and won again in 1998.

Now it's payback time. First, Pataki taunted Giuliani by flirting with a Senate bid. Now D'Amato's allies are promoting Rep. Rick Lazio, a well-groomed young lawyer from D'Amato's Long Island base. Lazio is quietly raising a million a month, and is hoping to win the endorsement of the New York Conservative Party—an obscure but crucial ballot line. "I think we need to find the best candidate, whoever that may be," D'Amato told *NEWSWEEK*. "I wouldn't presume to say who would be the better candidate." Translation: Giuliani can forget it. "This could be a real bloodbath," said upstate New York polltaker John Zogby.

The other object of D'Amato's loathing is, of course, Hillary Herself. As head of the Senate Banking Committee, he conducted a probe of Whitewater. As her payback, she made defeating him last year her own—and the Democratic Party's—chief objective. His loss was the biggest upset of 1998. Though Lazio says he wants to talk about the "issues," D'Amato sounds eager to replay his investigation. "She's the one who made this personal," he says. "She's still going to have to explain what happened to those law-firm billing records."

But dwelling on scandals of the past could backfire. At least Hillary's allies think so. "Let 'em try," said one top Democratic strategist with ties to the First Lady. "Her answer will be simple: they just want to talk about my past, but I just want to talk about your future." If that theme sounds familiar, it is. Her husband used it to great effect as the Comeback Kid in New Hampshire.

With ELEANOR CLIFT

JUNE 14, 1999 NEWSWEEK 39

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HILLARY: good box-office.

THE Albany press corps is salivating like Pavlov dogs at the near-certain prospect **Hillary Clinton** will run for **Pat Moynihan's** Senate seat. Traditionally, senatorial candidates from both parties attend the annual gala of the Legislative Correspondents Assn. which puts on a show of song parodies and skits lambasting the politicians. "Imagine how many tickets we could sell," said one capitol reporter. The LCA, which for years has used a hotel ballroom, is checking out the far roomier Albany Convention Center. And maybe they'll raise the ticket price, which is \$175 for this year's gala on Saturday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's knuckleball

The New York Yankees won the World Series back in October, but the White House has decided it is not too late to have them over for a photo-op with the president — and, no doubt, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has adopted New York in her presumed bid for a U.S. Senate seat.

"It's a disgrace," says WABC talk-show host Steve Malzberg, referring to Mrs. Clinton's expected participation in tomorrow's celebration of the Bronx Bombers at the White House.

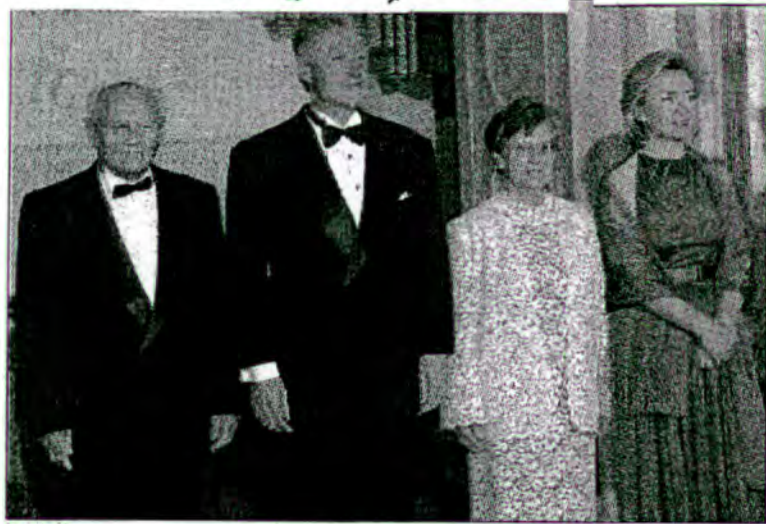
"This is a perfect example of just how phony her 'love' for New York is," said Mr. Malzberg, who played up Mrs. Clinton's latest campaign knuckleball on his New York radio program. WABC is the flagship station for Yankee broadcasts.

"She is going to take advantage of the fact that the Yankees will be there, and turn this into one giant photo-op for her campaign. I don't recall her being there when the president honored the Detroit Red Wings for winning the Stanley Cup, or when the Florida Marlins were there for winning the Series in '97, or ever before, for that matter," Mr. Malzberg said.

The talk-show host said that after he got wind of Mrs. Clinton's plan to help honor the Yankees, he phoned team owner George Steinbrenner and urged him to boycott the event.

"George said that although he did not know that Hillary would be there, he wouldn't stand up the White House. But he did remind me that everyone in New York knows that Mayor Rudy Giuliani is the No. 1 Yankee fan in New York."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and his wife Zsuzsanna Goncz with the Clintons at last night's state dinner.

BY BILL O'LEARY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Literary Lights At the White House

Hungary's Novelist-President Feted

By ROXANNE ROBERTS and
LONNAE O'NEAL PARKER
Washington Post Staff Writers

Arpad Goncz made many, many friends from around the world as a Hungarian novelist, playwright and translator. So it was natural that when he came to Washington this week, he'd want to get together with a few friends.

How nice for everyone that Goncz is now president of Hungary, which meant that a stellar group of American writers were among the guests at last night's White House state dinner.

"He's an exceptionally cultivated

man," said essayist Susan Sontag, an old friend whose work Goncz translated two decades ago, when he was merely a "noble dissident." "I bet the last thing he thought he was going to become was president of Hungary," she said.

But president he is, which meant a star-studded night in his honor. The guest list was dotted with celebrity names like actor Tony Curtis, domestic goddess Martha Stewart and Cleveland Indians starting pitcher Charles Nagy. But the real luminaries were the writers: Sontag, William Styron, E.L. Doctorow,

See DINNER, C11, Col. 1

daughter after. She sang of war and peace and concluded by leading the audience in an a cappella "Amazing Grace."

President Clinton recalled that he and Mrs. Clinton first met Collins after a concert 10 years ago in New York, the mention of which brought raucous whoops and cheers from the crowd.

Whenever the commander in chief calls, Collins said last night, she's eager to answer. "You can never do too much of these kinds of things."

The guest list for last night's state dinner:

Arpad Goncz, president of Hungary, and Zsuzsanna Goncz
Janos Martonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and Rozalia Rabal
Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian ambassador to the United States, and Edit Jeszenszky
Attila Chikan, minister of economic affairs
Gyorgy Suranyi, Hungarian National Bank
Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of parliament
Karoly Szunyogh, titular state secretary and head of the Office of the President
Ferenc Vegh, commander, Hungarian defense forces, and chief of general staff
Denes Tomaj, deputy state secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Andras Gulyas, senior foreign policy adviser to the president
Andras Farago, president's spokesman
Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-N.Y.) and Jack Rosenthal Sr., Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Study
Charles Babington, The Washington Post, and Norma Babington
Kathy Baczo and Joseph R. Baczo, Frank's Nursery and Crafts
Charlene Barshefsky, U.S. trade representative, and Edward B. Cohen, Department of the Interior
Paul Begala, MSNBC, and Diane Begala
Samuel Berger, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Susan Berger
Rep. Marion Berry (D-Ark.) and Carolyn Berry

Donald Blinken, former ambassador to Hungary, and Vera Blinken, International Rescue Committee
Tibor S. Borgida, Voice of America, and Ann L. Ostroff
Brooksley Born, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, and Alex Bennett
Susan Braden, director of Central and East European affairs, National Security Council, and Larry Zarker
Jay Branegan, Time magazine, and Stefania Pittaluga
Thomas Cholnoky and Elisabeth D. Cholnoky
William S. Cohen, secretary of defense, and Janet Langhart Cohen
Judy Collins, singer-songwriter, and Louis Nelson
Joe Conason, the New York Observer, and Elizabeth Wagley
Tony Curtis, actor, and Jill Curtis
Istvan Deak, Columbia University, and Gloria Deak
Robert Deans, Cox Newspapers, and Karen Deans
Mollie Dickenson, IF Magazine, and James Dickenson
E.L. Doctorow, author, and Helen S. Doctorow
George Dozsa, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, and Matilda Dozsa
Charles Duncan, special assistant to the president and associate director of presidential personnel, and Barbara Wills-Duncan
Sara Ehrman, Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation, and Mark Ginsberg
Charles Fenyesi, Radio Free Europe, and Lizou Fenyesi
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, Department of Agriculture
Ella Freilich and Ary Freilich
Mary Mel French, chief of protocol, and Molly Raiser
Istvan Gereben and Erzsébet Gereben
Ralph J. Gerson, Guardian International Corp., and Erica Ward Gerson
Francine Goldstein, Aviation Products Management, and Sandra Wagenfeld
Marc Grossman, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, and Margaret Hawthorne, Department of State
Margaret Ham and Tibor Ham
Laszlo Hamos, Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, and Zsuzsa Hamos
Richard Holbrook, Credit Suisse First Boston
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)
Robert R. Ivany, commanding general, U.S. Army Military District of Washington, and Marianne Ivany

row, Kitty Kelley and Elie Wiesel.

Wiesel hailed Goncz as a man of arts and letters, but his attention is on the elusive peace in the Balkans. "I wanted intervention," the Nobel Peace Prize winner said passionately. "Whenever massive violations of human rights occur, we must intervene."

History has once again placed Goncz in the thick of things. He fought in Hungary's 1956 uprising against the Soviet Union, and, after six years in prison, developed a successful writing and translating career before becoming president in 1990.

"He's an extraordinary man," said Richard Holbrooke, the U.N. ambassador-designate who was married in Budapest four years ago, with Goncz as a guest. "He's a humanist of a special generation who believe in universal values. They're not normal political figures."

Goncz's visit to Washington has been dominated by the war in Yugoslavia. Hungary, along with Poland and the Czech Republic, became a NATO member earlier this year, and Goncz agreed yesterday that his country would be part of the peacekeeping effort in Kosovo.

But last night's dinner was not, as some had hoped, a chance to bask in a peace agreement. "It may not be a full celebration," said Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.), "but there's a sense of anticipation. We're on the road to victory here."

In their toasts, both presidents emphasized not quick victories or solutions, but the importance of lasting peace and enduring democracies.

Comparing Goncz with Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth, who also taught himself English while imprisoned, President Clinton said the Hungarian president's translations "offered Hungary a window on the world." Goncz's lifelong vision of freedom "will form the basis for a better future," Clinton said. "It is at the heart of what



BY BILL O'LEARY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Tony Curtis and his wife, Jill, on the way into the state dinner.

William J. Ivey, chairman, National Endowment for the Arts, and Ellen McCulloch-Lowell
David W. Jones, DWJ Strategies and Mary Ann Akers
Philip Kaiser, former ambassador to Hungary and Austria, and Hannah Kaiser
Kitty Kelley, author, and Jonathan Zucker
William Kennard, chairman, Federal Communications Commission, and Deborah Kennedy
Maj. Gen. Donald L. Kerrick, deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Thayne Kerrick
Robert P. Kogod, Charles E. Smith Cos., and Arlene R. Kogod
Frank Koszorus Jr., Hungarian-American Coalition, and Marianne Koszorus
Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich (D-Ohio) and Yelena Goxer
George Lang, Langastronomia, and Jennifer Lang
Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) and Annette Lantos
Ronald S. Lauder, Estee Lauder & Clinique Laboratories, and Jo Carole Lauder
Edith K. Lauer, Hungarian American Coalition, and John M. Lauer
Sen. Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.) and Howard Markel
Finlay Lewis, Copley News Service, and Willie Eskew Lewis
Evelyn Lieberman, senior adviser to the secretary of

we're trying to do to reverse ethnic cleansing in Kosovo."

In his response, Goncz said although he had spoken with Clinton four or five times, they had er had a chance to "think together about the course of the world. This was the first time I really genuinely that the two countries are allies," Goncz said. He also offered aid to Yugoslavia: "We prepared to extend a helping hand to a democratic Serbian government and Serbian people."

The serious aspects did not tirely overshadow the summer ning. Hillary Rodham Clinton v a gauzy, beaded slate-gray gown Pamela Dennis, Martha Stev opted for pink silk capri pants a short matching jacket. Summ but perhaps not the most appropriate attire for a state dinner.

Kelley was seated with Gonc Hillary Clinton's table. "I th she's one of the most fascina women of the 20th century," the take-no-prisoners biographe Nancy Reagan, among others. another first lady exposé be far hind? Or was the seating a emptive strike? Kelley just smile

The color scheme for the Room was lavender and g mauve silk tablecloths, and i bamboo containers of purple all gigantum, lavender delilah ro blue columbine, white peonies dendrobium orchids. The sum menu featured salmon with p bello mushrooms, roasted oni and sweet peppers, pecan-crui lamb with sweet potato flan barbecued peach ragout, and a sert of bing cherry strudel.

The evening's entertainr mixed strains of traditional H garian folk songs with the sweet prano of Judy Collins.

Twelve-year-old accordion ch pion Cory Pesaturo was a crow vovite with his shoulder-len shag hairstyle and his rendition the "Beer Barrel Polka." Col sang many of her staples, includ "Chelsea Morning," the song Clintons said they named tl

state, and Edward H. Lieberman
Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) and Hadas Lieberman
Laszlo Lovasz, Microsoft Corp., and Katalin Vesztegombi
Peter Lowy, Westfield Corp., and Janine Lowy
Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) and Charlene Luga
Zoltan Merszei, Dow Chemical, and Aimee Ma
Stephen Mustos, U.S. delegate for the Hunga Roman Catholic bishop
Charles Nagy, Cleveland Indians, and Jacquelyr William Nichols, USA Today, and Su-Lin Nichols
Laszlo Papp, World Federation of Hungarians, a Julianna Bika
Rep. Charles W. "Chip" Pickering Jr. (R-Miss.) a Leisha Pickering
John D. Podesta, chief of staff to the president Mary Podesta
Janos Radvanyi, Mississippi State University, a Christina Mary Radvanyi
Gen. Joseph W. Raiston, vice chairman, Joint C Staff, and Dede Raiston
Bruce Reed, assistant to the president for dom policy, and Bonnie Lepard
Dan K. Rosenthal, assistant to the president an director of advance, and Aviva Steinberg

Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.) and Jane R. Rot circuit judge
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)
Charles Simonyi, Microsoft Corp., and Martha Smith
Maj. Gen. John Smith, Ohio National Guard, and Deborah Smulyan, Emmis International, and Ra Borgarten
Susan Sontag, writer, and David Rieff
David Steiner, Steiner Equities Group, and Sybil Steiner
William Styron, author, and Rose Styron
Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.) and Sally Bender
Peter Tufo, ambassador to Hungary, and Count Zita Pallavicini
Peter S. Ujvagi, Toledo, Ohio, City Council, and Kriztina Ujvagi
Andrew Vajna, Cinergi Productions, and Kata D Balint Vazsonyi, Center for the American Foundi and Barbara Vazsonyi
Adrienne Vittadini, Adrienne Vittadini Inc., and I Luigi Vittadini
Russell Walden
Elie Wiesel, Boston University, and Marion Wies



Clinton (center) with George H.W. Bush and another man at a White House event.

Hillary's appetite for Apple voracious

By Barbara J. Salvi

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made 66 solo trips to New York state at taxpayer expense since 1993, 10 of them in the first 2 1/2 months of this year, a review of travel records by The Washington Times shows.

Over the previous six years, Mrs. Clinton averaged nine solo trips a year in New York. That rate has doubled so far this year as she edges closer to running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a fellow Democrat.

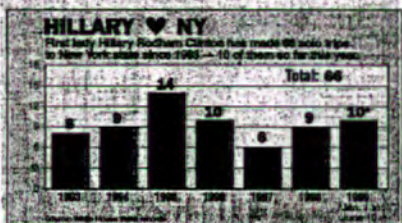
Update: Masha Berry in

sists the first lady's stepped-up travel to New York is not related to her likely Democratic candidacy for the open Senate seat.

"There are a lot of people who have asked her to participate in events in New York," Ms. Berry said.

Neither the White House nor the Democratic National Committee (DNC) will disclose how much the first lady's trips cost. Nor will they say exactly how much the government has been reimbursed for the political portions of her travel as she stumps for other candidates and promotes herself.

See HILLARY, page A14



HILLARY

from page A1

This refusal, despite a federal law mandating such reimbursements, infuriates some government watchdogs.

"We should know where every nickel goes... no matter who is in power," said Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan research group that has studied the costs of campaign travel. "The average American does not want to subsidize someone seeking partisan office."

The Times' review of White House travel summaries and Mrs. Clinton's public schedule shows that she:

- Favored New York as a domestic travel destination this year over all other states. She traveled to New York 11 times — just once with President Clinton — while cutting her trips to neighboring New Jersey to three visits and going only once or twice to 11 other states.

- Headlined at least 12 Democratic fund-raisers in New York so far this year, including events for five incumbent members of Congress.
- Traveled to New York without her husband a total of 66 times since 1993, more by far than other states such as California, Florida and Illinois. (Counting trips with Mr. Clinton, she went to New York 82 times.)

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a likely Republican contender for the Senate seat, has joked barbed fun at Mrs. Clinton's interest in running for federal office in the state without ever having lived there.

"I think that Hillary wanting to come to New York is a really fine thing," Mr. Giuliani said Monday night before a Republican dinner in Niagara County. "She can look around, try to find out something about the state... If she wants to live and work in New York like the people, that's terrific. But there's another question: whether she should represent a state you've never lived in, you never worked in and you know nothing about."

The first lady's three most popular destinations since 1993 were California (28 trips), her home state of Illinois (28) and Florida (26). Arkansas, her adopted home, warranted 18 trips. On many trips, she accompanied the president.

Mrs. Clinton returned yesterday on her 10th solo trip to New York since January.

Travel records indicate her official events in New York as first lady continue to focus on issues he has stressed for years — education, children and health care.

But she also is crisscrossing the state day and night with political appearances on behalf of Democratic candidates — stops that could boost her own unannounced Senate candidacy.

She appeared Wednesday at a fund-raiser in Binghamton for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, New York Democrat, and attended a \$5,000-a-plate DNC fund-raiser that targeted homosexual donors and was held at a private residence in New York City. In April, atop the World Trade Center, she helped raise money for Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat who supported the president during his impeachment trial.

Also this year, the first lady addressed loyalists at the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum and addressed a state Democratic Party event. She helped attract donors for Rep. John J. LaFalce, New

M. Lowey, the New York Democrat who last week said she would not challenge Mrs. Clinton in a Senate primary race.

When Mrs. Clinton appears on behalf of candidates, federal law requires that the candidates reimburse the government for the portion of her travel costs related to their campaigns.

The DNC bills candidates in advance for per diem expenses incurred by Mrs. Clinton and her staff, including food and lodging. After receiving payment, the party deposits the money in an escrow account used to reimburse the government, said a committee spokesman who asked not to be identified.

Even after such reimbursements, taxpayers still feel the pinch of the first lady's partisan travels.

That's because the law requires that campaign committees cover only the price of a first-class airline ticket, although the taxpayers' tab is thousands of dollars each time an Air Force jet flies Mrs. Clinton somewhere.

It costs \$2,179 an hour to fly the C-9A jet — similar to a DC-9 — that she frequently uses, said Master Sgt. Rick Corral, a spokesman for Andrews Air Force Base. It costs \$3,615 an hour to fly the newer, smaller C-20, which sometimes is used by the first lady and resembles a Gulfstream corporate jet.

The Pentagon calculates the flight costs of all military aircraft. The numbers are based on fuel, maintenance, and flight and ground crews required for a trip, Air Force spokesman Maj. Byron Woodard said.

Lodging and food for the crews and other expenses on the ground — even in the case of overnight stops — are not included in calculating costs, Maj. Woodard said.

When she travels, the first lady takes along a trip director, photographer and press secretary, Ms. Berry said. A specialist on the issues she will address often comes along too.

Secret Service officers travel with the first lady, who typically rides in a motorcade once on the ground. Her staff sometimes requires local transportation.

The White House traditionally has not disclosed exactly how much travel by a first lady costs taxpayers.

"There's a little bit of wish-and-wonder about the actual costs," Mr. Lewis said. "We don't know what the actual costs are and we probably never will know. The White House isn't under any legal requirement to tell us."

After the 1996 presidential race, his Center for Public Integrity analyzed air travel costs and found that the Clinton-Gore campaign "paid just a fraction of the real cost of flying" Air Force One. It costs \$25,300 each hour the 747 is aloft, an Air Force spokesman said.

"The subsidies that make these flights possible appear nowhere in the reports" filed by the campaign with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), the study concluded.

FEC reports due next month will provide some information on the DNC's reimbursements to the government for the first lady's air travel. But the committee will not release details, DNC spokesman Jenny Backus said.

"We make public what's required by the FEC," she said.

However, interviews with candidates for whom Mrs. Clinton has stumped provide a glimpse of associated costs.

When Mrs. Clinton appeared briefly at the April 19 fund-raiser for Mr. Nadler — which pulled in

spokesman said, it would list contributions and expenses from July through December of this year.

Mrs. Berry said the first lady will not form the committee until July because of foreign travel scheduled for later this month.

• Researcher Clark Eberly contributed to this report.

tee next month. If she had formed that committee this month, the law would have required her to file a campaign finance report to the FEC by July 15 covering activities during the first half of the year.

By starting a committee in July, Mrs. Clinton would not have to file a report until Jan. 31, 2000, an FEC

ard Wolfson, said the congressional woman will not disclose details of her campaign's reimbursement payment for Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising help.

Mrs. Clinton, who is poised to become the first first lady to run for national office, plans to set up an exploratory campaign commit-

about \$400,000 — the DNC sent the New York congressman a bill for \$4,338.45.

Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, another New York Democrat, gave the DNC roughly \$8,500 to defray expenses for the first lady's appearance at a June 2 fund-raiser.

Mrs. Lowey's spokesman, How-

Sources: White House, Associated Press, The Washington Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1999

THE :

Clinton rolls up welcome mat for Hillary

Before first lady's visit, Governor bashes her liberal philosophy

By Ron Marsico
STAR-LEDGER STAFF

Hillary Clinton is coming to New Jersey today, but Gov. Christie Whitman already has issued a testy political welcome, branding the first lady a big-government liberal who botched the one job the President ever trusted her with.

The two women are expected to be running in high-profile U.S. Senate contests in neighboring states next year, with Clinton eyeing the vacant seat in New York and Whitman seeking the seat from New Jersey.

Both women had been ignoring the possibilities



WHITMAN



CLINTON

those tandem races offer.

Until yesterday.

Whitman said Clinton will be a sympathetic political figure with lots of valuable name recognition. But, she added, it won't help.

"People will remember, once they're over that, that the one time that she was given government responsibility was when the President

put her in charge of creating a new health care system for the nation," said Whitman.

"And she was proposing something that was going to be the largest federal bureaucracy that we had,"

PLEASE SEE HILLARY, PAGE 24

Hillary

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Whitman bashes potential candidate

continued Whitman. "And that's pretty hard to imagine given the size of some of the bureaucracy that exists in Washington today."

Whitman's comments, made yesterday during the taping of State of the State, a cable television show, came on the eve of Clinton's second fund-raising trip to the Garden State in less than two weeks. Today, the first lady helps raise money for Rep. Rush Holt (D-12th Dist.) and visits a middle school in Ewing to talk about combating school violence.

Little more than a month ago, there were reports that there was some rancor between the Governor and first lady's staffs during a visit to Fort Dix to welcome the Kosovo refugees.

According to the reports, Whitman staffers grumbled that the Governor was not invited to greet arriving buses of refugees with the first lady. But the Governor brought toys and managed her own welcome for the refugees anyway.

The Governor, a moderate Republican, said she believes the GOP candidate will beat Clinton — though she did not mention the party's likely standard-bearer, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, by name.

"Her answer to questions is very much more government and more government from Washington — as much as possible," said Whitman of the first lady, "and I don't believe the people of New York state are going to want to see that. They've certainly shown that they want to get away from that kind of response in both their elections of the mayor of New York City and the governor of the state."

The first lady's office let the swipe go.

"Her answer to questions is very much more government and more government from Washington — as much as possible."

— GOV. CHRISTIE WHITMAN

tial rematch against former Democratic Gov. Jim Florio, whom she beat for the governorship in 1993. Florio is considered the front-runner for the Democratic Senate nomination.

Quinnipiac's survey found that Florio "gained a little ground," but still trails Whitman 50 percent to 38

percent among 1,109 New Jersey residents who say they are registered voters. The poll, taken from June 2-7, has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.9 percent. A March 31 Quinnipiac survey showed Whitman ahead of Florio by 51 to 35 percent.

"It's much too early to put too much stock in polls," said Whitman. "Obviously, I'm glad that I'm ahead, but neither one of us has started to campaign or define ourselves to the other."

The poll also found that radio talk-show host Bob Grant, who is considering running as an independent, has a favorable rating of 15 percent with a 19 percent unfavorable rating, with 12 percent mixed and 54 percent holding no opinion.

The Governor said that she believes that Grant would hurt her chances if he decides to run for Senate as a third party candidate.

Whitman said she hopes Grant does not run.

"I don't think there's any question but that if he runs that he would pull some from what should be considered my base," said Whitman. "I think it's too bad if he does. We share a lot of the same philosophy and attitude toward government. Obviously we've had some disagreements."

Grant dismissed suggestions his candidacy would hurt only Whitman.

"If I'm in the race, I'll hurt both parties. Because I'll win," said Grant in a brief interview yesterday, in which he said he was not surprised by Whitman's remarks. "I wouldn't be doing it just to hurt the Governor. That would be silly."

Carpetbagger label will stick to first lady, critics say

By Ann McFeatters
BLOCK NEWS ALLIANCE

A top Democratic Party official, trying to put the carpetbagger issue aside as Hillary Rodham Clinton explores a run for a New York Senate seat, said yesterday that it would "be easier for her to learn about traffic in the Bronx than to catapult a [New York] politician into the national arena."

Roy Romer, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a former governor of Colorado, insisted he meant no offense to New Yorkers. But his remarks to reporters yesterday are likely to

resonate unfavorably with some voters there.

Many political analysts think the fact that Mrs. Clinton is not a resident of New York will be her single biggest problem if she goes ahead with her current plan to run for one of New York's two Senate seats.

New York GOP Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is likely to run against Mrs. Clinton for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has already begun to ridicule her for wanting to be a senator representing a state where she has never lived. He has jokingly suggested that he might run for a seat from

Arkansas, her adopted state. She grew up in Illinois.

Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, also has mocked her as a carpetbagger.

"Bad enough that Hillary Rodham Clinton never lived in New York, never bought a bag of groceries in the state nor ever paid a toll on the New York Thruway," he said when she vacationed at the last month in Florida.

Mrs. Clinton, who has made 11 trips to New York this year, should be spending time in New York, not Florida, Mr. Nicholson said.

The DNC is trying to nullify the

carpetbagger issue, saying that New York Democrats "drafted" her to run because of her broad experiences as first lady and her interests in families and children.

But GOP politicians such as former Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, who lost his seat to Democrat Charles E. Schumer and took great pride in making local problems in New York his priority when he was in the Senate, say that the first lady will be relentlessly attacked as a carpetbagger if she runs.

New York's lax residency law would not require her to move to New York before deciding to run. She could even live in the White

House until just before the November 2000 election. Two other carpetbaggers were elected senators from New York — James Buckley in 1970 and Robert F. Kennedy in 1964.

Mrs. Clinton said on NBC-TV's "Today" show yesterday that she has not yet bought a house or rented an apartment. "I'm going around collecting offers of, you know, people's guest rooms and extra beds and pullout couches."

The first lady denied that she would cause problems for Democrats if after other Democrats have dropped out of the race, she would decide not to run. "Well, I think a

Democrat will win the Senate race. And I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorker and just having a good time."

She also said she is becoming "big Knicks fan" and has always been a Patrick Ewing fan, in part because he went to Georgetown University, her husband's alma mater.

As for the New York Yankees she said, "The fact is, I've always been a Yankees fan. . . . As a young girl, I became very interested and enamored of the Yankees." But she also is a Chicago Cubs fan, she said.

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J.D. CROWE, San Diego

Hillary Clinton

■ Re "In Pursuit of Traditional Power," by Dee Dee Myers, Opinion, June 6: Do I understand the scenario correctly? Hillary Clinton is a person with "old-fashioned" beliefs. The misplacement of her telephone records and her spectacular success in commodities speculation—did these also stem from her concept of "old-fashioned beliefs"?

If, as Myers mentions, Mrs. Clinton is running for the Senate in order to distance herself from the president, are her contributors and we supposed to fund her inability to resolve the problems in her life?

Mrs. Clinton would be, as the governor of New York suggested, well advised to stay out of the "rough and tumble" campaigning that takes place in New York, with the vulnerability of her background and motivation.

MARSHALL KLINE
Los Angeles

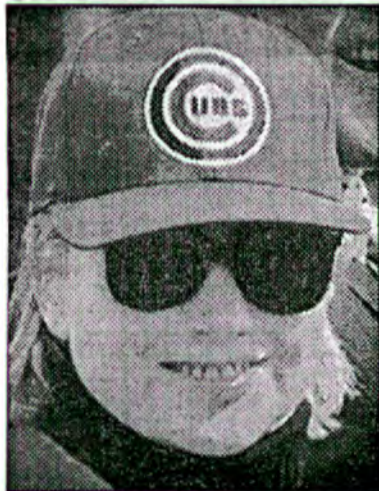
■ Can someone splash Myers with some water? Reading her love letter Opinion piece praising Hillary Rodham Clinton, you'd think Clinton was the first woman to ever run for national office. Perhaps she's testing some new spin for the Democrats; Ms. Clinton now a "moderate." But an honest assessment of the political landscape shows at least a half-dozen women of presidential timber. It's just that they're all Republican.

CLAYTON VERNON
Austin, Texas

■ If Myers really believes that "only government can make the kind of sweeping changes that improve people's lives," we are lucky to have her out of Washington. Does she really believe government is responsible for the revolution in computers, the Internet, the outpouring of lifesaving drugs and surgical treatments, the tens of millions of jobs that have been added to the economy, or the increase of a trillion dollars or more in the personal wealth of Americans?

All of these are sweeping changes that have improved people's lives, but to attribute them to government is to deny the enormous power of what people can accomplish through private means. Government has its place, but it is certainly not the be-all, end-all of human existence.

A. DONALD ANDERSON
Ojai



TRAITOR? Just eight months ago, Hillary was a Cub fan. AP

She'll root with voters

Here are some of Hillary Rodham Clinton's past sports loyalties:

Arkansas Razorbacks

Married to Hogs fan extraordinaire President Clinton, Hillary has also cheered on his home team. After the Razorbacks won the NCAA basketball tournament in 1994, the First Couple honored the team with a Rose Garden ceremony.

Chicago Cubs

Hillary has made no secret of her love of the Cubs, dating back to her childhood in a Chicago suburb.

"I'm glad I was a Cubs fan because being a Cubs fan prepares you for life. It also prepares you for Washington and politics," Hillary said in 1994.

Chicago Bulls

Her Chicago roots also qualify her as a Bulls fan. She even dropped in for a locker-room visit to Michael Jordan's team in 1997.

The Olympics

The First Lady and daughter Chelsea cheered on American athletes at the Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994.

Yankees

Hillary revealed her Yankees fetish last year as the Bombers were rolling to a World Series sweep. Speaking at the Park Avenue Synagogue, she said she'd picked the Yanks early on as her American League club.

"You can't be a Chicago Cubs and a Chicago White Sox fan, so I chose the Yankees," she said. "I don't let many people know that, so keep that just among us."

Compiled by The Post library staff

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Right Circumstance For Landing the Pomp

By JAY MATHEWS
Washington Post Staff Writer

You might imagine that Vice President Gore decided to give the commencement speech at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology next week because the Fairfax County school symbolizes his commitment to scientific research and technological advances.

The vice president likes those things, to be sure. But what really is bringing him to Jefferson are the efforts of Katie Day, basketball star and senior class co-historian.

How did Day manage to persuade

Gore to come? She succeeded in the way most high-schoolers find commencement speakers: she knew somebody. In this case, the key contact was her father, McLean builder and architect Bart Day, who has been Gore's friend since high school.

That's how the game is played when Washington area high schools search for a famous person to speak at graduation. Every June, some schools get the visitor they craved while others, lacking the right connection, wind up with nothing more

See SPEAKERS, B9, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SPEAKERS, From B1

than some regretful replies written on celebrity stationery.

At most high schools, the senior class officers are in charge of finding a speaker, with the help of a faculty adviser. The seniors "want to have someone who they think will be worthwhile to the students, and they will put big names on their lists," said William G. Smith, a faculty adviser to the seniors at Damascus High School in Montgomery County.

School administrators often encourage that approach. A famous politician, athlete, actor or writer brings attention to the school and confers a sense of importance on all who attend the graduation.

Famous parents are usually the easiest to get. Queen Noor of Jordan spoke at her son's graduation at the Maret School in Washington this month, as did columnist George F. Will at his daughter's graduation from the National Cathedral School.

But the celebrity-hunting effort often requires some patience and savvy. Hillary Rodham Clinton agreed to speak at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School graduation after receiving a letter last fall from seniors Carter Beach, Jonathan Ruckman and Micah Baskir. All three have parents who know the Clintons. The letter was delivered personally to the White House by Carol Beach, Carter's mother, who writes for Hillary Clinton.

According to Carol Beach, the letter pushed every conceivable button. It mentioned the 1937 Bethesda-Chevy Chase commencement address of Eleanor Roosevelt, referred to the school's diverse student body and public service programs, and noted that the commencement would be in Constitution Hall, just a short stroll from the White House.

At some schools, the same celebrity is pursued year after year. Washington-Lee High School in Arlington has landed such speakers as Colin L. Powell and Attorney General Janet Reno, but actress and alumna Sandra Bullock still hasn't been able to find a hole in her schedule. Principal William Sharbaugh, who is retiring this year after 24 years at the school, remembers Bullock as a pleasant student and fine cheerleader. He said she had tentatively promised to speak two years ago, but had to cancel "because she was doing one of those 'Speed' movies, or whatever it was."

Bullock had to turn the school down again this year, but Sharbaugh said "she promised she would take care of us someday."

This year's Washington-Lee seniors also had hopes of getting an acceptance from Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, a friend of one student's parents, but Albright's spring proved to be too busy. The graduates instead will hear Lawrence R. Baca, president of the Native American Bar Association, who also has connections to a Washington-Lee student.

Some celebrities are so hot that they're worth inviting even when they have no link to anyone at the school. Famous young actors Jennifer Love Hewitt, Leonardo DiCaprio and James Van Der Beek fall into that category, several Washington area students said. If nothing else, the graduation committee will have the thrill of examining the signature on the rejection letter. The invitee might even follow the example of Frank Sinatra, who would send large checks with his



FILE PHOTO BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who spoke at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase graduation, is hugged by senior James Finlay.

regrets, telling the class to spend it on the prom.

Seniors typically write to their dream choices in the fall. Reality sinks in around Christmas and they begin to focus on a somewhat less prominent group of names.

But some schools have sworn off celebrity speakers altogether. Debby Messer, a teacher at Hammond High School in Howard County, said students and faculty began to reconsider their annual hunt for a big name after a well-known politician—she refuses to identify him—addressed a Hammond graduation in the early 1980s.

"It was an election year, and a political speech, and it was so blatant and so removed from what mattered to the kids," she said.

The next year, the students decided that henceforth they would have a student be the keynote speaker.

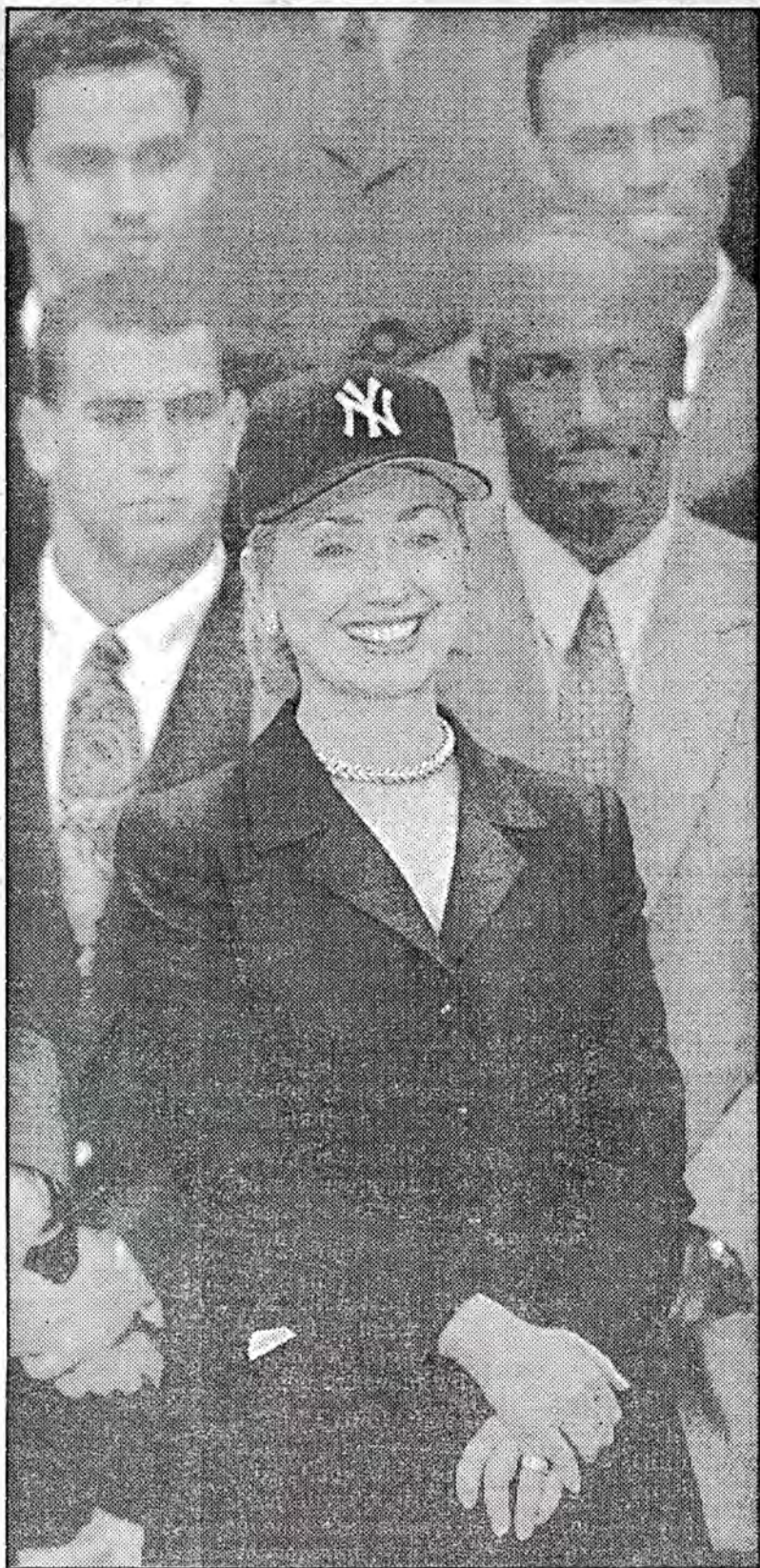
That is also the system now used at T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria. The school's last celebrity speaker was President Gerald R. Ford, who addressed his son's graduation.

Manassas Park High School students have made it their policy to invite a teacher to give the main address. "This year they came and said they wanted to have, not a teacher from the high school, but an eighth-grade teacher many of them really liked," said Principal Margaret Huckaby. Coming up from Florida, where she has been living in retirement, is Patricia Zahl, who exposed a generation of Manassas Park middle-schoolers to the wonders of science.

At Jefferson, students appear to be happily anticipating Gore's speech and have congratulated Day and the other senior officers for their hard work. After Day's father spoke to Gore, the class leaders followed up with a letter pointing out how much the vice president's frequent emphasis on the Internet and advances in technology matched the school's goals.

Day said she has heard a few students worrying that a man running for president will likely have a political message. "But," she said, "I am very, very sure that is not going to happen."

HILLARY AND RUDY OUT OF HARMONY



FAIR-WEATHER FAN: "Yankee fan" Hillary Rodham Clinton joins Bombers (clockwise from top left) Jorge Posada, Mariano Rivera and Chili Davis at the White House yesterday.

Greg E. Mathieson/MAI

Potential Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Giuliani sounded some sour notes yesterday when they clashed over music and arts programs in city schools.

The two undeclared candidates also tried to claim pinstriped mantle of the Yankees for themselves — a day the president and First Lady welcomed the Bombers to the White House in honor of last year's World Series victory.

The day's campaign-like maneuvering began when Clinton visited PS 72 on East 104th Street in Manhattan, part of cable channel VH1's "Save the Music Foundation," which has donated money and musical instruments to school systems across the country.

Speaking to a packed auditorium of about 250 students and teachers, Mrs. Clinton noted that funding for arts in schools nationwide has been drastically cut over the last decade.

"In this particular school, I learned that about 10 years ago, there was a music program, a great music program I've been told," Clinton said.

"But like so many schools over the past decade, the music program was cut way, way back to a single piano and organized music classes.

"We have to rebuild the structure of support that was torn down — not just here — but in many places around our country."

At City Hall, Giuliani later bashed Clinton and Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew, who attended the event with her.

"Did I think that the appearance of the chancellor and the First Lady, did I think that was basically a politically motivated event? The answer is yes," the mayor said.

Both Mrs. Clinton and the mayor are seriously considering running for U.S. Senate from New York.

By Brian Blomquist in Washington and Robert Hardt Jr. and Will Neuman in New York

Later in the day, Mrs. Clinton jetted back to Washington for the Yankees bash — where she donned a team cap given her by manager Joe Torre.

"We're going to relish this moment together," the First Lady said.

She kissed Yankees owner George Steinbrenner — a publican who has been trying to get Giuliani to help build a new stadium. She called Steinbrenner a "great friend of the president and me" who frequently wrote them letters.

Later, Steinbrenner said Clinton is a "legitimate Yankee fan. I know she cares."

Mrs. Clinton went on NBC's "Today" show yesterday morning to declare that, although she grew up a Chicago Cubs fan, she was also a long-time fan of the Yanks.

That drew more sniping from Giuliani — who makes no secret of his love of the Yanks.

"It's funny. I haven't seen her at a Yankee game," Giuliani said. "I've been at Yankee Stadium maybe a thousand times in my life, and I've yet to see Hillary Clinton there."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



BY BILL O'LEARY—THE WASHINGTON POST

A perfect fit? Hillary Clinton, eyeing a New York seat in the Senate, tries on a gift from her guests, the Yankees, as owner George Steinbrenner and the president watch.

Infield Chatter

Hillary Clinton Toasts the 'Home' Team

By FRANK AHRENS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Can Hillary out-Yankee Rudy?

The first lady—oh, yeah, and her husband, the president—hosted the 1998 World Series champion New York Yankees on the South Lawn yesterday. This is a common photo-op: champion athletes of all sorts get to come to the White House. But what curious timing, this visit by the Yankees—it comes eight months after they won the World Series but only days after Hillary Rodham Clinton announced she was forming an exploratory committee to run for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate.

That would be the same New

York Senate seat being eyed by Rudolph Giuliani, mayor of New York City and perhaps Yankees No. 1. Giuliani wears a Yankees cap like a king wears a crown. He wants to build a new Yankee Stadium on Manhattan's West Side. He wears his Yankees jacket to the Hall.

The Yankees coming to the White House?

Ouch.

If political campaigns trade symbolism, this was was Hil dropping the Big One, right on the head. In New Yorkese, she was telling the mayor: "Exp this, pal!"

See YANKEES, C4, Col. 1

Surprise! She's a Yankees Fan!

YANKEES, From C1

It was the first lady, not her husband, who opened yesterday's ceremony, revealing that Yankees owner George Steinbrenner has been a "great friend" to the First Couple and, apparently, a copious correspondent, offering affirming homilies during the Clintons' tough times.

Yankees Manager Joe Torre gave both Clintons team caps. He watched the first lady put hers on.

"Perfect," he said.

On yesterday's "Today" show, the first lady played her familiar wink-and-a-nod, maybe-I'm-running-maybe-I'm-not shtick with host Katie Couric, who asked Clinton first about the New York Knicks—currently battling in the NBA playoffs—and then about the Yankees.

"Are you a big Knicks fan?" Couric asked.

"I'm becoming a big Knicks fan," the first lady re-

sponded, laughing.

"More and more every day, huh?" Couric parried. And then a sleepy-eyed nation collectively hurred.

Later, Clinton asserted that she'd "always been a Yankees fan." Couric correctly challenged her, saying she thought the first lady, a native of Illinois, was a Chicago Cubs fan.

"I am a Cubs fan," Clinton said. "But I needed an American League team... so as a young girl, I became very interested and enamored of the Yankees."

If the first lady's campaign advisers are smart, they will urge her to "distance" herself from the Cubs, who haven't won a World Series since, oh, the Mesozoic Era. Even with spectacular slugger Sammy Sosa, the Cubs seem destined to always be "Lovable Losers"—baseball's equivalent of Hubert Humphrey.

There is a school of thought, however, that says there's no way Hillary can out-Yankee Rudy, so she should aim her efforts elsewhere. This strategy has historical success: During the 1968 presidential election, Republican Richard Nixon knew there was no way he could "out-liberal" Democrat Humphrey, so he ignored the noisy left and campaigned to the conservative "silent majority."

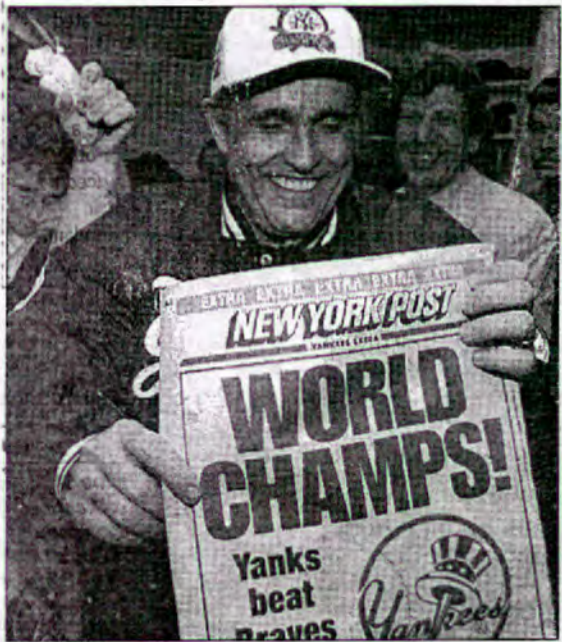
Could it work for the first lady?

"The White House should pay attention to the Mets," says Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Policy Institute. "There's no way anyone could wear the Yankees uniform as much as Rudy Giuliani, so rather than trying to compete with the mayor on his dedication to the Yankees, she'd be better to go with the Mets."

But aligning herself with the Mets—who've existed only since 1962—could help opponents who tag Clinton as a carpetbagger. She'd be better off sticking with the Yankees, whose lineage goes back to the 19th century, when they were called the Knickerbockers and you could get runners out between bases the New York way—by hitting them with the baseball.

As for Giuliani, yesterday's White House affair reduced him to harrumphery.

"Funny, I haven't seen her at a Yankee game," the mayor said yesterday. "I've been at Yankee Stadium maybe 1,000 times and I haven't seen Mrs. Clinton."



FILE PHOTO/JOHN BAZEMORE—ASSOCIATED PRESS

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the first lady's likely Senate opponent, is an unsurpassed Yankees devotee.

Staff writer Michael Powell contributed to this report.

· FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1999 · USA TODAY

N.Y. SENATE RACE: Hillary Rodham Clinton has been "drafted" by New Yorkers and can more easily represent its citizens than most natives of the state, Democratic Party officials said in arguing against carpetbagger claims by Republicans. Calling New York a "very cosmopolitan place," Democratic National Committee Chairman Roy Romer said the first lady would be an ideal candidate and rejected the argument that she is ill-equipped to address topics distinct to the state just because she has never lived or worked there. Clinton, meanwhile, told NBC that "I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorkers and just having a good time."

— Gannett News Service

PHOTOCOPY
PRELIMINARY

Picture this: Mitty is a hit vs. Hillary

A tip of the hat (Panama) to Walter Mitty — James Thurber's most enduring creation:

The mild-mannered columnist scanned the AP headline: "First Lady Still Without N.Y. Home." Could he publicly offer to rent Hillary the spare bedroom in his Upper West Side apartment?

Nope, he had read that piece elsewhere. The columnist closed his eyes — just for a moment — to summon up inspiration . . .

"Ten minutes to the debate, sir," Perkins announced, sticking his head into the green room. "I had one other idea for your closing statement."

Mitty sighed. Perkins was bright, but a little too bushy-tailed. "Everything's under control," the candidate said softly, saving his rich baritone for his televised faceoff with Hillary.

Perkins paused awkwardly in the doorway. He's a good kid, Mitty thought, favoring his loyal aide with the incandescent smile that had so charmed New York voters. "I don't know how you came up with this snapshot," Mitty said, "but tonight, it's going to put us over the top."

Mitty reached into the manila envelope to savor the glossy black-and-white image. The photo showed an exuberant and youthful Hillary Rod-



HYPE & GLORY
By Walter Shapiro

ham, her hair flowing wildly in 1960s fashion, wearing a Chicago Cubs cap. The setting was unmistakably Wrigley Field, and the visiting team none other than the New York Mets.

"I hear Mrs. Clinton has been prepping for this debate like it's a giant spelling bee," Perkins declared, his confidence restored. "She thinks you'll quiz her on upstate counties like

Schoharie and Rensselaer."

That's always the fatal flaw, Mitty thought, underestimating your opponent. He savored the memory of the dismissive *New York Post* headline when he entered the primary race: "TRUE-LIFE WALTER MITTY FANTASY: BEATING HILLARY." Little did the first lady and her high-priced retainers realize how much New Yorkers love a feisty underdog — a squeaky-clean candidate with an unblemished marriage and a simple, honest slogan: "I LIVE HERE."

Mitty recalled the report-card stunt that helped establish his credibility. It was fun to call a press conference and dramatically brandish a blowup of his kindergarten teacher's assessment: "Walter displays superior skills in playing and sharing with others." Leave it to the tabloids to find one of Mrs. Clinton's nursery-school classmates who claimed Hilla-

ry had hogged all the blocks.

It took Mitty a second to realize that Perkins was asking him a question: "Who's on first?"

"Since this isn't an Abbott and Costello routine," Mitty replied. "I assume you're talking about that original Met phenom, Eddie Kranepool, though he platooned late in the season with Donn Clendenon."

Perkins beamed. "Mr. Mitty," he said, "you're about to strike Hillary out with the bases loaded."

The first 40 minutes of the debate featured the kind of high-minded exchanges on the issues so beloved by C-SPAN viewers and so reviled by ratings-obsessed TV producers. Social Security, health care, the plight of upstate dairy farmers — Hillary's self-assured mastery of policy questions was matched by Mitty's coiled intellect and his charismatic charm.

Then came the moment that Mitty had been waiting for with the unflappable confidence of a born competitor. Under the debate format, Mitty was allowed to directly pose a question to the first lady.

"Mrs. Clinton," he began, savoring the drama, "I was tempted to ask you about Ed Charles. But — " Primed for combat, Hillary aggressively broke in, just as Mitty had expected.

"Ed Charles is a city councilman in Troy," she said triumphantly. "And both Mr. Charles and his wife, Mary,

are strong supporters of my campaign for a better future for New York's children."

Mitty beamed at the camera, unfazed by the onslaught. "I'm sure Mr. Charles is a fine public servant," he said. "But I was thinking of the Ed Charles who shared time with Wayne Garrett at third base for the Mets." A puzzled frown crossed the first lady's face, as Mitty continued. "But what I wanted to ask you instead," he said, "was where were you on the afternoon of Aug. 13, 1969?"

"That, that, was before Whitewater," Hillary stammered. "I wasn't even in law school yet. There were no billing records."

Mitty smiled indulgently. "Perhaps this will refresh your memory," he declared in a Perry Mason voice. Mitty held up the photograph for the cameras. "Isn't it true you were at Wrigley Field, rooting for the Cubs against the Miracle New York Mets? And you presume to represent the baseball fans of New York?"

Hillary's gasp was drowned out by applause as . . .

The mild-mannered columnist rubbed his sleepy eyes. Must have dozed off, he realized in panic. Gosh, it's almost deadline and I've got a column to write.

Walter Shapiro's column appears Wednesdays and Fridays. Past columns on USATODAY.com

Clinton New Year's Eve

Bill and Hillary Clinton are planning a huge bash on the Mall for the millennial New Year's Eve.

"The event remains shrouded in secrecy, but there are indications it will have many of the features people have come to expect from the Clintons," the Wall Street Journal's Glenn R. Simpson reports.

"First friend and pop star Quincy Jones, along with George Stevens Jr. of the Kennedy Center, will help with the live musical entertainment. Director Steven Spielberg is shooting a 17-minute film that will be screened for the masses in the final moments before the turn of the century; Bill Clinton will narrate. Terence McAuliffe, best known for his prodigious efforts to raise money for the president's 1996 reelection, is handling the fund raising."

The reporter added: "People familiar with the matter say the Washington organizers are in negotiations for coverage by one of the major networks, which could compete with ABC's annual broadcast from Times Square."

Strangers preferred

"The first lady's status as an outsider might actually work to her advantage in New York," Gail Collins writes in the New York Times.

"This is the capital of sectional antagonism, where people might prefer a stranger to a lifelong resident from the other side of the state. As a Republican TV ad vividly suggested, the residents north of Albany think of down-state politicians as sharks swimming up the Hudson to get their money. City residents dismiss the rest of New York as irrelevant."

Trip canceled

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday canceled a Middle East trip that had been scheduled for this month, because of the unsettled state of Israeli politics.

A senior State Department official said the department advised Mrs. Clinton against the trip after it became clear that Israeli Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak would need longer than expected to form a government.

The official, who commented only on the condition of anonymity, told Associated Press reporter Sandra Sobieraj that the advice to Mrs. Clinton was not a sign the United States had lost confidence that Mr. Barak could form a government.

Mrs. Clinton's tour, scheduled at the end of President Clinton's trip to the G-8 summit in Germany, was to include meetings with the Palestinian Authority and stops in Israel, Jordan and Yemen for the "Emerging Democracy Conference" there. The first lady's office said the trip would be rescheduled, but offered no details or explanation, referring all inquiries to the State Department.

Mrs. Clinton will still travel through Europe next week with her husband, and will additionally keep a date to address an education conference in Sicily, Italy, on June 18, spokeswoman Toby Graff said.

The first lady will also stop in Fes, Morocco, before returning to Washington.

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about \$400,000 — the DNC sent the New York congressman a bill for \$4,338.45.

Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, another New York Democrat, gave the DNC roughly \$8,500 to defray expenses for the first lady's appearance at a June 2 fund-raiser.

Mrs. Lowey's spokesman, How-

ard Wolfson, said the congresswoman will not disclose details of her campaign's reimbursement payment for Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising help.

Mrs. Clinton, who is poised to become the first first lady to run for national office, plans to set up an exploratory campaign commit-

tee next month. If she had formed that committee this month, the law would have required her to file a campaign finance report to the FEC by July 15 covering activities during the first half of the year.

By starting a committee in July, Mrs. Clinton would not have to file a report until Jan. 31, 2000, an FEC

spokesman said. It would list contributions and expenses from July through December of this year.

Ms. Berry said the first lady will not form the committee until July because of foreign travel scheduled for later this month.

● *Researcher Clark Eberly contributed to this report.*

HILLARY

From page A1

This refusal, despite a federal law mandating such reimbursements, infuriates some government watchdogs.

"We should know where every nickel goes... no matter who is in power," said Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan research group that has studied the costs of campaign travel. "The average American does not want to subsidize someone seeking partisan office."

The Times' review of White House travel summaries and Mrs. Clinton's public schedule shows that she:

- Favored New York as a domestic travel destination this year over all other states. She traveled to New York 11 times — just once with President Clinton — while boosting her trips to neighboring New Jersey to three visits and going only once or twice to 11 other states.

- Headlined at least 12 Democratic fund-raisers in New York so far this year, including events for five incumbent members of Congress.

- Traveled to New York without the president a total of 66 times since 1993, more by far than other favorite states such as California, Florida and Illinois. (Counting trips with Mr. Clinton, she went to New York 82 times.)

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a likely Republican contender for the Senate seat, has poked barbed fun at Mrs. Clinton's interest in running for federal office in the state without ever having lived there.

"I think that Hillary wanting to come to New York is a really fine thing," Mr. Giuliani said Monday night before a Republican dinner in Niagara County. "She can look around, try to find out something about the state... if she wants to live and work in New York like other people, that's terrific. But there's another question whether you should represent a state you never lived in, you never worked in and you know nothing about."

The first lady's three next most-popular destinations since 1993 were California (38 trips), her home state of Illinois (28) and Florida (26). Arkansas, her adopted home, warranted 18 trips. On many trips, she accompanied the president.

Mrs. Clinton returned yesterday from her 10th solo trip to New York since January.

Travel records indicate her official events in New York as first lady continue to focus on issues she has stressed for years — education, children and health care.

But she also is cramming her schedule day and night with political appearances on behalf of Democratic candidates — stops that could boost her own unannounced Senate candidacy.

She appeared Wednesday at a fund-raiser in Binghamton for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, New York Democrat, and attended a \$5,000-a-plate DNC fund-raiser that targeted homosexual donors and was held at a private residence in New York City. In April, atop the World Trade Center, she helped raise money for Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat who supported the president during his impeachment trial.

Also this year, the first lady addressed loyalists at the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum and headlined a state Democratic Party event. She helped attract donors for Rep. John J. LaFalce, New

York Democrat, and for Rep. Nita M. Lowey, the New York Democrat who last week said she would not challenge Mrs. Clinton in a Senate primary race.

When Mrs. Clinton appears on behalf of candidates, federal law requires that the candidates reimburse the government for the portion of her travel costs related to their campaigns.

The DNC bills candidates in advance for prorated expenses incurred by Mrs. Clinton and her staff, including food and lodging. After receiving payment, the party deposits the money in an escrow account used to reimburse the government, said a committee spokesman who asked not to be identified.

Even after such reimbursements, taxpayers still feel the pinch of the first lady's partisan travels.

That's because the law requires that campaign committees cover only the price of a first-class airline ticket, although the taxpayers' tab is thousands of dollars each time an Air Force jet flies Mrs. Clinton somewhere.

It costs \$2,179 an hour to fly the C-9A jet — similar to a DC-9 — that she frequently uses, said Master Sgt. Rick Corral, a spokesman for Andrews Air Force Base. It costs \$3,615 an hour to fly the newer, smaller C-20, which sometimes is used by the first lady and resembles a Gulfstream corporate jet.

The Pentagon calculates the in-flight costs of all military aircraft. The numbers are based on fuel, maintenance, and flight and ground crews required for a trip, Air Force spokesman Maj. Tyrone Woodyard said.

Lodging and food for the crews and other expenses on the ground — even in the case of overnight stops — are not included in calculating costs, Maj. Woodyard said.

When she travels, the first lady takes along a trip director, photographer and press secretary, Ms. Berry said. A specialist on the issues she will address often comes along too.

Secret Service officers travel with the first lady, who typically rides in a motorcade once on the ground. Her staff sometimes requires local transportation.

The White House traditionally has not disclosed exactly how much travel by a first lady costs taxpayers.

"There's a little bit of wink-and-nod subterfuge here about the actual costs," Mr. Lewis said. "We don't know what the actual costs are and we probably never will know. The White House isn't under any legal requirement to tell us."

After the 1996 presidential race, his Center for Public Integrity analyzed air travel costs and found that the Clinton-Gore campaign "paid just a fraction of the real cost of flying" Air Force One. It costs \$35,300 each hour the 747 is aloft, an Air Force spokesman said.

"The subsidies that make these flights possible appear nowhere in the reports" filed by the campaign with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), the study concluded.

FEC reports due next month will provide some information on the DNC's reimbursements to the government for the first lady's air travel. But the committee will not release details, DNC spokeswoman Jenny Backus said.

"We make public what's required by the FEC," she said.

However, interviews with candidates for whom Mrs. Clinton has stumped provide a glimpse of associated costs.

When Mrs. Clinton appeared briefly at the April 19 fund-raiser for Mr. Nadler...



Photo by Karen Ballard/The Washington Times

Cubs fan?: Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Yankees owner George Steinbrenner at her side, dons a cap at the White House.

Hillary's appetite for Apple voracious

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made 66 solo trips to New York state at taxpayer expense since 1993, 10 of them in the first 5½ months of this year, a review of travel records by The Washington Times shows.

Over the previous six years, Mrs. Clinton averaged nine solo trips a year to New York. That rate has doubled so far this year as she edges closer to running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a fellow Democrat.

Spokeswoman Marsha Berry in-

sists the first lady's stepped-up travel to New York is not related to her likely Democratic candidacy for the open Senate seat.

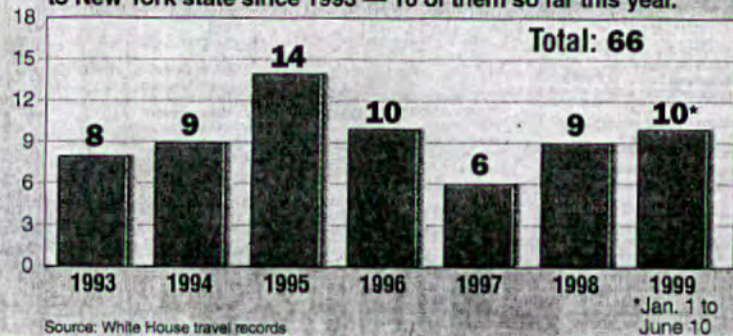
"There are a lot of people who have asked her to participate in events in New York," Ms. Berry said.

Neither the White House nor the Democratic National Committee (DNC) will disclose how much the first lady's trips cost. Nor will they say exactly how much the government has been reimbursed for the political portions of her travel as she stumps for other candidates and promotes herself.

see HILLARY, page A14

HILLARY ♥ NY

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made 66 solo trips to New York state since 1993 — 10 of them so far this year.



Source: White House travel records

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1999

The Clinton Agenda: For Y2K, the Mall Is Where It's At

The First Family Is Planning
A \$10 Million Celebration
Of Its Own in the Backyard

By GLENN R. SIMPSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton may hope to make New York her adoptive home state, but don't expect to see her and the president in Times Square at the stroke of midnight this New Year's Eve.

The Clintons, it turns out, have for months been quietly plotting a \$10 million-plus New Year's celebration in their own backyard to rival the traditional Big Apple bash.

The National Park Service confirms that a group formed by the White House has requested a permit on New Year's Eve to reserve the Mall, the expanse of green that stretches from the Capitol past the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. The White House had planned to announce the affair during the annual July 4 celebration in the capital, but officials there confirmed the plans in response to inquiries.



Bill Clinton

The event remains shrouded in secrecy, but there are indications it will have many of the features people have come to expect from the Clintons. First friend and pop star Quincy Jones, along with George Stevens Jr. of the Kennedy Center, will help with the live musical entertainment. Director Steven Spielberg is shooting a 17-minute film that will be screened for the masses in the final moments before the turn of the century; Bill Clinton will narrate. Terence McAuliffe, best known for his prodigious efforts to raise money for the president's 1996 re-election, is handling the fund raising.

Ann Lewis, a White House spokeswoman, says the evening and three days of preceding festivities will make Washington, D.C., the place to be on New Year's Eve. "Where would you want to be as we change millenniums?" she asks.

But for Mrs. Clinton, who is expected to be in the thick of a campaign for Senate in



Hillary Clinton

New York by then, the answer isn't so easy. "I anticipate that she will be on the Mall," Ms. Lewis says of the first lady. Traditionally, the Clintons have been in Hilton Head, S.C., on New Year's Eve for Renaissance Weekend, a gathering of big-thinking policy wonks.

New York officials aren't likely to appreciate the unexpected emergence of a major rival to their own New Year's extravaganza. Aside from stealing some thunder from the Times Square globe-dropping, the Washington fete could swipe viewers who will watch the event on television. People familiar with the matter say the Washington organizers are in negotiations for coverage by one of the major networks, which would compete with ABC's annual broadcast from Times Square.

The Washington party is being organized by something called the White House Millennium Council, which is supposed to

Continued From First Page

Mrs. Clinton and was created last year by the president to organize events in the year leading up to the big day. The council even has a vanity phone number at its White House office: 456-2000.

In Executive Order 13072, which created the council, Mr. Clinton explained that the government's millennial role goes beyond worrying about the Y2K computer bug. "By leading this country in a grand educational celebration of the past and future," Mr. Clinton declared, "the Federal Government has an unprecedented opportunity to energize and unite the Nation with a renewed sense of optimism in the accomplishments and promise of America."

The Spielberg contribution will be "a 17-minute motion picture expressing the emotional highlights of the 20th century," says Spielberg spokesman Andy Spahn. An original score will be composed by John Williams, who also did the music for "Saving Private Ryan" and "Schindler's List." Mr. Spahn says the format will be inspired by Aaron Copland's "Lincoln Portrait," a 1942 orchestral work that used quotes from Abraham Lincoln and featured Henry Fonda as the narrator.

Ms. Lewis says the fireworks-laden party will cap "three days of family-centered events on the Mall," organized in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institu-

tion and the city of Washington.

The funds are being raised by an outfit called America's Millennium Leadership Committee, chaired by Mr. McAuliffe. The total price tag is expected to be in the range of \$10 million to \$15 million, and sponsors of the event can look forward to being recognized. Mr. McAuliffe says he expects the money to come from major corporate donors. "The goal is not to go after the people that are traditionally involved in politics," he says.

Mr. Clinton isn't expected to have to be directly involved. Potential donors will know the project is important to the president and first lady, Mr. McAuliffe says. "I don't have to say so," he says.

Still, as word of the latest expensive project has begun to filter through the halls on Capitol Hill, some Democrats wonder whether Mr. Clinton's well-oiled fund-raising machine may be overextended. The president is already committed to raising money for his wife, his would-be successor Al Gore, his presidential library, his birthplace, his legal-defense fund, his party, and of course, his Democratic friends in the House and Senate.

"I don't see this thing competing at all with other Democratic causes," says Mr. McAuliffe, who is also a top fund-raiser for Mr. Gore. "Clearly this is not about ties."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton, Visiting Binghamton, Praises New Technology

By JONATHAN P. HICKS

BINGHAMTON, N.Y., June 9 — Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped gingerly into her apparent political campaign today, taking questions from workers at an electronics plant and mixing with contributors at a fund-raising reception for a Democratic Congressman. It was Mrs. Clinton's first trip to New York State since she announced plans to form an exploratory committee to consider running for the United States Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While she never specifically discussed the topic of her anticipated campaign, it was clear that Mrs. Clinton was being taken increasingly seriously by politicians and the public as the likely Democratic contender in next year's Senate race.

At the reception this evening, a fund-raiser for Representative Maurice D. Hinchey, Mrs. Clinton received an enthusiastic response. And while she spoke broadly on themes varying from the need for refurbished school buildings to manufacturing products under environmen-

tally friendly techniques, the crowd of more than 300 seemed most receptive to Mr. Hinchey's description of the First Lady as "an important resource for this state."

Speaking to reporters following the reception, Mrs. Clinton was asked about an issue that is expected to play a dominant role in the campaign: criticism of her as a carpetbagger who has never lived in the State of New York.

"I haven't made any decision yet," Mrs. Clinton said. "And when and if I do there will be plenty of time to talk about that."

Then, sounding as if she were already in the race, she said, "I have found in my many visits to New York that the kinds of issues that people in New York talk to me about are the kinds of issues that I have worked on for more than 30 years and have worked on very intensely in the last six and a half years."

She added that what New York voters "really care about is a partnership between the public and private sectors, about how we're going to keep good jobs; how we're going to

keep the best education system." Those issues, she said, "are the kinds of issues that I have a long interest and experience in."

In recent months, Mrs. Clinton has been trying use her frequent travels to New York as a way of establishing some connection to the state, where she has never lived. It was her 11th visit to New York this year. After the fund-raising event for Mr. Hinchey, a four-term Democrat who represents the Southern Tier near the Pennsylvania border, Mrs. Clinton departed for New York City, where she will appear on the NBC television program "Today," on Thursday morning, and visit a school in Harlem.

Mrs. Clinton's first stop here was at a Lockheed Martin electronics plant in Union, a town on the outskirts of Binghamton. At the plant, where electronic controls are made, Mrs. Clinton met with about 40 employees. She took questions on subjects including health care and Federal spending on research and development. But, as has been her custom in her last 10 visits, Mrs. Clinton's visit was carefully calibrated, keep-

ing her far from the public and at arms length from the press.

Perhaps as a harbinger of the passions her candidacy is likely to unleash, about 100 demonstrators stood outside of the Holiday Inn, where the fund-raising reception was held. Many of them jeered Mrs. Clinton, holding signs reading "Hillary Go Home" and "Hillary: Go Back to Arkansas, You Carpetbagger." There were also cheering supporters outside the hotel, holding signs saying "Hillary, Our Next Senator."

Her visit to the Binghamton area appears to focus on the kind of terrain that pollsters have suggested the First Lady will need in her apparent effort to win election next year: areas where Republicans have won but where Democratic candidates can still gain a receptive ear.

This area, which has voted often for Republicans statewide and overwhelmingly supported Gov. George E. Pataki, has been represented in Congress by Democrats since 1975. Before leaving for New York City, Mrs. Clinton pledged that she would return to the area.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Protests for Hillary at New York visit

First lady avoids subject of candidacy

BINGHAMTON, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton, met by protesters carrying "Carpetbagger Go Home" signs, told factory workers yesterday the nation has been 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.

During a nearly one-hour question-and-answer session, the subject of Mrs. Clinton's possible Senate candidacy never came up. But at the end of her visit, one company nurse urged Mrs. Clinton to keep working to improve the nation's health care system.

"I intend to," she responded.

While Mrs. Clinton addressed the high-technology work being done at the plant, her remarks perhaps shed some light on her own thoughts about seeking the New York Senate seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Outside the plant, some clearly sought to dissuade her from making the race.

About three dozen demonstrators chanting "Go home" were waiting for Mrs. Clinton when she left the plant. One sign said "Queen Hillary go home." But there also 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.

It was Mrs. Clinton's first visit to New York since announcing Friday that she will form an exploratory committee to continue preparations for the Senate race her advisers expect her to enter.

The race could pit her against Republican New York City Mayor

Rudolph W. Giuliani, who formed an exploratory committee in April. Also eyeing the GOP nomination is Rep. Rick A. Lazio of Long Island.

Mrs. Clinton planned to help fellow Democrats raise money during her trip to New York. Per-person ticket prices for a Binghamton fund-raiser for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey ranged from \$125 to \$500. The larger amount guaranteed a personal visit with the first lady.

Also on Mrs. Clinton's schedule was a \$5,000-a-person dinner organized by financial writer Andrew Tobias at a private home in New York City. The event, aimed at homosexual campaign contributors, was expected to raise at least \$200,000 for the Democratic National Committee.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said taxpayers would pick up part of the trip's tab — for the Lockheed Martin discussion on the economy — while Mr. Hinchey's campaign committee and the DNC would pay the rest. She did not have a breakdown.

The taxpayer financing for portions of Mrs. Clinton's campaign-like trips has already led to criticism. Advisers have said money raised by the exploratory committee may be used to cover such future expenses.

Some local Democrats were excited by Mrs. Clinton's decision to visit the Binghamton area as part of her attempt to get a better handle on New York issues.

"I'm thrilled. This is wonderful," said Barbara Paoletti, Broome County's Democratic Party chairwoman.

Some Republicans thought it was all hoopla for nothing.

"I'm probably the only one who still thinks she's not running," said state Sen. Thomas Libous, a county GOP leader. He theorized that Mrs. Clinton is toying with the Senate race "to take attention off the president and the war" in Kosovo.

The Washington Times Thursday June 10, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Bowing to Hillary

Christopher P. Nicholson, an editor in Washington, remembers "a wonderful quote I heard 19 years ago during a contentious U.S. Senate race in Connecticut. A then-congressman decimated his New York-native opponent with a barb along the lines of, 'It was my understanding that the U.S. Constitution stipulates that each state shall elect two senators, not that each senator shall elect two states.'

"The then-candidate and eventual victor was Chris Dodd, and the unfortunate opponent was Jim Buckley, the brother of William F. I was only in the eighth grade at the time, but I remember the line well because it brought the house down," Mr. Nicholson notes.

In fact, he recalls Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat, "was so proud of himself that he recollected that moment publicly many times afterwards (I heard him do it as late as 1984 during a lecture to high school students).

"But for whatever reason, he seems to have stopped using that line," Mr. Nicholson says. "I'm wondering if he'd even claim it as his own at this point. Go figure."

We rang our good friend Mr. Dodd, who was dashing down to the Senate floor yesterday on more urgent business. But we understand he "chuckled" when Press Secretary Marvin Fast forwarded our message.

"This is totally apples and oranges," Mr. Fast said, referring to Mr. Dodd's race then and today's controversial New York Senate race, in which another outsider — first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — might enter. "It certainly doesn't apply in this case, because Buckley had been a sitting senator from New York."

Opposing commuter tax can help her

IF WANNABE senator Hillary Clinton wants to make mischief for Mayor Giuliani, she could come out against his commuter tax — and some local Dems are urging her to do just that.

Giuliani tops the First Lady by a whopping 2-1 in polls in the soccer-mom suburbs — and that's where most New York elections get decided, so she badly needs a way to play catch-up.

The commuter tax could be it. No doubt that's why, sources say, the First Lady has been asking local folks about how to handle it.

Analysts say coming out against the now-repealed commuter tax would be

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE
WASHINGTON



very clever — even though heavily Democratic New York City is her base and the Big Apple wants commuters to pay the tax.

"It would be smart because she's not going to lose her base in the city anyway and it does score points in the suburbs," said Post pollster John Zogby.

"Her base is so bedrock Democratic and anti-Giuliani. Where else will they go?"

Besides, the commuter tax has been repealed. Opposing it is almost a freebie at this point. Even local Dems who back it aren't likely to howl.

"People in the city don't really care about forcing people in the suburbs to pay and they don't think they'll have to pay more. But people in the suburbs really do care — for them, it's a bread-and-butter issue," says a Democratic strategist.

"Opposing the commuter tax is a way of saying that Hillary Clinton may not be from New York but she's for the whole state while Rudy Giuliani is for the city at the expense of the rest of the state."

The First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, said: "She does not have an opinion [on the commuter tax] at this point. She is looking at it and knows that people are concerned about it."

There's an added charm for Mrs. Clinton to come out against the commuter tax — it puts her on Gov. Pataki's side against Giuliani and fuels the state's

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary can score in suburbs by opposing commuter tax

ORIN from Page 2

GOP wars at a time when many think Pataki and his ally, ex-Sen. Al D'Amato, want to do all they can to hurt Giuliani.

It also would put her on the same side as Rep. Rick Lazio (R-L.I.), who hopes to upset Giuliani in the GOP Senate primary. Any mischief she can make for GOPers is sure to help her.

Forget whether Hillary Clinton can spell Schenectady. Clinton-Gore land, it seems, can't even spell her likely GOP rival's name.

"The Hon. Rudolph Giuliani" was the misspelled moniker on a fund-raising letter addressed to City Hall and signed by Hillary's hubby on behalf of Veep Al Gore.

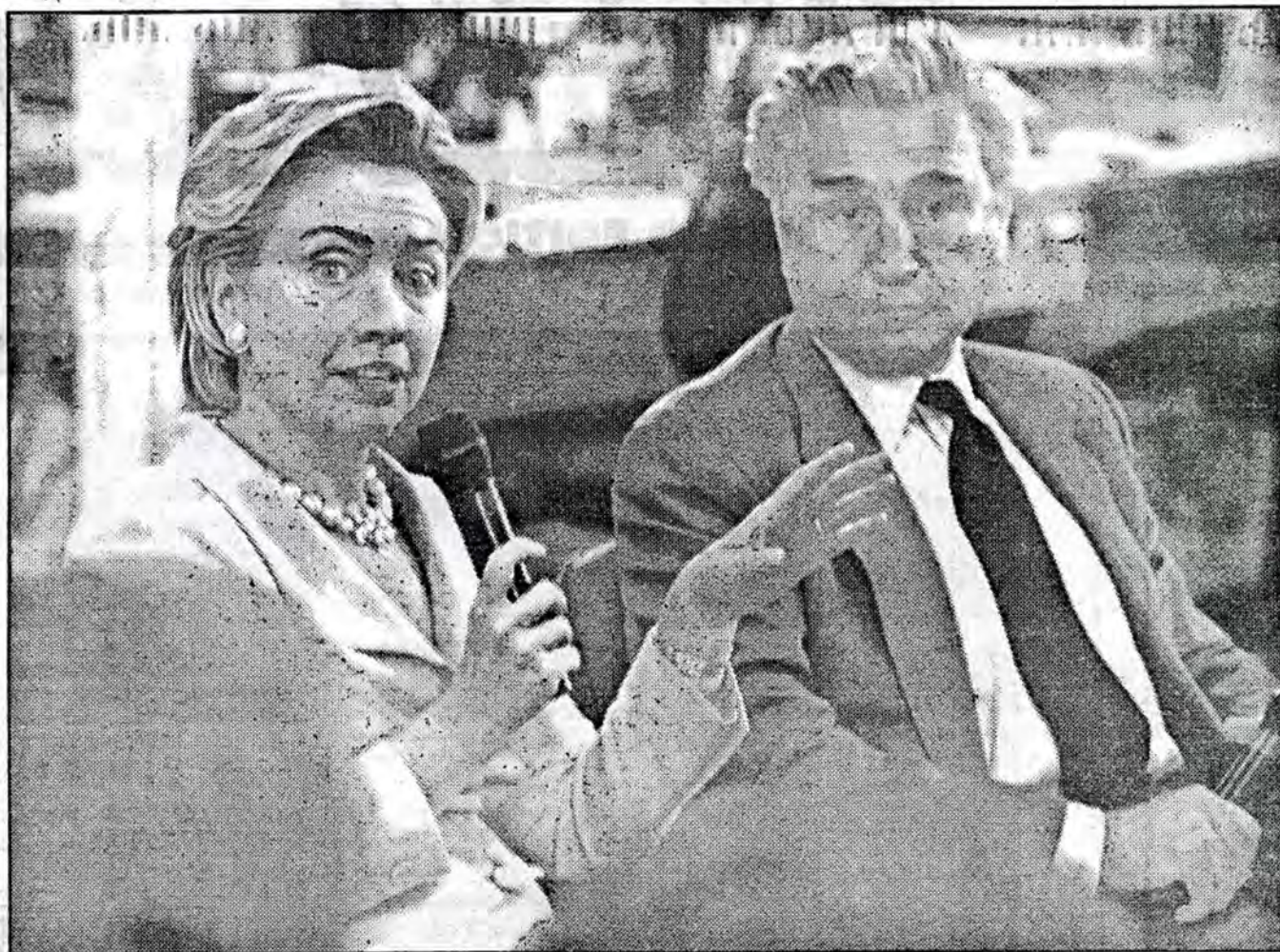
Gore's team said a "political" list had Republican Giuliani's name and it wasn't improper

use of a White House guest list.

Remember all the questions about the White House Travel Office and the Clinton-Gore camp's use of government perks for politics? Funny, but Gore is using the taxpayer-funded White House Travel Office to set up press travel for his June 16 campaign kickoff.

Gore aides insist it's ethically OK because reporters pay their own way, but they won't say if they plan to keep doing it. GOP rivals like front-runner George W. Bush pay campaign staff to set up campaign travel. So does sole Dem rival Bill Bradley.

Asked if ex-Veep Dan Quayle used the White House Travel Office to set up travel for reporters, his ex-spokesman David Beckwith (who works for Bush) replied: "Definitely not."



PLAYING OPRAH: Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Rep. Maurice Hinchey, talks to workers in Binghamton. AP

Hill energizes 'campaign' at upstate electro-plant

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday brought her still-undeclared U.S. Senate campaign to an upstate high-tech manufacturing plant, fielding questions from factory workers for nearly an hour.

The Oprah-like appearance at a Lockheed-Martin electronics plant in Binghamton was Mrs. Clinton's 11th visit to New York this year and her first since she announced last week that she will form an exploratory committee next month.

Mrs. Clinton strolled onto the factory floor, decked out in a bright pink pants suit, with a pearl necklace, in contrast

By Gregg Birnbaum in Binghamton and Robert Hardt Jr. in New York

to the 40 casually dressed employees who were seated in a circle around her.

Mrs. Clinton — who said she had come to hear what was on the minds of the employees at one of the biggest companies in town — appeared stiff and visibly nervous at the start of the event and stumbled when one employee mentioned a high-tech rail project known as "Maglev."

"Could you tell me what that technology is?" Mrs. Clinton asked, as she and the workers laughed.

"Maglev is a new phrase for me."

Maglev — which stands for magnetic levitation — is familiar to many New Yorkers in business and government because it was a highly publicized transportation program pushed by former governor Mario Cuomo.

There were no restrictions on questions that workers could ask, but none raised any about the First Lady's political ambitions in New York or about her husband.

Mrs. Clinton said she was aware the upstate region, known as the Southern Tier, had been hit hard economically in recent years and she called for more government spending on high-tech research and closer cooperation between businesses and universities.

"We don't have enough jobs, with enough growing incomes, for enough people," Mrs. Clinton said.

Leaving the electronics plant, Mrs. Clinton — who has been kept far away from the media during her previous New York appearances — even stopped to take close-up questions from reporters who got toe-to-toe with her.

Mrs. Clinton chuckled

any closer to making a decision about running for the Senate.

The First Lady also was the star attraction later at a fund-raiser for U.S. Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-Binghamton), a close political ally of the Clintons.

Last night, Mrs. Clinton flew to New York City for a Democratic National Committee fund-raiser in the West Village home of composer Jonathan Sheffer and his partner, Dr. Christopher Barley.

About 50 guests were expected to attend the private \$5,000-a-head dinner at Sheffer and Barley's home.

Sheffer, who co-hosted a Hamptons cocktail party for the DNC last summer, told The Post he hopes Mrs. Clinton throws her hat into the ring.

Mrs. Clinton remains in New York today where she'll take part in an event sponsored by the cable channel VH1 about preserving music programs in city schools.

The "Save the Music" event in Harlem's PS 72 will also be attended by Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew and the singer Jewel.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

★ THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1999 / PAGE A21

The Washington Times

Auditions for first lady

Hillary Clinton's decision to form an exploratory committee with the expectation of making a run for the Senate in New York may forever change the job description of first lady.

Like the office of vice president, it's likely to be seen in the future as a stepping stone to something bigger. It sheds light as well on the first lady's job, suggesting that it's not



Suzanne Fields

nearly as demanding as we've been led to believe, if Hillary can conduct a strenuous campaign for the Senate in a state several hundred miles away while at the same time presiding over the White House.

Instead of "get two for the price of one," the president can now tell the American people they'll get "one for the price of two." The first lady may not be on a government salary, but she gets a hefty sum for staff, travel and entertainment.

The role of first lady, as we all know, reflects the role of women in society at a given time and is something of a Rorschach inkblot for women. Hillary has always described herself as a transitional figure. That sounds about right. She is first lady at a time when lots of wives enjoy (endure?) dual-career marriages, though she's more fortunate than most. She has a lot of highly paid help at work and play.

Hillary, more than any other first lady, has pushed the envelope. While we focus on her run for the Senate (and before a new first lady enters the White House), we should debate what we actually expect the first lady to be.

When Hillary headed the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, for example, she was judged by a court to be the equivalent of a government employee. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia decreed that she was a "virtual extension of her husband" and "the functional equivalent of an assistant to the president."

This may strike us as academic

now, but it had important repercussions for her health care meetings and the manner in which she conducted them. She could keep her meetings closed to the public. They were not subject to the "sunshine laws" which forbid closed meetings unless everyone at the table is a government employee.

Judge James L. Buckley, one of three judges who dissented from the court opinion, raised a provocative point about the role of first lady as an extension of her husband. He said: "She has been neither appointed to nor confirmed in the position of first lady. She has taken no oath of office and she neither holds a statutory office nor performs statutory duties."

What if she disagrees with her husband's policy? A first lady can't exactly resign from a task to which she is assigned, although Hillary probably has had moments over these past six-and-a-half years when she would have resigned as wife if she could have kept the perks.

A politically ambitious first lady confronts other problems. She can't take a paid job in her husband's administration because a nepotism law enacted after John F. Kennedy appointed his brother Bobby as attorney general forbids it. The law makes sense, but it certainly limits the options for the president's wife.

So what's an ambitious first lady to do? Elizabeth Dole pondered the question when she stood at the side of her husband in 1966. If Bob Dole is elected, she said, there would be two Presidents Doles. One would be president of the United States and the other would remain as president of the American Red Cross. But as they say in feminist studies, that's "herstory."

Tipper Gore, as second lady, is suddenly struggling with the question of what kind of first lady she wants to be if her husband is elected president. "I think the way for people to understand me the best," she told the New York Times, "is for you to understand that I'm not of the political milieu." Not of the milieu, perhaps, but certainly of the political stew.

As President Clinton's "mental health policy adviser," she held the first White House conference on mental health this week. She looked and sounded a lot like she was trying out for first lady.

We've come a long way since Dolley Madison as first lady remarked that politics was the proper "business of men." But we still haven't settled on the proper business of a first lady.

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears here Monday and Thursday.

Clinton Investigation to Continue, Starr Says

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

■ **Law:** He says his office is preparing for the trial of Clinton associate Webster Hubbell. Meanwhile, a forthcoming book says lawyer Robert Bennett warned the president to tell the truth about extramarital relationships.

From Associated Press

WASHINGTON—Special prosecutor Kenneth W. Starr said Sunday that he has no choice but to continue investigating the Clintons, a course that could collide with the 2000 presidential election campaign and a possible Senate run by the first lady.

Starr said he regards the coming criminal trial of Clinton friend Webster L. Hubbell—based on an indictment that refers 36 times to Hillary Rodham Clinton—as an important step in the investigation.

"We're looking forward to a trial this summer, that's what we're preparing for right now," Starr said on "Fox News Sunday."

Also Sunday, the Washington Post reported in a book excerpt that President Clinton's lawyer, Robert S. Bennett, was suspicious of Clinton's denials of extramarital relationships and warned him bluntly to tell the truth in the Paula Corbin Jones case or "your political enemies will eat you alive."

Starr said his investigation unavoidably has been prolonged because he has run into incomplete cooperation in many instances.

"For my part, I just wish we had had full cooperation from the outset," Starr said.

The Clinton White House has gone to court to challenge Starr on many aspects of his nearly five-year investigation. In addition, Hubbell and other witnesses have not provided Starr with answers to key questions he is investigating, such as the role of Hillary Clinton.

Also, witnesses such as Clinton Whitewater partner Susan McDougal refused to testify to a grand jury in 1996 and 1998. Jurors deadlocked at McDougal's recent obstruction and contempt trial, and Starr has abandoned the case against her.

"We recognize that we need to move forward promptly," Starr said, but added that "some things are entirely out of my control."

Asked whether Hillary Clinton's possible Senate bid from New York was affecting his office's decision-making, Starr said, "We strive mightily while providing public information, public education, to divorce our decisions from politics whatsoever."

Starr said he ultimately will file a final report on his investigation, as mandated by the independent counsel statute expiring this month.

"We have made no decisions with respect to the specific contents of the report," he said.

Starr's office will prosecute Hubbell in federal court starting Aug. 9 on charges of concealing his and Hillary Clinton's legal work on a fraudulent Arkansas land deal. The 1,050-acre development, called Castle Grande, contributed to the financial collapse of the savings and loan owned by



Associated Press

Kenneth W. Starr appears on 'Fox News Sunday.'

the Clintons' Whitewater partners.

The work that Hubbell and Hillary Clinton did on the project was not revealed until Clinton's billing records turned up in the White House family residence in 1996, under still-unexplained circumstances. Prosecutors had been looking for the documents since 1994.

The case could be postponed further if Hubbell seeks court appeals on legal issues.

In a separate case, Hubbell is charged by Starr's office with tax evasion on hundreds of thousands of dollars in income, some of it in payments arranged by friends of the president when Hubbell was under investigation by Starr's office in 1994. That case is on hold pending a federal appeals court ruling.

Starr's TV appearance coincided with the publication of excerpts from a new book that says in the days before Clinton was questioned in the Jones case, the president's lawyer thought his client's "Achilles' heel" was not former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky, but rather an Arkansas woman. The woman had met Clinton four times in less than three months between his 1992 election and his inauguration in early 1993.

The book, by Post reporter Bob Woodward, says Bennett told Clinton in preparation for his civil case testimony on Jan. 17, 1998, that "your political enemies will eat you alive if there's anything in that deposition that isn't truthful. . . . You are dead. You are dead!"

"I hear you," Clinton is said to have replied.

Woodward's book, "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate," says Clinton denied to his lawyer that he'd had relationships with a list of women.

In response, Bennett was said to have joked: "After this case is over, your reputation as a womanizer may go down the drain."

In another reported conversation in preparation for the president's testimony in the Jones case, Bennett told Clinton, "If you're caught . . . in the White House, I'm not good enough to help you."

"This is a prison," Clinton is said to have replied. "I purposefully have no drapes on the windows."

Bennett did not return a call Sunday seeking comment, and the White House declined comment.

Giuliani Plans Ark. Event

By Rachel Van Dongen

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton may still be looking for a home in the Empire State, but New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) is being welcomed with open arms in the state that propelled the Clintons to the White House.

Arkansas Lt. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (R) has invited the mayor, who has formed an exploratory committee to run for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), to a July 27 fundraiser in Arkansas. The event is slated to be a luncheon, and may include a tour of Little Rock.

Although the guest list has yet to be finalized, the state's top Republican officials will be invited, said Richard Bearden, the former executive director of the Arkansas Republican Party who is organizing the fundraiser.

"The lieutenant governor did make a phone call the day after it was reported that Mayor Giuliani had donned a [University of Arkansas] Razorback cap and jacket and invited him to come to Arkansas," Bearden said. "Rockefeller has strong family ties to New York and he knew some people that worked for the mayor in his administration."

"Mayor Giuliani called him back, they had an extended phone conversation and Win said, 'I'd love for you to come to Arkansas.'"

Giuliani aides were gleeful about the opportunity to play up their argument that the first lady is a carpetbagger.

"Since the first lady is exploring New York, we thought we'd go down and explore Arkansas," quipped Bruce Teitelbaum, the head of Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee.

Continued on page 20

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Giuliani Takes Race to Clinton's Home Turf Next Month

Continued from page 13

"Obviously, there are people in Arkansas who are very interested in helping the mayor," he added. "It just seems like it's the natural thing to do."

The Arkansas gathering isn't the only unusual fundraiser the mayor has up his sleeve. Thirteen GOP Senators — including National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell (Ky.), Majority Leader Trent Lott (Miss.) and Majority Whip Don Nickles (Okla.) — are hosting an event for the mayor at the NRSC this Thursday.

Although McConnell is officially neutral in the Senate race, he has lavished praise on Giuliani, who could face a primary fight with Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio and possibly Rep. Peter King. Three other GOP Senators hosting the Washington event — Paul Coverdell (Ga.), John McCain (Ariz.) and Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas) — have already endorsed Giuliani.

"It's probably somewhat unusual to have that much support from the incumbent Republican Senators," commented Stuart Roy, an NRSC spokesman. "But this is an important race and it's one of three open seats that are currently held by Democrats in the year 2000, and it's going to be expensive."

A recent Quinnipiac College poll showed Clinton leading Giuliani in a general election matchup, 48 to 42 percent, among 807 registered voters. In a GOP primary, Giuliani was leading Lazio, 36 to 8 percent. But New York Gov. George Pataki (R), who toyed with the idea of entering the Senate race, led both in a primary, taking 45 percent of the vote.

Talk of a Giuliani visit to Arkansas began after the mayor mocked the first lady as a carpetbagger at a May fundraiser. It also comes on the heels of Clinton's 11th trip to New York this year, and a mini-controversy over her donning a Yankees cap at a White House

ceremony last week honoring the 1998 World Series champions.

Wearing a red Arkansas jacket and cap, Giuliani delighted about 1,750 guests at the Sheraton Hotel and Towers in Manhattan by saying, "I'm going to say, 'I've never lived in Arkansas, I've never worked in Arkansas, I've never been to Arkansas, but I love Arkansas. In fact, I love it so much I'm going to be running for the Senate.'"

On Friday, it was unclear how many peo-

ple would be invited to attend or how much money would be collected at the Arkansas fundraiser. Although there had been some talk that the proceeds might be shared with the state GOP or among Arkansas Republican candidates, Bearden said that was not the case.

"The event is for Mayor Giuliani. There is no split," he said Friday.

Bearden said invitations would be mailed to a "select group" of Arkansas Republicans, including Gov. Mike Huckabee (R), who replaced Clin-

ton ally Jim Guy Tucker (D) when the latter was convicted on fraud charges related to Whitewater, and the GOP members of Arkansas' Congressional delegation: Sen. Tim Hutchinson and Reps. Asa Hutchinson and Jay Dickey.

"He would like to attend, and what he would like to do is provide an Arkansas traveler's certificate to Mayor Giuliani," said Jim Harris, a Huckabee spokesman.

Harris explained that such a certificate made you an honorary Arkansas ambassador charged with spreading goodwill, and that Arkansas residents are not eligible to receive one.

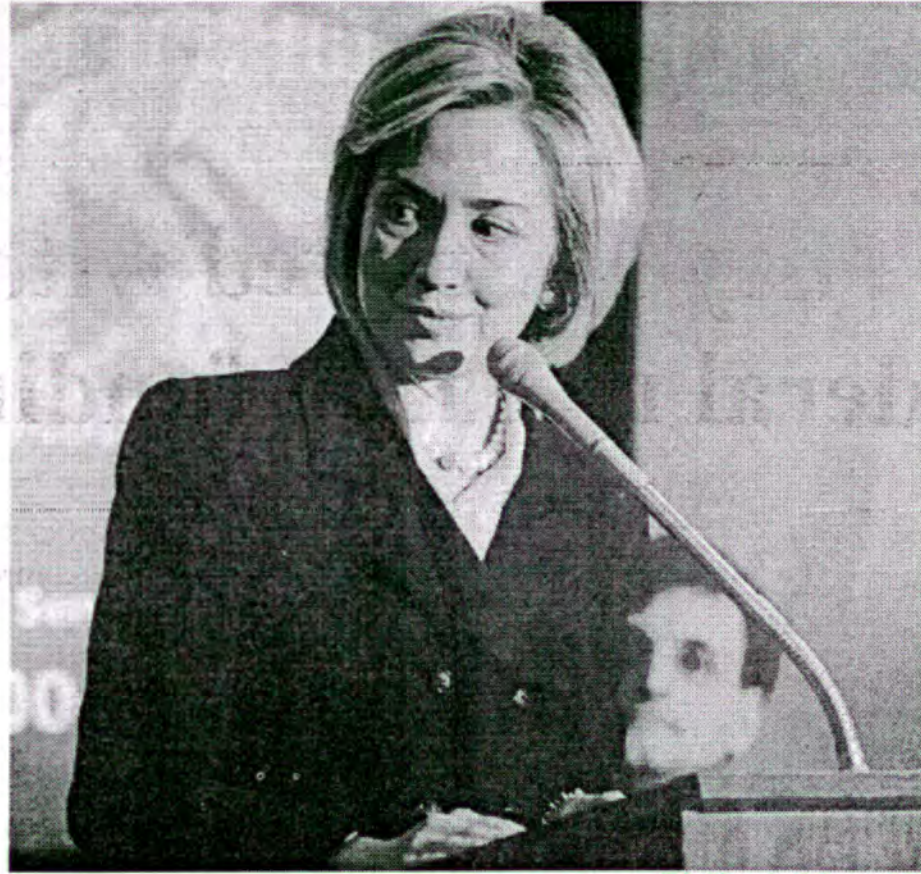
Asa Hutchinson also has a long history with the Clintons. As a U.S. attorney in Arkansas, he prosecuted President Clinton's brother,

'Since the first lady is exploring New York, we thought we'd go down and explore Arkansas,' quipped Bruce Teitelbaum, the head of Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee.

Roger, on drug charges, and led the charge to remove the President from office as a House impeachment manager.

But Bearden did not think Arkansas Republicans, even longtime enemies of the Clintons, would get too heavily involved in the New York Senate race.

"I don't think there's going to be some big desire to poke her in the eye one more time," he said. "The real people who dislike Hillary and Bill Clinton will tell you they're glad that they're not coming here. They don't care where they're going."



File Photo by Rebecca Roth

The planned Giuliani fundraiser is a swipe at Hillary Rodham Clinton.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Starr Says Investigating the Clintons Is Still His Job

Associated Press

Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr said yesterday he has no choice but to keep investigating the Clintons, a course that could collide with the 2000 presidential election campaign and a possible Senate run by the first lady.

Starr said he considers the upcoming criminal trial of Clinton friend Webster L. Hubbell—based

on an indictment that refers 36 times to Hillary Rodham Clinton—an important step in the Whitewater investigation.

Starr, appearing on "Fox News Sunday," said his investigation has been prolonged because he has run into incomplete cooperation in many instances.

Asked whether the first lady's possible Senate bid from New York was affecting his office's decision-

making, Starr said, "We strive mightily while providing public information, public education, to divorce our decisions from politics whatsoever."

Starr said he will file a final report on his investigation but has "made no decisions with respect to the specific contents of the report."

Hubbell is scheduled to go on trial Aug. 9 on charges of concealing his and Hillary Clinton's legal

work on the fraudulent Castle Grande land deal that contributed to the financial collapse of the savings and loan owned by the Clintons' Whitewater partners.

The work that Hubbell and Clinton did on the project was not revealed until her billing records turned up in the White House family residence in 1996, two years after prosecutors subpoenaed them.

Monica affair didn't worry Hillary

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — First Lady Hillary Clinton didn't see Monica Lewinsky as a threat, telling pals that her hubby and the intern only shared sex, not love.

Mrs. Clinton "insisted that she did not view Lewinsky as a real threat. It was only sex, not partnership," Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward writes in his new book, "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate."

New book: She told pals it was 'just sex'

She said, "She had the partnership — the real friendship and love with him," says the book, excerpted in The Washington Post and Newsweek this week.

Lewinsky, however, claimed her fling with Clinton was more than just Oval Office oral sex and believed he would eventually leave his wife, and that they joked about being to-

gether in his old age.

Although the Clintons weren't even speaking after he 'fessed up to the affair last August, Mrs. Clinton decided in the fall that her husband was "worth fighting for."

After a pal told her about another woman in a similar predicament who decided "it would be unwise to turn him out or to give him to someone else," the

First Lady replied: "That's exactly what I'm thinking now."

Mrs. Clinton also convinced herself the scandal was part of God's plan, saying: "I have to take this punishment. I don't know why God has chosen this for me. But He has."

She told friends the couple was "doing the right thing" and getting counseling.

The First Lady, who kept publicly silent for months, also hated being seen as vulnerable. In fact, years earlier when advised by White House guru Dick Morris to show the public her frailties, Mrs. Clinton told him: "I can't think of any," Woodward writes.

The book also discloses that Veep Al Gore was "baffled" by Clinton's willingness to risk all with a

24-year-old intern. But while he fretted that he was "powerless over this situation," his wife, Tipper, was hopping mad.

"Tipper... was unforgiving of Clinton, and Gore said he kept hearing about it at home," Woodward writes.

Earlier this month, Mrs. Gore claimed she couldn't remember why she was absent at a Democratic unity rally on the White House lawn just after the House voted to impeach the president.

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Hillary may hurt chances of Gore

Barbour sees her aiding GOP

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Vice President Al Gore "has to be disappointed" that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will likely run for the Senate in New York, since she's "going to soak up" campaign money and resources, said former Republican Party Chairman Haley Barbour.

"But more than anything, she's going to keep Bill Clinton and Clintonism in the forefront of the 2000 campaign," Mr. Barbour said on "Fox News Sunday."

"And I don't think of anything that could be worse for Al Gore than for people to be reminded of the things they're very tired of — sick of — about the Clinton administration."

Roy Romer, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told CNN's "Late Edition" he does not believe a Senate campaign by Mrs. Clinton will mean less money for other Democrats running in New York.

"She's being drafted. . . I think the funds raised for her will be extra funds; they won't cut into central funds," said Mr. Romer, former Colorado governor.

Former White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, who also ap-



Haley Barbour

peared on Fox, said Mrs. Clinton's candidacy offers both "pluses and minuses" for Mr. Gore and others running in New York. "Obviously, it's going to take some attention away from [Mr. Gore's] campaign," said Mr. Panetta.

But he said he believes a Senate bid by Mrs. Clinton will be "more helpful" than harmful for Mr. Gore's presidential aspirations.

"She is a very distinguished lady. I think the American people support her and what she's about," said Mr. Panetta.

"She is certainly going to be a very formidable candidate in New York. That is an important state. . . She is someone who is going to continue to support Al Gore at the same time that she's running for office."

Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat and lifelong New York resident, bowed out of the race for the Senate seat held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan when it became apparent that Mrs. Clinton intended to run.

Republican New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Republican Rep. Rick A. Lazio are considering running for Mr. Moynihan's seat.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Starr eagerly awaits start of Hubbell trial

Blames White House for probe's delays

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr said yesterday that the coming criminal trial of Clinton friend Webster L. Hubbell — based on an indictment that refers to Hillary Rodham Clinton 36 times — is an important step in the investigation.

"We're looking forward to a trial this summer. That's what we're preparing for right now," Mr. Starr said on "Fox News Sunday."

The continuing investigation could collide with the 2000 presidential election campaign and a possible Senate run by the first lady. Mr. Starr said that is not his fault.

"For my part, I just wish we had had full cooperation from the outset," Mr. Starr said, citing incomplete cooperation in many instances as the cause for the prolonged investigation.

The Clinton White House has gone to court to challenge Mr. Starr on many aspects of his nearly five-year investigation. In addition, Mr. Hubbell and other witnesses have not provided Mr. Starr with answers to key questions he is investigating, such as the role of Mrs. Clinton.

Also, such witnesses as Clinton Whitewater partner Susan McDougal refused to testify to a grand jury in 1996 and 1998.

"We recognize that we need to move forward promptly," Mr. Starr said, but "some things are entirely out of my control."

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mightily while providing public information, public education, to divorce our decisions from politics whatsoever."

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Mr. Starr's office will prosecute Mr. Hubbell in federal court starting Aug. 9 on charges of concealing his and Mrs. Clinton's legal work on a fraudulent Arkansas land deal. The 1,050-acre development called Castle Grande contributed to the financial collapse of the S&L owned by the Clintons' Whitewater partners.

The work that Mr. Hubbell and Mrs. Clinton did on the project was not revealed until Mrs. Clinton's billing records turned up in the White House family residence in 1996 under still-unexplained circumstances. Prosecutors had been looking for the documents since 1994.

In a separate case, Mr. Starr's office has charged Mr. Hubbell with tax evasion on hundreds of thousands of dollars in income, some of it in payments arranged by friends of the president when Mr. Hubbell was under investigation by Mr. Starr's office in 1994. That case is on hold pending a federal appeals court ruling.

Mr. Starr's TV appearance coincided with the publication of excerpts from a new book by Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward that says the president's attorney thought his client's "Achilles' heel" was an Arkansas woman.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 1999

The New York Times

PUBLIC LIVES

Harold Ickes Returns, a Happy Warrior for Mrs. Clinton

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON

WITH all the cuts and bruises he bears from the Clinton incumbency — five grand jury summonses and a searing banishment by the President himself — Harold M. Ickes would seem the last guru in town to be advising Hillary Rodham Clinton on the joys of the political arena.

But here he is, attracting hail-fellow backslaps and waves in a restaurant a block from the White House, a man restored to a combative element as he eagerly maps out the First Lady's approach to a Senate run in New York.

"I guarantee that Hillary Clinton will go toe to toe with the best of them," Mr. Ickes says as exuberantly as a prize fight cornerman summoned back to the championship canvas. "In any ring, I'd put my money on Hillary."

As he relishes that possibility, Mr. Ickes's own passion for politics is glaringly clear, all the way back to clubhouse fights in New York with the likes of the late former Congresswoman Bella S. Abzug, a beloved politician in his memory. "Listen you, I'll mash you into Broadway!" he recalls threatening Ms. Abzug as they exchanged brickbats in the old days.

No less will Mrs. Clinton be up to whatever Abzugian cut-and-thrust might still be required in the streets and rural hamlets of New York, Mr. Ickes firmly insists, even against the pugaciously ambitious Republican contender, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Creatively profane and fiercely partisan, Mr. Ickes is a 59-year-old Democratic warhorse and former deputy chief of staff at the White House. Through thick and thin, Whitewater and campaign finance, he labored in the West Wing — only to be dropped by the President in a power squeeze two years ago as Mr. Ickes hoped for the chief of staff's job. Thereafter, as he sought to establish a consulting business, Ickes & Enright, he has been relentlessly summoned and vetted a dozen times by prosecutors and Republican Congressional committees searching for Administration scandal.

After such rough times, Mrs. Clinton's evolving candidacy is presenting him a note of grand



Dith Pran/The New York Times

Harold Ickes, finds "grand redemption" in possible Clinton candidacy.

redemption.

"First of all, they're my friends," Mr. Ickes said, spiritedly responding to the question of why, after all his travail in associating with the Clintons, he would be there for them now. "I've known them for 25 years," he said, describing them as two of the most progressive and effective Democrats he has known in 35 years of politics.

Years back, he had avoided politics and sneered at Washington power-tripping as the teen-age son of Interior Secretary Harold Ickes in the Roosevelt Administration. He became a dropout who preferred working at the family's bluegrass sod farm in Olney, Md.

"I was running away from my father for years," he admitted, noting he drifted west to become a horse wrangler and get a pilot's license, and then finally went to college at Stanford. There, he signed up for the 1964 summer protest tour against racial segregation in the Deep South, where he lost a kidney in a mob beating. By 1967, at the side of Allard K. Lowenstein, the storied liberal organizer, Mr. Ickes was fully hooked, plunging deeply into the Democratic insurgent politics that, in 1968, toppled President Lyndon B. Johnson over the issue of the Vietnam war.

In the years since, he worked for assorted candidates, scuttling about convention halls, raising money and becoming a specialist in

campaign law arcana that he refers to as "the incumbents protection act." In a way, Mr. Ickes has now come full circle, operating as an unabashed political insider in the capital he once shunned. He and his wife, Laura R. Handman, a lawyer, have a 13-year-old daughter, Charlotte Jane, who attends Sidwell Friends, the exclusive school spurned by the young Mr. Ickes (and which Chelsea Clinton attended).

BUT friendship and ideas, not clinging to power, is the true stuff of politics for him, he maintains. His shepherding of Mrs. Clinton in what he calls her "great adventure" is a matter of abiding friendship, he says, stressing she is deep into the venture, ready to rebut all carpetbagging notions.

"Did you know — Hillary just told me — that Orange County is the largest producer of onions east of the Mississippi?" Mr. Ickes asked with an innocent grin.

"I told Hillary the only time I would urge her not to run was if I felt she could not deal with the press," Mr. Ickes said, admitting concern and foreseeing a "trial period" if she runs, when "the Fourth Estate will see if she can take the heat."

"It's almost like a hazing period," he said, insisting Mrs. Clinton would weather it favorably.

"She has the chutzpah and the grit," he said with the panache of the wannabe cowpoke. "Even if she loses it will be worth the candle — for her and her supporters. The cautious side of our nature says, don't do it; the bold says, go for it. You know what? You've got to give her credit: she'll probably go for it."

Swearing happily at the idea, Mr. Ickes exulted that all the shared trials and tribulations of the Clinton incumbency might yet prove, for Mrs. Clinton, to be mere roadwork for a match with Mayor Giuliani. "My view?" he said, hunching in like a corner-man before the bell. "Keep her cool. Her initial instinct might be to take him head-on. But I suspect she'll end up feinting, sidestepping, and then coming back at him," he said, flashing a jack-o'-lantern grin as he envisioned his fresh prospect. "As you grow older, you learn to feint more."



AP



By Karen Ballard/The Washington Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton, a long-standing fan of her hometown Chicago Cubs who threw out the Opening Day pitch in 1994 (left), recently sported a New York Yankees cap (right) and said she has always liked the Yanks.

Go Sabres!

Ever since Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Washington, we've observed the loyalty she's shown her "hometown team" — the Chicago Cubs.

But Mrs. Clinton knows that New Yorkers like winners — be it baseball or politics. Sorry, Cubs, you're out. Bring on the New York Yankees.

"Well, now, the fact is I've always been a Yankees fan," Mrs. Clinton declared on national television last week.

And just in the nick of time, as she inches closer to a possible race against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (a legitimate Yankees fan) for a seat in the Senate.

And to think last January, Mrs. Clinton, suburban-Chicago native that she is, invited Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa to be her personal guest for President Clinton's State of the Union Address.

Or the month before, when she hooked up with Mr. Sosa to light the national Christmas tree.

And don't forget Opening Day of the baseball season in 1993, when Mrs. Clinton was in the Windy City to throw out the first pitch.

"She's a big Cubs fan," gushed Mrs. Clinton's former spokeswoman Lisa Caputo. "They're her hometown team, and she used to go see them play at Wrigley."

Which isn't to say the Cubs have always batted for the first lady.

Take Opening Day 1994, when Mrs. Clinton sat next to former Cubs great Ernie Banks. She'd just thrown out the first pitch, and requested a small stipend — a player jersey autographed by the Cubs players.

Relief pitcher Randy Myers refused to sign.

"I'll do it when she cuts my taxes by the 20 percent she raised them," he complained.

Mrs. Clinton shrugged it off.

"Being a Cubs fan prepares you for life — and Washington," she said. "I'm glad I learned to play hardball as a little girl."

Next, Mrs. Clinton will say she played hockey at Wellesley.

"Now wouldn't you think that, if your wife were going to run for the U.S. Senate in the state of New

York, you would not want to make just about every citizen in the state's second largest city — Buffalo — angry at you?" writes Suzanne Scherer of Wilson, N.Y.

"That is exactly what happened last [Thursday] evening when Buffalo Sabres fans, who had been getting hyped-up all day about the big Stanley Cup play-offs, learned that the game would be delayed on television for the president's big speech on Kosovo.

"Fans in watering holes all over the greater Buffalo area were incensed that, after waiting all day, they had to wait . . . to watch their beloved Sabres."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Inside Politics



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Big difference

Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle didn't leave any telltale fingerprints when asked on CNN how voters in his home state of South Dakota would react if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton moved there and tried to run for the Senate as she seems poised to do in New York.

"Well, South Dakota is not New York, thank goodness," Mr. Daschle said Saturday on "Evans, Novak, Hunt & Shields."

"There's a big difference," he said, adding:

"In New York, there are practices going all the way back to James Buckley and to Robert Kennedy. They have a practice there that is probably not enjoyed and utilized elsewhere. Let's say that."

Mr. Daschle went on to say Mrs. Clinton "is already being widely accepted in New York. I saw her with a New York [Yankees] baseball cap, and she looked perfect."

"A very diplomatic answer for both New York and for South Dakota," said pundit Al Hunt, who asked the senator the sensitive question in the first place.

Take the punishment

Hillary Rodham Clinton admitted to close friends that she felt terrible over her husband's scandalous affair with an intern and turned to God, Newsweek reports, citing the new book by investigative reporter Bob Woodward, "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate."

"I have to take this punishment. I don't know why God has chosen this for me. But He has, and it will be revealed to me. God is doing this, and He knows the reason. There is some reason," Mrs. Clinton supposedly told a friend.

After hearing how another high-profile wife dealt with her husband's affair by deciding the relationship was worth fighting for, Mrs. Clinton reportedly told a friend: "Man, that's exactly what I'm thinking."

Clinton woos environmentalists, plans to ban use of public land

By Audrey Hudson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Clinton administration is planning to ban most public use of 5 million acres of federal land in six states to placate environmental voters before the 2000 presidential election.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is using his regulatory authority to halt mining, grazing, logging and oil and gas exploration on public lands.

In many cases all recreational uses would be banned except walking and meditating.

"We have to be wary. They want to appease the extreme environmentalists who have this on their agenda and want this to happen," said Sen. Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska Republican and chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. "In the next 19 months we will see a significant movement to usurp congressional authority."

Mr. Babbitt also says he may ask President Clinton to use the Antiquities Act to declare some of the public land a national monument. Among other things, the act authorizes the president to set aside land for preservation.

Mr. Clinton received kudos from the environmental community when he used that act during the 1996 presidential campaign. He created the 1.7 million-acre Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in Utah to stop mining, and oil and gas exploration.

In four of the Western states, the administration is hoping to declare or designate:

- 2.6 million acres in Utah a wilderness study area.
- 1.5 million acres in Alaska a wilderness area.

- 505,350 acres in Arizona a national monument.

- Several miles along the Upper Missouri River in Montana as a national park, conservation area or wildlife refuge.

In a written statement, Mr. Babbitt's spokesman said Republicans should be helping them by drafting legislation to "protect" these areas from "big mining companies, the big oil companies and the big developers who want to chop up what's left of their unspoiled American public lands."

The administration has also proposed a two-year moratorium from mineral activity on 429,000 acres in Montana; 165,000 acres in Colorado and 5,000 acres in Missouri.

Republican lawmakers say that by removing these lands from future exploration, the administration is hurting local communities by eliminating jobs and tax revenues. It also leaves the United States more dependent on foreign oil.

"There is no question they are trying to stick it to us, and it's really sad. These are pioneer families who made the West, and they feel robbed," said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Republican.

"Their goal is to turn public lands into a museum — a diorama where all of the people are on the outside looking in," said Laura Skaer, executive director of the Northwest Mining Association.

"I think they have quietly declared a new war on the West," she said. "I expect Clinton will find all sorts of national monuments to start popping up between now and November 2000."

Republican Missouri lawmakers have written to Mr. Babbitt saying the withdrawals were "unnecessary and inappropriate."

"It appears the administration has launched an orchestrated campaign to preclude mining on vast acreages of public lands governed by multiple-use laws and to do so without consulting Congress and without soliciting public input or independent scientific review, Sens. John Ashcroft, Christopher S. Bond, and Rep. Jo Ann Emerson, stated in the letter.

Mrs. Emerson fears many jobs would be lost in her district as a result of the administration's actions and says the land would be useless "unless people just want to stand there and meditate."

Sen. Conrad Burns, Montana Republican, said he is concerned with the lack of discussion or local input from those who will be directly affected.

"There is no doubt they have chosen to make an assault on the West. We may as well be operating under a czar," Mr. Burns said.

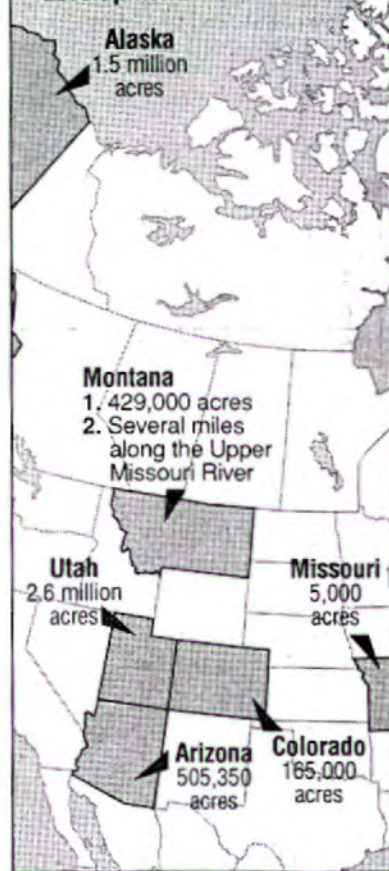
Mr. Murkowski is also concerned that the proposed designations are a blueprint for Mr. Clinton to bolster his environmental record before leaving office. In a letter to his Senate colleagues, he pointed to a May 22 National Journal article in which Mr. Babbitt is quoted as saying: "We've switched the rules of the game. We're not trying to do anything legislatively."

GOP lawmakers are hoping to close loopholes through proposed legislation. Sens. Robert F. Bennett of Utah and Larry E. Craig of Idaho are pushing bills to amend the Antiquities Act to include public comment.

The National Monument Public Participation Act of 1999 would ensure the public and Congress have the right to participate in decisions to declare national monuments on federal land. It would re-

LAND PLAN

The Clinton administration plans to set aside 5 million acres of federal land in six states, removing them from mineral activity or other development.



The Washington Times

quire full public participation, environmental compliance and congressional ratification.

Before making a recommendation to the president, the secretary of Interior would also have to determine the value of the mineral and surface natural resources.

Mr. Craig initially proposed legislation in 1996 prohibiting the president from declaring national monuments in Idaho.

"This has become a political tool and not a means to protect unique environmental assets," he said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In 2000 Senate Races, Voters Have Chance To Choose Third Way

Attorney **Geoffrey Fieger** seems unlikely to wage an Independent bid in the Michigan Senate race, but at least a handful of other people across the country are still contemplating third-party Congressional candidacies for 2000. And that can only add confusion and uncertainty to an election cycle that looks as confused and uncertain as ever.

Independent candidates in Florida, New York, Minnesota and New Jersey could determine the outcome of Senate races in those states, and the threat of a credible Reform Party presidential nominee hangs over next year's presidential race.

In Florida, state Rep. **Willie Logan's** (D) possible candidacy is widely regarded as a potential windfall for the Republicans.

Logan's strained relationship with the Florida Democratic Party, which stemmed from the fact that he was dumped by his party from a leadership role in the state House, has the him looking at a Senate bid. But insiders have little doubt that Sunshine State Republicans are trying to entice Logan into the race in order to fracture the Democratic base.

Democrats insist the ploy won't work, arguing that a Logan candidacy would light a fire under black political leaders to discredit Logan and mobilize the African-American electorate for the near-certain Democratic nominee, state Insurance Commissioner **Bill Nelson**.

But Logan wouldn't need to corral all of the black vote to hurt Nelson's chances. Every vote he might get would come out of the commissioner's hide, making it very tough for Nelson to win the election, especially if the Republicans nominate state Education Commissioner **Tom Gallagher** rather than Rep. **Bill McCollum**.

Potential third-party candidacies in the New York and New Jersey Senate contests could prove fatal to Republican prospects in both states. A conservative, third-party candidate in New Jersey could siphon off enough votes from Republican Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman** to throw a close contest to her Democratic opponent, especially given that she has won nailbiters in each of her last two races (when she appeared to hold comfortable leads going into them).

But the situation in New York is even worse for the GOP than it is in New Jersey. It's possible that New York Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R) will be the Liberal Party nominee, Rep. **Rick Lazio** will win the Conservative Party nomination and Giuliani and Lazio will compete for the GOP nomination. If both Republicans are on the ballot in November, first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** will have a huge advantage in the race.

In Minnesota, it's unclear whom the Reform

Party will nominate, though it seems unlikely that popular former Democratic Rep. **Tim Penny** will be wooed into the race as a Reformer. And with the Democratic nominee far from decided, it's hard to know how a third-party nominee will affect Republican Sen. **Rod Grams'** political future.

Finally, in Vermont, Independent Rep. **Bernie Sanders**, is the most serious threat to Sen. **Jim Jeffords** (R), though Sanders has not made a final decision about whether to run. If he does run, a Democrat could play the role of spoiler.

And then there is the presidential race, where the possibility of a credible Reform Party nominee still looms.

While the Reformers haven't succeeded in institutionalizing their

party, it's clear from **Jesse Ventura's** gubernatorial victory and **Ross Perot's** two presidential showings that there are plenty of voters just itching to opt for a nontraditional politician. The problem for the Reform Party is that it hasn't credentialed anyone for a presidential bid. Still, even a Ventura-like candidate could draw significant votes in 2000, creating uncertainty for the two major-party nominees.

But the Reformers have a problem in the presidential race that independent and third-party candidates don't have elsewhere: A number of presidential hopefuls are running as non-traditional politicians, giving them at least a partial claim to potential Reform voters.

Democrat **Bill Bradley** regularly takes on "special interests" and por-



trays himself as an outsider, as does Republican **Steve Forbes**. **Elizabeth Dole**, **Gary Bauer** and **Pat Buchanan** have never held elected office, and even Gov. **George W. Bush** (R) can avoid the tag of Washington insider because of his Texas office.

Even Sen. **John McCain** (R-Ariz.) uses his shoot-from-the-hip reputation to position himself as a nonpolitician, and former Vice President **Dan Quayle** uses the media's treatment of him to cast himself as an anti-establishment leader.

Only Vice President **Al Gore** is stuck with his insider image. And maybe that's why, even in great economic times, some Democrats are concerned about Gore's ultimate appeal, regardless of whether or not there are a number of strong Independents or third-party candidates on the ballot next year.

PHOTOCOPIED
PRESENTED

Hillary Rodham Clinton Is an Opponent's Dream

■ **Politics:** Giuliani will have plenty of ammunition if they square off for U.S. Senate seat.

By ALEXANDER COCKBURN

If Hillary Rodham Clinton formally enters the New York Senate race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, it will be the first time she'll stand square in the sights as a candidate and thus be forced to respond directly to all charges flung at her along the campaign trail.

It's true that she's been the target of investigation before, but the venues of combat have been depositions, a grand jury session and one appearance before Congress to justify her health program, where the legislators treated her with ermine gloves. Besides, Bill has always been the numero uno target.

So what are her immediate vulnerabilities, after seven years of close scrutiny?

Remember, 80% to 90% of the Whitewater scandal had HRC's fingerprints all over it. She was the corporate lawyer who finagled the lucrative land deals and mortgage arrangements. It was the billing records from that phase of the Clintons' property operations that first went missing and finally came to light in HRC's private White House quarters.

Hillary's riposte on such matters will no doubt be that she and Bill have emerged unscathed from the most ferocious scrutiny in American investigative history, by Ken Starr and his team. But Starr never did issue a report on Whitewater, although HRC apparently narrowly escaped indictment for alleged perjury committed in the course of her grand jury deposition testimony in connection with the case. Hickman Ewing was handling this aspect of Whitewater for the Starr probe. He found that HRC was safe under the statute of limitations but vulnerable to a perjury rap.

In the end Starr didn't choose to indict, but HRC may not be quite out of these particular woods yet. Her erstwhile partner at the Rose Law Firm, Webster L. Hubbell, has had Starr's charges restored against him by a federal appeals court and faces trial on the matter of whether he was bribed into silence when he got highly lucrative consultancy fees after he'd left the Justice Department and, in some cases, after he'd been originally indicted. This Hubbell trial is set to start in August, and HRC will obviously be a prime focus of the prosecutor and the press. As a corporate lawyer, Hillary Clinton has plenty of unwholesome skeletons rattling in the closet, quite aside from Whitewater. The Rose Law Firm was not a charitable institution. Her firm's work in the sale of the Beverly nursing home chain is perhaps something that Giuliani's researchers will take a passing interest in, since the sale handled by Rose

Law did leave a number of old folks facing higher fees and was exactly the sort of "unconscionable profiteering" that Clinton herself later accused the health industry of doing.

Then there was the LaFarge cement and incineration business on whose board Hillary Clinton sat. Any third-party Green candidate might take an interest in the polluting conduct of this enterprise. And as HRC tries to muster the support of labor unions, Giuliani will perhaps evoke her years on the Wal-Mart board, a company not noted for the proud union tradition of Gompers and Debs.

There's also the matter of Clinton's inexplicable enrichment, the manner in which, under the kindly guidance of Jim Blair, chief corporate counsel for Tyson Foods, and also of the futures magician Robert L. "Red" Bone, Hillary's modest investment of \$1,000 in cattle futures bloated up to the \$100,000 level.

More unsettled business comes in the form of Travelgate, another chapter in the Starr investigation. Starr did say nothing impeachable had come out of his Travelgate probe, so far as Bill was concerned. But Bill was a peripheral figure in that affair. Hillary was at the heart.

Suppose Clinton accuses Giuliani of violating civil rights or of having about his person the aroma of the police state. Now imagine the righteous prosecutorial finger of Rudy Giuliani pointing straight back at Hillary Clinton, reminding her and the voters of New York of Filegate. Once again, HRC has been accused of bringing on board D. Craig Livingstone—who amassed several hundred files on enemies of the Clintons (who knows, maybe even on Rudy himself)—to head up White House security.

Hillary Clinton will defend herself from all charges of scandal by deploring these souvenirs of Starr's long and costly effort to beat down Bill Clinton. She will insist that Giuliani concentrate on substance. But her own record on substance isn't so hot. Her supervision of health reform in 1994 ended in debacle. And although she doubtless will be offering herself as a friend of the poor and downtrodden, evoking her work as board member of Marian Wright Edelman's Children's Defense Fund, the dismantling of the welfare system that is occurring on the Clintons' watch is perhaps not an achievement she will want to boast about. After all, Peter Edelman, Marian's husband, resigned from Health and Human Services in protest.

Oh, Hillary has taken one principled stand—on Palestinian rights, and Giuliani has lost no time in reminding New York voters of this.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation, the New York Press and other publications.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY
Pick Knicks, Whip GOPs

DONNING A YANKEE CAP AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST week, confirmed Cub fan Hillary Clinton displayed an affection for the defending world champs. Good manners, better politics. Other smart choices the carpetbagging First Lady needs to make to win New Yorkers' hearts and votes:

Bills vs. Jets Bills! Eating your Flutie Flakes may wrest GOP-leaning upstaters from Rudy.

Food Put Bill on a New York diet: swap Big Macs for Papaya King's 50-cent dogs; bagels replace doughnuts.

Clothes Sure, Manhattanites all wear black: see how long your pastel pantsuits last on grimy NYC streets.

Letterman vs. Leno Dave! Liddy owns

Leno. Letterman's Broadway venue allows you to pop in for a quick Top Ten.

Vacations The Hamptons get you close to deep-pocket fundraisers, but the Adirondacks or Saratoga broaden your upstate base.

Stadium deal Steinbrenner wants to move your Yanks, saying fans need more parking. Nix it: as senator, you'll chopper in.



Cubs fan covers her bases

Hillary Pillory

In response to Peggy Noonan's June 8 editorial-page commentary "The Mad Boomer": The real story here is that "Senator Hillary" is just a prelude to "President Hillary." Does anyone really believe Hillary Clinton wants to be a plain ole senator from New York?

Mrs. Clinton knows that only in New York state would she have a chance of being elected to anything; the base of New Yorkers she is appealing to for votes would elect Mickey Mouse if the platform were liberal enough. If she wins in New York, it's Rudy Giuliani's fault. I will contribute to Mr. Giuliani's campaign because we in New Jersey do not want a Clinton presence nearby—eight years of the gruesome two-son is enough.

I've three more years in my business and I'm out of the Northeast for good, heading to "Jessie Ventura Country." The Republican Party is in tatters and from the ashes we will not rise again. Boomers want less government; we want to lead ourselves outside of a party system, outside of Washington. My political philosophy mirrors Colorado, Minnesota and other progressive West and Midwest states.

PAT DESAULES

Princeton, N.J.

Wow. Sounds as if Peggy Noonan has hated our first lady for a long time. I wish I lived in New York. I'd vote for Hillary—even though I have no use for her—just to spite Ms. Noonan's venom. As it is, I'll just have to see if she keels over from apoplexy if Hillary wins. On another issue, why don't you change the name of that little "Asides" feature to "Asnides." It's like tuning in to a group of querulous geezers as they discuss, and cherish, the nefarious plots against them.

KEN COLLINS

Royal Oak, Mich.

Doesn't Ms. Noonan have anything really bad to say about Hillary? So far, all she's told us is that Mrs. Clinton will act like a politician. Surely there must be something else that makes her worse than Messrs. Giuliani, Schumer, D'Amato and the others. Come on, no more Ms. Nice Gal.

JUDD KAHN

New York

Ms. Noonan ignores, I believe, an essential issue of the upcoming senatorial race—Hillary's opponent. Mayor Giuliani owes it to his fellow New Yorkers to deliver a strong campaign and committed message about his own convictions. He must control his patronizing attitude and sardonic wit about the absurd Mrs. Clinton. He must not ever go to Arkansas to upstage Mrs. Clinton's carpet-bagger act. He must stop arguing about who is the bigger Yankee fan. What he must do is convince us why he should be our Senator, and not just because he's displayed an ability to be the toughest tough guy in a city that needed it at the time . . . and certainly not just because he grew up here.

The Mayor must run on his own merits and his vision for a future for all New Yorkers. Then he must convince us that he's grown to fit the role, that he's not going to self-destruct with power in Washington.

SUSAN MARK

New York

I generally look forward to writing by Peggy Noonan. She is an easy read, gifted in the use of words even though unencumbered by any sense of impartiality. She quotes unnamed (a frequent habit) Democratic voters who want Ms. Clinton to stay away from New York, most of them women she knows. The most obvious gaffe is her statement that "It will be hard for Republicans to blast her (Ms. Clinton's) positions in advance, because her pollsters haven't told her what they are yet." Not to worry. Ms. Noonan then proceeds to let us know in great detail what Ms. Clinton's positions and practices will be as she lays out her whole campaign. So now Republicans and Ms. Noonan are free to attack Ms. Clinton's positions even before she has articulated any.

Ms. Noonan is a talented writer. Too bad she uses assumptions as facts.

MORTON GOULD

Tulsa, Okla.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The First Lady's Little Problem

Carpetbagging is an affront to our representative democracy

Hillary Clinton's lack of any connection with New York state, except her desire for us to send her to Washington, has been trivialized recently as "the carpetbagger issue." In fact, her decision to land in New York in order to be elected to the Senate is far more than a mere issue. It represents a fundamental assault on our most basic idea of representative democracy.

Hillary would make a good senator. Just not from New York. Our entire legislative system is based on the idea of geographic constituencies. We do not follow the British system in which location and residence don't much matter. In England, it is customary for prominent national party figures to seek out friendly constituencies to represent in Parliament. They need not live there or have any geographic connection. The local Labor or Tory Party usually welcomes their candidacy as a way to maximize their area's influence in party circles.

But the legislative branch in the United States is founded on a quite different set of assumptions. Because of our federal system of government, our tradition requiring a clear local nexus for a Congressional candidate is fundamental to our idea of democracy. Hillary's blatant disregard of this concept would set a precedent that is deeply unwise and dangerous for our system of government.

Bobby Kennedy and Jim Buckley are often cited as examples of earlier senators who did not come from New York. But Kennedy grew up in New York state. His connection with us was as clear as is Hillary's with Illinois. Jim Buckley lived a few miles over the state line in Sharon, Connecticut. Indeed, his brother Bill was enough of a New Yorker to run for mayor.

Hillary's pretensions to having loved New York all her life are just convenient fabrications. 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,



**DICK
MORRIS**

ask any questions about it, or show any interest in its people, culture or politics. Not once.

Gail Collins, writing on The New York Times editorial page last week, mused that New Yorkers might forgive Hillary's recent arrival because they are so used to newcomers who settle here in mid-life. New Jersey Sen. Bob Torricelli characterized Hillary's decision to move to New York as her first adult act. Without blushing, this Hillary sycophant said that the First Lady had grown up in Chicago because her parents lived there. She moved to Arkansas because her husband lived there,

human in our borders who actually believes that the First Lady would grace us with her residence if there were no Senate vacancy? Is there a New Yorker gullible enough to believe that she had inclined toward or even vaguely considered moving here before Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan decided to hang it up?

Will we be fooled? The more frequently Hillary visits our state, will we come to forget that she is not one of us? Some have even suggested that the estrangement between downstate and upstate New York makes any candidate, from either section, a bit of a carpetbagger in the other. Will Hillary seem not all that unusual?

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 the chutzpah she shows in thinking she can put one over on us exposes why we must and will reject her.

Do we need a senator who is one of us? The Masters of the Universe who work on Wall Street and seek seven-figure incomes don't. But those of us who live in Nassau and take the Long Island Rail Road every day would so much like

our senator to know what the LIRR is. People who live in Rome, New York, would value a senator who did not think their town was located in Italy. The men and women who need a senator will want one we can call our own.

The plain fact is that if Hillary can run and win in New York, anyone can run from anywhere. We might as well elect our senators and congressmen at large and randomly assign them geographic turf to represent. The multimillionaire will not only be able to buy a seat, but will be able to choose his state at will. The arrogance of wealth and power will have found its ultimate expression. Pick a state. Any state. And run. They'll never know the difference. They're too dumb.

***Hillary does not want to join us.
She will agree to live with us only if we
send her to Washington. We are no more
than a launching pad. ♪***

and now she is coming to New York as the first state of her own choosing.

Neither of these justifications hold water. New Yorkers indeed welcome immigrants. It is one of our most enlightened features. But Hillary does not want to join us. She will agree to live with us only if we send her to Washington. We are no more than a launching pad.

Of Metternich, the Austrian premier, it was once said that he regarded Austria as a diplomatic term, not as a place to come from. Hillary sees New York in much the same vein.

The very idiocy of the justifications for the outrage of a person presuming to run for senator from a state in which she has never lived shows how transparent a fraud it really is. Is there really any sensible or even sensible

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1999

White House defends first lady's N.Y. travels

By Barbara J. Saffir
and Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House continued to insist yesterday that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's 11 trips to New York this year at taxpayer expense have all been for official reasons and do not require reimbursement by a Senate exploratory campaign committee.

"I think it's clear that the trips that she's taken up there are covered under her official travel, as well as when the president does," White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart said.

Asked how much the trips were

costing taxpayers and when Mrs. Clinton planned to disclose how much the federal Treasury will be reimbursed for some of the related costs, he said, "I'm not aware that there's any timetable for disclosing anything else."

Mrs. Clinton has doubled the frequency of her trips there in the past 5½ months this year, compared with previous years. Her official travel as first lady allows her to woo voters without officially declaring her candidacy for the seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Last week, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the first lady plans to spend "the lion's share of July in New York listening to New Yorkers to get some sense of their feel" for her possible Senate run. Her travel there thus far, Ms. Berry said, is not related to her possible Senate run.

The first lady plans to set up an exploratory committee at "some point after the Fourth" of July, which would help defray some of the expenses for her future New York trips, Ms. Berry said.

Supporters already are sending in money for her likely campaign.

Yesterday, Harold Ickes, one of Mrs. Clinton's top advisers, said the first lady is about to set up a bank account and begin depositing the checks. He told the Associated Press he did not know how much money they had received, but that the checks began arriving last week in "drips and drabs, an inconsequential little amount of money."

Once she has raised or spent more than \$5,000, she must file a statement of her candidacy within 15 days, Federal Election Commission (FEC) spokeswoman Sharon Snyder said. The committee then has 10 more days to file a state-

ment of organization.

Until the process kicks in, taxpayers are footing the entire bill for the New York travel, except for the small part Democratic candidates and the Democratic Party are required to pay when she stumps for their campaigns.

So far this year, she has headlined at least 12 Democratic fundraisers.

Mr. Ickes said the first lady has not yet made any fund-raising calls, but expects to begin in early July, shortly after forming her committee. "There's a lot of money to raise," he said.

Originally, Mr. Ickes told the AP that the bank account already had been opened, but later said it

would be opened today.

Terence McAuliffe, President Clinton's chief fund-raiser during his 1996 re-election campaign, will head the first lady's national fund-raising efforts. Former Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman also will help her raise money.

Mrs. Clinton's New York fund-raising efforts will be headed by Gabrielle Fialkoff, a New York City-based operative who was in charge of raising money for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's unsuccessful run for governor, Mr. Ickes said.

Some experts estimate that it could take \$15 million to \$20 million to compete in the race. Her

likely GOP opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, already has begun raising money and formed a political action campaign called Solutions America.

Mrs. Clinton will not have to file a campaign-finance report with the FEC until Jan. 31, 2000, if she starts her campaign committee next month. It will show who is funding her campaign and provide some details on how much the committee is reimbursing taxpayers for the political portions of her trips from July to December 1999.

Mr. Giuliani's report is due July 15 and will cover contributions and expenditures during the first six months of this year.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Starring Hillary Clinton

Just in time for Hillary Clinton's impending senatorial race in New York comes word that Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr may not be done with her yet. He says he will file a report on his investigations of the Clintons, as per the provisions of the statute under which he is operating. Though nothing has been decided yet, it may not be much prettier than its subjects.

Among the possible topics: Mrs. Clinton's part in shady Arkansas land deals prior to the Clintons' arrival in Washington. Most people already know about her successful career as a commodities trader. Fewer have been able to negotiate the twists and turns of her work as a real-estate lawyer, especially since the billing records detailing her work on one case first disappeared, then mysteriously reappeared in the Clinton's private rooms in the White House. The records showed Mrs. Clinton was far more involved in the deal — which ultimately led to the collapse of a savings and loan — than she had originally admitted.

Prosecutors considered, then dropped, plans to indict her for giving false testimony about her part in the case. But filing a report about the controversy, which is also the subject of trial involving friend and former Rose Law Firm partner, Webster Hubbell, would make a great story for New York media, which newcomers to the state will not confuse with the Welcome Wagon.

The question with which Mr. Starr's staff is now wrestling, the New York Times reports, is whether some people wouldn't see the issuance of such a report as "political." Another question has to do with whether it is "fair" to issue a report critical of Mrs. Clinton without actually indicting her. "The question as it has been framed in the debate has been whether you put up or shut up," that adviser said. "If you can't indict her, shouldn't you just shut up?"

Mr. Starr's staff will be relieved to know that their predecessors have already been over that question, and the answer is, "No, you should not shut up just because you don't indict."

As noted here previously, then-Independent Counsel James McKay famously declined to indict

Attorney General Edwin Meese for violating federal tax laws but went ahead and issued a report saying Mr. Meese had probably violated those laws. One could conclude beyond a reasonable doubt, the report said, that Mr. Meese had "willfully violated" the law by filing a false tax return and by failing to pay his income taxes. The report went on to suggest he had broken conflict-of-interest laws by not selling stocks in companies that the Justice Department oversees. Wrote the National Law Journal at the time: "Although as a practical matter the criminal findings have no effect, they were a public relations disaster for Mr. Meese. News stories . . . highlighted the criminal allegations, while the explanation of the charges was too complicated to get much play in the press."

Would it be "fair" to release in the midst of her campaign for the Senate a report either directly alleging wrongdoing on Mrs. Clinton's part or simply laying out the suspicious facts of her case? Mr. Starr's predecessors have answered that question, too.

On the Friday preceding the 1992 presidential election between George Bush and Bill Clinton, Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh issued an indictment of Bush ally Caspar Weinberger on charges that he lied about what knew of arms sales to the Iranians during the Reagan administration. Mr. Walsh denied there was anything political about the indictments. Mr. Starr can too.

It was partly because of actions like those of Mr. McKay and Mr. Walsh that The Washington Times has urged the elimination of the independent counsel statute and to allow the attorney general, even one like Janet Reno, to take responsibility for appointing outside counsel when there is potential for a conflict of interest in an investigation.

That's the system that worked — yes, *worked* — during Watergate, and it could work again now. But Democrats decided against eliminating the counsel statute; it was a handy club to use against Republican presidents. Now they are the ones feeling the pain and, worst of all from their perspective, they are in no position to complain about it now. Enjoy.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1999

'Clintonian whopper'

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's recent assertion that she was a lifelong fan of the New York Yankees has led the Weekly Standard's "Scrapbook" column to consider the nature of what it calls a "Clintonian whopper."

"The essence of a Clintonian whopper is a) that you have no compunction about telling it, even when the stakes are low and the political benefit is trivial; and b) that once you decide to tell it, you make it as convoluted and preposterous as possible, like a squid spreading ink in its wake," the magazine said. "Thus, Hillary to the 'Today' show's Katie Couric: 'The fact is [a nice rhetorical touch, meaning that what follows isn't factual], I've always been a Yankees fan.'"

The magazine added: "Now it happens that millions of words have been written on the subject of Hillary Rodham Clinton, and to the best of The Scrapbook's knowledge, there has never been a hint of a longtime allegiance to the Yankees."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

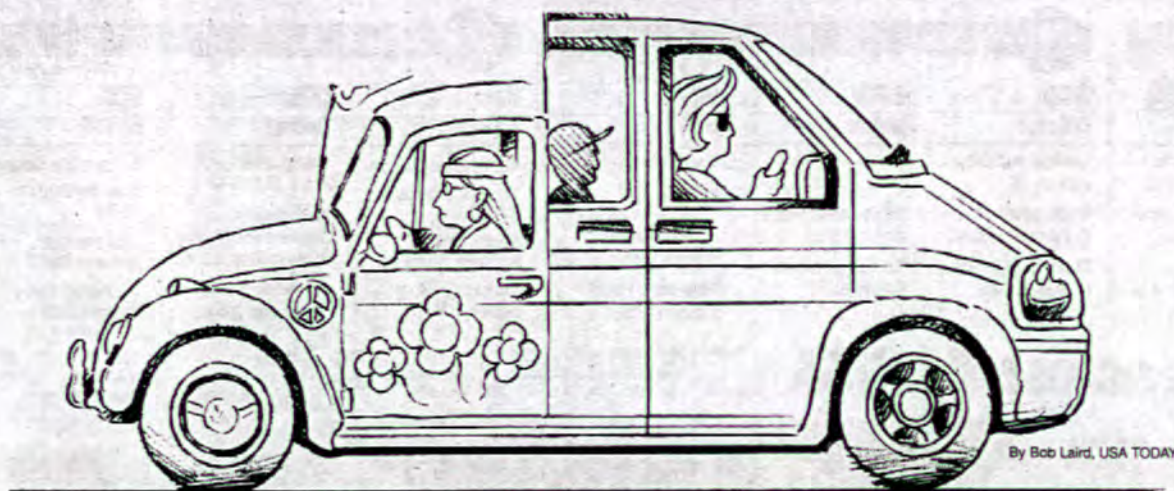
Wellesley class of '74 settles for lives of compromise

By Diane McWhorter

We were the "Un-Hillaries" at Wellesley College's recent reunion weekend. The sedans with tinted windows and the men with earpieces paraded right past the dormitory housing our class and headed straight next door to McAfee Hall, where the first lady of the United States leafed and exclaimed through scrapbooks with her fellow archetypes from the class of 1969.

They are the subject of journalist Miriam Horn's fascinating just-published book, *Rebels in White Gloves*: "The monkeys in the space capsule, the first to test in their own lives the consequences of the great transformations wrought by" women's liberation. Several excited classmates of mine reported celebrity sightings of one of Horn's case studies (also featured in a 1994 *Frontline* documentary on the Sixty-Niners) — the one who evolved from proud holder of a "Mrs." degree to midlife feminist lesbian.

My class of 1974 entered the hallowed New England women's college the year after Hillary Rodham Clinton's schoolmates graduated. We were the human beings — female variety — in the space capsule. Second-wave feminists, we had received the tablets: During our college years, abortion was legalized, Ms. magazine was founded and the Equal Rights Amendment was passed (by Congress, at least). The bushy-haired idealism of the 1960s receding, we were ready to dress for success and



stake our claim in a real world that had always belonged to men.

The year after we graduated, Wellesley sent more women to the Harvard Business School than any college in the country. Most of my friends became doctors, lawyers, Wall Street players, architects. One classmate managed Michael Dukakis' presidential campaign in 1988. Another was named the first female partner at Goldman Sachs. And then came *The New York Times*' stunning announcement in 1995: Wellesley had cracked the ultimate men-only redoubt — the executive suite.

"How to succeed?" the article's headline read. "Go to Wellesley. Its graduates scoff at glass ceilings."

So why, on this fine spring Saturday, did we feel so marginalized? While the women next door did post-

mortems on their recent class dinner at the White House, we, the 25th reunion class, pawed through a "welcome" bag containing a Wellesley key chain and a tube of toothpaste — jumbo size, as though we might be grateful to take some home. Was it us? "The System," still? Or simply the aging process?

I, of course, had had all of the answers as a young Turk a few years out of college. A snippy essay I wrote in 1977 portrayed "Ma Wellesley" as a training school for "merely" competent organization women. But in the ensuing years, I came to see those corporate bushwhackers as the true feminist heroes, pin-striped guerrillas who were going to force democracy on the workplace. I even began to believe the propaganda of the class notes, in which the women morphed

from student-prodigy to prize recruit to success, and sometimes even to *mensch*.

It turned out that the one title we could not integrate into our seamless life plans was mother. Our milestone reunion book was a sobering inventory of "multitaskers": mommy-tracked lawyers, fallow Ph.D.s, lapsed management consultants. There was nothing surprising or inglorious about the decisions any of these working mothers had made as individuals. But given our college's special pleading, I felt a certain *welt-schmerz* (that's Wellesley speak for being totally bummed) over our compromises as a class. Even this blessed sample of driven women had forfeited the privilege that every man takes for granted: the pursuit of power. Here we were, living in a closed-

circuit loop: strong women with-drawing from the world of enterprise in order to raise girls to go out and kick butt in that world.

To argue, as most of us will, that the "balanced" life yields more rewards than the rat race is to miss the point. For it isn't biological destiny that derails the careers of ambitious women. It's the failure of men to assume the second-shift chores that make a house a home, or perform the voluntary routines of citizenship that turn the village Hillary Rodham Clinton wrote a book about into a community. Had the fathers of my Wellesley generation's children pulled their weight (and had the laws of male entitlement not been restored by 12 years of Reagan and Bush), the corporate culture would have been forced to change to accommodate all parents.

Then, again, maybe my reunion depression was just a natural function of the baby boomer's special egotism, our generational grandiosity resulting from having come of age at a time history conspired with our hormones to convince us we could change the course of civilization.

On our dorm's "nostalgia" bulletin board was an old *Wellesley News* cover shot of my pals and me marching through the white-bread suburb of Wellesley, Mass., to protest the escalation of the Vietnam War. The woman at the head of the line was my best college friend, who now, 27 years later, spent most of the reunion explaining that, no, she had not hired Monica and had left her job as the di-

rector of White House interns six months before Bill Clinton had to deny relations with "that woman."

Our little anti-war demonstration had been my blinkered Wellesley cohort's attempt to share in the protracted peak experience that was the Vietnam generation's absurd and brilliant youth. Coming to terms with its end has not been easy. Recent novels by baby boomers — Michael Cunningham's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Hours* and Susan Minot's *Evening* — feature aging characters in the throes of recognition that some long-ago moment of transcendent engagement was "It." For an Elizabethan angle on the subject, see *Shakespeare in Love*: brief interlude of true passion redeems lifetime of duty.

Of all of the epithets heaped on her, Hillary Rodham Clinton once said, "middle-aged" stung the most. In my classmates' bemused, estrogen-poor reunion retrospectives, however — "I know," one wrote, "it doesn't add up" — there was a certain grace, an absence of vanity that made middle age almost attractive. Reading the tumultuous case histories in Horn's chronicle of Hillary's class, on the other hand, I was reminded of the old Chinese curse, "May you live in interesting times."

As the first lady's own life has shown, when the peaks are high, the valleys can feel like the grave.

Diane McWhorter is a New York-based writer and member of USA TODAY's board of contributors.

POLITICS:

► Hillary Rodham Clinton is setting up a New York bank account for her campaign for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. "It's really dribs and drabs" so far, Clinton adviser Harold Ickes said. "She hasn't done anything in terms of making fund-raising calls yet." He said Terence McAuliffe, President Clinton's chief fund-raiser in 1996, will head the first lady's money-raising effort.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Youth—

1

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying at college commencements

Congrats, seniors;
now save the world

Youth



By Stuart Ramson, AP

Higher education: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses graduates of City College of New York.

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."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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.

June 16/15, 99

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, 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."

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.

Marissa 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 was handled by Ewing police and the Secret Service. No incidents were reported.

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



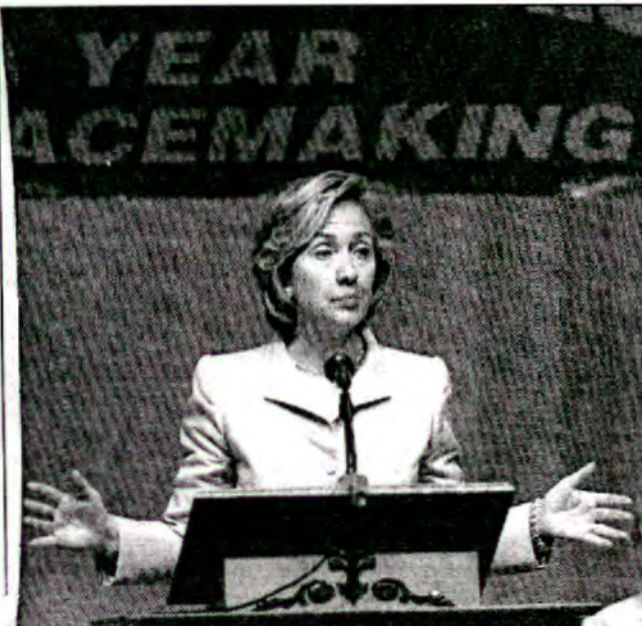
Staff photos by Keith D. Bedford.

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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Friday June 4, 1999

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Two steps forward for youth

A book read to a young child is akin to a vitamin pill for the brain. A group of Boston pediatricians began giving out books at every office visit in 1989, inaugurating a national program to be honored by Hillary Clinton at a celebration planned for today.

Reach Out and Read began at Boston City Hospital, now Boston Medical Center, and has been replicated from Anchorage to Miami. Pediatricians and other volunteers, assisted by publishing houses, have put hundreds of thousands of books in the hands of young families. The children gain literacy skills even though they are too young for formal instruction.

Mrs. Clinton has done much to help the program expand nationally, but it relies on private philanthropy for financial support. As a 10th anniversary gift, Congress should provide a small subsidy as well. With a little help, Reach Out and Read can extend its work to every US community where children need the comfort and mental stim-

ulation of a good book.

City Year is only a small part of Americorps, but it continues to fuel the national service effort with energy and ideas. Tenth anniversary festivities scheduled for today will trace how City Year grew from a shoestring operation in Boston to include 11 cities and 900 volunteers a year.

Founded by Harvard Law School roommates Alan Khazei and Michael Brown, City Year is still supported at least half by private funds. It links public service with education, stresses diversity by including all economic levels, teaches values, and encourages young social entrepreneurs.

Among goals for the next decade: to expand to 30 cities, and perhaps internationally, and to establish an endowment for civic engagement and youth leadership. Today, Khazei and Brown will announce that \$6 million has been committed, with major contributions from BankBoston, Bain Capital, Compaq Computers, and Timberland.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BC-CLINTON-HILLARY-ISRAEL

Mrs. Clinton postpones trip to Israel

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Thursday postponed a trip to Israel scheduled for later this month because Israeli Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak is still trying to form a government, her office said.

A statement from her office said the trip was being postponed on the advice of the State Department and that it would be rescheduled as soon as possible.

"Because Israel is still in the process of forming a government, a visit at this time would be inappropriate. A new date will be set as soon as possible," the statement said.

Mrs. Clinton, who is leaning toward running for a seat in the Senate, had been scheduled to visit Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan and Yemen in late June after accompanying her husband President Clinton on a European tour.

The trip had originally been scheduled for March but was postponed on the death of Jordan's King Hussein and the Israeli elections.

She still plans to stop in Fez, Morocco, on her way back from the Europe trip, her office said.

REUTERS

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 06/10/99 at 14:41EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/10/99 at 14:57EDT ****

Israel /
trip

Mrs. Clinton, 'Will your husband be living with you?'

First lady and would-be U.S. Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton probably never imagined that looking for a place to live in New York would attract the attention and teasing that it has.

New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd recently devoted a whole column to the subject, in which she sends a fictitious letter to Clinton from Henry van der Luyden, president of the co-op board of The Ardthorpe on Fifth Avenue.

"Unfortunately, The Ardthorpe cannot satisfy itself simply with the Starr report, which only skimmed the surface," van der Luyden says of the first lady's credentials. "Surely you appreciate that the sterling reputation of this address is owed to its success at keeping out the less fetching and the less fortunate elements — minorities, show people, journalists, swarthy Arab royalty, half-dressed songbirds, disgraced presidents, people with pre-existing medical conditions and political consultants, among others."

Also, van der Luyden asks, "Will your husband be living with you? ... We need to know in advance how many nights a month Mr. Clinton will be on the premises, so that your neighbors will not have to turn a skeptical eye on every pizza delivery."

The Clintons aren't the only Arkansans to take a hit.

"Can you explain your admiration for the work of one Kaki Hockersmith, the Little Rock interior decorator who redid your White House?" van der Luyden asks. "Here at The Ardthorpe, a building to which Sotheby's makes regular deliveries, we would hope to avoid bordello fabrics. Unlike the White House, The Ardthorpe is not the People's House. We have an esthetic tradition to maintain. It does not include 'unadulterated Victorian.'"

Then there is the failed Castle Grande development in which the Clintons invested.

"May we assume the press exaggerated in calling it 'a trailer park?' We do not mind prosperity. We mind vulgarity."

And van der Luyden wonders, "Will you ever have Eleanor Roosevelt or any other channeled person to dinner? If so, you will have to clear them with the Board." He warns, "Some of your past political friends, like Johnny Chung, are N.O.C.D. (Not Our Class, Dear). Here at The Ardthorpe, overnight guests are not paying guests."

Not that van der Luyden wants to discourage the first lady and potential senator.

"Indeed," he says, "we would be most pleased to welcome another successful commodities trader."

Run, Hillary!

Everybody in New York has "Run, Hillary, Run" bumper stickers on their cars. Democrats have them on their rear bumpers; Republicans on the front.

Why here?

Producers of a television show on half-wit criminals say they can put together a dynamite program in Benton County.

Officials with the Benton County sheriff's office say *America's Dumbest Criminals* producers are to visit July 20 to produce segments on criminals who didn't put quite enough thought into their plans.

Sheriff's office representative Tom Brewster says officials welcome the opportunity.

"I think it's a great idea," Brewster says. "I think it will give the public a great idea of the people we deal with."

While Brewster and producers of the show want to keep many of their ideas secret, Sheriff Andy Lee says a 1995 case out of Rogers is among those



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was proud of the redecorating her Little Rock friend Kaki Hockersmith did at the White House, but the national press still is making fun of it.

to be featured.

Johnny Lee Nichols was arrested in October 1995 after being accused of being on an unusual 3 a.m. quest.

Venturing along Cloverdale Road in north Rogers, Nichols allegedly knocked on doors, offering residents dynamite in exchange for sex or drugs.

Police say they chased Nichols, first while he was in his vehicle and then on foot.

He was found hiding in a tree. In his car police found five sticks of Dyno-Omnimax explosives. More explosive devices were found during a search of his Washington County home.

Water worries

Connie Hamzy, aka "Sweet, Sweet Connie" and past Little Rock mayoral candidate, says she will never leave Little Rock despite her belief that sometimes city officials and others try to encourage her exit.

Hamzy, the rock groupie named in Grand Funk Railroad's "We're an American Band" in the 1970s, began the long Memorial Day weekend without water

service. That was after, she says, a Little Rock Municipal Water Works representative told her she could wait until the next week to pay a past-due bill.

When Hamzy complained, the utility restored her service but left her with murky water and a reconnect charge.

Jim Harvey, the utility's chief executive director, says his office "made a mistake" and removed the reconnect charge from Hamzy's next bill. Harvey defends his employees, saying that none of them would tell a customer one thing and do another. "We would not tolerate it," he says.

Mistakes, even big ones, do happen, he says. Years ago, the utility twice turned off water service to the local residence of Barbara Pryor, wife of former governor and U.S. Sen. David Pryor.

"Talk about embarrassing," Harvey says.

Paula lied about Bill?

A would-be deal maker for Paula Jones is standing by his story: He says Jones told him that nothing ever happened with Bill Clinton in that

infamous hotel room. But the Jones camp insists that celebrity promoter Jack Gordon is the one making things up.

"He is obsessed with Paula," says a teary-eyed Susan Carpenter McMillan, Jones' former adviser. "It is very frightening."

Gordon says that when he asked Jones what happened in the hotel room with Clinton, she said: "Nothing happened. If you ever say anything to anyone, I am going to deny it."

But McMillan counters: "This is absolutely not true. Paula has taken three lie-detector tests."

Gordon, a former massage-parlor owner, is known for his incredible tales. He once claimed that he married La Toya Jackson to prevent her family from kidnapping her. Jackson later accused Gordon of physical abuse, which he denied. They are now divorced.

McMillan claims Gordon unsuccessfully approached Jones' husband, Stephen, who is divorcing Jones after seven years of marriage, about negotiating moneymaking deals for his wife about two months ago. Gordon says that when he was rejected, he worked secretly with another promoter trying to secure some of her most-lucrative deals. "I don't represent her as an agent or a manager," Gordon says. "What I was doing was working behind the scenes."

McMillan says that Gordon used to call Jones up to 15 times a day. They met once for 45 minutes with Jones' lawyer in Arkansas. "The lawyer made it very clear that he was not to call Paula," McMillan says, adding, "In the two years I have done this, I have never been this frightened. I am scared to death."

When grilled about Jones by Howard Stern last week, Gordon claimed that he passed one of two lie-detector tests. He explained: "I failed the first one because my eyes were open and my legs were crossed."

Staff writer Jake Sandlin and various wire services contributed to this report.

NOT TIP? QUIRKY STORY? LIVELY TALE?

Call Carrie Rengers at 378-3892 or e-mail her at: carrie_rengers@adg.ardemgazz.com

Hillary Haters Having Their Say

It is said that a race for a New York Senate seat between Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Clinton will be more interesting than the presidential campaign 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 (which she hasn't even launched yet). 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 step to the presidency. These people are more intimate with Clinton's "only" inmost 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 when it is a step quite nervy enough in itself to aspire to the Senate in a first electoral effort.

Peggy Noonan is so carried away by her revulsion for Clinton that she repeats a serious blunder committed by Sally Quinn in The Washington Post.



**GARRY
WILLS**

In a now-notorious article, Quinn interviewed fellow members of the Washington establishment and echoed their disapproval of the Clintons as upstart outsiders.

Noonan 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 our freedom." How is Clinton going to steal New Yorkers' freedom by running for office (something she can win only if New Yorkers want her to)? 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.

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.

Such a spectacular collapse of logic, taste and equanimity is amusing to behold. We shall be seeing a lot of it.

NEW YORK POST, BUSINESS, JAN. 15, 1992

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY BILLS TAXPAYERS FOR TRIPS TO APPLE

By Marilyn Rauber in
Washington and Gregg
Birnbaum and Fredric U.
Dicker in Albany

The White House acknowledged yesterday that taxpayers are picking up the tab for Hillary Rodham Clinton's frequent New York jaunts — but insisted the trips are official First Lady business.

"I think it's clear that the trips that she's taken up there are covered under her official travel," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart told reporters.

Clinton, who plans to spend most of next month in the Empire State in order to decide whether to seek a Senate seat here, has already made 11 treks to New York since January, 10 of them solo — compared to nine in all of 1998.

"She's flying to New York, but it's the taxpayers who are being taken for a ride," fumed Republican National Committee spokesman Mike Collins, who blasted the trips as "an indirect method of publicly financing" her campaign.

"That's not true," shot back Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. "She's playing by the rules."

Those rules could change, however, when Clinton forms an exploratory committee next month, requiring her to file federal campaign expense reports.

Berry said at that point, the exploratory committee will pick up some of the tab for her Empire State



**Her New
York state
of mind**

Hillary Rodham Clinton at Rockefeller Plaza last week.

First Lady's 10 solo trips here this year:

FEBRUARY 2 Brooklyn.	APRIL 22 Niagara Falls
MARCH 3 Queens, Manhattan	APRIL 29 Queens, Manhattan
MARCH 4 Manhattan (2 events)	MAY 7 Buffalo (2 events)
APRIL 19 Manhattan (7 events)	JUNE 9 Johnson City, Binghamton
APRIL 20 Long Island (3 events)	JUNE 10 Manhattan
Manhattan (2 events)	

Source: The First Lady's Press Office

trips.

Top aide Harold Ickes announced that Clinton has signed up two top fund-raisers from her husband's 1996 campaign, Terrence McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan.

Also hitting up the big donors for the First Lady will be Wall Street tycoon Roger Altman, President Clinton's former deputy treasury secretary, and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's former fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff.

Spokeswoman Berry said recently that Mrs. Clinton wants to spend the "lion's share" of July getting a feel for New Yorkers.

Mrs. Clinton already has stepped up her New York swings — after starting out with one a month in

January, February and March, she made two trips in the first nine days of June.

While Mrs. Clinton hasn't forked out a dime for the trips, at least six of the visits included campaign events for Democrats and state and national party events — and the law requires those candidates or the parties reimburse Uncle Sam for some of the First Lady's expenses.

Berry said she didn't know how much money was reimbursed. When not traveling on Air Force One with her husband, at an hourly operating cost of \$35,300, Mrs. Clinton usually flies in a DC-9 military aircraft that costs taxpayers \$836 an hour to run.

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL NEWS

Clinton: FTC to Study Marketing of Violence

By CLINTON, June 1

Garden, courtesy, he read about 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 on-screen 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 prohibiting 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 characters for 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 latching on to the national debate, in the wake of the Columbine High School massacre, about the various influences that contribute to youth violence.

"I'm frustrated," said Hilary Rosen, president of the Recording Industry Association of America. "The White House was sending 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 headlines.

"We're a bit, inviting target," said Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America. "Politicians know that when you trash the movie industry—it's selling the culture—your members go up. They're looking for something to fix it quickly." But there are signs that the industry is feeling the pressure of other potential government intrusions, 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."



Arthur Saxe 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 accompanied to surface students 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 "bold, but necessary, first step towards encouraging a sense of corporate responsibility among some of the most powerful corporations 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 television sets 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 uneasiness about how closely to involve 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 owe per 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 Beth Marcus contributed to this report. Waxman reported from Los Angeles.

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



Arthur Saxe 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 accompanied to surface students in Washington state.

See CLINTON, A9, Col. 1

School
Violence

School
Violence

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 that more than half of the juveniles

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
PRESERVE

THE PRESIDENT

Killings in Littleton Pierced Soul of the Nation, Clinton Says

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

LITTLETON, Colo., May 20

Against the grim backdrop of yet another school shooting, this one in Georgia, President Clinton told this grief-racked but determined Rocky Mountain town today that the massacre here had "pierced the soul of America."

Mr. Clinton said that was partly because of the number of dead, 15, and partly because suburban Littleton was like so many other places in America.

Because the shootings at Columbine High School here caught the attention of the world, the President said, the community now has a chance to teach everyone about overcoming hatreds, distrust and the urge for vengeance.

"Your tragedy, though it is unique in its magnitude, is, as you so well know, not an isolated event," Mr. Clinton told an audience of nearly 2,000 people, mostly students, packed into a high school gymnasium about a 15-minute drive from Columbine High.

"We know somehow that what happened to you has pierced the soul of America," he said, "and it gives

you a chance to be heard in a way no one else can be heard, by the President and by ordinary people in every community in this country. You can help us to build a better future for all our children."

The President also made a pointed reference to the arsenal amassed by the two teen-age killers here, saying that access to such weapons "can break the dam of decency and humanity in the most vulnerable children."

At several points in the program, at which Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady, also spoke, the audience responded with cheers and foot-stomping, giving the event the incongruous feel of a pep rally. The Clintons seemed surprised by the reaction, but they quickly interpreted the cheers as a determination of spirit, which they both lauded.

The President and First Lady spoke after meeting privately for 90 minutes with the families of all but one of the 13 people killed by the two young gunmen on April 20. The parents of John Tomlin did not attend. Not included were the families of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, the boys who killed their classmates and

a teacher and then themselves.

Michael Shoels, whose son Isaiah, 18, was one of those killed, said afterward that he had given the President a two-page letter that Mr. Clinton promised he would read. Mr. Shoels said: "Such a tragedy as this, we should use it as a tool to make change. I cry before I go to sleep, and in the morning I still feel the tears. But I have to stay strong as a human being."

In the role of national healer, which Mr. Clinton said he had assumed all too often in his six years as President, he also extended compassion to the killers, saying their struggle with demons echoed a universal one.

"These dark forces that take over people and make them murder are the extreme manifestation of fear and rage with which every human has to do combat," he said. "The older you get, the more you'll know that a great deal of life is the struggle against every person's own smallness and fear and anger and a continuing effort not to blame other people for our own shortcomings or our fears."

On Wednesday night, Mr. Clinton

placed phone calls to five of the students who are still hospitalized with injuries from the shootings. In a surprise for the audience here, two of those students — Sean Graves and Patrick Ireland — attended the President's speech, whisked to the school by ambulance. Their introduction from the stage brought a thunderous show of support. Patrick was the student who had been captured on film crashing through a window in the school to escape the gunmen.

Acknowledging the periodic cheers, Mrs. Clinton, who spoke before her husband, told the audience, "We have suffered and wept and prayed and hoped and, yes, cheered, as lives have been mourned, as those who are injured have healed."

Noting that the Columbine seniors would be graduating on Saturday, Mr. Clinton said he knew the commencement would be bittersweet.

"Even your archrivals at Chatfield will be cheering you on," he told them. "When you hear those people cheer for you, I want you to hear the voice of America, because America will be cheering you on. And remember that a commencement is not an end, it is a beginning."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'Help Us Heal,' Clinton Urges Columbine

By TOM KENWORTHY
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLETON, Colo., May 20—Visiting this traumatized community one month after two young gunmen stormed Columbine High School and killed 12 classmates, a teacher and themselves—and only a few hours after another shooting incident at a Georgia high school—President Clinton today told Columbine students they have an unparalleled opportunity to help steer their country away from violence.

"You have to help us heal," Clinton said during an emotional meeting at Dakota Ridge High School. "You can give us a culture of values instead of a culture of violence."

Appearing with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton before 1,900 students, faculty and community leaders—many of them wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the school slogan "We Are Columbine"—the president said the April 20 shootings at the suburban Denver high school have had a profound impact on the nation, one that has far surpassed earlier shootings at schools in Arkansas, Kentucky and Oregon.

"What happened to you has pierced the soul of America," Clinton said. "And it gives you a chance to be heard in a way no one else can be. . . . You have a unique chance to make sure the children of Columbine are never forgotten."

"You can help us build a better future for all of our children, a future where hatred and distrust no longer distort the mind or harden the heart, a future where what we have in common is more important than what divides us," Clinton said. "Because of what you have endured, you can help

us build that kind of future, as virtually no one else can. You can reach across all the political and religious and racial and cultural lines that divide us."

This morning's shooting at Heritage High School in Conyers, Ga., was a cruel reminder of

"What happened to you . . . gives you a chance to be heard in a way no one else can be."

— President Clinton,
to Columbine High School students

what happened here on a promising spring day last month.

Before leaving for Colorado, Clinton said today's shooting, which injured six students, "should underscore how profoundly important it is that all Americans come together in the face of these events to protect all of our children from violence."

The violence in Georgia came also on a day when the Senate, with Vice President Gore providing the tie-breaking vote, approved legislation tightening the sale of guns at gun shows and pawnshops. "I applaud the Senate for today's historic vote to close the gun show loophole, and keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children," the president said in a statement released this afternoon.

Before he and the first lady addressed Columbine students this afternoon, the Clintons met at Light of the World Catholic Church with families of those killed in last month's shooting. Accompanied by Columbine Principal Frank DeAngelis, pastor Jerry Rohr and school board president John DeStefano, the president and his wife shuttled among 14 tables, talking to each family in turn.

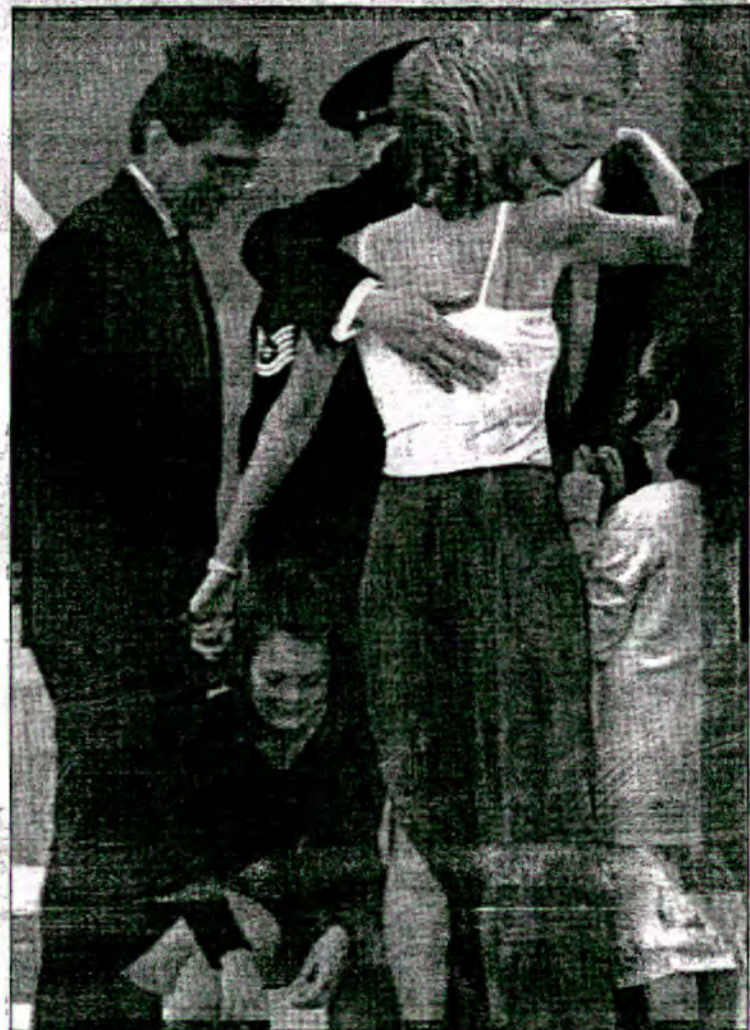
"There was some laughter, some sadness," said White House press secretary Joe Lockhart.

Two of the six shooting victims who remain hospitalized, Patrick Ireland and Sean Graves, were able to attend the president's speech at Dakota Ridge High School. Ireland, the Columbine student whose dramatic escape from a library window was captured on national television, is undergoing rehabilitation at Craig Hospital. The president spoke by phone to five of the wounded on Wednesday night, and he met with the family of injured student Richard Costaldo at the church this afternoon.

The Columbine shootings, Clinton said, have affected the nation so deeply in part because "when America looks at Jefferson County, many of us see a community not unlike our own."

"We know if it can happen here, it can happen anywhere," he said.

Praising Columbine students for pushing ahead with their lives, Clinton promised that "America will be cheering you on" during commencement exercises on Saturday. "You have to help us here," Clinton said. "Take care of yourself and your families first, take care of your school next, but remember you can help America heal, and in so doing, you will speed the process of healing for yourselves."



President Clinton hugs Ellen Pena as she, husband Federico, left, a former Cabinet officer, and daughters Nella and Cristina welcome him to Denver.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons visit with Littleton families

Victims' relatives praised for faith in massacre's wake

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LITTLETON, Colo. — Exactly a month after the deadly Columbine High School shooting, President Clinton arrived here to comfort the survivors, console the families and laud the community for turning unspeakable tragedy into a triumph of faith.

At a rally at nearby Dakota Ridge High School, Mr. Clinton challenged Columbine students, staff and community leaders to use their status as victims of the worst school shooting in U.S. history to "give us a culture of values instead of a culture of violence."

"We know somehow that what happened to you has pierced the soul of America. And it gives you a chance to be heard in a way as no one else can be heard, by the president and by ordinary people in every community in this country," Mr. Clinton told about 2,000 people at the high school auditorium.

Earlier in the afternoon, the Mr. Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton met with families of all but one of the shooting victims at Light of the World Roman Catholic Church. No explanation was given for the absence of the Tomlin family, whose son, John, was among those killed by two teen-age gunmen in the April 20 massacre.

Seniors Eric Harris, 18, and Dylan Klebold, 17, committed suicide after killing 12 students and one teacher and injuring 23. The magnitude of the tragedy prompted a national outcry over school violence and calls for a host of proposed cures, from gun-control legislation to greater parental involvement to less violence in Hollywood movies.

Mr. Clinton said the Columbine shooting has affected the nation as no other crisis in his presidency, including the Oklahoma City bombing, the school shooting in Jonesboro, Ark., and the embassy bombings in East Africa.

"Something profound has happened to your country because of this," Mr. Clinton said. "Somehow when this happened here, maybe because of the scope of it and I think also because of you... there was a different reaction. People thought, 'This has happened in my neighborhood. What can I do?'"

The president also praised the community's religious faith as a key to its strength. "I hope we could behave as well as you," he said. "I hope we would also hold on our faith as well as you."

In a bitter coincidence, the president's Columbine visit coincided with another outbreak of violence at a suburban high school. A teenage gunman at Heritage High School in Conyers, Ga., an Atlanta suburb, wounded six students yesterday, then surrendered.

"This [Conyers] incident, again, would underscore how profoundly important it is that all Americans come together in the face of these events to protect all of our children from violence," Mr. Clinton said. Students at the Columbine rally



Columbine students hear President Clinton's speech yesterday at Dakota Ridge High School in Littleton, Colo.



The first couple embrace after Hillary Rodham Clinton's address.

were upbeat, chanting, "We are... Columbine" before the president's arrival and applauding noisily for principal Frank DeAngelis and Heather Dinkel, president of the student body.

"It really meant a lot to us," freshman Vickie Abel, 15, said of the Clintons' visit. "It's going to make us stronger."

Added Jessica Rauh, another 15-year-old freshman: "It helps to see how much school unity we have."

Among those in attendance were Columbine students Sean Graves and Patrick Ireland, both of whom arrived in wheelchairs after being released from the hospital for the event.

Sean is recovering from critical wounds to the face, legs and chest. Patrick, who made a dramatic leap to safety from the second-story library window, is still partly paralyzed.

Before Mr. Clinton arrived, he made personal phone calls to six of the injured students, five of whom are still hospitalized.

The president's visit touched off a debate within the community over whether the time was right for a presidential visit.

About three dozen protesters chanted anti-Clinton slogans and waved signs protesting his arrival outside the Light of the World church. Two black banners were spray-painted with the word, "Rapist," while others criticized his positions on Yugoslavia and gun control.

"We have already had the perfunctory, 'seize the moment' visit by [Vice President] Al Gore," said Anthony Stolz of Lone Tree, Colo., in a letter to the Denver Post. "No more politicians, please."

Others said they appreciated the president's concern.

Sue Sumida, who stood outside the church with a pro-Clinton sign, accused his opponents of taking advantage of the visit to promote their own agendas. "We don't need any more hate and trauma here," she said.

'There Has to Be Healing,' Clinton Tells Littleton Crowd

■ **Massacre:** President and first lady visit Colorado community shattered by high school shootings. 'I am proud of all of you,' he says.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLETON, Colo.—President Clinton sought to console and inspire this grief-stricken community Thursday, exactly one month after a pair of Columbine High School students shot to death 12 classmates and a teacher.

"You're all left with searing memories and scars and unanswered questions. There has to

be healing; there have to be answers. And for those things that will not heal or cannot be answered, you have to learn to go on with your lives," the president said two days before the school's commencement ceremonies.

Nearly 2,000 people filled the gymnasium of Dakota Ridge High School to hear the president and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who were preceded to the podium by Heather Dinkel, Columbine's student body president; Frank DeAngelis, Columbine's principal; and Jane Hammond, superintendent of Jefferson County schools. Columbine High has been closed since the shootings.

Before he began his address,

he asked Columbine's students to give their school cheer, and they responded with great emotion, repeating the refrain: "We are... Columbine!"

"Something profound has happened to our country because of this... I'm not even sure I can explain it to you," Clinton said, adding that the way the community pulled together after the tragedy—which left 15 people dead, including the two gunmen—resonated across the nation.

"All America has looked and listened with shared grief and enormous affection and admiration for you," Clinton said. "I am proud of all of you."

The president told Colum-
Please see SCHOOL, A15

SCHOOL: Clinton Visits

Continued from A3

bine's students that the massacre has "pierced the soul of America, and it gives you a chance to be heard in a way no one else can be heard. . . . You can help America heal. . . . We love you and we need you."

Mrs. Clinton told the gathering: "What happened here at Columbine has so deeply affected the rest of our country that we are all Columbine. We have suffered and wept and prayed and hoped and yet cheered, as lives have been mourned, as those who are injured have healed, as parents and citizens have come together to ask, 'Where do we go from here?'"

Before their joint public appearance, the Clintons met in private with about 75 family members of those slain. The session was at Light of the World Catholic Church, about three miles from Columbine High and the site where counselors worked with survivors after the shooting.

The families were arrayed at 14 tables in the church sanctuary, and the Clintons moved quietly from table to table.

"There was some laughter, some sadness," said White House spokesman Joe Lockhart.

He described the meeting as "a more personal session rather than a sort of policy session" and said that the president wanted to "articulate how the country shares the grief of the Littleton students and the Littleton community."

From the White House on Wednesday night, Clinton telephoned the five shooting victims who are still in hospitals. Two of them, Sean Graves and Patrick Ireland, made special arrangements and were able to attend Thursday's gathering. Ireland is the student whose image was widely broadcast during the rampage as he broke through a window at Colum-



Associated Press

President Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton leave the Light of the World Catholic Church in Littleton, Colo., after meeting with family members of the shooting victims.

bine and fell to safety into the arms of two SWAT team members.

Before leaving for Colorado Thursday, Clinton spoke briefly in the White House Rose Garden, urging Congress to tighten gun controls and asking all Americans to "come together in the face of these events to protect our children from violence."

Clinton said that the latest school shooting, in which six students were injured Thursday

when a classmate opened fire in suburban Atlanta, is "deeply troubling to me, as it is to all Americans. . . . This incident, again, should underscore how profoundly important it is that all Americans come together in the face of these events to protect our children from violence."

Vickie Abel, 15, a freshman at Columbine said that the Clintons' visit "really meant a lot to us. It's going to make us stronger."

'America will be cheering you on'

By Bob Dears
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Littleton, Colo. — Hours after the nation's latest school shootings rocked suburban Atlanta on Thursday, President Clinton called on Columbine High students to honor the victims of last month's killings by working to change the "culture of violence" that spawned both tragedies.

He made a plea for understanding in his speech to 2,000 Columbine students, faculty members and relatives.

"These dark forces that take over people, and make them murder, are the extreme manifestation of fear and rage with which every human being has to do combat," he said.

Clinton journeyed to Littleton on a long-planned visit to address the nation one month to the day after two Columbine students opened fire on their classmates, killing 12 students and a teacher and wounding 23 others before taking their own lives.

Clinton's address took on added poignancy following the Thursday morning shootings at Heritage High School in Rockdale County. That incident left six students wounded.

"Thankfully, no one was killed," first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said of Thursday's shootings, "but it should never have happened."

Speaking in the White House Rose Garden before leaving for Colorado, Clinton said the Rockdale County shooting "is deeply troubling to me, as it is to all Americans" and urged that loopholes in gun control laws be

closed.

Arriving in this Denver suburb on a gray day marked by a brief hailstorm, the president and first lady visited with families of the Columbine victims.

Seated around tables set up in the sanctuary of the Light of the World Catholic Church, the families shared their stories and passed around homemade scrapbooks memorializing their lost loved ones.

If the mood in that closed-door session was intimate and somber, there was a strikingly different atmosphere moments later, when Clinton walked onto the dais at a jammed gymnasium at the Dakota Ridge High School, just three miles from Columbine.

"We are Columbine," the students chanted. Clinton hailed the boisterous show of spirit as a sign of the powerful renewal sweeping this wounded community.

Clinton urged the students to harness that spirit to the goal of helping to build an American society less tolerant of violence and more forgiving of each other.

"Give us a culture of values instead of a culture of violence," Clinton said.

"Somehow what happened to you has pierced the soul of America, and it gives you a chance to be heard in a way no one else can be heard," said Clinton.

"Help us to build a better future for all our children," he said. "A future where society guards our children better against violent influences and weapons that can break the dam of



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE / Associated Press

President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton leave the Light of the World Catholic Church in Littleton, Colo., on Thursday after meeting with family members of Columbine High School shooting victims.

decency and humanity in the most vulnerable children."

In a particularly dramatic moment, cheers rang out when Clinton introduced two Columbine students — Sean Graves and Patrick Ireland — who emerged from the hospital where they have been recovering from wounds received in the shootings to attend Thursday's event.

Clinton urged the students to remember during their commencement ceremonies Saturday that theirs is a special class. "It will be bitter-sweet," Clinton said.

But he urged them to listen for the support of their nation.

"Hear the voice of America," Clinton said, "because America will be cheering you on."

The Atlanta Constitution

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WWW.ACCESSATLANTA.COM FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1999 TO SUBSCRIBE: 304-522

SUMMIT: Clinton Urges Hollywood to Stop Marketing Violence to Kids

Continued from A1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the meeting:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even ABC Chairman Bob Iger acknowledged hypocrisy among some entertainment industry colleagues. "When the finger is pointed at them about vio-



Reuters

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

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

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

After the session, some who did not

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

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

Times political writer Ronald Brownstein contributed to this story.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Advertising Age

CRAIN'S INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF MARKETING \$3.00, IN CANADA \$3.50 IN 2 SECTIONS, SECTION 1

<http://adage.com>

MAY 10, 1999 • ADVERTISING AGE

Ad Council responds to First Lady's ad call

Envisions PSAs aiming at issues springing from school violence, Colo. murders

By Ira Teinowitz

The ad industry is being urged by First Lady Hillary Clinton to mount a national campaign against youth violence. And the Advertising Council has agreed to step in with some creative.

Ad Council officials said last week they hope to tailor a public service campaign for the American Psychological Association and the National Association for the Education of Young Children—in part stemming from earlier youth shooting incidents—to cover some of the issues raised by the Littleton, Colo., school murders.

The American Psychological Association is doing pre-campaign research; no ad agency has yet been named to handle the work.

'WE NEED A NAT'L CAMPAIGN'

"We need a national campaign against youth violence, but not just against youth violence. We need a

campaign for our youth," Mrs. Clinton told a White House reception for adclub attendees at an annual Ad Council conference.

"I hope you will use creative ways to use the important power of the media to send the kind of message that we need to hear," she said.

President Clinton today hosts a conference on some of the issues highlighted by the school shootings. The conference is expected to focus on violent movies, videogames and TV programming.

MESSAGES TO PARENTS

Ad Council President Ruth Wooden said the new campaign would stress the need for parents to look for violence and give their kids some way to resolve the anger, frustration and conflict they encounter.

"You can't just address this after the fact," she said. "We really need to get across to parents that violence is really a learned behavior, and how you resolve conflict and anger is something you have to address in childhood."

The Ad Council may use several existing campaigns to get its effort off the ground.

Among the public service announcements that will be altered is the Kaiser Family Foundation's "Talking With Kids About Tough Issues" campaign, from J. Walter

Thompson USA, New York. It has mentioned violence in the past, and now will get separate ads urging parents to talk specifically about violence. The new ads will be unveiled at today's White House summit.

NEW ADS FOR GUN EFFORT

In addition, the council's campaign with the U.S. Department of Justice and the National Crime Prevention Council for safe gun storage—from Foote, Cone & Belding, New York—will get new creative.

The National Crime Prevention Council's campaign from Saatchi & Saatchi, New York, already mentions school shootings, and will be revised to include mention of Littleton.

The campaign, which features McGruff the crime dog's nephew Scruff, tries to teach kids how to respond to a situation where gun violence is threatened.

Former Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, now general chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was also named chairman of the public issues task force of the Ad Council and said Littleton shows the need for PSAs.

"Littleton will bring a renewed focus [on parenting] and what is happening and what we need to do about it—and advertising will be a tool," he said. □

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Advertising Age

CRAIN'S INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF MARKETING \$3.00, IN CANADA \$3.50 IN 2 SECTIONS, SECTION 1

http://adage.com

Media tighten policy on ads' violent themes

WB network, 'SI for Kids' act as senators blast TV, magazines

By Ira Teinowitz
and Ann Marie Kerwin

Responding to growing political sentiment that the media shouldn't run ads for violent, R-rated movies and other products, at least one TV network said it has changed its ad acceptance policy.

"Natural Born Killers" came out today, given the content of the film, we would not run an ad for it," said Rick Mather, VP-standards and practices for the WB.

Mr. Mather, however, said he has no problem approving the running of ads for "The Matrix," a current hit film that's fairly violent and has a high body count.

'CRAZY NOT TO RETHINK'

Time Inc.'s *Sports Illustrated* for Kids said it may revise its ad acceptance policy in light of what happened in Littleton, Colo.

"In the environment we are in today, it would be crazy not to rethink and reconsider what we are doing," said Cleary Simpson, publisher of *SI for Kids* and *SI for Women*.

Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah), at hearing last week of the Senate Commerce Committee, attacked *SI for Kids* for running an ad for a handheld electronic game—Resident Evil 2, from Tiger Electronics—he claimed was inappropriate for that magazine's young readers.

The ad for the game ran in the November 1998 issue of *SI for Kids*, before the game was rated.

"We were not aware at the time of the ad that the game was rated for adults," said Ms. Simpson. "It's easy to condemn something that happened before a rating ... but it's also hard to defend the decision to take those [kinds of] ads in this

■ Ad Council responds to First Lady Hillary Clinton's call for national campaign against youth violence.
Page 61.



REX BANNERMAN/SHAKERS

environment today."

SI for Kids follows guidelines from the Children's Advertising Review Unit of the Council of Better Business Bureaus. Ms. Simpson said, and those guides don't address violent imagery directly.

SENSITIVE TO MESSAGES

Mr. Mather said the WB is sensitive to the messages—ad and otherwise—in and surrounding its programming. For example, the network has a policy of only running G-rated movie ads in its chil-

See VIOLENCE on Page 61

Violent ads

VIOLENCE from Page 3
dren's programming.

The WB was criticized by Sen. Joe Lieberman (D., Conn.), who complained that R-rated "slasher" films are heavily advertised on "series that teens watch religiously, such as 'Dawson's Creek' and 'Buffy the Vampire Slayer.'"

CBS said it already has stringent

"Point Blank claims it is 'more fun than shooting your neighbor's cat.'"

standards about ad acceptance.

"We already have guidelines and ask for several versions of certain kinds of trailers that we can run at different times of the day," said Senior VP Martin Franks.

Sen. Lieberman also attacked ads in gaming magazines.

A print ad for a game called "Carnageddon boasts it is 'as easy as killing babies with axes'; Point Blank claims it is 'more fun than

shooting your neighbor's cat'; Die by the Sword instructs, 'Escape Dismember, Massacre,'" he said at a hearing last week of the Senate Commerce Committee.

At the hearing, senators threatened to request a Federal Trade Commission probe of the marketing of violence-oriented products.

Sen. Hatch last week said he may move to amend a juvenile crime bill being considered by the Senate to require the FTC and Jus-

tice Department to probe whether the videogame, music and movie industries are purposely marketing violent materials to kids.

Dale Strang, VP of publisher ZD Game Group, said the games cited were PC games and the ads for them most likely ran in magazines that "do not go to teen-agers. ZD's PC gaming title, *Computer Gaming World*, has an average reader age of 34."

He said ZD monitors the content of game ads in its magazines, "particularly in our videogaming titles, which have an average reader age of 20. We routinely reject ads that contain violent, profane or sexually provocative content that we believe our readers and/or resellers will find objectionable." □

Contributing: Chuck Ross.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

AM-Mother's Day-Guns,418

Parents of slain children pledge support for gun restrictions

With AM-Gun Groups; AM-Mother's Day-Pledge

AP Photo WX105

By SHAUN TANDON= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Parents of children killed or injured by guns banded together at the White House to plead for an end to gun violence and for stronger measures to keep firearms away from children and teen-agers.

Joined Saturday by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in the ornate, yellow-curtained East Room of the White House, four parents shared stories about their children to about 300 guests, many also parents of shooting victims.

Tom Mauser related to the audience the agony of waiting for word that his son, Daniel, had been killed in the April 20 shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo.

"My time spent in that waiting room was less than an hour, and it was a terrible hour," Mauser said. "But many parents are still in that waiting room. They fear for their children and fear for their safety."

Mauser said gun violence was the result of ills in American society and urged more responsibility from the entertainment and gun industries. He cited the example of his late son, who was thin and afraid of public speaking but made himself participate in debate and athletics.

"My son worked on his weaknesses. I urge America to address its weaknesses, also," Mauser said to a standing ovation.

His words were echoed by Catherine Murphy, whose 11-year-old son, Christopher, was shot to death by a 12-year-old. Murphy, a New York police officer who carries a firearm every day, urged parents to keep weapons locked up and to lobby Congress for tougher gun laws.

With the others, she pledged to make Mother's Day a day of political action for those who have lost children to guns. They were joined by Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, D-N.Y., whose husband was shot and killed and her son critically wounded by a crazed gunman on the Long Island Railroad in 1993. She has become one of Congress' most vocal advocates for gun control.

"How many more Springfields or Littletons can we suffer before we do what must be done to keep guns away from children?" asked Rebecca Lynn. She sat beside her daughter, Betina, who was wounded in last May's shooting at Thurston High School in Springfield, Ore.

The first lady read to the crowd a pledge of four steps parents can take to prevent gun violence. She told the crowd she would carry the pledge with her, at all times and promote it whenever she can.

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**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 05/08/99 at 17:33EDT ****

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVAT

bc-pols-guns

Littleton shootings will push 'soccer moms' toward Democrats, pollster predicts

By JOHN MACHACEK

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON Public shock over the Littleton, Colo. school shootings has boosted Democrats' chances of regaining control of Congress next year, Democratic pollster Celinda Lake said Friday.

Democrats including Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is considering a run in New York for the U.S. Senate will use the school violence and gun control issues to woo voters, especially women in 'swing' suburban districts, Lake said at a breakfast meeting with reporters.

'Littleton just gave us the agenda to get the 'soccer moms' back,' she said.

The term 'soccer mom' is used by some pollsters to describe working, suburban mothers with school-age children. They tend to be socially liberal and fiscally conservative and, as a voting bloc, make up a key component of moderate suburban voters who have decided statewide races in big states as New York.

Although President Clinton captured the female vote nationally in 1992 and 1996, House Democrats, Lake said, didn't do as well among suburban women in last fall's congressional elections that saw the GOP barely holding its majority status in the House.

But Democrats think the gun control issue will create a wedge in GOP suburban districts where Republican candidates are supported by the National Rifle Association and other conservative groups.

Late last month, Senate Democrats unveiled an eight-point gun control initiative that includes proposals for a ban on gun sales to juveniles, regulation of Internet gun sales, and penalties for gun owners who allow children access to their weapons.

And as House races begin to take shape later this year, many Democratic candidates will link gun control to school violence in coming up with their own 'safe school proposals,' said Lake, who is working for Democrats in 10 House and Senate races next year.

House Republicans, holding an 11-seat majority, have reacted cautiously to the initial calls for tougher gun control laws, but have not ruled out consideration of them.

On the Senate side, Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., will allow Democrats to bring up gun control measures that are part of school violence initiatives to be debated by the Senate this week.

Mrs. Clinton could further shape how Democrats approach the gun control and school violence issues if she decides to run for the New York Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Since the Littleton shootings, Mrs. Clinton, during appearances in New York state, proposed expanding gun control laws and suggested controls over violent video games and other media.

'We've tested some of her language (in polls) and she tests unbelievably well,' said Lake, who is not working for the first lady. 'The politician who in the last two weeks or month has had the strongest statements on school violence that really resonate with the public has been Hillary Clinton.'

Lake said recent focus groups she's conducted across the nation show women in the South, Rocky Mountain states and rural areas in general the so-called 'gun belt' shifting towards favoring 'pieces of gun control' since the shootings that left 15 dead at Littleton's Columbine High School.

The gun control issue may even present opportunities for Democratic candidates in 'blue-collar' suburban districts that have moved into the Republican column over such issues as taxes and spending, she said.

'Littleton has been searing,' Lake said. 'It has profoundly affected people and the mood of the country.'

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BC-POLITICS-GUNS

Hillary Clinton urges parents to lock up their guns

By Andrew Clark

WASHINGTON, May 8 (Reuters) - Flanked by victims of gun violence, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Saturday urged America's parents to take a Mother's Day pledge to keep firearms away from children.

"More than 35 million households across America have guns, and in a third of those homes the guns are stored loaded and unlocked," she said at a White House event. "We must remind parents, and that is a job for all of us to do, that this practice is dangerous and, all too often, deadly."

Mrs. Clinton asked those attending the event to take the Mother's Day Pledge for America's Parents, to urge others to take it, and to distribute it as widely as possible. It reads:

-- I will not give my child unsupervised access to a firearm.

-- I will not allow my child to play in a home where guns are improperly stored.

-- If I own a gun, I will unload it and lock it up and store the ammunition separately and securely.

-- I will urge others, including community leaders and political leaders, to do everything in their power to protect our children from guns.

"We want to issue a call to responsibility," Mrs. Clinton said. "We want to give people something very specific to do... to make a difference."

She was joined at the event by New York Democratic Representative Carolyn McCarthy, who entered politics after her husband was killed and son disabled by a gunman on a Long Island commuter train in 1993, and Tom Mauser, whose 15-year-old son, Daniel, was killed in the recent Colorado high school massacre.

The U.S. Senate next week will consider several gun control measures when it takes up a juvenile justice bill.

Democrats have said they hope to offer several gun-related amendments, which will likely include measures to keep assault weapons and high capacity ammunition clips away from juveniles and to close loopholes that let people buy and sell weapons at gun shows without the background checks regular firearms dealers must conduct.

The Washington Post reported on Saturday that two major firearms industry trade groups had agreed to support several administration proposals on gun control.

It said the American Shooting Sports Council and National Shooting Sports Council had agreed to back moves to raise the legal age for gun purchases to 21 from 18 and to hold parents criminally responsible for allowing children access to guns.

On Monday, the White House is holding a summit on youth violence that will include representatives of the movie, music, broadcast, cable, software and firearms industries, as well as clergy, law enforcement personnel, doctors and academics.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

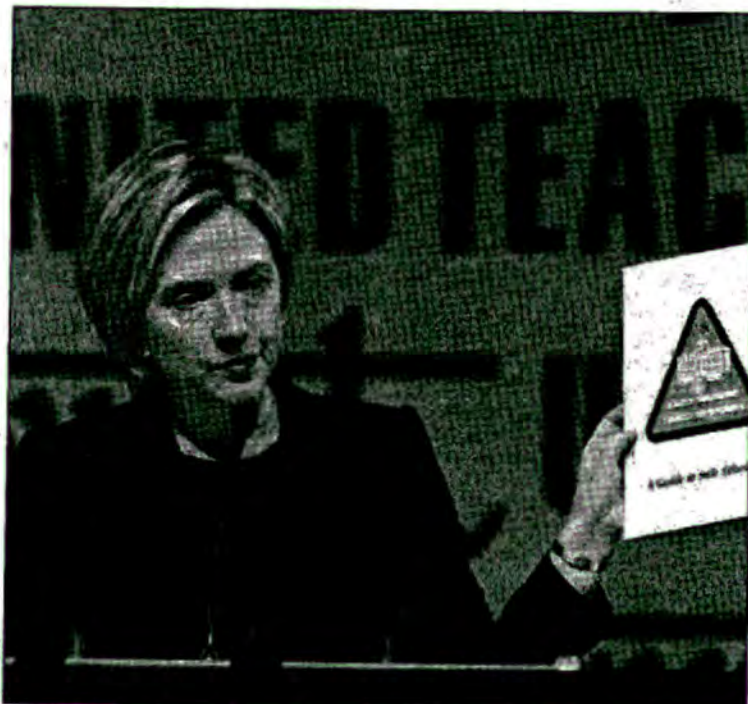
First Lady Denounces 'Culture of Violence'

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y., April 22—In an unusually forceful response to the Colorado school shooting, Hillary Rodham Clinton tonight called for stricter controls on guns and violent media images in a speech to the statewide teachers union, denouncing "the culture of violence that infects the lives of our children."

The first lady's speech to the politically influential New York State United Teachers had a bit of a campaign aura, and she has spent three days in New York just this week, but Clinton did not refer to her possible race for Senate. Instead, she unleashed a blizzard of proposals designed to prevent similar tragedies: more money for school counselors and social workers, tougher penalties for children who use guns and the adults whose guns fall into their hands, more resources for child care and after-school programs, an anti-violence hotline in every community, and a national debate about violence in the media.

Clinton began by cautioning against the urge to point fingers in the wake of the horrors in Littleton, but she then proceeded to do just that. Her rhetoric about guns and money was not particularly surprising, echoing as it did the themes in her best-selling book about child-rearing, "It Takes a Village." But Clinton also lashed out at violent images in the media, repeating themes of Republican presidential nominee Robert J. Dole's attack on



BY JIM MCNIGHT—ASSOCIATED PRESS
Hillary Rodham Clinton holds up a U.S. government booklet on safe schools as she addresses a New York teachers union last night in Niagara Falls.

Hollywood during the 1996 campaign. She was particularly tough on video games that "you win based on how many people you kill," describing them as military training for impressionable minds.

"We have to be willing to talk about the culture of violence that infects the lives of our children," she said. "The constant exposure to violence on TV, in the movies, on video games, in music—there's much too much evidence that chil-

dren get desensitized. . . . There's so much of it. We're awash in it."

Clinton acknowledged that any crackdown on media violence would raise First Amendment issues, but she suggested that America needs far more than the "V-chips" that parents can use to screen out violent shows.

"We are going to have to do some serious thinking in this country about how we can take more control over what our children see and

experience," she said. "We can no longer shut our eyes to the impact the media is having on all our children, and the potentially violent impact it is having on some of them."

In recent weeks, the yes-or-no speculation about Clinton's possible Senate race has been tilting toward yes; the state Democratic Party announced today that the first lady will attend its annual dinner on Thursday, and Clinton met with several local Democratic leaders before her speech. A statewide Quinnipiac College poll released today gave Clinton a 49 percent to 41 percent advantage in a race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a slight increase over a few weeks ago, but her advisers say she has not made up her mind.

Still, Clinton took advantage of her friendly crowd tonight, winning applause with her emphasis on several traditional Democratic issues: support for teachers unions, opposition to school vouchers, and increased resources for social services.

It is not clear how the killers in Colorado got their guns, but she also criticized the gun lobby, blaming the disaster at least in part on the wide availability of firearms in America.

"We need to stand up and say what needs to be said about guns and firearms," she said. "Where on earth would we permit any person access to the firearms that two young men brought into that school?"

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press State & Local Wire

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

April 23, 1999, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 531 words

HEADLINE: First lady calls for attack on "culture of violence" in wake of school shooting

BYLINE: By SHANNON McCAFFREY, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.

BODY:

Calling for a war on the "culture of violence infecting the lives of our children" Hillary Rodham Clinton put the wraps on a swing through New York that has convinced some she is more serious than ever about running for the Senate.

In Thursday night's speech before the state's largest teachers' union, Mrs. Clinton said the nation must tighten its gun laws and provide more psychological support services for troubled youths.

"No school security system can keep society out of the school house door," Mrs. Clinton said to rousing applause from teachers waving small American flags at the Niagara Falls Convention Center. "We can no longer shut our eyes to the impact the media is having on all of our children and on the potentially violent impact it is having on some."

"We also need to stand up and say what needs to be said about guns and firearms and bombs," she said.

The first lady said she had planned to speak about strides in education, but altered her remarks after the massacre at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo. on Tuesday that left 15 dead.

She made no references to the state's Senate race she may enter, but her comments - sketching a broad plan to combat school violence - had the ring of a stump speech.

And she'll be back in the state she may call home in days. Mrs. Clinton will attend a major state Democratic Party fund-raising dinner next week in New York City, an invitation she had initially declined. Her change of plans could signal a stepped-up interest in the Senate race.

State Democratic Party Chairwoman Judith Hope said she was "thrilled" Mrs.

Clinton would be on hand.

"She loves New York," a beaming Hope said Thursday night.

The dinner will be Mrs. Clinton's first major political event in New York since she announced in February that she was considering running for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The first lady is expected to make a decision on the 2000 race sometime this summer.

Some 2,000 teachers attended the convention Thursday in the "Honeymoon Capital of the World." Attendance is always high at the convention but received a boost due to Mrs. Clinton's appearance. The union gave her an award named after union activist Albert Shanker.

The Niagara Falls stop came after a whirlwind of candidate-like appearances on Monday and Tuesday in New York City and on Long Island. There, she toured schools and parks and headlined fund raisers.

Mrs. Clinton arrived in Niagara Falls as anti-abortion protesters continued a week-long vigil in nearby Buffalo. The clinic of slain abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian, fatally shot by a sniper at his suburban home last fall, was among those being picketed.

Mrs. Clinton's appearances seemed to breathe life into her poll numbers. A Quinnipiac College survey released Thursday found Mrs. Clinton favored by 49 percent of voters to 41 percent for New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential Republican opponent.

On Wednesday, Giuliani was endorsed by three prominent GOP senators in Washington, including Arizona's John McCain. Like Mrs. Clinton, Giuliani has not yet said whether he will run for the Senate seat.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 23, 1999

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Buffalo News

April 23, 1999, Friday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 775 words

HEADLINE: FIRST LADY SOUNDS CALL FOR ACTION

BYLINE: ROBERT J. MCCARTHY; News Political Reporter

DATELINE: NIAGARA FALLS

BODY:

Casting aside for the moment her possible political aspirations, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told the state's teachers meeting here Thursday that there is much good in American children despite this week's tragic events in Colorado and challenged them to join with government to enact safeguards against the kind of violence claiming dozens of young lives over the past two years.

"All you have to do is look at the people of Littleton to remind ourselves how fundamentally good our country is," she said, referring to the blood donors, clergy and volunteer counselors lining up to help a devastated community cope with the loss of students and a teacher.

"We can see even now that in the face of this terrible tragedy, people are not helpless or hopeless," she said.

Mrs. Clinton, addressing the state convention of the New York State United Teachers in the Niagara Falls Convention and Civic Center, said a "culture of violence" that glorifies death, as well as easy access to guns and explosives all combined this week to spell tragedy in Littleton, where two "outcasts" murdered fellow students and a teacher in a shooting spree.

She said Littleton has proved that no community is immune to such violence, and every aspect of society must now face up to the responsibility of doing everything possible to prevent future tragedies.

"I believe, as I said in my book, that it takes a village to raise a child," she said, "because all of us should take responsibility for raising our own children. Nothing can overtake parental responsibility, but children are influenced by all that goes on around them."

Mrs. Clinton, followed to Niagara Falls by a horde of national reporters paying close attention to her interest in succeeding Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the U.S. Senate next year, made no references to that possibility in her 40-minute address.

Instead she called on teachers, whose union presented her its Albert Shanker Memorial Award, to join with her and President Clinton in providing the

necessary resources for early-warning programs in schools to help identify problem students.

"Communities and school systems have to be more willing to provide support and resources (so) when the alarm bells go off in your heads you have somebody to turn to," she said. "I hope we can begin to focus on that."

Specifically, she suggested that there must be ways for students to make anonymous referrals so teachers can be aware of problems and that as many resources devoted to physical health should be devoted to mental health.

But she saved her strongest criticism for a culture fascinated with guns and the violence accompanying them, pointing out that too many mass killings in too many towns with names like Littleton and Springfield and Paducah prove that a problem exists.

"Why on earth do we permit any young person to have access to the kind of firearms these two young men brought into that school?" she said. "Some will argue against the need for senseless gun control, but we can see the results."

Since the enactment of the Brady Law during the Clinton administration, she said, 250,000 "felons, fugitives and stalkers" have been denied handguns.

Mrs. Clinton captivated her audience when she talked about the underlying causes of teens using guns to kill other teens. And she challenged teachers and all Americans to begin asking some fundamental questions.

"We have to be willing to talk about the culture of violence affecting the lives of our children," she said. "We can no longer argue that constant exposure to violence on television, in the movies, in video games and in music does not have an effect on the way children see themselves and others."

"We have to do some serious thinking in our country about how we can take more control over what our children see and experience."

Mrs. Clinton was greeted by several anti-abortion pickets outside the convention facility.

She met briefly with State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope and was expected to meet with regional political leaders such as County Executive Gorski, Mayor Masiello, Rep. John LaFalce and the Democratic chairmen from Erie and Niagara counties.

Ms. Hope, one of Mrs. Clinton's closest confidantes during this decision-making process, said she still believes there is a 50-50 chance that she will pursue a Senate candidacy.

"It's clear to me that she wants to do this, though that's not meant to say she will," Ms. Hope said. "She is driven by a deep commitment to public policy. She's a person who wants her life to make a difference. The question she's asking herself is if it is a valid way to do it."

GRAPHIC: Photos by MARK MULVILLE/Buffalo News; "We can no longer argue that constant exposure to violence on television, in the movies, in video games and in music does not have an effect." Hillary Rodham Clinton, speaking in Niagara

The Buffalo News, April 23, 1999

Falls.; First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a Steuben apple presented to her by the New York State United Teachers as she shakes hands with union President Thomas Hobart Jr. at the podium Thursday evening. (S-Tier).
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 25, 1999

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April 23, 1999, Friday, Final Edition

NAME: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A23

LENGTH: 620 words

HEADLINE: First Lady Denounces 'Culture of Violence'

BYLINE: Michael Grunwald, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y., April 22

BODY:

In an unusually forceful response to the Colorado school shooting, Hillary Rodham Clinton tonight called for stricter controls on guns and violent media images in a speech to the statewide teachers union, denouncing "the culture of violence that infects the lives of our children."

The first lady's speech to the politically influential New York State United Teachers had a bit of a campaign aura, and she has spent three days in New York just this week, but Clinton did not refer to her possible race for Senate. Instead, she unleashed a blizzard of proposals designed to prevent similar tragedies: more money for school counselors and social workers, tougher penalties for children who use guns and the adults whose guns fall into their hands, more resources for child care and after-school programs, an anti-violence hotline in every community, and a national debate about violence in the media.

Clinton began by cautioning against the urge to point fingers in the wake of the horrors in Littleton, but she then proceeded to do just that. Her rhetoric about guns and money was not particularly surprising, echoing as it did the themes in her best-selling book about child-rearing, "It Takes a Village." But Clinton also lashed out at violent images in the media, repeating themes of Republican presidential nominee Robert J. Dole's attack on Hollywood during the 1996 campaign. She was particularly tough on video games that "you win based on how many people you kill," describing them as military training for impressionable minds.

"We have to be willing to talk about the culture of violence that infects the lives of our children," she said. "The constant exposure to violence on TV, in the movies, on video games, in music -- there's much too much evidence that children get desensitized. . . . There's so much of it. We're awash in it."

The Washington Post, April 23, 1999

Clinton acknowledged that any crackdown on media violence would raise First Amendment issues, but she suggested that America needs far more than the "V-chips" that parents can use to screen out violent shows.

"We are going to have to do some serious thinking in this country about how we can take more control over what our children see and experience," she said. "We can no longer shut our eyes to the impact the media is having on all our children, and the potentially violent impact it is having on some of them."

In recent weeks, the yes-or-no speculation about Clinton's possible Senate race has been tilting toward yes; the state Democratic Party announced today that the first lady will attend its annual dinner on Thursday, and Clinton met with several local Democratic leaders before her speech. A statewide Quinnipiac College poll released today gave Clinton a 49 percent to 41 percent advantage in a race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a slight increase over a few weeks ago, but her advisers say she has not made up her mind.

Still, Clinton took advantage of her friendly crowd tonight, winning applause with her emphasis on several traditional Democratic issues: support for teachers unions, opposition to school vouchers and increased resources for social services.

It is not clear how the killers in Colorado got their guns, but she also criticized the gun lobby, blaming the disaster at least in part on the wide availability of firearms in America.

"We need to stand up and say what needs to be said about guns and firearms," she said. "Why on earth would we permit any young person access to the firearms those two young men brought into that school?"

Hillary Rodham Clinton holds up a U.S. government booklet on safe schools as she addresses a New York teachers union last night in Niagara Falls.

GRAPHIC: PH,,AP/JIM MCKNIGHT

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 23, 1999

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The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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April 22, 1999, Thursday, AM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 431 words

HEADLINE: First lady to address school violence; attend party dinner

BYLINE: By SHANNON McCAFFREY, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton resumed her campaign-style barnstorming through New York on Thursday, planning a speech to the state's largest teachers' union on the timely topic of school violence.

And, in a change of plans that could signal a stepped-up interest in the New York Senate race, Mrs. Clinton will now attend a major state Democratic Party fund-raising dinner next week in New York City.

"Her schedule cleared up and now she's going," Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman Marsha Berry said.

The dinner will be Mrs. Clinton's first major political event in New York since she announced in February that she was considering running for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The first lady is expected to make a decision on the 2000 race sometime this summer.

Word of Mrs. Clinton's change in plans came as she prepared to head for Niagara Falls and a speech to the politically powerful New York State United Teachers' annual convention.

Berry said the first lady felt the need to talk about school violence in the wake of the deadly shooting Tuesday at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo. that left 15 dead. Berry said the first lady was deeply troubled by the event.

Some 4,000 teachers were expected at the convention in the "Honeymoon Capital of the World." Attendance is always high at the convention but has received a boost due to Mrs. Clinton's appearance.

The Niagara Falls stop comes after a whirlwind of campaign-style appearances by the first lady on Monday and Tuesday in New York City and on Long Island, where she toured schools and parks and headlined fund raisers.

Mrs. Clinton comes to Niagara Falls as anti-abortion protesters continued a week-long vigil in nearby Buffalo. The clinic of slain abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian, fatally shot by a sniper at his suburban home last fall, was among those being picketed by protesters.

A handful of demonstrators were expected to travel to Niagara Falls to protest Mrs. Clinton's appearance. She supports abortion rights.

Mrs. Clinton's jam-packed schedule earlier this week seemed to breathe life into what had been sagging poll numbers. In a Quinnipiac College survey released Thursday, Mrs. Clinton was favored by 49 percent of voters questioned to 41 percent for New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential Republican opponent.

On Wednesday, Giuliani was lavishly feted in Washington and endorsed by three prominent GOP senators, including Arizona's John McCain. Like Mrs. Clinton, Giuliani has not yet said whether he will run for the Senate seat.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 22, 1999

Health Care
stuff

Clintons 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-

sues. 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.

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 Heston/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-age

Mental Illness

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

Then Mrs. Clinton led a discussion with researchers and Representatives the 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 instructions, 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 forward and you can help so many men."

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

"It 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 him-

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April 20, 1999; Tuesday 13:39 Eastern Time

SECTION: National political

LENGTH: 487 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton Addresses Health Care

BYLINE: BETH J. HARPAZ

DATELINE: HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton made a new pitch for a variety of health care reforms today but acknowledged her failure in previous efforts to overhaul health insurance.

Referring to her ambitious and ultimately unsuccessful attempt in 1994 to fundamentally change health care, Mrs. Clinton said that she now comes "from the school of smaller steps."

Mrs. Clinton spoke on day two of her road trip to New York, where she is considering running for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

In a speech on health care reform at Hofstra University, the first lady expressed support for her husband's proposal to use part of the federal budget surplus to prop up Medicare.

She said she would support a patient's bill of rights so that people covered by HMOs can see specialists and get treatment as needed.

She said measures also must be taken to provide health care insurance to people frequently not covered currently: millions of children, young people working in their first jobs and people who are not yet old enough for Medicare.

She was honored at the university for her public service.

Earlier in the day, she visited the Village Elementary School in Syosset, examining African dwarf frogs and plant life with some third-graders.

She returns to Washington on Wednesday but comes back to New York on Thursday with Niagara Falls among her planned stops. Her itinerary is considered part of her work as first lady and is being paid for by U.S. taxpayers. The school visit, for example, had as its theme the promotion of excellence in education.

"This is not an exploratory trip," she said. "This is a trip filled with events and occasions, some of which I agreed to do months ago."

On Monday, when she crammed eight events around Manhattan into a 14-hour

tour, she had a simple explanation for New Yorkers on why she's considering running for office in a state where she's never lived.

"I love New York to start with I always have," Mrs. Clinton said.

As for her potential candidacy for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, she would say only, "I'm obviously still considering and exploring and am very interested."

A new poll out Monday from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion indicates that New Yorkers may be cooling to her. The telephone poll of 512 registered voters showed her and a likely Republican candidate, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, in a dead heat. Half of those polled said Mrs. Clinton should not run.

In a poll just two months ago, Mrs. Clinton led Giuliani by 49 percent to 38 percent. Each poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

"No one said it was going to be a cakewalk," said Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., who attended an event with Mrs. Clinton on Monday in Central Park. "This is going to be a tough, tough race, but I think as people get to know her, she'll do better and better."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 20, 1999

MetroChicago

THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1999

Hospital does it up in a big way

Big names dedicate big facility

By Jeremy Manier

TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

Everything about the festivities Wednesday at Northwestern Memorial Hospital's imposing new downtown facility reflected the well-orchestrated gravity and scale of the occasion.

The names hardly could have been bigger, with dignitaries such as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mayor Richard M. Daley and former U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski on hand. Clinton used mammoth shears to cut a huge ceremonial ribbon that had to be lowered mechanically into place, after which hospital employees and honored donors dug into a cake, which, if hollowed out, could have doubled as a kiddie pool. The facility is set to open May 1.

The oratory ballooned to epic proportions, as well, with Clinton speaking of the \$580-million, state-of-the-art structure not just as a hospital, but as a great work of the human soul.



Tribune photo by Nancy Stone

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks Wednesday with Mayor Daley at the dedication.

"This is the kind of facility that truly is a monument to what is best in all of us," Clinton said.

But even amid such pomp and fanfare, the dedication ceremony was geared to remind guests of the new hospital's focus on small details and individualized care. Hospital brass spoke about

SEE HOSPITAL, PAGE 2

Hospital

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the "patients first" philosophy that guided design of the 492 well-appointed private rooms, while Clinton stressed the importance of keeping the doors of such gleaming research and teaching hospitals open to patients both rich and poor.

Clinton began her visit with an inspection of the building, at 251 E. Huron St., guided by Daley, hospital president Gary Mecklenburg and executive vice president Kathleen Murray. She strolled through a typical in-patient room, nodding as Murray demonstrated the standard pullout bed for patients' family members. Her eyes opened wider as she prodded the extra-soft patient mattress designed to prevent bed sores.

"Where do you get a mattress like this?" she asked. Upon hearing the manufacturer's name, she called jokingly to an assistant, "Write that down!"

It was a mellow scene compared with the reactions that officials said some visitors to the new hospital have had. Mecklenburg told the audience of some 700 people at the dedication that one of his good friends had "actually burst into tears" after her tour because she was so impressed by the amenities for patients and families.

Daley was more impressed by bread-and-butter issues, such as the 5,000 new jobs supported by construction at the site and the more than \$100 million in construction contracts awarded to minority- and women-owned businesses.

"In addition to delivering 21st Century health care to the people of Chicago and the world, Northwestern has created an economic engine that will pay dividends for

years to come," Daley said.

The occasion provided a good backdrop for Clinton to advocate her goal of bringing affordable care to uninsured citizens, even as she paid lavish compliments to physicians and executives present who might not have shared much of her political agenda.

"Every person in this city and this state and this region and nation deserves to have the best possible medical care, and, in order to do that, we need facilities such as this leading the way," Clinton said.

She also pointed out that academic medical centers such as Northwestern are "intimately linked" with debates about Medicare, since a large share of training for medical specialists is funded through the program.

"Those of you who have invested in this medical center should understand that, in the Medicare debate going on in Congress, there is a very real interest at stake for Northwestern Memorial," she said. "Some of the Medicare reform proposals now under consideration would undercut the very existence of an academic training center such as Northwestern."

But mention of such weighty issues was the exception on a day when hospital officials were plugging small touches such as the 1,800 pieces of artwork in the new hospital—"specifically chosen to encourage healing," according to one brochure.

The first lady looked sad briefly when informed that the art prints would not include depictions of animals. Such images can be jarring to a patient awakening from anesthesia, Mecklenburg said. But he assured her that abstract art also will be banished from the new facility.

"Good," Clinton said.

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Clinton on Guns: Blame Congress

By Sandra Sobieraj
Associated Press Writer
Friday, June 4, 1999; 9:43 a.m. EDT

WASHINGTON (AP) -- A testy President Clinton, with pointed finger and pounding fist, rejected suggestions today that he fumbled a golden opportunity to stand tough for gun control.

The sweeping restrictions he would like to see -- including a mandate that people "register guns like they register cars" -- will take years to enact, he said, because he is hamstrung by a Republican Congress "out of touch with the American people."

The president and his wife, Hillary, aimed their anti-youth-violence campaign at family breakfast tables nationwide today, appearing on ABC's "Good Morning America" with 40 teen-agers -- some from schools made infamous by shootings last year -- for a live brainstorming session.

Anchor Charlie Gibson opened the broadcast from the White House Roosevelt Room with a separate interview with the president. The journalist quoted an unnamed Clinton ally as saying the president, after the Littleton, Colo., school massacre, "had a chance to roar and he meowed."

His eyes narrowed and his finger pointed accusingly, Clinton replied: "Look, let's join the real world here. You want to have an honest conversation, let's have an honest conversation. I am the first president who ever took on the NRA. I got my party in Congress to stand with me on the Brady bill. ... Now wait a minute, you talk about roaring and meowing -- then I came forward with this legislation."

Clinton pounded his left fist into his right palm.

"For you to say I shouldn't take what I can get and instead I should ask for things that I am absolutely positive will be defeated in the Congress is quite wrong," he said.

The president narrowly won Senate passage last month of a limited bill requiring mandatory background checks for all transactions at gun shows, then lost a fight to have the House follow suit before its Memorial Day recess.

He has -- as a matter of political practicality, he said -- deferred until later the battle for additional gun controls, such as background checks for explosives sales, increasing from 18 to 21 the legal age for owning handguns and assault weapons and limiting gun

Guns

purchases to one per month.

Clinton said today that the House Republican leadership delayed a gun vote until after the holiday recess in order to give the National Rifle Association time to lobby and water down the legislation.

"I made it clear I want to do this in sequence. I think this is going to take years. The Congress is out of touch with the American people."

Following the president's one-on-one interview in the Cabinet Room, he and Mrs. Clinton sat down with students from Littleton, Springfield, Ore., West Paducah, Ky., Conyers, Ga., and other areas for an uninterrupted discussion of youth violence.

After 45 minutes, the Clintons agreed to scrap their schedules and stretch it another 10 minutes. "We can stay longer," the first lady said. "I want to hear from them."

One student, Albert Smith, questioned the president skeptically. "How spectacular is this legislation and why will it make a difference?" Another student in the discussion was Missy Jenkins, who was paralyzed from the waist down on Dec. 1, 1997, when a classmate opened fire inside her West Paducah high school.

Mrs. Clinton, with apologies for pulling "the nosy mother routine," beseeched kids to ask questions and demand safe surroundings. "If you guys are going to a party make sure there are no guns around," she said.

The first lady also asked students to speak out for tougher gun controls. "There's no reason why a lot of you who are about to be or are already 18 can't let your voices be heard too."

The Clintons saw "Good Morning America" and its estimated 7 million viewers as a ripe opportunity, White House spokesman Jake Siewert said. "The Clintons can talk directly to families as they get ready for another school day."

Earlier this week, the president ordered a joint investigation by the Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission of marketing practices by the motion picture and video game industries to see if they are targeting children with their violent wares.

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PHOTOS BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Tipper Gore greet each other at White House meeting on children and violence at which both spoke.

Clinton Meeting Splits Gun Lobby

Firearms Makers Attend; NRA Assails White House

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

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

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



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

persons buying weapons at gun shows.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See CLINTON, A8, Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Gun Groups Split Over Clinton Plans

CLINTON, From A3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Staff writer Helen Dewar
contributed to this report.