

By Heather Mac Donald

The Federal entitlement bureaucrats are in despair at their shrinking empire. First, the 1996 welfare law made work a prerequisite for cash assistance. Now the latest bad news: people are shunning food stamps. Since 1996, the food stamp rolls have dropped nearly 30 percent, more than the decrease in official poverty. Many former welfare recipients are deciding to go it on their own.

This move toward self-sufficiency should be cause for celebration. Instead, the food stamp bureaucracy and its supporters in Congress are determined to snuff it out. The Agriculture Department has begun an advertising blitz promoting food stamps. Representatives William J. Coyne of Pennsylvania and Sander M. Levin of Michigan have introduced legislation that would pay community groups to do stamp "outreach."

Predictably, the advocates have trotted out the most powerful appeal to buttress their case for expanding the rolls. "Kids are going hungry," announced Representative Levin on ABC News. Hunger "is actually getting worse," warned Representative Coyne.

Heather Mac Donald is a contributing editor at the Manhattan Institute's City Journal.

Disturbing claims, if true, but concrete evidence for them is nonexistent. In fact, the Agriculture Department's own data show that the number of households experiencing any hunger, however fleeting, over the course of a year dropped slightly from 1995 to 1998, even as the food stamp rolls plummeted. Clearly, hunger (or its lack) is not related to food stamp use.

Fewer food stamp users doesn't mean kids are starving.

Nevertheless, the Agriculture Department now requires states to hook people up to food stamps on their first visit to a welfare office, after advocates complained that local welfare workers were discussing work and other means of support with applicants before signing them up.

To buttress their case, hunger doomsayers point to a 14 percent increase in food bank use in 1998 in 21 out of 30 cities. A shift toward food banks would be expected, however, given that government now usually requires some work from aid seekers, whereas food pantries still offer something for nothing.

But Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman himself has provided the most powerful rebuttal of the alleged hunger crisis. Last October, when hunger was supposedly "getting worse," Mr. Glickman was decrying the "quiet epidemic" of childhood obesity, an epidemic that plagues poor children, especially black and Hispanic children, at a far higher rate than middle-class youngsters. Food deprivation is not the main nutritional problem facing the poor today — too much of the wrong food is.

Contrary to the repeated assertions of the advocates, food stamps are mainly another welfare subsidy, rather than a nutrition program. Only 30 cents of every food stamp dollar buys additional food, according to the sociologist Peter Rossi, who has studied food assistance for the Federal Government; the rest merely substitutes for ordinary income. Food stamps legally purchase gum, candy, soda, chips and every other item in the ever-expanding larder of junk food. The only way to make food stamps a guaranteed nutritional program is to get rid of them and replace them with balanced food baskets, which food pantries can offer.

If the growing stigma against welfare has rubbed off onto food stamps, so much the better for the poor. Food pantries — ideally ones that ask for something in return — are in fact a wiser response to temporary hunger than expanding the rolls, for independence is a better guarantee of eating well than entitlements can ever be. □

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Victims Suing Victims

By Makau Mutua

WITH the help of American lawyers, about 2,500 Kenyan and Tanzanian

victims of the American Embassy bombings a year ago have announced their intention to sue the United States Government if it does not compensate them for their pain and suffering. These suits are appropriate and necessary.

The Clinton Administration has alleged that Osama bin Laden was responsible for the bombings. Regardless of who was responsible, more than 200 Kenyans and 11 Tanzanians, as well as 12 Americans, were killed. The attacks also permanently blinded or otherwise maimed about 6,000 people, mostly Kenyans.

Nevertheless, Washington has shown insufficient interest in assisting the African victims. It has provided Kenya with \$42.3 million, but Kenyans say that most of the money has gone for the reconstruction of two nearby office buildings destroyed in the blast, not to the victims and their families.

If the class-action lawsuits are filed,

they would most likely be based on a claim of negligence. Washington has known for decades that its diplomatic outposts might be bombing targets. The State Department itself has acknowledged that a number of its embassies are vulnerable to attack. In fact, the House voted in July to authorize \$1.4 billion to improve embassy security. Government reports before

Africans hurt in the embassy bombings deserve compensation.

and after the bombings indicated that the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam embassies were among the least secure, and the American Ambassador to Kenya, Prudence Bushnell, asked for security help.

Thus, the victims' lawyers are likely to argue that the United States was negligent on at least two counts: first, it failed to provide adequate security in the face of a known and foreseeable danger, and second, it may have known the two embassies were targets or were under surveillance by attackers, yet it failed to warn Kenyans and Tanzanians. An American-

appointed panel that investigated the bombings pointed to a "collective failure" by successive administrations and Congress that left embassies vulnerable to attack.

American critics of the proposed lawsuits argue that it is wrong to go after the Government since it and Americans were also victims. They say the victims should go after the alleged attackers instead. But under tort law, it is not only the direct wrongdoer who faces liability. Those who have a particular relationship to the victims or possess certain knowledge might be liable, too, even though they are not directly responsible for the wrongful act itself.

American conduct after the bombings embittered Kenyans in particular. Kenyan lawyers claimed that Ms. Bushnell ordered the embassy compound sealed immediately after the explosion, denying local rescuers access. Stunned and traumatized Kenyans saw her claim on national television that she took the action to prevent looting. Had the bombing occurred in Britain, many Kenyans believe, President Clinton would have personally traveled there.

Bitterness aside, both Kenyans and Tanzanians have been gracious hosts for American missions. The American response to the victims' plight may change that. Yes, a suit may further complicate this relationship. But it is the one avenue that victims have in an effort to rebuild their lives. Perhaps the best resolution would be an amicable settlement. □

Makau Mutua is a professor of law and director of the Human Rights Center at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

In America
BOB HERBERT

Any Day Now

The presumed candidate sits serenely before her specially invited audience. She nods every now and then. When she speaks, it's mostly platitudes, delivered in a monotone. There is no feeling of spontaneity, no sense of Hillary Rodham Clinton descending from her privileged status as First Lady into the real world of the people she hopes to represent in the Senate.

She flies in, hurries from one appearance to another, then flies back to her world. There was a report last night that the Clintons may be interested in a house in Greenburgh, in Westchester County. If that's true, it's not a moment too soon.

There are those who think the carpetbagger problem is no big deal. They are deluded. I hear Democratic voters speaking resentfully about it all the time. A typical comment is: "Who does she think she's fooling with that Yankee cap?"

When Robert Kennedy won his Senate seat in 1964 he ran nearly two million votes behind Lyndon Johnson, who carried the state by 2.7 million votes in his landslide victory over Barry Goldwater. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. reminds us that even though Kennedy ran far behind the President, he was "greatly helped" by Johnson's landslide. Mrs. Clinton will have nothing like those coattails to hang onto.

On Monday the First Lady made an appearance in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. The stop was part of her fifth "listening tour" of New York and her first appearance before a mostly black audience.

Bed-Stuy is an area she will carry with approximately 100 percent of the vote. The residents like her, and there is no way to overstate their dislike of Rudolph Giuliani. But Mrs. Clinton needs even more than 100 percent of the vote from neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy. She needs huge turnouts. And to get them she'll have to do what she's not doing now — roll up her sleeves, step forward and

much as possible from the rough-and-tumble of politics in New York.

That would be understandable. There are sharks in these waters. Just ask Rick Lazio. But it would be a mistake. At some point the real Hillary Clinton will have to emerge. Running for the Senate is not for the inauthentic or the faint of heart, and it can't be done from afar.

I keep hearing that there's a lot of time until the election. Forget it. Each passing day is a lost opportunity. Mrs. Clinton has got to work this entire enormous state, and she has to generate the kind of enthusiasm that will translate into big poll numbers, especially among women and ethnic minorities.

At the moment, a number of things

Waiting for Mrs. Clinton to emerge.

look problematic for Mrs. Clinton. One, the Republicans are getting their act together and uniting behind Mr. Giuliani, who is already popular upstate, in the suburbs and, ominously for any Democrat, in the city. Two, whenever Mrs. Clinton establishes a residence here, speculation about the state of her marriage will soar. Fair or not, that will feed into the very real problem of Clinton fatigue. And three, there is already grumbling among blacks in New York City (Al Sharpton — remember him?) that Mrs. Clinton, like her husband in 1992, may try to finesse the black vote. That is, she may dance at arm's length with the black electorate — close enough to win black votes, but not so close that she offends white voters.

The main reason for Mr. Giuliani's

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Clinton: Hillary wasn't making

Quotes no defense
for unfaithfulness

By Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton said yesterday that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is not making excuses for his "inexcusable" marital infidelity.

Mrs. Clinton, who is considering a U.S. Senate race in New York, this week offered a psychological explanation for Mr. Clinton's unfaithfulness.

Mrs. Clinton said in the premiere issue of *Talk* magazine that the president was "scarred by abuse" as a small child and had witnessed "terrible conflict" between his mother and his grandmother.

"Now, I don't believe that anybody could fairly read the article and think that she was making any excuses for me," the president said yesterday in the Rose Garden, where he again decried the GOP tax-cut plan.

"I haven't made any excuses for what was inexcusable, and neither has she. Believe me," Mr. Clinton said.

Mr. Clinton, whose father died in a car crash before the president was born, added that his childhood was no "bed of roses." But he said he has no complaints because he always knew he was loved.

The media-cautious first lady may have granted the interview to keep questions about her marriage from dogging her on the campaign trail.

But the gambit appears to have backfired. The first lady's office and the White House are scrambling to counter the impression that Mrs. Clinton offered an apology for the president's behavior.

"She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Tuesday.

Mrs. Clinton, continuing her



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets a crowd in Jamestown, N.Y., yesterday.

"listening tour" in New York yesterday, tried to drop the issue that she reopened in the interview.

"This is an issue that the country has put behind us, and I have as well," Mrs. Clinton told reporters in Jamestown, N.Y., according to Reuters. "I've said all I'm going to say on that."

The president said the interview illustrates that his wife is "an extraordinary person with a passionate commitment to public service" and that "we love each other very, very much."

Mrs. Clinton did say in the *Talk* interview that the president "doesn't make any excuses for what he did" and that he is "responsible for his own behavior."

But Mrs. Clinton also offered a detailed psychological explanation

that termed the president's unfaithfulness "a sin of weakness."

"Yes, he has his weaknesses," she said. "Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined, but it is remarkable, given his background, that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership."

The president "was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse. There was a terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother," Mrs. Clinton said.

"A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always a desire to please each one," she said.

Mrs. Clinton said of the president's infidelities: "I thought this

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New Yorkers suffer from excess of Hillary

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Frank Alix, past chairman of the Central Committee of War Veterans in Yonkers, N.J., says he "would never vote for Hillary Rodham Clinton under any circumstances," but he gives her credit if she slapped her unfaithful husband in the midst of the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

"I would have punched him. He'd still be rolling if I had dished it out," Mr. Alix said yesterday in a telephone interview.

But Jack Malone, owner of Peggy O'Neill's, an Irish pub in Brooklyn, says his customers are "so fed up" with the media's obsession with Mrs. Clinton that they "couldn't care less" about any news concerning the likely U.S. Senate candidate.

That coverage includes a report in a new book about the Clinton marriage that says Mrs. Clinton had a longtime extramarital affair with the late White House deputy counsel, Vincent W. Foster Jr. It

also includes an interview Mrs. Clinton gave *Talk* magazine, in which she attributed her husband's philandering to childhood "abuse." Mrs. Clinton has been criticized for using the term "abuse" to describe disagreements between her husband's mother and grandmother about how he should be reared.

"She's been in the news so much, people don't even take it seriously anymore. . . . It's like beating a dead horse," Mr. Malone said.

He's not alone in that opinion. Others sense many New Yorkers are suffering from an excess of Hillary. Kenny Le, druggist at the Grand Street Pharmacy in Brooklyn, said he's not hearing anyone discuss Mrs. Clinton anymore, despite all the news barrage of the past few days.

He says he gets the impression people are "trying to block it all out."

A widow who identified herself only as Rosemarie, who works at Frank's Fish Market in upper Manhattan, said she's heard a few cus-

tomers say Mrs. Clinton was "stupid to open up her mouth" and to blame possible psychological factors for her husband's philandering.

"You keep that kind of information at home," she said.

Like Mr. Alix of the veterans group, Rosemarie said she believes Mr. Clinton "deserved to be slapped" for betraying his wife. Author Christopher Andersen said in his new book, "Bill and Hillary: The Marriage," that Mrs. Clinton slapped her husband in the midst of the Monica Lewinsky scandal "hard enough to leave a red mark that would be clearly visible to Secret Service agents when he left the room."

But Rosemarie says it's never appropriate for a married person to have sex outside the marriage, and if Mrs. Clinton did that, it was wrong. "No one is ever entitled to have an affair. You need to talk these things out."

Asked if she believes Mrs. Clinton did have an affair with Mr. Foster, who committed suicide in July

1993, she said, "I do believe there's some truth to it."

But Mr. Alix, who readily admits Mrs. Clinton is not at all popular with Yonkers veterans, calls such assertions "hearsay." And even if they are true, he said, "I wouldn't hold that against her."

However, Mr. Alix says he is unhappy at the way the first lady has repeatedly defended and excused her husband's transgressions. Mr. Clinton's conduct has been "shameful," he said.

Bob Grant, who hosts a late-afternoon-to-early-evening talk show on Radio WOR-AM in Manhattan, said yesterday he believes negative opinions of Mrs. Clinton have increased "since her ridiculous interview" in the debut issue of *Talk* magazine.

"Those who didn't like her before like her even less now," he said in a telephone interview. Her contention that Mr. Clinton was "victimized by his mom and grandmother just isn't playing."

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NEW YORK

Stuck in the Spin Cycle

How Hillary's unvarnished take on her husband's past became the talk of the town



BY DEBRA ROSENBERG

THE DEBUT ISSUE OF TINA BROWN'S magazine *Talk* runs 254 pages. But page 174 made all the news. Hillary Clinton's startling assertion that her husband was "scarred by abuse"—and her apparent attempts to partly blame his philandering on his unhappy childhood—sent scandal-starved tabloids and talking heads into a gleeful feeding frenzy last week. Within hours after the article was "leaked" in time for the Sunday chat shows, talk about Hillary eclipsed talk about *Talk*. **HILLARY BOMBSHELL: WHY I STUCK WITH BILL.** said the *New York Daily News*. **HE WAS AN ABUSED CHILD, SHE TELLS *NEW MAG*.**

The pundits glommed on, attacking Mrs. Clinton for yet again trying to excuse the inexcusable. Aides scrambled to explain her remarks and make clear that the president hadn't actually been beaten as a child. But by then, the damage was done. On Wednesday Hillary herself issued a terse explanation. "Everyone is responsible for his or her behavior—including the president and all the rest of us," she said at a campaign stop in Jamestown, N.Y. She vowed not to answer reporters' questions about the subject again. "I've said all I'm going to say on that," she insisted.

The Clinton White House has a familiar

'Scarred by abuse': *The First Lady insisted she was not making excuses for the president*

ritual for responding to eruptions like this: deny, or at least rely on a hairsplitting reading of the coverage to say the press is misinterpreting; then counterattack. And so it was last week. The First Lady and her aides chided the press, insisting that anyone who read the *Talk* article would see that she wasn't excusing her husband's behavior, just trying to explain it. It was the first significant spin cycle in the First Lady's all-but-certain Senate race, and her reaction suggested she will use the damage-control reflexes in New York that the Clintons have honed through seven years of scandals in Washington.

The "abuse" story wasn't entirely new. Clinton biographer David Maraniss and the president's mother, Virginia Kelley, had recounted his hardscrabble youth in books. But Mrs. Clinton, who had always been tight-lipped about her marriage, seemed to add a new dimension. "There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother," she told journalist Lucinda Franks. "A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

Hillary hadn't intended to tell all to *Talk*. Back in February, when she agreed to give Franks close access for a wide-ranging magazine profile, she didn't even know where the story would be published. Franks told *NEWSWEEK* she had pursued the interview for more than two years, pitching the story as a "portrait of her as a whole woman" that would dispel stereotypes of the First Lady as cold and calculating. At the time Hillary was beginning to seriously mull a bid for the Senate, and knew she would have to answer uncomfortable questions, including why she had endured her husband's affairs. Over the next few months Franks interviewed Mrs. Clinton several times, and the First Lady became fond of the reporter, a Pulitzer Prize winner and fellow Chicagoan. After the two developed a rapport, Franks began nudging the First Lady to tell more about her marriage. But Hillary resisted. Then, on an early-morning flight from Belfast to London last May, Mrs. Clinton unexpectedly bared her soul. Speaking quietly so her ever-present aides couldn't overhear, Franks recalls, Hillary "haltingly" admitted what she'd previously told only her closest friends.

Hillary's staff was caught off guard by the First Lady's candor, only alerted to her quotes when a London paper called for comment in the middle of the night on Saturday.

The next morning Hillaryland braced for the onslaught. "Sunday at the White House was not a pleasant day," says one insider.

Things only got messier when spin doctor James Carville decided to help his old friend Hillary. He offered to pay \$100,000 to his alma mater, Louisiana State University, if anyone could prove that she "linked the president's sexual misconduct with his childhood." Typically, he hadn't bothered to clear the maneuver with Hillary's campaign team, which quickly moved to shut him up. Carville rescinded his offer after Franks publicly denied Mrs. Clinton had made the connection.

The move might have saved him some money. In the interview, Mrs. Clinton does come close to saying she believes her husband's infidelities can be traced back to his rough childhood. "He has been working on himself very hard in the last year," she says at one point. "He has become more aware of his past and what was causing this behavior."

As it turned out, the interview was just an appetizer for the rest of the week's Hillary dish. On Friday the tabs got another shot at the First Lady after *The Forward*, a Jewish weekly, reported that her maternal step-grandfather and his daughter were Jewish—facts she had never publicly disclosed. OY VEY! HILLARY'S ALMOST JEWISH, quipped the *New York Post*. Mrs. Clinton's weary staff explained that she hadn't considered it important enough. Some Republicans nonetheless accused her of leaking the story to pander to Jewish voters—which the reporter and the campaign denied.

Despite Hillary's travails, in the end it was the GOP that appeared nervous about the race. On Friday New York Gov. George Pataki joined former senator (and Hillary nemesis) Al D'Amato in embracing their longtime political foe, Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Until then, they had backed upstart candidate Rick Lazio, in part to irritate Giuliani. But polls last week showed Mrs. Clinton in a dead heat with Giuliani—and the Republicans decided it was time to unite against her. The GOP once laughed off Hillary's Senate aspirations. Now, they've begun to worry that the First Lady's campaign is more than just talk.

With STEPHEN TOTILO

O H I O

Senator Springer?

TV's smutmeister toys with a bid from Ohio

BY MARTHA BRANT

THEY LAUGHED WHEN JESSE Ventura, the pro wrestler who favored feather boas and pink tights, ran for governor in Minnesota. Now they're howling at the idea that TV talk-show host Jerry Springer—the maestro of "Stripper Wars" and "I'm Sleeping With My 13-Year-Old's Ex"—is toying with a run for the U.S. Senate from Ohio. But "we're not

His star fell after police raiding a massage parlor found his personal check to a prostitute. But Springer persevered, winning election at 33 as the "boy mayor." He took mayoral business to the streets in his van, "Jerry Springer's Mobile City Hall." He engineered lower bus fares. He spent a night in jail to expose poor conditions. Then, after a decade in public office and a failed bid for governor, Springer left electoral politics in 1982 for a TV career that eventually reinvented him as the self-described "ringmaster" of his raucous hit show.

Now, politics beckons once again. The 55-year-old TV host plans to announce if he'll throw his hat—or maybe his chair—into the Senate ring when he returns from vacation next month. The audience is already getting pumped. In Washington, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle huffs that Springer is "a joke" and would "never join our [Democratic] caucus." In Ohio, a flood of letters to the editors and phone calls to the state Democratic headquarters question party leaders' sanity for not squashing the idea outright. Ohio's Republican Party chairman, Bob Bennett, taunts his rivals, quipping: "Was Howard Stern busy?"

Ohio Democrats do need a fresh face. They have been shut out in important elections lately, and Sen. Mike DeWine, a Capitol Hill veteran, won't give up his seat easily. Personally and politically, DeWine is the anti-Jerry: a Roman Catholic father of eight known for his ice cream socials and his advocacy of children's health and safety. Dr. Seuss books fill a shelf in his Senate office.

Springer's repertoire runs more toward "I Was a Breeder for the Klan." His bankroll (he reportedly makes \$9.5 million a year) would help him stay in the headlines.

And even serious politicians like Dale Butler, once an aide to former Democratic senator John Glenn, suggest that Springer could make a comeback as a mainstream politician. Ohio's AFL-CIO chief, William Burga, agrees labor might welcome Springer, a liberal who believes in government spending. Even conservative opponents admire Springer's self-deprecating humor, his smarts and his popular, give-a-damn style. "He's the most dangerous man in Ohio politics," says radio commentator Bill Cunningham. That's something both fans and foes can probably agree on. ■



Jer-ree! Jer-ree! A comeback for Cincinnati's notorious 'boy mayor'?

kidding," says Tim Burke, head of the Hamilton County Democratic Party in Cincinnati. He is pushing Springer, an old pal, to run against the straitlaced Republican incumbent in 2000. And Springer is letting the trial balloon float while he vacations incommunicado abroad.

Springer does have a legitimate political résumé. Before he became "Jer-ree! Jer-ree!" he was Gerald Norman Springer, a campaign worker for Robert Kennedy and a popular '60s liberal in Cincinnati. As a city councilman in the Vietnam era, he proposed declaring the draft illegal within city limits.

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The Myth of Hillary's Brilliance

For years, all we've heard about Hillary Rodham Clinton is how profoundly intelligent she is — a modern Athena, a goddess of the mind, a policy wonk of Greenspanian proportions. Perhaps now her notorious Talk magazine interview will finally explode the myth of Hillary Clinton's brilliance.

So potent is this myth that people have been spinning all kinds of theories about the first lady's secret strategy in discussing her husband's psychological deformations.

Nonsense. There was no strategy. The first lady just did something stupid. No, that's not quite right. In fact, the interview was one of the most boneheaded political plays of our time. She seemed to acknowledge that yesterday by saying "I really believe strongly that the country has put that issue behind it, I have as well."

Even though it's 15 months before the November 2000 election, Mrs. Clinton may have made a mistake that cannot be so quickly rectified.

Entirely on her own, without prompting or cause, Hillary has given Americans and New Yorkers a reason to wish her out of the Senate race — and a reason to keep her out of the Senate.

I'm not referring here to Republicans and conservatives, who will move heaven and earth to vote against her. I'm referring to people who should be Hillary Clinton supporters.

If there was one lesson the Republican party learned from its sobering experience during the Lewinsky debacle, it was that the American people didn't want to hear about the president's sordid private life. From thong to cigar, the whole business made them sick, and they blamed the president's political opponents for forcing them to pay attention to embarrassing personal matters best left undiscussed.

Mrs. Clinton has no one to blame but herself for the revival of that discussion. Hillary's actions have, I believe, caused the metastasis of a new political ailment within the hearts and minds of Democrats in New York. Call it "Hillary Clinton fatigue."

Let me explain. Mrs. Clinton's greatest liability in the New York Senate race



JOHN
PODHORETZ

was the possibility that even in a state that voted 61 percent for her husband in 1996, the phenomenon now plaguing Al Gore would beset her as well. In Washington, they're calling that phenomenon "Clinton fatigue" — the feeling among Democrats and other supporters of the president that they've had enough of this guy and the roller coaster ride he's been dragging the American people on since he first announced for the presidency.

The Bill Bradley surge is evidence that Clinton fatigue is hampering Al Gore. And since Sunday, the signs of Hillary Clinton fatigue are everywhere. The New York Observer's keen political re-

Even though it's 15 months before the November 2000 election, Mrs. Clinton may have made a mistake that cannot be so quickly rectified.

porter, Tish Durkin, yesterday surfaced a great longing among New York Democratic poobahs that Hillary might actually withdraw from the race and leave the field clear for ex-Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin.

The Talk magazine interview is a self-inflicted wound for more than just the "Bill was an abused child" stuff. Though intended to be favorable and full of bizarre efforts at flattery — author Lucinda Franks quotes people who claim that the first lady single-handedly caused a magical economic turnaround in the nation of Morocco, for God's sake — the article reveals that the seemingly severe Hillary Rodham actually has a touch of the bimbo about her.

On a Martha's Vineyard vacation two years ago, Franks reports, Hillary told her the following story: "I was cutting Bill's grapefruit this morning, and we had the best idea we ever had about day care, and all of a sudden there's this flapping at the window and it's a seagull

— a seagull at our window. Wow, man. A seagull. (The "best idea we ever care" was forgotten once was devoured, because heard tell of it since.)

Whence comes Hillary's tation for brilliance? This time she's shot herself in the foot by not staying home to bake cookies?

Remember the Rube health-care plan?

The elevation of Hillary to the rank of the America began in 1991, when Bill was running for president. When she had been included in "The 100 Best Lawyers in America,"

That was for her work as a partner at the highest point in the politically sleazy her husband was the go-to person for the hundreds of the hurtling.

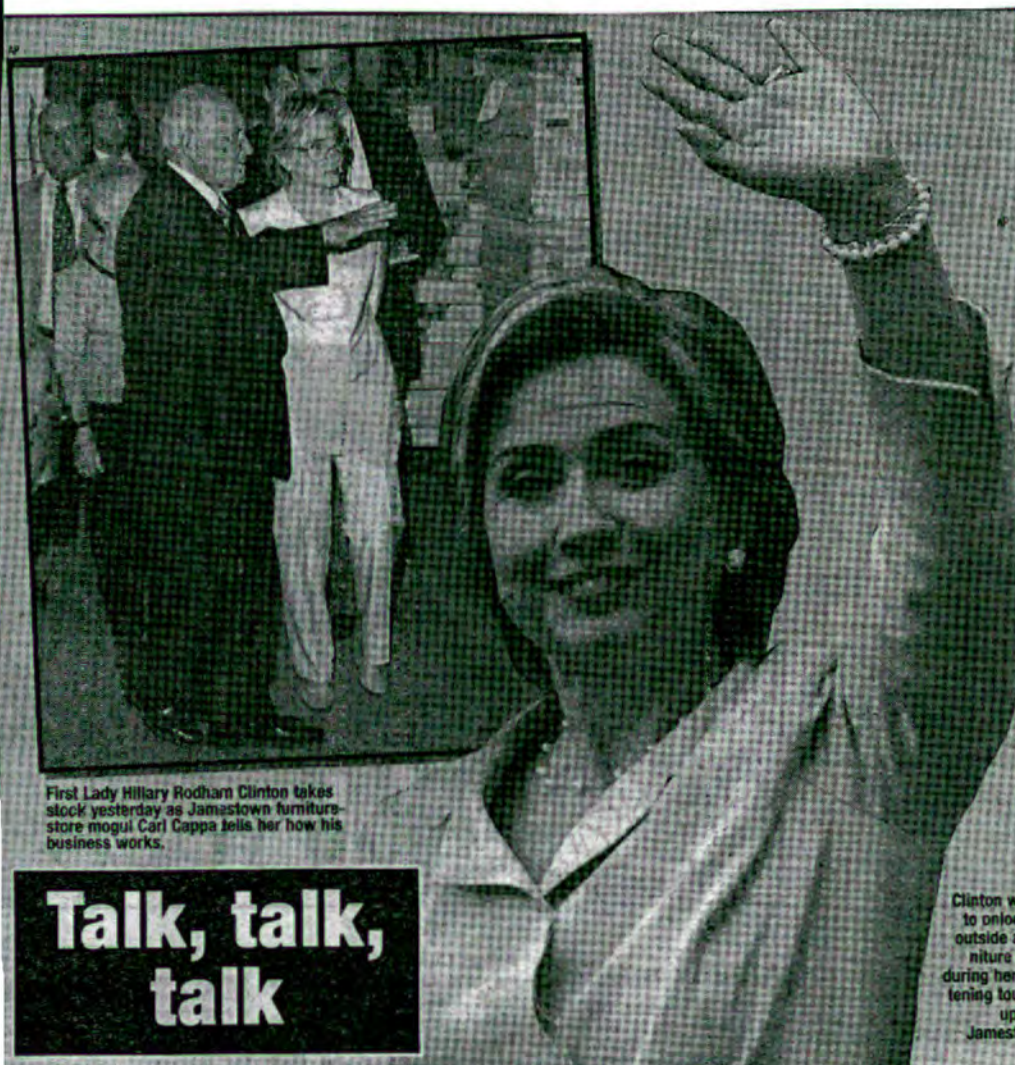
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Hillary Rodham was a But such impressive cred proof in themselves that anything but above-average

She's certainly hard-worked of extraordinary. I've known many graduate fine universities for which "shmuck" would be too a description. As the Wizard Scarecrow: "I've known men who haven't any more than you do. But they've you haven't got. A diploma

We know Hillary has fierce mothering proves she has nerve; her Senate that. But the world now wonder about her brain.

You can e-mail comment horetz at podhoretz@nypo



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton takes stock yesterday as Jamestown furniture store mogul Carl Cappa tells her how his business works.

Talk, talk, talk

Hillary Rodham Clinton on her husband's childhood and his infidelities

In her *Talk* magazine interview:

"He was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out [of his memory] and look at it. There was a terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother."

"Yes, he has weaknesses. Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined. But it is remarkable, given his background, that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership. . . . You know, in Christian theology, there are sins of weakness and sins of malice, and this was a sin of weakness."

"He has been working on himself very hard in the last year. He has become more aware of

his past and what was causing his behavior."

"He's responsible for his own behavior, whether I'm there or 100 miles away. You have the confrontation with the person, and then it is their responsibility, whether it's gambling, drinking or whatever. Nobody can do it for you."

To reporters yesterday on her "listening tour" of upstate New York:

"Everybody is responsible for their behavior and I am a very strong proponent and believer in personal responsibility, so I hope that people will take that message away from this."

"I think that anyone who actually reads that article, I believe, would come away knowing that my husband and I love each other very much and we are very committed to one

another and we've been through a lot, like most marriages I'm aware of."

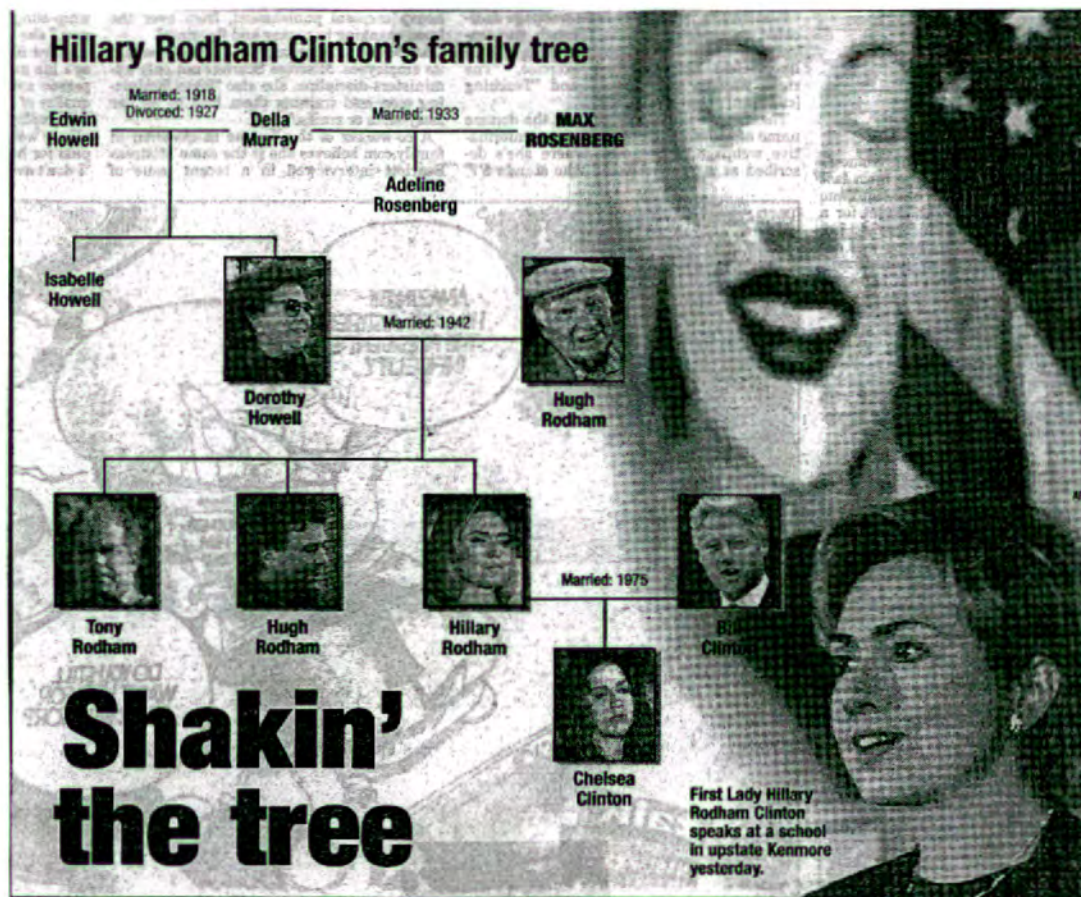
"I really believe strongly that the country has put that issue behind it. I have as well. . . . I said all I'm going to say on that."

President Clinton also weighed in yesterday:

"I didn't have a bed of roses as a kid. The most important thing is that every child needs to know growing up that he or she is the most important person in the world to somebody, and I knew that."

"I don't believe that anybody could fairly read the article [in *Talk*] and think that she was making any excuses for me. I have not made any excuses for what was inexcusable, and neither has she, believe me."

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Step-grandpa was a Rosenberg, but she never talked about it until now



SHMOOZE TIME: Hillary prepares to kibbitz with the crowd as she shleps through Kenmore yesterday on the latest leg of her "listening tour."

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — New York's likely Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate — has some Jewish roots, it was revealed yesterday.

News of Clinton's Jewish relatives — her step-grandfather and her mother's half-sister — sent shock waves through political circles in New York, where the first lady is mulling a run for outgoing Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat, and where a large number of voters are Jewish.

Clinton's grandmother Della Murray Howell married Max Rosenberg, a Russian-born Jew, in 1933. The Forward weekly newspaper reported yesterday. He was her second husband.

The couple had a daughter, Adeline, who was Clinton's half-aunt. She died last year.

It came as a surprise to many, since Clinton — a Methodist who was born in Chicago and spent several years in the South — has never publicly mentioned having Jewish kin.

Some suggested that word is coming out now to pander to crucial Jewish swing voters, who have voted for her potential Republican rival, Mayor Giuliani, in the past. Clinton was in the Buffalo area on the latest leg of her upstate "listening tour" yesterday, as she continues to ponder her Senate run.

Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the first lady did not know Rosenberg, who died in Los Angeles in 1984, "in a religious context."

"But she does have very fond memories of him and

By Robert Hardt Jr. in
Tonawanda, N.Y.,
Deborah Orin in
Washington and Maggie
Haberman in New York

is very proud of her family," Wolfson said, adding that she spent a lot of time with him when she was a child.

"I don't think it's anything that ought to be politicized," Wolfson added. He denied that anyone in the Clinton camp leaked the story, saying her Jewish support is already strong and she'll do well "because of her outstanding record."

Forward reporter Seth Gitell, who wrote the story, also insisted the story came from a tipster, not from Clinton's team.

Giuliani refused to comment on whether the report was meant to draw Jewish

support, saying he had "no idea."

But City Hall insiders were outraged.

"This is pandering to the nth degree," said one insider. "What's next? Hillary in front of Zabar's with a bagel and a shmeer?"

Adeline Rosenberg's stepson, David Friedman, told The Post Clinton was always close with his stepmother — who attended the president's 1993 inauguration.

Asked about why the report came out now, Friedman replied: "I would have no way of answering that."

"As far as I'm concerned, she's family by marriage, and she has my support," said Friedman, vice president of the Anaheim, Calif.-based software company Verisurf.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said he wasn't sure if the president knew about his wife's relatives, and said he would check with Clinton "if he thinks it's appropriate to answer it."

Mrs. Clinton has been involved with Jewish causes for years.

Some political analysts, as well as Clinton watchers, suggested it was kept quiet because Jewish candidates tend not to fare as well nationally.

Political columnist Dick Morris, a former Clinton adviser, said in the 24 years he's known the first couple, the Jewish-kin issue never came up.

"The idea of trotting it out now is so transparent, I don't think it could possibly work," said Morris.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The First Shiksa wants to be a yenta? Oy!

HILLARY. *Bubbe!* Who knew?

All this time, Hillary, you've been playing the Super Shiksa. Mousy suits. Sensible heels. Pearls, yet.

And how you kept that thin little mouth buttoned while that husband of yours indulged his "weakness" — your word — from the Oval Office to the Rose Garden like nobody's business.

And with a Jewish girl. Oy!

Hillary. *Bubbe*. Why didn't you tell us before?

What? You can't speak the truth? Little Miss I'm-First-Lady-and-You're-Not, you think you're better than the rest of us?

So now we know. Your grandma — a shiksa, OK,

you can't have everything — was married to a nice Jewish gentleman. A nice Jewish gentleman who spoke the mother tongue. Yiddish! I'm *kvelling*, Hillary, *kvelling*.

So, this Yiddishe gentleman was your grandma's second husband. So he wasn't your grandpa. So what! He's still family.

Your grandma even had a daughter with this man. A Jewish daughter! Your aunt. Well, your half-aunt, but who's complaining?

Hillary. Hillary. You should be wearing a *sheitl* under that Yankee cap. You're practically a member of the tribe!

Passet. Do you think this branch of your family might know a nice Jewish

boy for you? Hey, I'm just asking!

Why didn't you tell us before?

Well, I can understand why you didn't want anyone to know that your step-grandfather and half-aunt were Jewish. You and that husband, running for national office. *Meshuggeneh* people from Des Moines don't know from Jews. Who needs the *tsuris*?

But now, you want to be senator from New York. Senator! Ladies these days think they can be senators. *Gevalt*. What next? *Amohel*?

But you're a smart cookie. So go be a senator, and God bless. Maybe in the Senate you can find a

ANDREA PEYSER



nice husband and settle down.

I've got to admit, when you talked about giving the Arabs a piece of the Holy Land, you almost fooled me into thinking you don't care much for your people. I read about this in "Women Who Love Too Much." You were in denial about your roots. Denial!

So then I pick up a copy of that nice newspaper, the Jewish Forward. That sweet boy who writes for

the Forward (I think he's Jewish) got a story that the High-and-Mighty-New-York-Times-Thank-You-Very-Much couldn't get.

Your secret Jewish family.

Hillary, I was so thrilled to find out that you actually met these people. But really, sweetie, I don't mean to *kvetch*, but couldn't you have invited them to the White House?

What, are you ashamed?

Well, now it comes out. And your secret is safe with me.

That nice boy from the Forward tells me it wasn't you who told him about your Jewish secret. But we know better, Hillary, don't we?

I mean, New Yorkers

aren't like those anti-Semites in Duluth. They'll love you for being Jewish. I mean half-Jewish. Well, you know, for knowing a couple of Jews.

Just between you and me, I thought that Nita Lowey was too smart for her own good. Now that you're practically a Jew, too — and plan to live in Westchester — we don't need her anymore!

So how did you get the story out, Hillary? After all these years?

OK, I know. I know. Government secrets. Hush-hush. Don't tell me.

I'll light a *Shabbos* candle for you, and pray you get elected.

And if someone doesn't like it, you can tell them they can kiss my *tuchis*.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Tactics over truth

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's explanation for her husband's infidelities — that as a child he was traumatized by being the focus of a tug-of-war between his mother and grandmother — is not going over well, writes New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd.

"In a political climate that cherishes dissension, there is such rare unanimity of revulsion at Mrs. Clinton's interview that she is now trying to slink away from it," Miss Dowd said.

"Everyone is fed up with the creepy dynamics of this warped marriage. We have lost all hope of getting any shred of authenticity from either Bill or Hillary — unless it's the authenticity of the de-

tuded. They have chosen tactics over truth with such consistency that it's impossible to accept anything they say."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Questions About Magazine Interview Follow First Lady and President

From the Washington Post

JAMESTOWN, N.Y.—Hillary Rodham Clinton doesn't want to talk about it anymore, but both the first lady and the president spent Wednesday doing just that: explaining, revising and defending her controversial comments in a magazine interview published this week about her husband's infidelity.

Facing a barrage of questions from the press as she returned to the Senate campaign trail in New York, Hillary Clinton defended her comments in the magazine while also clarifying her beliefs on whether her husband was responsible for his actions.

"I think the important point to make is that every one of us comes out of our own childhood and I believe we're all responsible," Hillary Clinton said here Wednesday at the latest appearance in her exploratory Senate campaign. "And as I said in the article and as I believe, every one of us is responsible for his or her behavior, including the president and all the rest of us."

She reaffirmed that she and her husband "love each other very much" and said she believed the nation had put the issue of his infidelities behind it "and I have as well." Though it was she who reopened the issue by discussing it in an interview in the premier issue of *Talk* magazine, the first lady bristled at the questions put to her Wednesday.

Asked why she agreed to discuss for the magazine a subject so personal and painful for her, Hillary Clinton said emphatically: "Well, I'm not going to anymore." Her audience here at the Crawford Furniture factory, the venue for a campaign discussion on regional economic issues, applauded her statement as she continued,

"I've said all I'm going to say on that."

In the interview, Clinton said of her husband: "Yes, he has weaknesses. Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined. But it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership." He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother.

White House aides were shocked this week when news of the first lady's remarks became public. Some knew that she had been interviewed by a sympathetic writer from the new magazine, which is owned by a Clinton financial backer, Miramax studio boss Harvey Weinstein. The idea behind the interview was that Clinton should address certain questions early in her Senate campaign, and in a friendly setting — but few on the Clinton team realized that she would so dramatically reopen the issue of the president's character.

At the White House, the president defended his wife's *Talk* comments, using language very similar to hers in Jamestown. "I don't believe that anybody could fairly read that article and think that she was making excuses for me," he said at the close of a Rose Garden appearance on economic issues. "I have not made any excuses for what was inexcusable and neither has she, believe me."

Clinton added, "The most important thing is that every child needs to know growing up that he or she is the most important person in the world to someone, and I knew that."

The first lady's comments in *Talk* were in marked contrast

with her declaration last year that her husband's problems stemmed from a "vast right-wing conspiracy" against him. But what clearly caused the most controversy this week was the impression she left magazine readers that she believed her husband's infidelity resulted from emotional trauma as a child.

Both Clintons and various White House aides sought to clarify that view. "She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," said Marsha Berry, a spokeswoman for Hillary Clinton.

Political strategists have been abuzz this week about the interview's impact on her likely campaign and about Hillary Clinton's motivations in granting it to begin with: Was it intended to get the issue out of the way early — even before she is officially a Senate candidate? Was it a way to bolster support from women?

Her aides had suggested earlier in the week that she might provide some answers while on her latest "listening tour" through New York. That turned out not to be the case.

In the *Talk* interview, Hillary Clinton made it clear that she views the Senate campaign as an effort to be judged on her own merits. She also discussed her exploratory campaign in the context of her own independence. "Now, for the first time I am making my own decisions," she told *Talk*. "I can feel the difference. It's a great relief."

Here in Crawford, in western New York about 60 miles south of Buffalo, she addressed a small crowd of business people and community activists. Many were obvious supporters and spoke effusively of her campaign, but others were skeptical.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1999

The FALN: Hillary's Willie Horton

Rudy's ads can star victims of the terrorists she wants freed

IN his rush to do favors for his wife's Senate run, President Clinton has given Hillary a time bomb which could well destroy her candidacy. His decision to offer a conditional clemency to 16 convicted terrorists from the FALN, a Puerto Rican nationalist group, will backfire massively.

Bowing to the pleas of a host of liberal New York City politicians, Clinton offered clemency to terrorists affiliated with a group that has taken "credit" for at least 100 bombings of political and military facilities in the United States. Then it came out that the two U.S. attorneys in the jurisdictions where the terrorists were convicted opposed the clemency, as did the Justice Department officials who reviewed it.

This hands Guiliani a gold-plated issue to use against Hillary. It summons memories of how George Bush used Mike Dukakis' furlough of a murderer (who proceeded to strike again) to win the 1988 election. These FALN terrorists will become the Willie Hortons of the 2000 Senate race.

Her problem is clear: Does she back the clemency or oppose it? If she breaks with her husband and opposes it, she'll earn the wrath of New York's minority political establishment. Reps. Jose E. Serrano, Charles B. Rangel, Nydia M. Velazquez and Eliot L. Engel all had urged clemency. They won't take kindly to being contradicted.

But heaven help her if she supports the clemency. Here's the ad Rudy can run:

My name is Diana Berger. In 1975, I lost my husband — and my son, Adrian, lost his father — when terrorists from the FALN blew up a restaurant in Manhattan where he was eating lunch, minding his own business. Now, President Clinton has offered clemency to 16 FALN terrorists who are now in prison for helping to carry out the group's bombings. Hillary is supporting clemency. Mayor Guiliani and the U.S. attorneys who prosecuted the cases are against it.



DICK MORRIS
ON
TUESDAY

So am I. So is Adrian. His father would agree. If only he were still here.

The next ad might feature former bomb-squad detective Richard Pastorella, who was blinded by an FALN bomb. He might ask the Clintons to restore his sight as they free the terrorists who helped take it. If these ads ever run, that's it for Hillary.

As first lady, Hillary can hide in the White House and be sure nobody ever pops the question: Do you support clemency? But as a Senate candidate, to quote Joe Louis, "She can run, but she can't hide." Sometime on one of her listening tours, a voter or reporter will be very interested in hearing how she feels about it.

Liberals like to suggest that those offered clemency were convicted of relatively trivial crimes, but sources at the Justice Department tell another story. One of those Clinton would release is Juan Segarra Palmer, convicted in connection with the \$7 million Wells Fargo armored car robbery, one of the largest in history. "One of the masterminds" of the robbery, according to sources close to the case, Palmer has also refused to assist in locating Victor Gerena and Filiberto Ojeda Rios, two key terrorists still at large.

Likely, the president offered to grant clemency — for only the fifth time since taking office — to help Hillary. He doesn't go out of his way to let offenders go. His other clemencies were for a bankruptcy and pot smoking. He thought he was handing Hillary a wonderful chance to appeal to New York's large Puerto Rican voting bloc.

This isn't the first time pardons have gotten Clinton in hot water. As lame-duck governor of Arkansas, after losing his re-election fight in 1980, he granted dozens of pardons to people serving time in Arkansas prisons. One man — a convicted murderer in his 80s who was suffering from cancer — promptly went out and killed somebody else.

Clinton was so worried that the pardon could backfire that he ran an ad apologizing for the pardons and promising never again to pardon a killer. That *mea culpa* advertisement ran alongside the ad apologizing for his having raised car-license fees, but never got much attention.

So now another clemency is haunting another Clinton. Usually, the president can be counted on never to make the same mistake twice. But, likely after hectoring from Hillary, he granted the clemency.

Liberals defending the clemency will find it especially embarrassing that none of the terrorists has yet accepted the president's offer. Apparently he imposed an outrageous condition: that they renounce acts of violence and stop associating with their FALN buddies. That they are uncertain about accepting this condition eloquently attests to how little they deserve the clemency in the first place.

It gets worse. After reviewing tapes of the phone conversations and letters from the jailed terrorists, officials with the federal Bureau of Prisons that even if they pledged to refrain from violence, they might still kill somebody.

Bill has just handed Rudy an issue that can kill Hillary's candidacy. With Guiliani's record as a prosecutor and his tough-on-crime positions, he is ideally suited to take full advantage of the blunder. Just watch.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

This week we introduce a new daily order for the hottest lineup of opinion columnists in New York City. **Floyd Flake** will appear Mondays. **Dick Morris** will appear Tuesdays. **Eric Feltmann** will appear Wednesdays. **Bob McManus** will appear Thursdays. **John Podhoretz** will appear Fridays. Only in the New York Post.



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Misrepresenting Mrs. Clinton

By Ellen Goodman, Globe Columnist, 08/12/99

Now that the storm has passed, could we do a little damage assessment here? The prevailing winds that swirled around Hillary Clinton's words left enough detritus to be worthy of a case study in media meteorological mayhem.

When the story broke I was in Montana watching several hundred white pelicans fly in formation over the Rockies. At the risk of defaming the pelicans, my media colleagues were executing the same skills. They all rose and turned in tandem on the nearest draft of hot air.

It was like watching a force of nature. The Hillary storm was breathtaking in its speed and power.

Let's go to the source - as we used to say in the news business. When it was the news business. The magazine in which the Clinton interview was printed didn't hit the newsstands until the winds had blown it all out of proportion. Few Americans had actually read the story everyone was analyzing. A single paragraph became the week's reality.

In the premier issue of Talk, the first lady and would-be senator did indeed mull over the aftereffects of Bill's childhood, when he found himself at the center of a conflict between his mother and grandmother. But that gentle mulling was immediately distilled and distorted into two words: "Abuse excuse."

Everyone from Jay Leno - "She bought it!" - to the chattering classes on cable TV breakfasted, lunched, and dined out on the notion that Hillary was blaming his ma and grandma for Monica.

The "abuse excuse" was the center of the talkfests now homogenized by subject and polarized by opinion. On "Don Imus" they even compared it to pinning the blame on "secondhand cigar smoke."

Some years ago I had an editor who liked to say, "If you have a fish in the barrel, shoot it!" But with an AK-47?

Let's take a short trip through the quotes that were gone with the wind:

1. "He's a grown-up. ... He's responsible for his own behavior."
2. "I don't believe in denying things. I believe in working through it."

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3. "This was a sin of weakness."

In my dictionary a sin is not an excuse. For that matter, the impulse to understand human behavior is not the same as the desire to whitewash human misbehavior.

Maybe it's a good thing so few picked up on Hillary's biblical reference: "I was thinking of when Peter betrayed Jesus three times and Jesus knew it but loved him anyway." Take that out of context and the headline would be "Hillary Sez She's Jesus!"

This is no defense of Hillary Rodham Clinton. In the interview, she asked author Lucinda Franks, "Why do I have to talk about things no one else in politics does?" Well, she doesn't. She shouldn't have.

She was the one person - besides Chelsea - who got out of the Monica debacle with the public's respect intact because she didn't say a word. Did someone persuade her that she could explain why she stayed? The complexity of a relationship - "You don't just walk away if you love someone; you help them" - doesn't make it anymore. The sound bites devour subtlety. Speed trumps thoughtfulness. And she should have known that.

Nor am I defending Talk magazine. Naming a magazine "Talk" is like naming a TV show "Print." It's an admission of defeat. It says that the era of the brain and the fingers have given way to the mouth.

The first issue is an idea-free zone, a kind of hip People. The Hillary "get" that put Tina Brown at the eye of the storm suggests that Tina had another title in mind: "Talked About."

The cover girls and boys do say something about where we are. From top to bottom, Talk boasts: "Hillary Opens Up, Gwyneth Goes Bad, George W. Gets Real." Politicians and movie stars are all the same - people to talk about.

Remember back when Hillary was trashed mercilessly for her interest in the "politics of meaning"? Now we have the media and the politics of amusement. Celebrity rules. In Minnesota, the wrestler-turned-governor is about to revisit the ring as umpire. In Ohio, the self-described TV "Ringmaster," Jerry Springer, is thinking about running for the Senate.

Talk, talk, talk. Is it any wonder that in the calm after the storm, Hillary has chosen to go back on a *listening* tour?

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

This story ran on page A23 of the Boston Globe on 08/12/99.
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Clintons' Legal Bills Top Defense Fund by More Than \$4 Million

■ Defense: Trustees say that, despite \$6.3 million in private giving, the president and his wife owe so much that solicitations will continue indefinitely.

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
 TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Clinton and his wife owe more than \$4 million in legal bills related to the 5-year-old Whitewater investigation, despite private contributions of \$6.3 million, trustees of their legal defense fund reported Thursday.

The Clintons' legal obligations totaled about \$10.5 million from independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's inquiry, the Paula Corbin Jones sexual harassment lawsuit and the congressional impeachment battle—a figure so large that the fund will continue to solicit donations with no cutoff date, officials said.

"The president deserves to leave office without having to spend a good part of the rest of his life paying off his legal debts," said Anthony P. Essaye, the fund's executive director.

But in the last two months, he said, "we've started to see a downturn, and I expect that will continue." He cited a lack of media attention to Whitewater and increasing interest in political campaigns.

About 65,000 people have helped whittle the couple's legal debts over the last 18 months, Essaye said. About 15,000 have given more than once.

With impeachment proceedings over and the Jones lawsuit settled, officials said they believe the Clintons are not likely to incur additional legal costs unless Starr seeks to indict the president or First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton before or after they leave the White House in January 2001.

Fund trustees said they did not believe any contributions would be used to cover \$90,000 in penalties assessed against the president earlier this month by U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright in Little Rock, Ark., because Clinton lied in his deposition in the Jones case.

"We have not been asked to pay this penalty," Essaye said.

A source close to the president said that the payment "probably would come out of his own pocket."

In a semiannual accounting, fund trustees told a news briefing that \$2.4 million had been raised during the first six months of this year—about the same as in the two previous half-years—and that 57 people had given \$10,000 apiece, the maximum permitted. However, 95% of the donations were for amounts of \$100 or less, they said.

Donors contributing \$10,000 included these entertainment figures: actor Michael Douglas; DreamWorks SKG principals Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen; and Robert Shaye, head of New Line Cinema Corp.

Maximum donations also were made by Ely Callaway, of Carlsbad, Calif., who founded Callaway Golf; Los Angeles supermarket magnate Ron Burkle and his wife Janet; Los Angeles producer Peg Yorkin, co-founder of the Feminist Majority; and designer Ralph Lauren.

Rules of the trust, approved by the White House counsel's office when it was established in February 1998, prohibit donations from those who are not U.S. citizens and from corporations, labor unions, registered lobbyists and employees of the executive branch of government.

Contributions are solicited through direct-mail appeals sent out every six to seven weeks, mostly through the use of Democratic Party lists, and from voluntary efforts by Democratic fundraisers such as Terry McAuliffe, a close friend of the Clintons.

"We have, however, attempted to reach out and make this a bipartisan, nonpartisan effort," Essaye said.

The bulk of the legal bills have been submitted by Clinton's two private lawyers, Robert S. Bennett and David E. Kendall.

During the fund's first six months, it received 17,000 donations. In the six months starting last August, about the time Clinton gave videotaped testimony to Starr's federal grand jury, 29,000 people contributed. In the first six months of this year, beginning with Clinton's battle and acquittal in his Senate impeachment trial, 39,000 donations came in.

Essaye said that the fund had returned about \$13,000 from people who were not qualified to contribute.

An initial private fund-raising effort to defray the first couple's legal bills ended in failure two years ago, having netted less than \$800,000 over three years. It was

handicapped by a limit of \$1,000 per donation, and it suffered from the taint of questionable foreign contributions before organizers voluntarily abandoned it.

After a two-month hiatus, former Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), a longtime friend of the Clintons, started the current fund-raising

effort with a higher limit and a more aggressive approach. It was organized shortly after Starr launched the Monica S. Lewinsky investigation, which resulted in the largest legal expenses by far.

Researcher Robin Cochran contributed this story.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1999/NA

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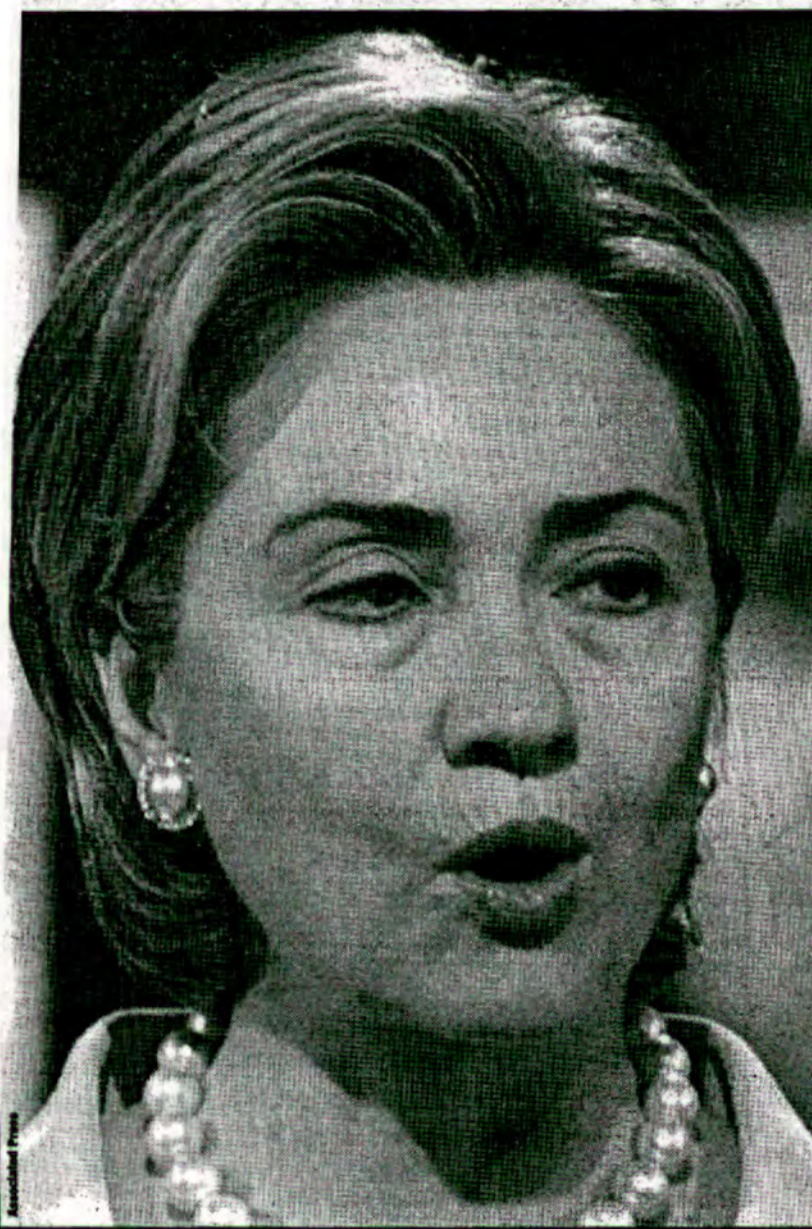
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**HILL'S
NIP &
TUCK**

**Sagging first lady
eyes plastic surgery**

PAGE 3

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY EYES QUICK FIX

By KATE COYNE

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is seriously considering plastic surgery in a bid to improve her public image as she prepares for her Senate campaign. Clinton has visited a top Manhattan doctor and is discussing how she can rid her face of the deeply creased lines and bags that have become more noticeable

She paid visit to top Apple facelift doc

over the past year.

Clinton was recently seen entering the Park Avenue offices of Dr. Cap Lesesne, a prominent plastic surgeon.

Wearing dark sunglasses and a

navy-blue pantsuit, Clinton entered alone and spent nearly an hour consulting with Lesesne, sources said.

When contacted, Lesesne would say only, "I do see a lot of people

from the political world, and this was a very busy August."

But a source close to the doctor said Clinton is close to having a partial facelift — focusing particularly on bags under her eyes and

loose skin under her chin.

"The Lewinsky scandal took its toll on both Hillary and Bill," said one cosmetic surgeon. "Hillary especially has noticeable sagging beneath her eyes and around her neck. It's as if she looks permanently exhausted."

She is said to be particularly concerned that any procedure performed be done subtly.

"She doesn't want to suddenly look radically different — just a little younger and a little fresher," said a source close to Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton has reportedly paid close attention to vice-presidential wife Tipper Gore, who appeared noticeably fresh-faced in the spring.

While it is rumored that Tipper consulted Dr. Sherrill Aston, the Upper East Side surgeon who did such a good job on the late Ambassador Pamela Harriman, Tipper's reps chalked it up to weight loss and an improved exercise regime.

The procedures Hillary is considering are commonly referred to as an eye lift and a chin tuck.

In the first procedure, excess skin from the eye area is tightened, while excess fat and fluid from beneath the eye is drained away.

The latter procedure involves removing fatty tissue from the jaw and jaw line.

"Hillary isn't going to do anything radical that would mean spending weeks in bandages. She can't afford to disappear for that long. These would be very quick, simple procedures that can be performed with minimal bruising and swelling," said the source.

Dr. Lesesne is said to have operated on several high-profile entertainment figures as well as prominent politicians.

Asked for comment, Mrs. Clinton spokeswoman Marsha Berry said, "I have not heard anything about this."



LOOK WHO'S TUCKING: Here's an artist's conception of how Hillary Clinton might look if she has a little pre-election facelift.

First lady comes second to Rudy: poll

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Mayor Giuliani has nosed ahead First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in their likely race for the U.S. Senate, according to an exclusive Post poll.

The survey by John Zogby International of Utica found 47.8 percent backing Giuliani, while 43.5 percent favored Mrs. Clinton.

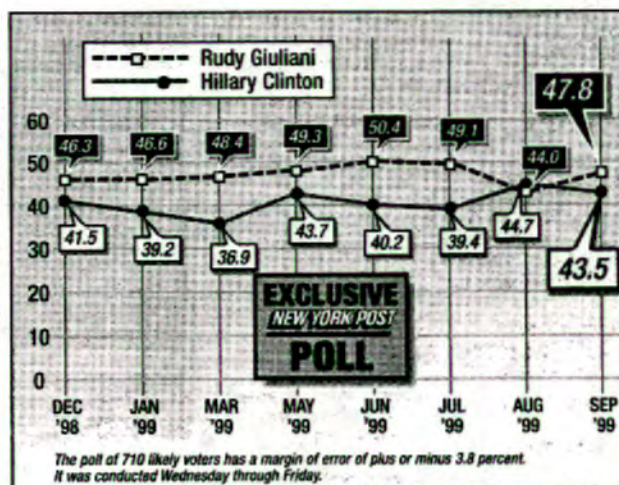
Giuliani's edge — although within the poll's margin of error — is an improvement in his standing since the last Post poll, at survey in early August had a contest this close, with Mrs. Clinton at 44.7 percent and Giuliani at 44 percent.

Zogby said that although the election is more than a year away, the potential candidates have solidified their support.

The survey found that only 6.1 percent of likely voters had yet to make up their minds.

"This is a do-or-die poll," Zogby said.

"I don't see anyone switching from Hillary to Rudy or from



Rudy to Hillary. It's 300,000 or 350,000 undecided voters who are going to determine this race."

The first lady has slipped re-

cently, partly due to the uproar over President Clinton's clemency offer to 16 convicted FALN terrorists and her flip-flopping on the

issue, Zogby said.

"That pushed her down a couple points," Zogby said.

Opposition to President Clinton's decision was heavy among suburbanites and independents — key voting groups that Mrs. Clinton is trying to woo.

The first lady is leading Giuliani in the city (55.8 percent to 38.2 percent), while the mayor tops her in the suburbs (58.9 percent to 36.3 percent) and upstate (46.5 percent to 40.4 percent).

Among independent voters, Giuliani has the edge, 56.4 percent to 36.2 percent.

The poll shows Mrs. Clinton with strong backing from Jews (55.9 percent to 35.2 percent), blacks (86.7 percent to 9.9 percent) and women (50.8 percent to 39.5 percent).

Giuliani is doing well with men (56.1 percent to 38.8 percent), Catholics (65.5 percent to 34.3 percent), and whites (51.7 percent to 35.7 percent).

The survey found the No. 1 question New Yorkers have about



MAYOR GIULIANI

Numbers up since August.

Giuliani is how will he represent upstate, while the most important question facing Mrs. Clinton is why is she running.

Voters' earlier concerns over the Clintons' marriage have all but disappeared, the poll found.

The first lady's unfavorable rating also remained high, at 35.4 percent, down from 35.8 percent. Her favorable rating was virtually identical, 55 percent for the mayor and 56.4 percent for the first lady.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

VERBATIM

“Yasser Arafat ... is like a stripper. But ... the stripper, with all the clothes she takes off, gets more and more beautiful. Yasser Arafat, with every concession that he makes ... gets more ugly.”

MUSTAFA TLASS,
Syrian Defense Minister, on negotiations with Israel

“No, we don’t retrain soldiers not to kill, no way.”

LIEUT. COL. MICHAEL D. CLAY,
on how soldiers are prepared for peacekeeping missions

“Joining the 3,000th-hit club as a member of one team and one team only, that has a nice ring to it.”

TONY GWYNN,
of the Padres, the 22nd player to reach the 3,000 mark

“I learned interesting things from James Caan, like how to blow my nose without a handkerchief ... You almost never see Emma Thompson do it.”

HUGH GRANT,
actor, on what he learned while making his new film

Sources: Arafat, TIME; Jerusalem bureau; Clay, New York Times; Dale, AP; Grant, Ladies’ Home Journal



READY TO RASSLE World Wrestling Federation heavy Vince McMahon and family hope to pin down \$172.5 million by selling WWF stock to the public. They may be able to create a whole new meaning for the term buy and hold

WINNERS & LOSERS



HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
Her Bill’s-a-mess Talkathon gets pundits howling, but New Yorkers like it. Her polls jump 10 points

RICHARD HOLBROOKE
Emerges from Senate rough-up to be U.N. envoy. Such power—and so close to Charlie Rose

MARK MCGWIRE
Nixes risky, strength-building Andro; gets 501st homer. Fix ump snafu, and you’re God

STEVE CASE
You’ve got losses! AOL CEO watches stock tumble. But he’s still a cybermogul, and you’re not

DAVID SIMMONS
Utah bizman cops a plea in Olympics scandal. Do they have ice dancing at Leavenworth?

CHUCK D.
Public Enemy rolls out anti-Semitic CD. Not only racist, but so 15 minutes ago



JOE R. LUZZO

GEORGE BRIDGES—AP

TIME, AUGUST 16, 1999

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GEORGE Aug 1999

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A leopard in the zoo may be the same animal as a leopard in the wild, but to find out what big cats are really like, you have to observe them out in the forest. What's true in the animal kingdom also turns out to be true for

political animals. Presidents like to escape from the White House—Ronald Reagan dubbed it a luxurious prison—and presidential vacations, far from being a waste of time for the press, often give us fascinating insights into the first family. With Mrs. Clinton on the verge of a Senate run from New York, speculation is swirling that the first family will vacation in—surprise!—New York, showing that even during downtime, the Clintons find time for politics.

George Bush's manly "speed golf" summed up a leader who desperately avoided introspection. Reagan, who preached rugged individualism, enjoyed spending hours alone clearing brush at his Santa Barbara ranch. Jimmy Carter was once so down on his luck that anxious aides overstocked a pond during a fishing trip so that the most powerful man in the world could feel successful at something.

After Bill Clinton won the presidency, Reagan advised the new chief executive to visit Camp David often, since it was as close as a president could get to being alone. But Clinton hates solitude. He is a tamed political animal who is happiest performing before a crowd, like a seal at Sea World. Indeed, most of Clinton's idiosyncrasies, good

and bad, come out during his vacations: his relentlessly political nature, his partisanship, his gregariousness, his complicated relationship with his wife.

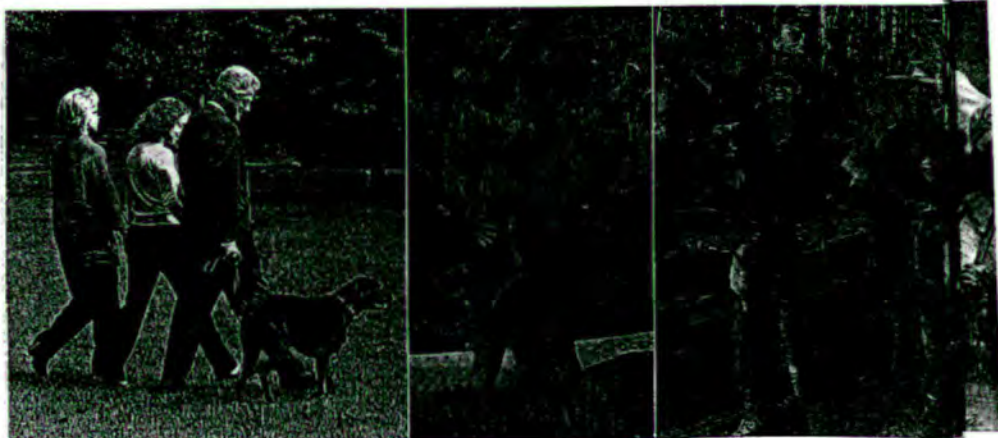
Six years ago, I was among a handful of reporters on Martha's Vineyard waiting for the president to finish a round of golf. The handlers had stashed us out of sight in a grove of pine trees somewhere near the seventeenth green. At the end of the afternoon, Clinton and his golfing buddies came down the fairway. They hit several extra shots. (Clinton calls them practice balls—not mulligans—but they don't exactly conform to PGA rules.) Finally, worried that one of us would get beamed, I tossed one errant ball onto the green. When the president saw his ball so close to the pin, he let out an excited whoop and made his golfing partner, Vernon Jordan, examine what he thought was his own artistry. Who knew then that extra fairway shots—or the tacit complicity of Vernon Jordan—would prove to be such significant clues to the future of the Clinton legacy?

The first lady's role on that first vacation was instructive, too. Then Clinton press secretary Dee Dee Myers told me that one of Hillary Clinton's top priorities

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1999

She takes a village

Hillary Rodham Clinton drove her motorcade right past my father's 82nd birthday party over the weekend and unfortunately for everybody she didn't stop.

I'd have personally handed her a can of Genesee Cream (ale) and a slice of chocolate cake, then introduced her to a genuine cross-section of upstate New Yorkers — not those who made the "invitation-only" list for every one of Mrs. Clinton's "listening events" in Steuben County.

Truth be told, Mrs. Clinton would have mingled with more Democrats than Republicans at the birthday celebration beneath Norway Ridge, the midway point between listening posts in Elmira and Bath.

Then again, as Mrs. Clinton is quickly discovering in this unprecedented pre-campaign campaign of hers, she can't bank on party loyalty to assume this particular Senate seat.

Take Jack Cleary of Montour Falls, who wrote a letter to the Elmira Star-Gazette, which touts itself as "the first Gannett newspaper."

"I have been a registered Democrat since I was old enough to vote. I come from a family of loyal and hard-line Democrats," he says. "But at this point and time, I cannot believe that the Democratic Party and its so-called leaders are entertaining and supporting Hillary Clinton for the U.S. Senate."

"How gullible can one be to believe that she is even remotely interested or has the best interest of New Yorkers at heart? She wants to be president, and this powerful Senate seat is the stepping stone."

Don Niver of Cohocton tells fellow readers in a subsequent issue of the paper that "the queen of Slick," as he calls President Clin-

INSIDE THE
BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

ton's wife, might be on a listening tour yet she "listens to no one. Her agenda is to serve herself and ... do whatever serves her best, and she won't worry about New York."

"And to you, Star-Gazette," Mr. Niver scolds, "when will you give all other candidates the kind of attention you're giving this 'candidate?' Other potential candidates must do newsworthy things every day, but their deeds don't get to the front pages of your paper. Why?"

He gets no argument from Rep. Amo Houghton, a New York Republican who represents Steuben County. The congressman says he has to beg people to come out to meet his friend and colleague Rep. Rick Lazio, New York Republican who's announced his candidacy to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Still, who can blame the Star-Gazette for its blanket coverage of Mrs. Clinton? It's not every day that a long, sleek motorcade carrying the first lady of the United States, her bodyguards, staff, along with domestic and foreign reporters, winds its way through these economically depressed hills and hollows of the Southern Tier of New York.

Plus, the newspaper can't help that Elmira was thrust into the world spotlight after Mrs. Clinton claimed, with nobody else concurring, that she'd visited there earlier in her life.

And what other newspaper has taken the time to interview Cindy



Hillary Rodham Clinton can't rely on New York state Democrats to toe the line if she runs for Senate.

Hayden, who with husband Elmira lawyer Carl Hayden gave up their king-size bed to the first lady last Friday night?

While Mrs. Clinton slumbered peacefully, a gentle breeze wafting through the open windows of the master bedroom, Mr. and Mrs. Hayden shared a long night on their son's single mattress.

The entire time, says Mrs. Hayden, Secret Service agents "crawled all over this place" — wandering the home, monitoring listening devices, even searching nearby woods with flashlights.

All of this and there's still more

than a year to go before the election — if Mrs. Clinton decides to run, that is. The folks on Norway Ridge think she's stalling, studying the polls before she makes up her mind. The new Zogby International poll shows her trailing New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the likely GOP nominee, by 10 percentage points. Other polls show a slimmer margin between the two.

"A game of her own," reads an editorial in the Star-Gazette after the first lady's first — or second — visit to Elmira. "Clinton got away with controlled events this time, but she won't next time."

Before driving up to Bath, Mrs. Clinton thanked the Haydens for their hospitality, and to show her appreciation she gave the couple a fitting parting gift: an autographed copy of her book, "It Takes A Village."

Hillary again the talk of the town

President doesn't dispute interview

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When Hillary Rodham Clinton decides to dish, hubbub follows. In the first issue of glib and glossy Talk magazine, the first lady blames President Clinton's roving eye on an abused childhood, which pitted combative mother and grandmother against one another, with young Bill in the middle. The scenario inspired diverse reaction.

On the Fox News Channel, Mrs. Clinton's story was dismissed as "twaddle.... It doesn't have a ring of truth." CBS characterized the first couple as "a man who couldn't help himself and a woman who wouldn't give up."



Photo by Barbara Davidson/The Washington Times
Hillary Rodham Clinton

Many think this sudden surge of candor is Mrs. Clinton's brand of spin—a way to hone a new image for her New York Senate race against New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"As she embarked on the Senate race, she wanted to say whatever

she needed to say to paint a complete portrait," said Lucinda Franks, who wrote the story for Talk.

Some think Mrs. Clinton is out for a little visceral revenge, while others ponder her politics.

Columnist George Will said that Mrs. Clinton "is the very model of the modern liberal mind, in which every individual is the sum of his or her traumas, which is why victimization is so large in liberal thought."

Columnist Suzanne Fields, who writes often about the first lady, observes this morning in The Washington Times: "So Bill Clinton, like 'Heather' in that famous book on lesbian parenting, has two mommies. That's a long way from child abuse."

Says the Weekly Standard's Tucker Carlson: "I would be amazed if she gets a single feminist

see HILLARY, page A12

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

t during his tirelessly political life, his is complicated by his wife. As among a porters on waiting for a round of golf, he had a sight in a somewhere green. At noon, Clinton buddies irway. They are. (Clinton's balls—not y don't ex-A rules.) Finally, one of us tossed one the green, saw his ball se let out an I made his son Jordan, ought was Who knew way shots—y of Vernon e to be such he future of on that first active, too. cretary Dee that one of priorities

was to seek Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis's counsel on how to ensure that Chelsea have as normal a childhood as possible. But that wasn't all she wanted to do. As the president's health care czar, the first lady spent her time at an end-of-the-week party listening patiently as members of the catering crew regaled her with their own health insurance horror stories. She was even then a woman on a mission.

That vacation, and each subsequent one, showed the Clintons to be workaholics even when they're playing. On their 1995 trip to Jackson Hole, Wyoming, the Clintons were unable to relax at a time when their Republican adversaries in Congress were at the peak of their power. Upon arriving in Wyoming, the president golfed with a vengeance, relentlessly completing 91 holes in one frantic 22-hour stretch. Hillary Clinton, who doesn't like golf, spent her time working on her book, *It Takes a Village*.

The Clintons returned to Jackson Hole in 1996 during the Republican party's nominating convention, when Democratic presidents traditionally keep a low profile. Clinton tried—while his aides lamely said he wasn't paying any attention to the GGP—but the perpetual pol couldn't resist taking a day out of his vacation to announce that his administration had blocked a controversial gold mine just outside the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park. So much for relaxation.

Vacations have also provided unusually candid glimpses of the Clinton marriage. Just weeks before the Lewinsky scandal broke, the lasting image from the Clintons' January 1998 trip was of the first couple in bathing suits, dancing on the beach in St. Thomas. That picture provoked endless deconstruction: Some said that it was a fake, that the first couple surely knew that a photographer was nearby. But I think that the famous picture was not contrived—after all, we know from Lewinsky how sensitive the president is about baring his gut. What it showed—a couple lovingly goofing around on the beach—explains why Clinton lied to everyone about Lewinsky and why Hillary was so hurt.

A different image emerged eight months later, when the Clintons departed for the Vineyard the day after the president admitted to a relationship with Lewinsky that was "wrong." Who can forget that poignant scene of Chelsea walking between her parents as she led them across the South Lawn to the presidential helicopter? Clearly, this was a family in pain. That pain lingered this February, when the Clintons took Chelsea on a side trip to Utah. Tensions between the Clintons were high, and when Chelsea went back to school, her parents bolted so abruptly that Clinton ended up leaving the media behind in Salt Lake City without a plane.

On the Clintons' most recent vacation, at a wildlife preserve in Yulee, Florida, things appeared pretty well patched up, and they were back doing what they do best: politics. The trip exposed what had only been hinted at in Washington—that the lame duck president had begun to give way to his ascendant wife. While the president golfed, Mrs. Clinton spent her time conferring with advisers about the New York Senate race and was the featured speaker at a symposium (in one session, President Clinton showed up in shorts and sat quietly at the back of the room). Later, while the first lady laid forth, the president gave three visiting Brits an impromptu golf lesson.

Of course, his impromptu political tips for his wife remained a secret. ■



The Clintons at play (from left): Chelsea bridging the gap last August; private dancers, 1996; taking a hike, 1996; a family ride, 1995.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GEORGE
Aug. 1999



Bow to
Stern: Violin
maestro
Isaac Stern
fit as a fiddle



Need a loan?
Citigroup's
Sanford Weill
with best
buddy **Hillary
Clinton**



Shuttle
astronaut
**Catherine
"Cady"
Coleman**,
who blasts off
into space
this summer

AMERICANS FOR THE ARTS GALA IN NEW YORK CITY Setting the stage for a New York Senate run, Hillary Clinton topped off a whirlwind tour of Manhattan, glad-handing the city's highest rollers, who gave her an arts-advocacy award.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Opens Up About Husband's Trials

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton says her husband's sexual behavior may stem from a troubled childhood and that she is trying to help him with his "weakness."

"I thought this was resolved 10 years ago," she said. "I thought he had conquered it."

The first lady's comments, in the debut issue of *Talk* magazine out today, mark the first time she has substantively addressed President Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky since her husband acknowledged the sexual affair that led to his impeachment. The first lady once blamed the accusations on a "vast right-wing conspiracy." She is dealing with the issue more directly as she gears up to run for a Senate seat in New York.

Clinton's remarks make clear that she has forgiven her husband and adopted an elaborate rationale for how he could betray her with a White House intern half his age. She never blames him for the affair or for deceiving her and the country. Instead, she says the president concealed the Lewinsky affair to shield her.

"He couldn't protect me, so he lied," she said. "You know in Christian theology there are sins of weakness and sins of malice, and this was a sin of weakness." Despite everything, she said, "we have love."

Clinton noted that the infidelity occurred after the deaths of his mother, her father and their longtime friend Vince Foster. But she also traces her husband's problems to his fatherless upbringing in Arkansas.

"He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at

it," she said. "There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother. A psychologist once told me that for a boy, being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

Reaching for a biblical reference, Clinton recalled that "Peter betrayed three times and Jesus knew it but loved him anyway. Life is not a linear progression. It has many paths and challenges. And we need to help one another."

Journalist Lucinda Franks, who conducted the interviews, said yesterday that it took her five months to persuade Clinton to open up, arguing that it would be to her advantage to defuse the issue in New York politics.

"What most surprised me was that she was able to view his sexual transgressions—and she admitted they continued off and on for many years—as something that did not represent the whole of their marriage," Franks said.

Marsha Berry, Clinton's spokeswoman, said the first lady had discussed her marriage with Franks because "this is someone she knew and felt comfortable with." Berry called the article "positive" but would not say whether New York politics played a role in Clinton's decision.

Despite the year-long national ordeal triggered by the president's lying, the first lady continues to blame his critics for conduct that she called "harmful to the country." She said that unspecified people "are jealous of him. . . . People are mean. I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, of privacy. . . ."

"Is he ashamed? Yes. Is he sorry? Yes. But does this negate every-



In *Talk* magazine, Hillary Clinton says she doesn't blame her husband for his affair with Monica Lewinsky.

thing he has done as a husband, a father, a president?"

Clinton continued: "Can you imagine what it took for him to go on after losing everything, to still get up each morning and do your job? . . . What is so amazing is that Bill has not been defeated by this. There has been enormous pain, enormous anger, but I have been with him half my life and he is a very, very good man. We just have a deep connection that transcends whatever happens."

Clinton portrays it as an accomplishment when her husband does not stray from their marriage. Referring to the period after his sexual relationship with Gennifer Flowers, the first lady said, "We did have a very good stretch. Years and years of nothing."

More than once, Clinton suggested that her troubled marriage is hardly unique. "You know people have a lot of daily problems in relationships," she said. "Everybody has some dysfunction in their families. They have to deal with it. You don't just walk away if you love someone—you help the person." Her husband, she said, has "been working on himself very hard in the last year."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The First Lady Discusses Clinton's Infidelity

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 — Hillary Rodham Clinton says in a new magazine interview that she thought her husband had overcome his womanizing 10 years ago but that deep scars from abuse he suffered as a child had led to his infidelity and that he had not sufficiently examined those problems to conquer them.

President Clinton "has been working on himself very hard in the last year," Mrs. Clinton is quoted as saying in an article titled "The Intimate Hillary," to be published this week in the premiere issue of *Talk* magazine. "He has become more aware of his past and what was causing this be-

havior." She attributed his infidelity to "abuse" caused by conflict between his mother and grandmother.

"I thought this was resolved 10 years ago," Mrs. Clinton said. "I thought he understood it, but he didn't go deep enough or work hard enough."

Mrs. Clinton said she had to remain vigilant about her husband's behavior, but added that his infidelity did not negate the rest of his life and that she would not abandon him. Asked how their marriage might be affected by her campaign for the United States Senate in New York, Mrs. Clinton said, "He's responsible for his own behavior whether I'm there or 100 miles away."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1999

THE WASHINGTON POST

Did Not! Did Too! Wanna Bet?

What Mrs. Clinton Said Is
Put Through the Wringer

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

"His mother? His grandmother? ... They're the ones responsible for Bill Clinton's bad behavior?" say Cokie and Steve Roberts. "Please!"

"Here we have her blaming the mother-in-law, essentially, for her husband's philandering," says Tony Blankley on CNN.

"Hillary Clinton should stop playing Dr.

Laura," says "Crossfire" co-host Bill Press.

Hold on! James Carville, the president's pit-bull spinmeister, says the first lady never said what the media are ridiculing her for saying. And Carville is wagering \$100,000 that he's right.

James Carville is betting \$100,000 that the first lady said no such thing.

He will put classified ads in Sunday's New York Daily News and Washington Post, offering the six-figure sum "to any reporter who can show me that Hillary Clinton linked the president's sexual misconduct with his childhood," Carville said yesterday. The offer came after he consulted with White House strategists and Clinton allies who are increasingly worried about calming the summer squall.

"The press corps are savages," Carville added. "This is the worst bull I've ever



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Here Comes the Clinton Defensive Squad Again

SPIN, From C1

seen. People don't know that she never said it. . . . You can't misreport what she said." At worst, said Carville, the first lady "alluded to these two things."

Semantically speaking, Carville has a point. In the *Talk* magazine interview that triggered this week's uproar, Clinton was speaking about her husband's "sin of weakness" and how he "lied" to "protect" her. She also observed that the president "needs to be more responsible, more disciplined."

In the next paragraph, writer Lucinda Franks said she mentioned having read about Bill Clinton's chaotic childhood in his mother's autobiography. "That's only the half of it," the first lady said. "He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother. A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

That was it. The word "abuse," in that context, fueled a media frenzy. And many journalists aren't buying Carville's she-never-said-it argument.

"I read the article closely—she seems to say that," said ABC's Katie Roberts, who pens a syndicated column with her husband. "The whole tone and tenor is 'poor baby. He had a rough time, it's remarkable he's turned out as well as he has, he has a weakness.'"

Chris Matthews, host of CNBC's "Hardball," said that "Mrs. Clinton is trying to be candid" and "grapple with something very difficult," but that "the White House big shots bigfooted her and said this psychological explanation is not going to work." He said the White House had gone "back into cover-up mode," a move that was "pushing this story into even higher levels of importance."

"I'm on Hillary's side," said Bill O'Reilly, host of Fox's "O'Reilly Factor" and usually a conservative critic of the Clintons. "I didn't see the article as an attempt to excuse his behavior. . . . She was explaining why she stood by her husband."

Why, then, did O'Reilly begin his Tuesday show by talking about



BY GALE DAVIDSON FOR PHOTOS

Hillary Rodham Clinton, involved in yet another media feeding frenzy.

"Hillary Clinton's assertion that her husband's upbringing is responsible for his irresponsible sexual behavior?" "That's just a tease," he said. "Basically, I was headlining what people were talking about."

Back on the Senate campaign trail in New York yesterday, Clinton said the article's message is that "everybody is responsible for their behavior," but declined to discuss the topic further. That did little to quiet the debate, with MSNBC's Linda Vester describing it as "a little post-revelation spin."

Franks said Tuesday on "Larry King Live" that she thinks "it's very clear that Hillary sees her husband's childhood as influencing his behavior." On Fox News Channel yesterday, though, Franks said people are misreading her piece and that the first lady "did not link his abuse to his infidelity."

"But she put it out there for people to chew on," countered anchor Paula Zahn.

Carville, for his part, says he will "name names" of journalists who misreported Clinton's comments and invite them to sue him for the 100 grand. But he may be too late.

"At this point," said Roberts, "it doesn't much matter whether she said it or not because it's become part of the culture. I was at the beauty parlor yesterday and this was all anyone was talking about."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks to a panel on the regional economy at a furniture factory in Jamestown, N.Y.

No Rest From the Query

On N.Y. Hustings, Hillary Clinton Defends Infidelity Comments

By LYNN DUKS
Washington Post Staff Writer

JAMESTOWN, N.Y., Aug. 4—Hillary Rodham Clinton doesn't want to talk about it anymore, but both the first lady and the president spent time today doing just that: explaining, revising and defending her controversial comments in a magazine interview published this week about her husband's infidelity.

Facing a barrage of questions from the media as she returned to the Senate campaign trail in New York, Hillary Clinton defended her comments in the magazine while also clarifying her beliefs on

whether her husband was responsible for his actions.

"I think the important point to make is that every one of us comes out of our own childhood and I believe we're all responsible," Hillary Clinton said here today at the latest appearance in her exploratory Senate campaign. "And as I said in the article and as I believe, every one of us is responsible for his or her behavior, including the president and all the rest of us."

She reaffirmed that she and her husband "love each other very much" and said she believed the nation had put the issue of his infidelities behind it "and I have as well." Though it was she who

reopened the issue by discussing it in an interview in the premier issue of *Talk* magazine, the first lady bristled at the questions put to her today.

Asked why she agreed to discuss for the magazine a subject so personal and painful for her, Hillary Clinton said emphatically: "Well, I'm not going to anymore." Her audience here at the Crawford Furniture factory, the venue for a campaign discussion on regional economic issues, applauded her statement as she continued, "I've said all I'm going to say on that."

In the interview, Clinton said of

See CLINTON, A14, Col. 1

PHOTOCOPIED
PRESERVED

On N.Y. Hustings, Hillary Clinton Defends Her Infidelity Interview

CLINTON, From A1

her husband, "Yes, he has weaknesses. Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined. But it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership. . . . He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother."

White House aides were shocked this week when news of the first lady's remarks became public. Some knew that she had been interviewed by a sympathetic writer from the new magazine, which is owned by a Clinton financial backer, Miramax studio boss Harvey Weinstein. The idea behind the interview was that Hillary Clinton should address certain questions early in her Senate campaign, and in a friendly setting—but few on the Clinton team realized that she would so dramatically reopen the issue of the president's character.

At the White House, the president defended his wife's Talk comments, using language very similar to hers in Jamestown today. "I don't believe that anybody could fairly read that article and think that she was making excuses for me," he said at the close of a Rose Garden appearance on economic issues. "I have not made any excuses for what was inexcusable and neither has she, believe me."

The president added, "The most important thing is that every child needs to know growing up that he or she is the most important person in the world to someone, and I knew that."



On her "listening tour" of New York state before making final decision on a Senate run, the first lady departs a furniture manufacturer in Jamestown.

The first lady's comments in Talk were in marked contrast with her declaration last year that her husband's problems stemmed from a "vast right-wing conspiracy" against him. But what clearly caused the most controversy this week was the impression she left magazine readers that she believed her husband's infidelity resulted from emotional trauma as a child.

Both Clintons and various White House aides sought to clarify that view. "She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," said Marsha Berry, a spokeswoman for Hillary Clinton.

Political strategists have been abuzz this week about the interview's effect on her likely campaign and about Hillary Clinton's motivations in granting it to begin with: Was it intended to get the issue out of the way early—even before she is officially a Senate candidate? Was it a way to bolster support from women?

Her aides had suggested earlier in the week that she might provide some answers while on her latest "listening tour" through New York. That turned out not to be the case.

In the Talk interview, Hillary Clinton made it clear that she views the Senate campaign as an effort to be judged on her own merits. She also discussed it in the context of her own independence. "Now, for the first time I am making my own decisions," she told Talk. "I can feel the difference. It's a great relief."

Here in Jamestown, in western New York about 60 miles south of Buffalo, she addressed a small crowd of businesspeople and community activists. Many were obvious supporters and spoke effusively of her campaign, but others were skeptical.

The subjects of infidelity and personal responsibility that have been so much on the airwaves in Washington and New York City over the past few days were far from the forefront of people's minds here.

"We're kind of a backward little community," quipped Shirley Spontaneo, a wood finisher at the factory and a Democrat who voted for President Clinton. Still, people here as elsewhere know enough about Monica S. Lewinsky and other presidential liaison scandals to have formed an opinion about the first lady.

"I feel sorry for her," Spontaneo said. "I think that this is a private issue that should stay in the home." Asked how she felt about Hillary Clinton reopening the issue in a published interview, she said, "If she brings it up, it's good for her."

No one from the listening session raised such issues, however. Instead, there was talk of job losses, the lack of skilled workers, the effect of environmentalism on the logging industry and the desire for more federal money flowing into New York.

All of these issues have been roiling for years, David J. Cromeo, a local businessman, told the first lady. And if Democratic Sens. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whom Hillary Clinton would like to succeed, and Charles E. Schumer, and former Republican senator Alfonse M. D'Amato couldn't bring solu-



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Dr. Hillary's Diagnosis

Why did the first lady give her scandalously stupid interview? The question reverberates through every bar and beauty shop, cloakroom and construction site from here to Cairo. "What got into her?" they ask. Whenever we are wondering why either Clinton does something exceptionally irrational, it is best to look at a poll. Sure enough, a survey conducted last March by John Zogby, a premier New York pollster, offers a clue. Topmost in New Yorkers' minds about their celebrity carpetbagger was "Why don't you leave him?"

Hillary's explanation was conveyed, fittingly, in the inaugural pages of "Talk," the brainchild of the English *enfant terrible*, Tina Brown, who injected vulgarity and garishness into the stately New Yorker. Both the vehicle and the substance showed a lack of judgment that might disqualify one for the Senate, where good judgment is considered a prime requisite for membership—even though you might not always know it from what goes on there.

You see, it isn't her faithless mate's fault that he can't keep his hands off other women. Oh, yes, he's responsible, as we all are for what we do, she tells Lucinda Franks, but who can blame him? He was "abused" from the age of 4, was caught in the cross-fire between two warring women, his mother and his grandmother.

Looking down the road, you can picture the first lady's campaign turning into a Dr. Hillary traveling show of open-ended advice to the lovelorn, like those tacky late-night TV panels where people tell about how far they went on their first date. You can almost hear the earnest matron from Elmira: "Mrs. Clinton, my husband is carrying on with his bookkeeper. When I tell him to stop, he says he was humiliated in the third grade by an arithmetic teacher and this woman has brought him closure. Should I forgive him?"

In trying to rationalize her husband's conduct and her acceptance of it, Hillary cites two people who, being in their graves, cannot hold press conferences. Why did she talk about these things? Nobody wants to relive the steamy summer when the president of the U.S. went before a grand jury and admitted an "inappropriate" relationship with a White House intern.

But it apparently serves Hillary's purposes to have what she hopes will be one last blast on the subject. "So shrewd to get it out of the way," says one of her few defenders. But, Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y.)—with her usual

forthrightness—called it "dreadful."

Maybe New York voters will be so focused on crumbling schools and other social problems 15 months from now that they will not resent the fact that Hillary Clinton is using the Empire State as a couch on which to work out her personal problems.

Maybe they will have lost interest in the "sins of weakness" of her husband. Maybe they will forget that she told them in February 1998 that the Lewinsky scandal was the work of a "vast right-wing conspiracy," or sometime later that it came from what Richard Nixon called "sectional prejudice"—anti-Arkansas bigotry. Her most breathtaking claim: Clinton lied to the country for 10 months to "protect" her. Don Juan was at heart a Boy Scout.

The first lady's adoring staff has told us that she felt "comfortable" with Lucinda Franks. It couldn't have been Ms. Franks's syntax. On the Chris Matthews show on CNBC Tuesday night, explaining that the fatal encounter had been set up without benefit of Hillary's aides, she said—and you could hear English teachers gasping from coast to coast—"It was an arrangement between she and I."

On Capitol Hill, Hillary's strategic gaucherie caused a historic first. Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), an ardent Hillary promoter, for the first time in memory said "no comment" about a public matter. "I don't want to talk about that," he said to amazed reporters.

Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), the first Democratic senator to notice that Clinton's conduct was outrageous, said the interview had caused him his "first bout of Clinton fatigue." Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) observed merrily, "Those excuses never worked for me."

On the Republican side, Utah Sen. Robert Bennett asked out loud what others murmured. "Why would she want to reopen that wound and pour a bucket of salt in it?"

Actually the wound had been reopened by several hands lately. Monica Lewinsky flipped her car on Highway 101 in California. A judge levied a stiff fine on the president for lying in the smelly Paula Jones case. And Linda Tripp, the self-proclaimed "average American" snitch, was indicted by a Maryland grand jury for taping Monica's babble about the "big creep."

If the weird logic of the Clinton era prevails, neither of the Clintons will suffer for their excesses. The designated casualty will probably be, once again, poor Al Gore.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons Try to Quell Debate Over Interview

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 — President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton both said today that they were not trying to make excuses for Mr. Clinton's marital infidelities, as may have been suggested by Mrs. Clinton's recent comments that he was abused as a child.

The President and First Lady delivered their similar messages separately as they tried to quell the controversy raised by Mrs. Clinton's recent insinuations to *Talk* magazine, in its premier issue this week, that her husband's adultery was rooted in his having been emotionally abused by his mother and grandmother.

"I don't believe that anybody could fairly read the article and think that she was making any excuses for me," Mr. Clinton said in the *Rose Garden* in response to reporters' questions after he made a statement on the Federal budget.

"I have not made any excuses for what was inexcusable, and neither has she, believe me," he said, arching his eyebrows for emphasis.

While the President was making his comments, Mrs. Clinton, who was meeting with voters at a furniture factory in Jamestown, N.Y., where she was campaigning for her all-but-certain Senate race, told reporters that she had not meant to imply a link between the President's abuse as a child and his infidelities as an adult.

"Everybody is responsible for their behavior," she said, "and I am a very strong proponent and believer in personal responsibility, so I hope that people will take that message away from this."

In comments widely perceived as an effort by Mrs. Clinton to pre-empt questions about her marriage before a Senate race began in earnest, she had told *Talk* magazine: "He was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred

A day for spin on just what the First Lady meant.

by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother. A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

The comments only stirred up pundits who said that Mrs. Clinton — who once called the accusations of her husband's philandering the product of a "vast right-wing conspiracy" and then attributed the accusations to discrimination because the Clintons were from Arkansas — was making excuses for him once again.

Mrs. Clinton also said she believed that the country had moved on from questions about her husband's adultery, which led to his impeachment last year by the House, although he was acquitted by the Senate.

"I have as well," she said, adding that she and her husband "love each other very much."

The President told reporters today that his childhood, with an alcoholic stepfather who was sometimes violent, was no "bed of roses" but that he was loved.

"The most important thing is that every child needs to know, growing up, that he or she is the most important person in the world to someone," he said. "And I knew that."

He also said that anyone reading the *Talk* article would have to draw two conclusions about Mrs. Clinton: "One is that my wife is an extraordinary person with a passionate com-

mitment to public service and a genuine record of important achievement.

"And the second is that we love each other very, very much."

In New York, the author of the *Talk* article, Lucinda Franks, said she thought that Mrs. Clinton's comments had been misinterpreted.

"It's a remarkable replay of the distortions of the Monica time," Ms. Franks said referring to the Monica Lewinsky scandal. "Two separate parts of her interview about the sexual infidelities and her feelings about her husband, it's all being squashed together. There seems to be no end to the way the press misinterprets, manipulates and quotes out of context in order to create a story."

A moment later, she added, "The newspapers seem to be making their own narrative, taking bits and pieces of an article and distorting it in order to make their own narrative."

"It is clear that very few people have carefully read the article," Mrs. Franks said. "If they had, they would understand that she never makes a connection between his chaotic childhood — which was full of alcoholism, physical abuse by his stepfather toward his mother and conflict between his mother and his grandmother — and his sexual infidelities. Hillary Clinton never made that connection."

"I've had to be on 25 shows, at least. There has not ever been anything discussed and discussed and discussed except this whole sexual stuff. It's just bewildering to me."

"It's as if I wrote a half-page article," Ms. Franks said. "I'm mighty sick of talking about half a page. I never thought I'd be sick of talking about sex, but that's all I've done."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons: Tough past is no excuse

Say traumas aren't to blame for actions

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — His childhood was no "bed of roses," President Clinton said Wednesday, but he insisted that neither he nor his wife viewed traumas he'd experienced as an excuse for his marital infidelities.

Their comments — the president's from the Rose Garden, the first lady's from western New York — were an attempt by the White House to quell a fierce controversy over Hillary Rodham Clinton's statements in an interview published this week. In discussing her husband's history of extramarital affairs, she told *Talk* magazine that he had been "scarred by

abuse" at age 4 because of conflict between his mother and grandmother.

Clinton's efforts to cover up his affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky led to his impeachment last year.

"I haven't made any excuses for what was inexcusable, and neither has she, believe me," the president told reporters.

Campaigning in Jamestown, N.Y., Hillary Clinton said she didn't mean to imply that her husband's childhood problems were to blame for his adult misconduct.

"Everybody is responsible for their behavior, and I am a very strong proponent and believer in personal responsibility," she said. "So I hope that people will take that message away from this."

President Clinton clearly was prepared for a question on the topic at the close of a Rose Garden announcement scheduled to blast the Republican tax

cut bill and tout the benefits of using the projected budget surplus to reduce the national debt.

"My childhood ... had its really tough moments," he said, speaking carefully. Clinton's father died before he was born, and his mother and grandmother fought over who would raise him. His stepfather was an alcoholic who abused his mother.

But he added, "The most important thing is that every child needs to know growing up that he or she is the most important person in the world to someone. And I knew that ... and I have no complaints."

Hillary Clinton, who was on a "listening tour" of New York as she continues her all-but-declared candidacy for a Senate seat, said she is through talking about the subject.

"This is an issue that the country has put behind us," she said, "and I have as well."



Somber moment: President Clinton walks from the Oval Office to the Rose Garden to discuss GOP tax-cut plans.



On "listening tour": Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to a question during a visit to Crawford Furniture in Jamestown, N.Y., as part of her exploration of the state.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

In Sickness—and in Health?

By Eric S. Cohen

Hillary Clinton's recent comments about her "abused" husband should surprise no one. After months of impressive, even stoic, silence on the state of her marriage, the first lady finally "feels comfortable" with her husband's latest round of adultery. Now it's healing time—with the first lady as therapist and the president as patient.

Mrs. Clinton is a master of therapeutic politics, second only to her husband. She has absorbed the jargon of psychologists—*self-esteem*, *dysfunctional family*, *patterns of abandonment*—and their psychological worldview, namely, that individuals misbehave because of some chemical, social or familial disorder. In her interview with *Talk* magazine, we see the therapeutic mind at work. The first lady's story is a postmodern morality tale in five acts:

Act One: The Suffering Victim. Mrs. Clinton presents her husband as an "abused" child. "He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it," she said. "There was a terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother." This "terrible conflict" obviously left the young president-to-be sad and confused. The incident looms in his subconscious; it has affected how he relates to women throughout his entire life. It has made him chronically unfaithful, a disorder that he has worked hard to "conquer." "He has become more aware of his past and what was causing this behavior," the first lady said. Note that the phrase *causing this behavior* absolves Mr. Clinton from responsibility for his actions.

Act Two: The New Priestly Class. Mrs. Clinton bolsters her interpretation of her husband's "scarred" psyche by appealing to the new moral authorities in America, the psychologists and therapists. "A psychologist once told me that for a boy, being in the middle of a conflict between two

women is the worst possible situation," Mrs. Clinton said. Notice the indirect reference to Freud, who believed that young boys want to kill their fathers and marry their mothers. The first lady knows her psychoanalysis.

Act Three: I Feel, Therefore I Am. The day after the first lady's story went public, White House spokesman Joe Lockhart flatly denied that the president was physically abused. At the same time, Mr. Lockhart said that the president "completely agrees" with the first lady's statements, including, one presumes, the statement about "abuse." And yet, Mr. Lockhart also said that the president "felt blessed with his life, with his family, with the love that he got."

Confused? So was the White House press corps. One reporter pressed Mr. Lockhart to explain why the first lady would say that the president was "scarred by abuse" if he wasn't abused. Mr. Lockhart repeated over and over that the president "feels comfortable with the way she talked about things." So again, Mr. Clinton feels "comfortable" being characterized as the victim of abuse and he also feels "blessed" by "the love that he got" as a child. Well, feelings are all that matter in the therapeutic worldview, and feelings don't have to be consistent. Abuse is in the eye of the beholder. There was yelling; the young Mr. Clinton was "scarred." It's all very clear.

Act Four: Return of the Right-Wing Conspiracy. Poor President Clinton is the victim not only of an abusive mother and grandmother, but also of "jealous" critics. "People are mean," the first lady said. "I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort

of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, or privacy." Of course, last year, when Mrs. Clinton explained that her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky was a fiction cooked up by a "vast right-wing conspiracy," she acknowledged that if he actually had had an affair with Ms. Lewinsky, it would be a serious public issue. But so what? The important thing is that Mr. Clinton deserves his dignity back.

Act Five: The Resilient Hero. Through it all, Mrs. Clinton tells us, her husband has been a great president. "Can you imagine what it took for him to go on after losing everything, to still get up each morning and do your job?" the first lady asked. "What is so amazing is that Bill has not been defeated by this." After all, all Americans have some "dysfunction" in their lives. But that doesn't mean they can't be great husbands, fathers, and presidents. "Yes, he needs to be more disciplined, but it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership." He is, she concluded, "a very, very good man."

Whether or not Mrs. Clinton actually believes any of this is beside the point. What should disturb us is the therapeutic culture that has made her "morality" tale possible. It's in line with the emotive politics of the day. It's told in the language that school counselors across the nation use to justify putting 4 million children on Ritalin. It is the justification that criminals use to explain away their crimes. It is the basis for endless lawsuits for "emotional injury." It is the moral basis for the American Psychiatric Association's conclusion that more than half of all Americans will suffer from mental illness in their lifetime.

In the therapeutic world, all of us are "sick." And if we believe that, then we deserve a sick president.

Mr. Cohen is assistant editor of *The Public Interest*.



Hillary Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THEY'RE baah-aack! Just when you thought our national soap opera had gone on summer hiatus, those Three Horsemasters of the Impeachment Apocalypse — Hillary, Monica and Linda — have returned to the headlines. First, Linda is indicted. Then, not to be outdone, Monica rolls her SUV. But neither of them can match the splash made by Hillary Clinton's revelations in Talk, Tina Brown's new magazine.

The headlines have focused on Hillary's spinning of sinning — is it a "sin of weakness" or a "sin of malice"? — and on the elevated psychobabble that traces the president's philandering to his childhood "abuse." All very interesting. But there is a much stronger message coming through. As Hillary's chief of staff Melanne Verveer puts it, "We've slowly seen a physical passion come back into their lives." In other words, Bill and Hill are once again doin' it!

And this is not your usual, run-of-the-mill sex, but hot policy-wonk sex. "When they start talking," Verveer adds, "it's electric. The power of ideas positively ignites them." Oh, behave!

It's politics as the ultimate aphrodisiac. Who knew social legislation could be such a turn-on? Put away that Viagra — let's talk child-care reform.

The intimate Hillary will no doubt do more to advance the cause of adul-

As the White House Turns

terers everywhere than anything since "Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice." But the most troubling aspect of the interview is Hillary's fence-straddling over the separation of the public and private parts of her life. Like a child who's asked if she wants cake or ice cream and answers "both," Hillary wants to have her privacy, without passing up the a la mode kick that intimate details about her private life can give her reputation.

Thus, we have Hillary plaintively asking, "Why me? Why do I have to talk about things no one else in politics does... I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, of privacy."

For instance, we learn of Hillary's Senate run that "the prospect of the campaign is what really... set her blood pumping again." And that the first couple's dormant sexual relationship was thawed by a series of trans-

continental phone calls in which they discussed the proper NATO response to Slobodan Milosevic. One can't help but think back on Monica blushing explaining, between giggles, phone sex to Barbara Walters. Is this what she meant? Hoarse whispers about Kosovo. Tell me again what you're gonna do to Milosevic! I love the way you say Ram-bouillet!

The passion for public policy and ideas is clearly the lifeblood of the marriage," Lucinda Franks, who interviewed the first lady over a year-

long period, tells us, explaining that the president's responses at a White House Q&A served to "reinvigorate Hillary's interest." In fact, the profile closes with a strange little vignette that has the Clintons engaging in a late-night "four-some," discussing Kosovo for two hours with Elie Wiesel and his wife, then heading off "to their bedroom, hand in hand." Steamy.

When politics does not work as an aphrodisiac, it works as therapy. "It was clear that something dramatic had to be done to change their lives, to save their marriage," says longtime Clinton friend Bernie Nussbaum. "That something appears to be Hillary's run for the Senate," writes Franks. Most people try counseling — the Clintons prefer campaigning.

And who says stress doesn't have its upside? Hillary's ordeal, Franks tells us, "has given her a certain glamour, almost a regal look. Her husband has noticed this, with some surprise. 'Doesn't she look beautiful?' he has been heard asking friends." I can just see the headlines in The Star: "Hillary's Crisis Make-over" and "The Scandal Diet — How Bill's philandering almost wrecked our marriage — but helped me shed those unwanted pounds!"

When I asked Franks at the Talk launch in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty how all this tumescent tattling squares with Hillary's protestations of wanting a zone of privacy, she replied: "This was her way of bringing closure. I hope that presidential contenders and their spouses watching this firestorm of coverage finally recognize that you bring closure to private scandal by starving the media beast — not by feeding it selective delectable morsels."



ARIANNA HUFFINGTON

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Grandma Clinton Isn't To Blame

It was undoubtedly the last thing she meant to convey in her Oprahesque confession, but in the process of unburdening herself on her husband's obsessive philandering and self-absorbed deceptions, Hillary Rodham Clinton drove home the critical difference between herself and her likely Senate rival, Mayor Giuliani.

Rudy Giuliani believes in the concept of taking responsibility for one's actions — that social ills are not uncontrollable societal pathologies but a lack of individual accountability. Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, believes in avoiding responsibility by shifting the blame to someone else.

In fact, on the basis of this remarkable interview in Tina Brown's new magazine, Mrs. Clinton seems to be running not so much for the U.S. Senate as for High Priestess of the cult of victimization. Or as George Will put it, Hillary "is the very model of the modern liberal mind in which every individual is the sum of his or her traumas."

Bill Clinton, the ultimate achiever, a prisoner of deep-seated psychological demons — his mother and his grandmother, yet — who, because they "abused" him as a child, turned Clinton into a sexaholic and drove him uncontrollably into the arms of every willing (and maybe unwilling) female between here and Arkansas?

Please. As Gerald Ford might have said, if Sigmund Freud were alive today he'd be rolling over in his grave. To hear Hillary tell it, Bill Clinton was so psychologically scarred that he was more likely to wind up a mass murderer than president of the United States.

It's doubtful that anyone short of Geraldo Rivera actually believes this pap. You've even got to wonder whether Hillary herself believes it, or whether she's simply devised a bizarre rationalization to justify a Faustian deal she made 30 years ago that forever linked her fortunes with those of her deeply flawed husband.

It's ironic that the interview was conducted by Lucinda Franks, the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who is married to Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau. Just imagine what Morgy's crack staff would do with that "the dev-



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FETTMANN

ils made him do it" defense if they came up against it in court. Rest assured, his prosecutors would knock this softball out of the park.

Because the Clintons have never made a spontaneous move in their lives when it comes to their careers, one has to assume that the First Lady thought reviving her husband's caddish behavior would resuscitate her poll standings; Hillary, recall, never scored higher than when Bill was behaving most poorly.

But in unburdening herself about what she discloses is decades of extramarital skirt-chasing ("I thought this was resolved 10 years ago; I thought he had conquered it"), Mrs. Clinton under-

mines her entire public defense of her husband since 1992.

For one thing, both Clintons have strongly suggested that the president's pre-Monica adultery was a one-time thing. Both heatedly denied he'd had an affair with Gennifer Flowers — something Clinton himself finally admitted last year under oath was a lie (although he still claims it was only a one-night stand).

So now that she's revealed her husband's lengthy sexual history, how could Hillary have been just about the only person in the entire country who — until the very last minute, when he was forced to confess before a grand jury — believed Bill Clinton's denial of having had "sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky?"

Does she really mean to tell us that when she railed publicly against the "vast right-wing conspiracy" that she claimed was out to nail her husband,

Hillary never considered that her husband might have slipped back into the saddle?

Mrs. Clinton may not have been under any moral obligation to air her family's dirty laundry in front of the American people. Nor was she under any obligation to publicly acknowledge her husband's history of infidelities. But with the truth now out in the open, to try and absolve the president by placing the blame on his mother and his grandmother is both unseemly and pathetic.

"Does this negate everything he has done as a husband, a father, a president?" Mrs. Clinton asked. Some women might answer yes, particularly on the first question. Others would say that by constantly absolving her husband and assuring him that he's not really responsible for his actions, she's only encouraged the very behavior that now angers her.

Indeed, the ultimate irony is that in finding dubious psychological excuses for her husband's incessant adultery — indeed, by trying to put the blame on someone else — Hillary Clinton turns out to be exactly the "stand by your man" type she publicly ridiculed while defending her husband during the Gennifer Flowers episode.

You know the type: Yes, Bill, I know your mama and your grandma made you do it. Yes, Bill, I know you never meant to hurt me. I know you couldn't help yourself, that it's your weakness. Yes, Bill, I feel your pain — and I know you'll never do it again. And don't worry, Bill, because none of this negates in any way what you've done as a husband and a father.

The state of the Clintons' marriage is of no real concern to the American people — except inasmuch as it provides a clue to the mindset that drives her politically. Hillary Clinton may well have unwittingly provided the defining issue of this campaign: a choice between people accepting responsibility for their actions or the misguided notion that everyone is somehow a victim of someone else's behavior.

You can e-mail your comments to efettmann@nypost.com

The state of the Clintons' marriage is of no real concern to the American people — except inasmuch as it provides a clue to the mindset that drives Hillary Clinton politically.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Hillary denies 'abuse excuse' for Bill's friskiness

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton did a flip-flop yesterday as her press secretary denied she blames psychological "abuse" for her husband's marital cheating — despite an interview in which she seemed to do just that.

The switcheroo came after the first lady drew widespread skepticism and scorn for blaming her husband's "background" for his straying ways, saying he was "scarred by abuse" at age four when his mom and grandma fought.

"She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's White House spokeswoman.

"I think that she was basically stating some feelings about his childhood, but that they do not excuse his behavior," Berry added.

But the interview with Talk magazine pointed to the president's background as the cause of what Mrs. Clinton prefers to refer to as "weakness" rather than a sexual addiction.

"Yes, he has weaknesses. Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined, but it is remarkable given his background



HILLARY CLINTON

What she meant was... that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership," she told the magazine.

"He was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother."

The revised spin on the inter-

view that has many other Democrats cringing came as Mrs. Clinton today launches a new "listening tour" for a possible Senate bid in upstate Buffalo, Jamestown and Rochester.

In the past, Mrs. Clinton has ignored shouted questions about her husband's hanky-panky but aides concede she'll likely have to answer some this time after opening the door so wide for Talk magazine.

Also raising eyebrows was the claim made to the magazine by Mrs. Clinton's chief-of-staff, Melanne Verveer, that "we've slowly seen a physical passion come back into [the Clintons'] lives" — hardly the normal staff talk about a first couple.

Even Democrats friendly to Mrs. Clinton kept shaking their heads over why the first lady chose to violate her self-proclaimed "zone of privacy" by painting the president as a kind of unruly schoolboy. "Weird," said one.

Some analysts said Mrs. Clinton may be seeking to revive her stand-by-her-man status, which has boosted her in the past, but most said the interview was a mistake.

Mrs. Clinton's Reflections

Monica Lewinsky gave her side of the story. President Clinton spoke for the grand jury's unfriendly video camera. Now, in a puzzling interview with *Talk* magazine, Hillary Rodham Clinton has provided her own view of her husband's relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. That view is both highly forgiving and deeply ambiguous, and it has sparked a lively and predictably partisan debate as to whether Mrs. Clinton has damaged her campaign for the Senate. If there has been damage, this is one case in which the First Lady cannot demonize the press. She had her say in the context of an article that was both militantly laudatory and unanalytic.

In the article, Mrs. Clinton describes the "enormous pain, enormous anger" that most people could well imagine. She explains that she has no plans to leave the President after his term ends, that "we just have a deep connection that transcends whatever happens." Then she goes on to describe the President's dalliance as the result of emotional abuse he suffered in a dysfunctional family. In his case, she said, the problem started as a young child when he was shifted between his mother and grandmother, trying to please both. Moreover, she sees his tendency to stray as "a weakness," not an addiction, and concludes that over all, her husband is "a very, very good man."

The partisan division in the response to these remarks has run something like this. Anti-Clinton forces contend that the First Lady has blundered politically by forcing people to consider a marriage of which many citizens are heartily weary. Some even characterize this as the mistake of a novice candidate. It is also argued that blaming two deceased women for a bad home environment is yet another unseemly attempt to absolve Mr. Clinton for his irresponsible stewardship of the Presidency.

Mrs. Clinton's supporters see her comments as the necessary airing of a painful topic. In this view,

she has strengthened herself with a feminist constituency that saw her as overly passive by pronouncing a public judgment on her husband. This was, in other words, a mandatory exercise analogous to Vice President Gore's denunciation of the President's conduct as "inexcusable." According to this logic, Mrs. Clinton had to address the state of her marriage sooner or later, and she was smart to pick a low-risk environment.

On the tactical question, we come down somewhere in the middle. In political matters, Mrs. Clinton has sometimes misread the public mood, but not for lack of thinking and planning. She probably did not stumble into this subject matter as a consequence of feeling too relaxed around her interviewer. Yet while not a novice in campaigns, she is a newcomer to the candidate's role. So she made the relatively common mistake of answering a difficult question in a way that stirred up new curiosities instead of putting old ones to rest.

Indeed, her comments to *Talk* contained just enough self-revelation to touch on a lot of lingering questions about the Clintons' unusual partnership, about her views of family dynamics and about the interplay of personality and leadership responsibility. Such questions about a candidate's personal qualities should not dominate a campaign, but neither are they out of bounds as matters of public concern and prudent journalism when voters are choosing a United States senator.

In a contest involving two personalities as distinctive as Mrs. Clinton and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the potential Republican nominee, every citizen will have to reach a decision that balances all aspects of a candidate's abilities, issues positions and personal qualities. It is doubtful that Mrs. Clinton has done any real damage to her candidacy with her comments, but she has probably started a conversation that will progress by fits and starts for months.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

As the White House Spin Machine Turns

■ **Hillary:** First lady can't have both privacy and the selective release of intimate tidbits.

By **ARIANNA HUFFINGTON**

They're baaa-aack! Just when you thought our national soap opera had gone on hiatus, those Three Horsewomen of the Impeachment Apocalypse—Hillary, Monica and Linda—have returned. First, Linda is indicted. Then, not to be outdone, Monica rolls her SUV. But neither of them can match the splash made by Hillary Clinton's revelations in *Talk*, Tina Brown's new magazine.

The headlines have focused on Hillary's spinning of sinning—is it a "sin of weakness" or a "sin of malice"?—and on the elevated psychobabble that traces the president's philandering to his childhood "abuse." All very interesting. But there is a stronger message coming through. As Hillary's chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, puts it, "as the president has tried to make up for what he has done, we've slowly seen a physical passion come back into their lives." In other words, Bill and Hill are again doin' it!

And this is not your usual, run-of-the-mill sex, but hot policy-wonk sex. "When they start talking," Verveer adds, "it's electric. The power of ideas positively ignites them." It's politics as the ultimate aphrodisiac. Put away that Viagra; let's talk child-care reform.

But the most troubling aspect of the interview is Hillary's fence-straddling over the separation of the public and private parts of her life. Hillary wants to have her privacy, without passing up the kick that intimate details about her private life can give her reputation.

Thus we have Hillary plaintively asking, "Why me? Why do I have to talk about things no one else in politics does . . . I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, of privacy." I couldn't agree more, but then why all the titillating talk and racy innuendo?

For instance, we learn of Hillary's Senate run that "the prospect of the campaign is what really . . . set her blood pumping again." And that the first couple's dormant sexual relationship started to thaw, in part, after a series of transcontinental phone calls in which they discussed the proper NATO response to Slobodan Milosevic. One can't help but think back on Monica blushing explaining, between giggles, phone sex to Barbara Walters. Is this what she meant? Hoarse whispers about Kosovo. Yeah, baby! Tell me again what you're gonna do to Milosevic!

"The passion for public policy and ideas is clearly the lifeblood of the marriage," Lucinda Franks, who interviewed the first lady over a yearlong period, tells us, explaining that the president's responses at a White House Q & A served to "reinvigorate Hillary's interest." In fact,

the profile closes with a strange vignette that has the Clintons in their family quarters discussing Kosovo for two hours with Elie Wiesel and his wife, then heading off "to their bedroom, hand in hand." Steamy.

When politics does not work as an aphrodisiac, it works as therapy. "It was clear that something dramatic had to be done to change their lives, to save their marriage," says longtime Clinton friend Bernie Nussbaum. "That something appears to be Hillary's run for the Senate," writes Franks.

We also get tabloid-worthy insights into Hillary's beauty tips. According to *Talk*, since the scandal broke, Hillary "has shed pounds and any hint of matronliness." Hillary's ordeal, Franks tells us, "has given her a certain glamour, almost a regal look. Her husband has noticed this, with some surprise . . . 'Doesn't she look beautiful?' he has been heard asking friends."

When I asked Franks at the *Talk* launch how all this tatling squares with Hillary's protestations of wanting a zone of privacy, she replied: "This was her way of bringing closure." I hope that presidential contenders and their spouses watching this firestorm of coverage finally recognize that you bring closure to private scandal by starving the media beast, not by feeding it selective delectable morsels.

Arianna Huffington is a syndicated columnist based in Los Angeles. E-mail: ar-huff@ariannaonline.com.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Infidelity talk gives Hillary Clinton a boost

Whatever controversy may still linger about President Clinton's infidelity appears headed toward a rapid end.

And three cheers for that.

Five days after news reports that the first lady had broken her silence in an interview with *Talk* magazine, the latest polls from New York show her gaining 10 points and pulling into a dead heat with New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in next year's expected Senate race.

The White House couldn't have planned it better.

By discussing the issue now, Hillary Clinton inoculates herself against later campaign trail surprises. The 10 points is gravy — and with little meaning 15 months ahead of the election.

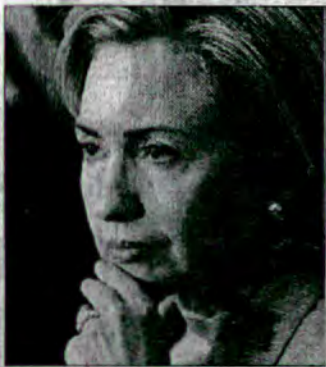
But just as sex — in spite of all of the headlines — wasn't what mattered in the year-long impeachment inquiry, it isn't what will decide the first lady's future in New York.

Hillary Clinton has a long public record that she has rarely had to discuss in her role as the first lady. As the New York campaign unfolds, Giuliani and others will find ample opportunities to bring it up.

For example, she said she wasn't involved in the improper firings of White House travel officers in 1993. Yet, a memo by David Watkins, a key White House staffer, indicates she instigated the firings to get the travel office business for some Arkansas friends. Is Watkins lying? If so, who was the instigator?

Then there's the Whitewater mess, which involved sham real estate deals that bankrupted a savings and loan and cost taxpayers \$60 million.

How could Hillary Clinton forget her contacts with developer Seth Ward and the legal work she'd done for him on one of the pro-



By Ben Feltner/AP

Senate outlook: Breaking silence propels Hillary Clinton in New York Senate-race polls.

jects, Castle Grande, that cost \$4 million? Billing records showed she did hours of work on options contracts for the project.

But why did copies of those billing records disappear only to turn up in the White House living quarters three years after investigators had subpoenaed them?

Finally, there are those pesky commodities trades in which she turned \$1,000 into \$100,000 during a short period in 1994. Hillary Clinton said she made the lucrative deals herself. But who helped her? And why?

If Hillary Clinton pursues the New York Senate seat, she will face the same tough questions about her past that all candidates do.

But good riddance to the questions about sex.

PHOTOCOPY
SERVATION

HILLARY'S FORGIVENESS: FORGET IT

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1999

In an interview just published in *Talk* magazine, Hillary Clinton finally reveals her innermost feelings about her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky, and offers her psychological analysis of his motivation.

As a psychoanalyst, I hope that, for her own sake and for America's, she doesn't mean it. Mrs. Clinton claims that Mr. Clinton lied not selfishly or compulsively, but altruistically, to protect her. He wanted to shield her from being damaged by their vindictive political enemies (the notorious "vast right-wing conspiracy") and humiliated by the prurient press, the principal recipients of her outrage.

Her husband's sins, she asserts, came from weakness, not malice. The recent deaths of his mother, her father and their friend Vince Foster, caused a resurgence of phantoms after what she insists was a 10-year hiatus. She also traces the roots of the president's sexual compulsiveness to a traumatic past — "child abuse" at the age of 4 at the hands of an alcoholic stepfather and a battling mother and grandmother. She claims she stayed in her marriage out of compassionate love.

These remarks may solidify the Tammy Wynette vote in New York. They certainly call attention to her own efforts in behalf of troubled children. But my research on the process of forgiving, including interviews with 50 people, indicates that Mrs. Clinton's explanation of the betrayal she suffered and her response to it is false forgiveness. This facile form of exonerating transgression is currently sweeping the country and compromising our relationship with the truth in our

public and private lives.

I have found that genuine forgiveness requires an arduous three-step process of self-examination. First, victims of betrayal must re-engage with their betrayers, putting aside denial and rationalization. Next, they have to recognize what happened, confronting the devastating reality of what they suffered and how much they hated the person who hurt them, feeling the full brunt of their rage, their grief, their loss of trust.

Finally, they must re-interpret the experience, putting it in a more three-dimensional context based on deeper understanding of the motivation of both participants. Many people negotiate these stages repeatedly throughout their lives,

JEANNE SAFER

gradually coming to terms.

Through holding the other fully accountable, making no excuse, and facing the awful reality of a betrayal and its impact, they liberate themselves from the past and cease to feel victimized, vengeful, or avoidant. Only then is forgiveness a choice rather than a compulsion, a true resolution rather than a convenient solution. Resolution is possible even when forgiveness is not.

False forgivers attempt to short-circuit this process, skipping too quickly to the re-inter-

pretation stage and ignoring the most painful aspects of their ordeals. They give lip-service to forgiveness, but no psychic change occurs.

While they may sound like true forgivers, they fail to distinguish between understanding and excusing, between explaining and explaining away. They tend to be strangers to their own and the other person's hostility.

The father of a woman I interviewed, for example, sold pornography through the mail as a sideline to his film processing business when she was a child. "It was the Depression," she explained. "Everyone in his business did it. Besides, nobody's perfect."

But everybody didn't, and imperfection is not the same as

criminality; likewise, not every boy with family troubles becomes a lifelong adulterer. No transgression can be forgiven until the perpetrator is held entirely responsible.

What would genuine forgiveness consist of in Mrs. Clinton's case? She would not deflect blame. She would hold nothing and no one — no childhood trauma, no political enemy — accountable but her betrayer. She would not deny the profound hostility toward her his behavior reflected, and how much she — legitimately — wanted revenge. She would not cultivate moral superiority, but would recognize her own masochism, examining why she stayed with him instead of simply claiming it as a virtue and extracting emotional payment for her tolerance. And she would do this in the privacy of her own mind.

The only real way to get past pain is through it. This is the true message of hope that pseudo-forgiveness forecloses. Talk-show hosts, clergy and therapists who encourage everyone to forgive everything, to "get over" anger and "get on" with life, have created the atmosphere of inner estrangement that Mrs. Clinton's pronouncement reflects.

In a society that places too high a premium on forgiveness at any cost, the imitation is seductive, and can easily be mistaken for the real thing. It is unfortunate that so compelling a role model as the First Lady should participate in this self-deception.

Jeanne Safer is the author of *"Forgiving and Not Forgiving: A New Approach to Resolving Intimate Betrayal"* (Avon, August, 1999).



Rain or shine, Hillary always stands by her man. (Eat your hearts out, Tammy Wynette fans.)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1999

The Washington Times

Mystified, confounded

While pundits scratch their heads over Hillary Rodham Clinton's excuses for her husband's philandering, the first lady has rebounded in the latest poll in New York, where she is seeking a U.S. Senate seat.

The Zogby International survey of 761 likely voters — taken Tuesday and Wednesday, after publication of Mrs. Clinton's interview with Talk magazine — found Mrs. Clinton drawing even with her likely Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Mrs. Clinton got 44.7 percent in the survey, while Mr. Giuliani had 44 percent — a statistically insignificant difference.

Just two weeks ago, the same pollster found Mrs. Clinton trailing Mr. Giuliani by 10 percentage points.

"I'm mystified and confounded by the results," said pollster John Zogby, whose firm conducted the survey for the New York Post and the Buffalo News.

General weariness

"If Hillary Clinton's remarks to Talk magazine connecting the president's infidelities to childhood emotional abuse were calculated to lift her poll numbers in New York, she is misguided," writes Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for People and the Press.

"Voters in New York, not to mention the rest of the country, have heard enough about the Clintons' personal lives. If the polls are correct, the public is not going to change its mind about Bill Clinton the man, and votes in New York are not likely to hinge on why Mrs. Clinton has stood by him," Mr. Kohut said in an op-ed piece in the New York Times.

"The public's general weariness of Mr. Clinton is the more serious problem for her Senate run. Fully 74 percent of Americans say they are tired of all of the problems of this administration, according to a Pew Research Center poll conducted in April."

Historic first

"On Capitol Hill, Hillary's strategic gaucherie caused a historic first," writes Washington Post columnist Mary McGrory.

"(New York) Sen. Charles E. Schumer, an ardent Hillary promoter, for the first time in memory said 'no comment' about a public matter. 'I don't want to talk about that,' he said to amazed reporters."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Students of American history, having reviewed the particulars of Hillary Rodham Clinton's family revelations this week, recognize the historic cycle into which the Clintons are now launched. They and their dwindling band of defenders are now entered upon that historic cycle known as The Lost Cause.

After all the revelations of the past seven years about their ethical and moral squalor, they are now committed to defending their past. Apparently the Clintons will spend the rest of their lives defending this Lost Cause, like French monarchists pining for the return of some plumed idiot.

The Lost Cause is also a Hopeless Cause. There is too much grisly stuff on the record. Moreover, the grisly stuff is becoming familiar to a wider audience. That explains the president's low personal standing in the polls and Hillary's decline in New York state polls. What is more, there is no exculpatory revelation the Clintons can possibly make. They are guilty as charged.

Some of us established their guilt years ago. Since then we have been able to chronicle a steady accumulation of the Clintons' scandals and misdeeds. Not one of the reports of

Hearing what isn't new from a new source



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Clinton errancy recorded in the American Spectator has ever been disproved. The magazine has been smeared by the Clintons, but no charge made by it has ever been proved wrong. In this column and in my last two books, I have offered an explanation of the Clintons' narcissistic behavior that has held up through the years. They are best understood as Coat-and-Tie Radicals from the 1960s protest movement. The historic record is clear. That is what they were in their college days, and their present blunders reveal that they have yet to mature.

Typical of her 1960s Coat-and-Tie Radical origins, Mrs. Clinton is a solipsist, she has difficulty perceiving anything being real or legitimate beyond herself. Hence this week she blurs out the intimate details of her family's private life and of her husband's sex life. She makes these unprovoked revelations, though for years she said these were matters of privacy and in the case of her husband's sex life mere myths created by a "vast right-wing conspiracy." Consider

the chutzpah. The Clintons forced the entire country to endure President Clinton's lies about his philandering. He forced the country to endure his lie about the Lewinsky affair until he was exposed by that historic semen stain. Then they put the country through an impeachment. Finally they say the country is past all this melodrama. The case of their private life is closed. The country must move on. And Hillary brings the whole thing up again.

Before explaining why Hillary opened up her private life all over again, let me note that most of what has been revealed this week has long been known to readers of this column. Neither Hillary's revelations nor those in Christopher Andersen's new book about the

Clinton marriage will be unfamiliar to us. We knew Mr. Clinton was a crude Casanova with the libido of an inhabitant of monkey island at the zoo. We knew of his affairs with Jennifer Flowers and a dozen other women. We knew Bill and Hillary have been lying about it and smearing both the women and those reporters who reported on his sexual excesses, on Whitewater, on the Chinese fund-raising irregularities, and on the administration's many related abuses of power.

Mr. Andersen's report that Hillary had an enduring affair with Vince Foster has long been reported here and elsewhere. Contrary to Gail Sheehy alibing for the Clintons on the "Larry King" show the other night, the story of the Clinton-Foster affair has been substantiated by multiple public sources over several years. Likewise this column and others have for years reported that Hillary was aware of her husband's post-"60 Minutes" interview sexual adventures. We have reported that she attacked him physically and verbally over

these affairs and that Mr. Clinton has had at least one sexually transmitted disease. We have reported the eminently credible claim of Juanita Broadrick that Clinton molested her. As for revelations about the unhappiness of the first family's daughter, this column has always kept that innocent girl off-limits; but we have explained the dynamics of the Clinton marriage. Bill is the errant playboy, amusing himself by ducking out on Hillary. She is the indignant mommie ever watchful for her wayward husband. Europe's jet set abounds with such marriages.

All these stories now hitting the press this week are old news to those of us who have been following these suave schizophrenics since they hit the campaign trail in 1992. For that matter my explanation for Hillary's revelations this month will also be old news to readers of this column. As I have regularly reported, Hillary is a political incompetent. Moreover she is playing her Senate race one day at a time. Of late I have

become increasingly doubtful she will run. This week's political blunder fortifies my doubt.

Yet if she does run she knows she will have to refute the charge that in her marriage with Bill she has enabled his scandalous life. Hence she trotted out her new explanations of his troubled youth and of her therapeutic understanding of his afflictions. Coat-and-Tie Radical that she is, she went overboard. Political blunderer that she is, she created more problems than she solved. The Clintons' old claim that had served them so well over the years about Mr. Clinton being the abused child of an alcoholic father was sufficient. But Hillary is a child of the 1960s. She heaved up some new and problematic psychobabble. It sounds absurd.

Hillary will be babbling about her marvelous self to the end of her life. As I say, in historic terms, she is arguing the Lost Cause. My question remains, how long will the country's elites allow themselves to be used? That is a question I do not have the answer for.

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. is editor in chief of the American Spectator.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Playing 'victim' is a political ploy

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

Hillary Rodham Clinton may be trying to paint herself as the victim of a cheating husband again now because it boosted her in the polls before — and she's sliding, political analysts said.

They spoke after the first lady's eyebrow-raising Talk magazine interview in which she says "abuse" way back when she was 4 drove President Clinton to play Oval Office sex games with Monica Lewinsky.

"This is the one thing that has worked for her over the past

couple of years — Hillary as victim," said Post pollster John Zogby.

"She's having real problems with women, especially women over 35. This could be the right thing for her to do politically when she's in trouble in the polls."

Mrs. Clinton skyrocketed in polls — particularly among women who are full-time homemakers — when she decided to stand by her cheating man like the cookie-baking Tammy Wynette she once scorned.

Riding that wave of sympathy, Mrs. Clinton began eyeing a New York Senate race on a high

ANALYSIS

but has been slipping in polls ever since and now trails likely rival Rudy Giuliani by as much as 10 points.

"This is just another case of the cynical way the Clintons try to play on people's sympathy and she is just as bad as he is, trying to present herself as America's 'wounded woman,'" contended Republican strategist Rich Galen.

"It's really unbecoming for public officials to troll out their personal tragedies for political gain. It's the equivalent of Vice

President Gore talking about his sister's death from lung cancer for political gain."

Galen said he doesn't think it will work this time for the first lady, saying Mrs. Clinton's interview rehabbing Sexgate underscores "the reason why you hear so many people talking about Clinton Fatigue."

Other analysts said Mrs. Clinton may have hoped to get the issue of her personal life behind her for the campaign in a sympathetic forum — and then to refuse to answer further questions.

A skeptical Democratic strategist, not associated with her

campaign, said the interview could backfire by reminding voters of the very things about the Clintons that Mrs. Clinton claims she doesn't want to discuss.

"This is a time when this war-room mentality gets you in trouble because they feel they have to do something to affect every turn of the polls. As the polls go down, they try to do something," the strategist said.

"If anyone lives in a dysfunctional family, it's Chelsea Clinton. But she isn't acting badly or blaming anyone."

PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION

POOR EXCUSE FOR HUBBY

NEW YORK POST

MONDAY, AUGUST 7, 1995



LOVE IS BLIND: Hillary gazes into Bill's eyes in this vacation photo — but psychologists say the first lady should take a much harder look at the rest of him. Agence France Press

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Explanation for his flings proves she 'can't see reality'

Top shrinks said yesterday they don't buy a word of Hillary Rodham Clinton's dramatic new defense of her cheating hubby — and think it's a sham excuse concocted by political consultants preparing her run for the U.S. Senate in New York.

"It sounds like some spin doctors and some consultants got to her because what she's saying doesn't sound real," said Dr. Robert Butterworth, a Los Angeles-based psychologist.

In the debut issue of Talk magazine, Mrs. Clinton says she believes the president lied about his affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky to protect her.

She also calls Clinton's wandering eye a "weakness" caused by psychological scars from childhood — including a "terrible" conflict between his mom and grandmother.

Mrs. Clinton says she stood by her man because he needed her help through his "dysfunction" — and because, ultimately, "we have love."

But Butterworth says the first lady's words are "just too polished for real life."

"What this is, is the 'classic victim stance,' where a woman justifies everything their man does," Butterworth said.

"You might say that if she can't see reality when it's right in front of her, then how the hell can she be an effective senator?"

Dr. Patricia Farrell, a New Jersey-based clinical psychologist, said: "She's

trying to say what she feels is politically correct and what is good for her political career. But at this point, it's a sham."

Mrs. Clinton's blaming of Sexgate on her husband's psychological scars is "a bleeding-heart defense," Farrell said.

"At some point in your life you have to step up and say, 'I'm an adult and I'm responsible.' What does marriage mean to this couple if he is constantly going to go off and have these affairs?"

"The bottom line is that

"It sounds like some spin doctors and some consultants got to her."

DR. ROBERT BUTTERWORTH

may be politically what she has to say."

Farrell also says that Mrs. Clinton's discussion of her marital problems could also be a way of gently forcing potential opponent Mayor Giuliani to bare his rumored marital woes.

"This could be her way of telling the press, 'If I'm so willing to talk about my problems, then why doesn't the mayor?'"

"It's just like when a politician gives out his tax returns. That forces the question of his opponent's tax returns," she said.

Butterworth said Hillary Clinton would be more believable if she'd made a token move to leave her husband after Sexgate exploded.

"She'd be a much better role model if she left for a

See HILLARY on Page 20

to come clean. "It's long overdue. All along, I have been disgusted with Hillary for not coming forward."

said Lieberman, author of "Bad Boys: Why We Love Them, How to Live with Them and When to Leave Them."

"It sends out a message to women all over the world that they should stand by their man, whether they were being abused, or lied to, or cheated on."

Dr. Joyce Brothers said she believes Mrs. Clinton's explanations are "very real" and that the president was also trying to protect daughter Chelsea from the pain of his cheating ways.

"It's so hard for a daughter to find out that her dad has been unfaithful," Brothers said.

"Statistically, those young women and young men who discover one of their parents has been unfaithful are more likely to have a divorce and, statistically, to be more unfaithful to their mates."

sible because his past made him do it really demeans all these people."

Dr. Carole Lieberman, a Beverly Hills psychiatrist, said the First Lady's revelations sound like a "combination" of advice from spin doctors and wanting

HILLARY from Page 6
mouth and had made him suffer for playing these games," Butterworth said.

"There are a lot of people who had the kind of upbringing [the president had] and didn't have affairs. To say he's not respon-

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION



VINCE FOSTER
Affair with Hillary?

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1999

Webb: Starr probed her sex life

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

Hillary Rodham Clinton's disgraced ex-law partner, Webster Hubbell, claims in a new interview that Sexgate prober Ken Starr quizzed him about the first lady's sex life.

Starr wanted to know if Clinton had an affair with Vince Foster, the White House lawyer who committed suicide, The New Yorker magazine says. Foster was once Clinton and Hubbell's partner at the Rose Law Firm.

Starr's spokeswoman responded that the questions were "relevant and proper," noting that Starr was probing Foster's suicide, and a "professional and thorough suicide investigation always focuses on motive."

But Hubbell — a disgraced Justice Department official who went to Washington with the Clintons and later served 18 months in prison after admitting he stole at least \$394,000 from clients — howled foul.

"They wanted to know about Hillary's sex life. About the president's sex life and mine, too. They specifically asked if Hillary and Vince had an affair," Hubbell told the magazine, adding he's sure they didn't.

"I was surprised," Hubbell added. "For one thing, I think it's awful personal. And I don't think it's anybody's business."

In his 1997 book, "Friends in High Places," Hubbell paints himself, Foster and Mrs. Clinton as close buddies and is sharply critical of Foster's wife, Lisa, for being unhappy about her husband's friendship with Mrs. Clinton.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Journalist Lucinda Franks, who conducted the interviews, said yesterday that it took her five months to persuade Clinton to open up, arguing that it would be to her advantage to defuse the issue in New York politics.

"What most surprised me was that she was able to view his sexual transgressions--and she admitted they continued off and on for many years--as something that did not represent the whole of their marriage," Franks said.

Marsha Berry, Clinton's spokeswoman, said the first lady had discussed her marriage with Franks because "this is someone she knew and felt comfortable with." Berry called the article "positive" but would not say whether New York politics played a role in Clinton's decision.

Despite the year-long national ordeal triggered by the president's lying, the first lady continues to blame his critics for conduct that she called "harmful to the country." She said that unspecified people "are jealous of him. . . . People are mean. I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, of privacy. .

"Is he ashamed? Yes. Is he sorry? Yes. But does this negate everything he has done as a husband, a father, a president?"

Clinton continued: "Can you imagine what it took for him to go on after losing everything, to still get up each morning and do your job? . . . What is so amazing is that Bill has not been defeated by this. There has been enormous pain, enormous anger, but I have been with him half my life and he is a very, very good man. We just have a deep connection that transcends whatever happens."

Clinton portrays it as an accomplishment when her husband does not stray from their marriage. Referring to the period after his sexual relationship with Gennifer Flowers, the first lady said, "We did have a very good stretch. Years and years of nothing."

More than once, Clinton suggested that her troubled marriage is hardly unique. "You know people have a lot of daily problems in relationships," she said. "Everybody has some dysfunction in their families. They have to deal with it. You don't just walk away if you love someone--you help the person." Her husband, she said, has "been working on himself very hard in the last year."

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Hubbell Says Starr's Office Probed Mrs. Clinton's Sex Life

From Reuters

NEW YORK—Webster Hubbell, a onetime confidant of President Clinton who went to jail on a Whitewater-related conviction, said Kenneth Starr's investigators questioned him about first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's sex life, a report released Sunday said.

In its latest issue due out today, the New Yorker magazine quoted the former top Justice Department official as saying "they wanted me to give them something new on the president and Hillary—primarily Hillary."

"They wanted to know about Hillary's sex life," he said of federal prosecutors and FBI agents who questioned him in 1995 about the 1993 suicide of Vincent Foster, a close friend of the Clintons from Arkansas who worked as a White House lawyer.

The prosecutors worked for Starr, who as independent counsel probed the Clintons' financial dealings in Arkansas, before investigating the president's relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky, which ultimately led to the president's impeachment in the House.

Foster, the deputy White House counsel who the Clintons brought to Washington from Arkansas, committed suicide in the summer of 1993. His death spawned

several conspiracy theories, but investigators decided there was no evidence of crime in connection with Foster's death.

"They specifically asked if Hillary and Vince had had an affair," Hubbell recalled, adding he told prosecutors he was certain they had not.

"I was surprised," he said about the line of questioning. "For one thing, I think it's awful personal. And I don't think it's anybody's business."

According to Hubbell, who is married, investigators also questioned him about his sex life and about the president's sex life.

Asked to comment on Hubbell's disclosures, Starr's office said: "The office of the independent counsel at all times asked relevant and proper questions. A professional and thorough suicide investigation always focuses on motive."

Hubbell pleaded guilty in June to misleading federal regulators about legal work he performed with Mrs. Clinton while the two worked at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, Ark. He received probation.

He previously served 18 months in prison for admitting in 1994 that he stole nearly \$400,000 from the firm.

Both cases were brought by Starr's office, and Hubbell's latest plea ended Starr's probe of the Clintons' financial dealings in Arkansas.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1999

LOS ANGELES TIMES



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Clinton Explains Why She Stayed

By ALAN C. MILLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, discussing her husband's affair with Monica S. Lewinsky, suggested in a magazine interview that his marital infidelities were caused by psychological "abuse" the president suffered as a young boy.

Mrs. Clinton explained for the first time why she stood by her husband through the ordeal of his impeachment—which stemmed from his sworn denials of his relations with the former White House intern—saying the president's behavior was "a sin of weakness," not a sin "of malice."

Please see HILLARY, A6

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY

Continued from A1

Mrs. Clinton said her husband "was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse. There was terrible conflict between his mother and his grandmother. A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There's always a desire to please each one."

Referring to the president's philandering, she said: "You have to be alert to it, vigilant in helping. I thought this was resolved 10 years ago. I thought he had conquered it; I thought he understood it, but he didn't go deep enough or work hard enough." She remained with the president out of love and loyalty, she said. "Everybody has some dysfunction in their families. They have to deal with it. You don't walk away if you love someone. You help the person."

Mrs. Clinton's remarks, published in the inaugural edition of *Talk* magazine, threatened to spark new controversy, especially since the first lady is a prospective candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York. Some political commentators said the interview will hurt her candidacy by reminding voters of the Clintons' baggage, but others predicted any damage would be short-lived.

"I can't believe she would have entered this area of discussion without considering the political ramifications," said Stuart Rothenberg, a political analyst. "She may have concluded that there may be people bothered by her understanding of the president and why she stood by him... and this may be her way of trying to get beyond it."

Mrs. Clinton also talked about her expected 2000 Senate bid as an opportunity to gain a measure of independence from President Clinton, whose political career she has long supported.

"Now for the first time I am making my own decisions. I can feel the difference. It is a great relief," she said.

Marsha Berry, the first lady's spokeswoman, declined Sunday to expand upon Mrs. Clinton's comments, including her reference to the president's childhood "abuse."

"The article speaks for itself and, for the most part, it's a positive portrayal of her," Berry said.

She added that the writer, Lucinda Franks, "was someone [Mrs. Clinton] was acquainted with. This is why she did the interview."

Jake Siewert, a White House spokesman, declined to comment on the details of the story but said he did not dispute them.

Talk magazine's story on Mrs. Clinton will help launch the glossy monthly magazine edited by Tina Brown, the high-profile former editor of the *New Yorker*. It is scheduled to be on newsstands in Los Angeles, New York and Washington on Tuesday.

The magazine declined to provide an advance copy to *The Times*; excerpts appeared in the Sunday *Times* of London and elsewhere.

In the interview, Mrs. Clinton defended her husband as "a very, very good man."

"Yes, he has weaknesses," she said. "Yes, he needs to be more disciplined, but it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership."

Bill Clinton's rocky beginnings in Arkansas are well-chronicled. His father



President Clinton arrives at church Sunday in Washington with daughter Chelsea.

died shortly before he was born. His maternal grandmother played a large role in his early upbringing; tensions developed between her and his mother, Virginia.

Shortly before Bill's 4th birthday, his mother decided to marry Roger Clinton, to the dismay of her family. Virginia's mother, who doted on her grandson, was particularly vehement.

According to David Maraniss' biography of President Clinton, "First in His Class," Virginia Clinton later recalled that her mother threatened to seek custody of Bill. When Virginia married Roger Clinton, who proved abusive and alcoholic, her parents and son did not attend the ceremony.

A government official familiar with the *Talk* article said the first lady referred to the abuse as emotional, not physical, suffered when he became embroiled in the tumultuous relationship between his mother and grandmother.

Mrs. Clinton said she survived the Lewinsky episode and her husband's impeachment through "soul-searching, friends, religious faith and long, hard discussions."

She added: "I believe in working through it. Is he ashamed? Yes. Is he sorry? Yes. But does this negate everything he has done as a husband, a father, a president?"

And she confronted the question of whether her marriage could endure the challenge of her running for the Senate in New York: "He's responsible for his own behavior, whether I'm there or 100 miles away. You have the confrontation with the person and then it is their responsibility, whether it's gambling, drinking or whatever. Nobody can do it for you."

Well before he sought the presidency, Clinton had a reputation as a womanizer.

The Clintons were forced to confront allegations during his 1992 presidential campaign by Gennifer Flowers that she had carried on a 12-year affair with the then-governor of Arkansas.

"You know, we did have a very good stretch—years and years of nothing" following Clinton's involvement with Flowers, Mrs. Clinton said in the interview.

President Clinton began his relationship with Lewinsky, then a 21-year-old intern, in late 1995. After reports of the affair surfaced in January 1998, Hillary Clinton dismissed them as the product of "a vast right-wing conspiracy." She was reportedly devastated when Clinton was forced to admit during grand jury testimony seven months later that he had lied—to her, their daughter, Chelsea, the country and, under oath, in a legal proceeding—to conceal the affair.

"He couldn't protect me, so he lied," Mrs. Clinton said in the interview.

"You know, in Christian theology there are sins of weakness and sins of malice, and this was a sin of weakness."

The prospect of the story on Mrs. Clinton in *Talk* magazine had previously caused a flap when New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani canceled a party at the Brooklyn Navy Yard to celebrate the publication's launch. Giuliani, a Republican mulling a Senate bid of his own, did so after learning that the first lady was to be featured on the cover.

As it turned out, Hillary Clinton shares the inaugural cover. She is joined by Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the leading Republican presidential candidate, and actress Gwyneth Paltrow.

Times staff researcher William Holmes in Los Angeles contributed to this story.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Analysts try to decipher first lady's 'Talk'

By Susan Page and Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — For more than a year, her husband's indiscretions dominated the nation's headlines. For months, she ignored shouted questions about the issue from reporters in New York.

Now that Hillary Rodham Clinton has finally broken her silence about the affair that prompted President Clinton's impeachment, political analysts wonder: Why did she talk to *Talk* magazine? And what's the political impact on her likely New York Senate race and Vice President Gore's presidential aspirations?

Some analysts say Hillary Clinton has pre-empted a difficult issue in a friendly forum, enabling her to refuse to answer more questions about it in the future. "A smart thing to do," Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf says. Others question whether that strategy will work. "She poured gasoline on the fire," Republican pollster Glen Bolger warns.

The fuel: In an interview in the premiere issue of New York-based *Talk*, scheduled to be on newsstands today, Clinton describes her husband's unfaithfulness as a "sin of weakness" and places some blame for his marital infidelities as an adult on the effects of emotional abuse he suffered as a child.

"There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother," she says. Acknowledging that he had



Clinton: Was interview 'a smart thing to do' or 'gasoline on the fire'?

been unfaithful during their marriage, she says she thought the problem was "resolved" 10 years ago. Then along came White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Aides to Hillary Clinton deny the comments were the result of political calculation. Two of her top political advisers say they didn't know beforehand that she planned to address the questions she had dodged for so long.

"This is someone that she has been friendly with for some time and felt comfortable with," spokeswoman Marsha Berry said of the interviewer.

Lucinda Franks, who is married to Manhattan district attorney and Democratic Party stalwart Robert Morgenthau. In the article, Franks says she met the first lady at a party on Martha's Vineyard two years ago and conducted a series of interviews with her over several months.

Others scoff at the suggestion that the enormously self-disciplined Clinton would unintentionally lift the veil on her marriage.

Instead, the assumption in many Democratic and Republican salons is that she decided, as a fledgling political candidate, that she would have to answer the questions at some time and in some way. Many voters would be uneasy about her until she did so, the reasoning goes.

"In some ways, it was less important what she said than that she attempted to grapple with this issue," says Stuart Rothenberg, editor and publisher of the nonpartisan *Rothenberg Political Report*.

"It gets an obvious issue out in the open in her own way," Sheinkopf says. "It allows her to control the argument and the discussions about that issue."

Others say she has revived an issue that many Americans were happy to see fade away, and in doing so, has abandoned the stoic attitude that helped boost her approval ratings. What's more, some critics accuse her of using psychobabble to shift blame from her husband and of raising new questions about his background.

The interview also might have repercussions for Al Gore, who has seen his presidential bid burdened by voter dismay about Bill Clinton. Though the interview helps "enoble" Hillary Clinton, Sheinkopf says, it raises an issue that is all trouble for Gore.

Asked at a White House event Monday whether he had a reaction to the article, Gore replied, "Nope" and walked away.

And Bill Clinton? The president is "comfortable" with the views expressed by his wife, White House spokesman Joe Lockhart told reporters.

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, Hillary Clinton's most likely Republican opponent in the Senate race, told reporters he had no intention of pursuing the issue.

"I don't believe somebody's private life... should be part of a political campaign," said Giuliani, who has faced rumors about his own marriage. "I have no desire to probe Mrs. Clinton's private life."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY: BABBLING IN TALK

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1999

MRS. Patrick Campbell, a Victorian-era actress and a friend of George Bernard Shaw, had it exactly right: "It doesn't matter what you do in the bedroom as long as you don't do it in the street and frighten the horses." The Clintons should pay heed. They are once again scaring the horses.

The culprit this time is Hillary. She has reopened the whole seamy tale of Oval Office non-sex by granting an interview to Talk magazine. Besides being unnecessary, it is so dopey in places we can only conclude that her husband strayed partially because he craved intellectual companionship. Hillary may test well — and she gives a great speech — but in matters of common sense she is bit of a ditz. Monica, at least, knew the score.

What can we make of a woman who talks the language of afternoon television — an amalgam of psychobabble and fortune-cookie wisdom, with a dollop of religion here and there? For instance, she attributes her husband's meandering ways to having been "scared by abuse" — a conflict, it turns out, between his mother and his grandmother.

"A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation," she told Talk. "There is always the desire to please each one."

As long as Hillary has brought out the couch, let's put her on it and wonder why she

gave this interview. Why open up this subject once again, inflict on us yet more stuff about the Clintons' marriage? I liked it better when Hillary just kept her mouth shut. She had been wronged, but she remained loyal and mum. After all, there was nothing to explain. Most of the country had stuck with Bill Clinton. Why should she be different?

But no. We have to understand that Clinton "is a very good man" who has — how shall we put it? — this "weakness." It is something like a birth defect, a grandma-inflicted psychosis that left him panting for almost any woman with a pulse. What's more, Hillary says her husband lied about



RICHARD COHEN

his affair with Lewinsky not out of expediency, but out of consideration for her. "He couldn't protect me," she says, "and so he lied."

Such a woman cannot, should she ever reach the Senate, be trusted with government secrets. She'll believe anything.

It turns out that the famous, amorphous "they" still have it in for Clinton. Among other things, "they are jealous of him." Who are these "theys"? Are they the right-wing con-

spirators of both myth and fact? We are never told, and the question, it seems, was never asked. "Talk," it turns out, is a misnomer. It should have been called "Listen."

So we don't know how Hillary — a candidate for the U.S. Senate, after all — feels on a variety of matters. We would like to know if Hillary thinks it was OK for Bill to lie to the grand jury. We would like to know if she agrees with his definition of sex. We would like to know — as long as we've got her for an interview — what happened to those Rose law firm billing records and how come she never heard of Castle Grande and ... But Talk does not ask. Talk is in speechless awe.

Little wonder. The magazine accompanied Hillary on at least two overseas trips and found she left miracles in her wake. "Without her, we would have no economic boom," says the secretary of state for Northern Ireland. When she walks into a mosque in Egypt, she does so "like a common Egyptian woman." In Morocco, the U.S. ambassador courageously and, no doubt, candidly, credits his boss's wife with putting "the spotlight" on that country. No one has anything even mildly critical to say about her.

But Talk has done Hillary no favor. Instead, the article raises real questions about her sagacity, her knowledge of how she sounds to others and — not least — her political wisdom. The questions unasked in this piece will be asked by others. Everything's back in play — including, we are authoritatively told, the Clintons themselves.

"We've slowly seen a physical passion come back into their lives," says Hillary's chief of staff, Melanne Verveer.

The rest of us, though, are still having our Clinton problem. What is the point of dragging us back into the Clinton family quarters? Why do we have to go through this muck again? More and more I hear people saying they just want the Clintons to go. Free us of this mess. Yet here comes Hillary with even more — his grandmother, his mother, his weakness, his desire to protect her. Stop it!

The horses, as Mrs. Campbell might say, have had it.



Would you buy a used car from this couple? How about the latest excuse for his philandering?

Reform

PHOTOCOPIED
PRESERVATION

Hill's talk to Talk shows false intimacy

I KNOW we're living in a confessional culture, but Hillary Clinton has given us way too much information about her emotional life.

In a revealing interview in the debut issue of Talk magazine, Clinton airs the dirty little secrets behind her strained marriage and the cheating ways of her errant husband. Alluding to psychological abuse suffered by Bill Clinton when he was 4 years old, the first lady claims her serially adulterous spouse has a "dysfunction" that explains his abominable behavior. The poor guy needs her help, you see (it is a "sin of weakness, not a sin of malice," says Hillary) and thus the first lady is willing to keep looking the other way for eternity.

Now I'm not criticizing Hillary Clinton because she chose to stay with the perennially priapic president. The decision was hers to make, and I don't think any woman could predict how she would react to her husband's infidelity until it happened. Most women I know, however, believe Hillary was a fool for putting up with Bill's constant affairs, and I find it disturbing that she blames his background, but not him.

What I really object to is the first lady's shocking display of false intimacy: I haven't felt this uneasy about public revelation since I read about the president's dalliance with Monica Lewinsky and a cigar in the Starr Report, last summer's best-selling beach read.

Hillary's frank talk is so painfully private, it's the kind of thing you only expect to hear from someone else if they're sitting next to you in group therapy. Of course, we've all played armchair psychologist, trying to figure out what would drive a president to take such great sexual risks in the Oval Office, then publicly lie about it to the country and his family. We've wondered aloud why a woman as formidable as his wife would put up with so many years of obvious philandering.

But the real answers, as fascinating as they may be, are none of our collective business. If they had to be revealed at all, it should have been a decade from

now in a thoughtful biography of the Clintons written by someone like Doris Kearns Goodwin, the historian who unraveled the complicated union of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt. By drawing us into her marital bedroom in real time — where, the first lady reports, she and the president talk constantly and "like to lie in bed and watch old movies" — Hillary Clinton has discarded her dignity.

I don't doubt for a moment that Clinton's decision to "out" her husband as the emotionally damaged man we already knew him to be is a calculated political move. Realizing that her Senate run against Rudy Giuliani could be more of an uphill battle than she first expected, Clinton has decided to invoke the halcyon days of her public humiliation during the Lewinsky scandal. Remember that Clinton's popularity soared when she brilliantly played the role of Loyal Wife Scorned. She is essentially reviving the moribund issue to remind voters — especially older women — why they may have admired her in the first place.

I'm inclined to believe reports that the White House was blindsided by the first lady's tell-all interview. One aide was quoted as saying it was "a surprise"; another expressed relief that dealing with it was not his problem. Hillary's husband, on the other hand, must have known what was coming, but didn't dare defend himself. After years of mistreating his wife, he knew it was payback time, Hillary's long-awaited moment to exact her revenge.

It's possible that this tasteless public-relations ploy will blow up in the first lady's face. By cashing in on her marital woes, she's essentially doing exactly what she claimed she was trying to avoid — remaining in her husband's shadow. Her "disclosures" about her marriage may be titillating, but they don't tell us anything at all about Hillary Clinton, the aspiring Senate candidate. In fact, they underscore the point that we still haven't heard a substantive word from her campaign. Now that we have the Clintons' marital mess behind us, let's move on to the issues that affect New York.

Hillary's frank talk is so painfully private, it's the kind of thing you only expect to hear from someone else if they're sitting next to you in group therapy

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Bill's OK with first lady's 'abuse'-excuse theory

By DEBORAH ORIN in Washington
and ROBERT HARDT Jr. in N.Y.

President Clinton is "comfortable" with the bombshell interview in which wife Hillary blames his cheating on being "scarred by abuse" at age 4, the White House said yesterday.

But Clinton spokesman Joe Lockhart stressed that the "abuse" cited by the first lady wasn't physical but an emotional tug-of-war between his mother and grandmother.

The president's defense of his wife's let-it-all-hang-out interview in the first issue of *Talk* magazine came as political circles buzzed over the interview and possible fallout for her New

York Senate bid.

Democrats and Republicans alike expressed shock that the first lady blabbed about matters she normally claims belong in a sacrosanct "zone of privacy."

"My God, why did she do it?" was a common reaction. But the White House claimed to be pleased.

"[Clinton] told me from the reports he's gotten it is a generally favorable article about the first lady, that he's comfortable with the views expressed in the article and the fact she did the interview," Lockhart said.

Lockhart also insisted that Clinton "believes he is responsible for his actions."

At City Hall, Mayor Giuliani

— Mrs. Clinton's likely Republican rival for the Senate — said only, "I have no desire to probe Mrs. Clinton's private life."

Giuliani said private life should be a campaign issue only if "it truly affects their job performance, like they don't show up for work or they're in great distress."

Asked if he now feels compelled to publicly discuss his own marriage — a source of speculation because he and wife Donna Hanover rarely appear together — Giuliani replied, "I don't discuss my private life."

The *Talk* article's author, Lucinda Franks, told CNN she

thinks Mrs. Clinton agreed to the interview to try to improve her public image as she eyes a possible bid to replace retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan.

She said the first lady believes she has been falsely "stereotyped" as a "cold, calculating political wife" or a "soft thinker of romance and fantasy" and that people "don't understand her, don't get her."

Mrs. Clinton's White House spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Mrs. Clinton agreed to the interview because she has "a friendship" with Franks, wife of a well-known Democrat, Manhattan DA Robert Morgenthau,

and "felt comfortable."

In the interview, the first lady said she thought her husband had "conquered" his cheating 10 years ago — and excused his Sexgate lies on grounds that he was trying to protect her and that he had been hurt by abuse as a child.

"He was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse," Mrs. Clinton said, without giving details.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Upstate, Mayor Talks the Talk Of a Formal Senate Candidate

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

ROCHESTER, Aug. 23 — While continually reminding everyone that he is not, just yet, an official candidate for United States Senate, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani looked like one today as he stumped energetically in and around Rochester, visiting a housing complex for families struggling to get off welfare, greeting local Republicans and holding two fund-raisers for his still undeclared campaign.

The fund-raisers included Mr. Giuliani's first full-blown upstate event in the ballroom of a major hotel — a \$250 per person buffet dinner that raised about \$50,000. He also raised \$30,000 at an earlier cocktail party held at an inn overlooking Canandaigua Lake. Later, he met privately with Thomas B. Golisano, the former gubernatorial candidate and founder of the Independence Party.

"I really am very encouraged by the tremendous enthusiasm and tremendous support that I have seen all day here," Mr. Giuliani told the guests at the buffet dinner at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here. When he invited questions after his speech, one man called out, "Mayor, are you officially running?" Mr. Giuliani paused for a second.

"I am not officially running," he said twice, seeming to emphasize his words as much for himself as for his audience. "But we're getting there."

For most of the day, however, Mr. Giuliani seemed to be there already, as he pumped hands, praised the Republican Party and repeatedly chided Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is his likely Democratic opponent.

At each stop he focused his re-

minds on his record as Mayor, on Mrs. Clinton as a carpetbagger who has never held elective office, and on his allegiance to Republican philosophies as well as to the party's Presidential candidates for next year. "If people like the job I have done for New York City," he said over and over, "I'll do the same job for the entire state. If you don't like the job I did, then vote against me."

Mr. Giuliani began his visit to northwestern New York at the Wilson Commencement Park in Rochester, an unusual housing complex for families struggling to make the transition from public assistance. The complex, with 32 town houses, day care services, on-site counseling and other support services offers low-cost housing for up to two years as parents begin new jobs.

Mr. Giuliani toured the complex, posed for photographs with infants in the day care center and pronounced it "very, very impressive." At a news conference after the tour, he took the opportunity to boast of his own success in slashing New York City's welfare rolls, while acknowledging that the city did not have a program like the Wilson center.

In a brief interview with a local 24-hour television news station, he said: "I don't know when I am going to announce. I feel like I am getting close."

Then, he rushed off to give a rousing speech at the Monroe County Republican Party headquarters, where he recalled New York's support for Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984: "If we can vote for Ronald Reagan, we can vote for George W. Bush, right?"

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Time for Gun Control?

Buford O'Neal Furrow Jr., arrested yesterday for opening fire on a day-care room in a Los Angeles Jewish community center on Tuesday, has put gun control back on the table.

This is a debate fraught with peril. Furrow's hate-filled attack injured three children and two women. In many minds, those victims belong on the same casualty list as the dead of Columbine and all the other recent school shootings — and they add up to a demand that *something* be done.

But what? Some 240 million guns are already out there in America, and the laws now on the books were meant pretty much to keep firearms out of the hands of children, incompetents, crooks — and crazy people such as Buford Furrow, who told officials yesterday that "he wanted to be a wake-up call to America to kill Jews."

Furrow's anti-Semitism is longstanding: He has been a member of the Aryan Nation, roomed with a founder of The Order (another hate group) and has been linked to Christian Identity (yet another).

Moreover, Furrow is apparently no stranger to mental illness. Last year, it's reported, he tried to commit himself to the Fairfax Psychiatric Hospital — and then attacked staff members with a knife, a crime for which he pleaded guilty and did time.

It boggles the mind, on one level, that he had access to firearms; even Second Amendment extremists usually concede that felons and the mentally ill have no right to possess guns.

And the courts have found, consistently, that even law-abiding Americans have no unconditional right to firearms access.

But that doesn't deprive the Second Amendment of all meaning — both as a matter of constitutional law, and as the underpinning of the presumed right in a free society for law-abiding citizens to focus their interests as they will.

Yes, the courts have allowed gun registration, but (so far) not outright confiscation. Politically speaking, movement in that direction would be a practical impossibility — and would be bad policy anyway, and certainly not one to be adopted in the heat of immediate crisis.

True, New York's gun-control laws are considerably more restrictive than federal statutes. But New York's constitution has no Second Amendment per se, and its gun laws have been fully tested in state courts.

In light of this, the relevant question here must be: Are New Yorkers any safer for their harsher gun laws? Arguably yes, of late — because they are being enforced. But the mother of Ari Halberstam, shot to death on the Brooklyn Bridge by an anti-Semitic gunman in 1994, surely would disagree. She calls for even stronger gun-control laws here, which is her right.

Nationally, though, the question basically has become this: How best to keep guns out of the hands of men like Furrow, while at the same time respecting the rights of firearm owners who have no intent to harm others?

If this debate is undertaken in fear and confusion — understandable emotions in times like this — the end result could well be a national sensibility that could lead to panic-driven abridgment of other, less ambiguous elements of the Constitution. Starting with the First, Fourth and Fifth Amendments, for example.

We have no answers, though we recognize the sea change in the debate since Columbine.

"We continue to believe that law-abiding citizens who wish to exercise their right to own firearms should not be penalized for the crimes of madmen."

But we also believe that there is more at stake here than anyone's interpretation of the Second Amendment.

Hillary: No Clue About New York

What's the surest sign that a candidate for political office in New York has no real understanding of the realities of the Empire State? Well, treating Al Sharpton like a serious, responsible political force is far more revealing than rooting for the Chicago Cubs.

Yet that's what Hillary Clinton has decided to do. Pander to Sharpton, that is.

Just 10 days ago, we predicted that Sharpton's headquarters would soon turn up as a stop on one of the first lady's "listening" tours. Now a spokesman tells The Post's Bob Hardt that Hillary intends to "listen to as many people as possible in the coming months, and I expect that will include Rev. Sharpton."

Well, there's no doubt that if she sits down one-on-one with Sharpton, Hillary had better be prepared to listen — once the Rotund Rev starts talking. Mrs. Clinton will be hard-pressed to get a word in edgewise.

But why is she even going to meet with him at all? Probably for the same reason that she and her husband have invited him to the White House, first for a conference on police brutality and then for a ceremony honoring the Yankees: because Al Sharpton is a media hound whose rhetorical overkill attracts the TV cameras.

And make no mistake, Sharpton expects his sitdown with Mrs. Clinton to be a

major media event: "It could be good or it could be cosmetic," he says.

If Mrs. Clinton was in any way familiar with New York, she'd undoubtedly know that, for all his media success, Sharpton is a relatively impotent political force. Friendly journalists may pretend that the Rev. Al "almost won" the 1997 Democratic mayoral primary, but his campaigns invariably produce the same crowd of voters to the polls — who certainly aren't going to cast their ballots for Rudy Giuliani.

Clearly, Mrs. Clinton believes all those glowing press accounts of Sharpton's newfound "moderation" and "political legitimacy" — which explains why she's willing to go court a rabbi-rouser who remains unrepentant about his role in perpetrating the Tawana Brawley hoax, or in the Freddy's Fashion Mart murders.

Will Hillary ask Sharpton about his most recent hoax — his charge that police "savagely beat" to death a drug courier who, it turned out, died from ingesting glassine bags of cocaine that he'd swallowed to destroy evidence? New York is waiting for an apology on that one, too.

If Mrs. Clinton knew anything about New York, she'd realize that paying homage to Al Sharpton will send a telling message to a lot of voters in this state.

Unfortunately for her, those voters will probably have a pretty telling message for her in return.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

CLINTONS' VISIT: The Hamptons are bracing for this weekend's events for Bill and Hillary Clinton. Fingers are crossed about the traffic, though fashion exec Fern Mallis swears it wasn't a problem last year — because New Yorkers stayed home to avoid it all. Well-connected strategist Liz Robbins says the cocktail lawn party she's hosting in East Hampton Saturday will be "intimate." She means 300 or fewer, because some people are overpaying for the \$1,000 tickets; some won't even attend. So Robbins, whose hubby is newsman Doug Johnson, figures she'll make \$400,000 easily without packing 'em in. Hillary, would-be Senate nominee, should get a nice cut. Phoebe Snow will sing; you might spot Billy Joel, Antonio Banderas and Melanie Griffith.

Then the Clintons head to a crush at the East Hampton airport hangar, at \$250 a head, for Saxophone Club Dems, with Jon Stewart as emcee. Wyclef Jean will sing. Designer Vera Wang, longtime chum of the first lady, plans an elegant lunch Sunday for 80 to 100 at her home on fashionable Gin Lane in Southampton. For \$5,000 a plate, you get sea bass from Nick and Toni's famed eatery. A few seats are available from the Demo-

cratic National Committee. This began as a ladies' lunch, but a lot of men pleaded to go. Bill won't be at this one. Sunday night, producer Jane Rosenthal and hubby Craig Hatkoff host a Japanese-themed dinner for 125 catered by Nobu, in a tent at their Bridgehampton home. Her film partner Robert De Niro is expected; George Clooney and Jon Bon Jovi might stick their heads in. These tickets are a \$25,000 per couple.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Raises \$250,000 At Second Vacation Event

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

EDGARTOWN, Mass., Aug. 22 — Hillary Rodham Clinton held the second fund-raising event of her vacation today, greeting nearly 250 people at a brunch at the Martha's Vineyard home of Frank Blonid, a former chief executive of Viacom.

The price of admission was \$1,000 a ticket, yielding the First Lady — and her expected New York Senate campaign — nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

Her husband, President Clinton, joined her but did not address the audience and did not participate in the picture-taking as Mrs. Clinton stood with guests for individual snapshots.

Mr. Clinton did, however, play the saxophone, which he borrowed from the high school jazz band that was entertaining at the brunch and belted out "My Funny Valentine" in honor of a couple celebrating their 35th wedding anniversary. The event was closed to the press, but Joe Lockhart, Mr. Clinton's spokesman, described the President's rendition as jazzy.

The brunch was one more event in a swirl of socializing since the Clintons arrived here Thursday for a vacation. They have had little time to spend watching television, much to the dismay of the Republican National Committee in Washington.

The committee began saturating cable television here today with a commercial aimed at an audience of one, the President, urging him to agree to the "lock box" on Social Security, which would require that excess Social Security money be used only to reduce the national debt or insure the retirement system's long-term viability.

The weather has been overcast and drizzly, but the Clintons have been out and about. After this morning's brunch, they headed to a restaurant, Balance, to celebrate the birthday of Kelly Craighead, a longtime aide to both Clintons.

Upon leaving the restaurant, the President encountered Mark O'Connor, a Boston bicycle messenger, who complained about laws that impose fines for not wearing a bicycle helmet. The President told him that not wearing a helmet was risky. Mr. O'Connor said he was a slow and

careful rider and that his helmet sometimes blocked his view. Mr. Clinton told him, "You may be slow, but the streets are fast."

Mrs. Clinton will take a break from her fund-raising until next Saturday, when the family will leave Martha's Vineyard and head for the Hamptons, where they will stay at the home of Steven Spielberg, the film director. She has scheduled four fund-raising events next weekend, two in connection with the Democratic National Committee and two more when the family visits the Finger Lakes in New York. Mrs. Clinton was expected to raise about \$800,000 during the two-week vacation, said Howard Wolfson, her campaign spokesman.

After the Clintons flew to Nantucket from Martha's Vineyard on Friday for the first of Mrs. Clinton's fund-raisers, the Republicans com-

A summer getaway helps keep Mrs. Clinton in the spotlight.

plained that the First Lady was raising money while taxpayers were footing the travel bill.

Mark D. Pfeifle, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee, said Mrs. Clinton's political travel cost taxpayers an average of \$20,000 an hour.

Mr. Wolfson said the campaign would reimburse the Government for the cost of a first-class airplane ticket to Nantucket, adding that the reimbursement policy was the same as the one used during previous administrations.

Mr. Pfeifle said, however, that the cost of a first-class ticket was much less than the actual cost of travel for Mrs. Clinton and her entourage.

Mr. Wolfson said Republicans had not objected when the families of Republican Presidents made political trips and reimbursed the Government for the cost of the air fare.

The New York Times

National Report

MONDAY, AUGUST 23, 1999

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PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

The price is right

The Republican National Committee is taking advantage of cheap cable TV rates up Martha's Vineyard way to send a message to President Clinton, who is vacationing on the Massachusetts island.

The RNC is running a 30-second spot on CNN and other cable networks there, asking Mr. Clinton to phone Sen. Tom Daschle of South Dakota and urge the Senate Democratic leader to back the Republican "lock-box" plan for Social Security.

This column hears that each airing costs the RNC only \$4.

Tokens of remorse

President Clinton is sparing no effort to get back in his wife's good graces, writes Dick Morris, who has known the Clintons for years.

"After Monica, the president had a lot of 'I'm sorrys' to say. What better way to say them than with the gift of a Senate seat?

How better to change the subject than a switch from his guilt to her ambition? The timing of her candidacy, coming right on the heels of his acquittal, makes the whole matter suspect," Mr. Morris wrote in the New York Post.

"It is hard to imagine the politics of an entire state turned on its head and a White House transformed into a campaign machine in a president's desperate attempt to atone for his adultery. It smacks of Henry VIII switching Britain's religion and triggering a hundred years of civil war in order to divorce his wife."

Mr. Morris added: "These tokens of his remorse are increasingly less touching and more intrusive. The most recent was his decision to pardon the Puerto Rican terrorists of the FALN. Anyone who doesn't believe the timing, and likely the substance, of Bill's decision was linked to Hillary's courtship of New York's large Puerto Rican vote is too naive for politics."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Fund-raiser's ship is sure to come in

By DAVID SEIFMAN City Hall Bureau Chief

One of the city's top real-estate developers is backing a sure winner in the U.S. Senate race — rounding up \$100,000 each for Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Rodham Clinton in separate, but otherwise identical, events.

Larry Silverstein has invited friends to join him and his wife, Klara, aboard his yacht for a \$1,000-a-ticket fund-raiser for the first lady. The boat departs Chelsea Piers on Sept. 14.

Yet he held another fund-raiser for Giuliani just six weeks ago aboard the same boat, departing from the same pier.

Howard Rubenstein, Silverstein's spokesman, said the developer had confirmed the dual events.

"Beyond that, he has no comment," Rubenstein said.



HILLARY CLINTON
Sets sail Sept. 14.

Veteran political observers said it was a first, even in the hedge-your-bets world of big-money politics.

"I don't think I've ever heard of something like

NEW YORK POST
EXCLUSIVE

this," said Gene Russianoff of the New York Public Interest Research Group.

Russianoff said it's not unusual for major contractors and developers to give to both sides.

But acting as a sponsor for competing candidates "definitely seems new to me," he said.

"It certainly visibly illustrates that it's all about protecting your business interests, and not about ideas or ideology."

One source in the mayor's campaign said, with obvious sarcasm, that Sil-

verstein's actions show "he's a real man of principle."

Campaign records show this isn't the first time Silverstein has supported opposing candidates.

In 1993, he gave \$1,000 to both Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman and to Alan Hevesi, who unseated her in a bitter primary.

Since Clinton's exploratory committee doesn't have to file its first financial reports until January, it's difficult to assess how many contributors will end up on both the Clinton and Giuliani lists.

But when the first lady heads to the Hamptons this weekend for a fund-raiser hosted by designer



LARRY SILVERSTEIN
Hedging his bets?

Vera Wang, she's sure to encounter at least one Giuliani supporter — Wang's husband, financier Arthur Becker.

Campaign records show Becker contributed \$2,000 to the mayor's campaign on June 14.

NAMES & FACES

Musician in Chief

A Martha's Vineyard fund-raiser for **Hillary Rodham Clinton** got a little funky yesterday when her husband picked up a spare saxophone and joined a high school band providing the entertainment.

President Clinton belted out a jazzy "My Funny Valentine" to honor a couple celebrating their 35th wedding anniversary.

The \$1,000-a-plate brunch for 250 was held at the home of former Universal Studios executive **Frank Biondi Jr.** and his wife, **Carol**, in Edgartown, Mass., to pledge support for Mrs. Clinton's expected New York Senate run.

Aside from his solo, the president kept a low profile on the Clintons' fourth day of socializing with their

Vineyard pals. "This is her event," White House spokesman **Joe Lockhart** said. "He's just here to attend and see some friends."

Those island regulars included columnist **Art Buchwald** and lawyers **Alan Dershowitz** and **Vernon Jordan**.



President Clinton, saluting onlookers yesterday on Martha's Vineyard, where he entertained guests at a fund-raiser for the first lady's Senate bid.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Report

+ YNE A19

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1999

The New York Times

Like the First Lady, Giuliani Backs Dairy Compact

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ENDICOTT, N.Y., Aug. 19 — Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani flew into this Southern Tier town today and announced that he had changed his mind and now supported Federal legislation to prop up prices for New York's dairy farmers. Mr. Giuliani said he no longer feared that the legislation would lead to higher milk costs for downstate consumers.

Mr. Giuliani's declaration — made while attending a steak roast that has become a summer political ritual for Republican candidates and officeholders — puts him in line with his presumed Democratic opponent in the race for United States Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton. The First Lady declared her support for the dairy compact, an almost mandatory position in a region with many struggling dairy farmers and a beleaguered economy, during a visit to Syracuse last month.

"If I was in the Senate, I would vote for it," Mr. Giuliani said at a news conference at the 11th annual steak roast arranged by State Senator Thomas W. Libous, whose event typically draws more than 3,000 people with the promise of a lot of steak and just a little candidate talk. With that, Mr. Giuliani dove into the crowd to shake hands before sitting down to eat.

Mr. Giuliani said he had changed his mind after being assured by Republican members of the state's Congressional delegation that changes to the pending law, as well as regulations that would govern New York's entry into the Northeast Interstate Dairy Compact, would address the concerns that had once led him to oppose it: that it would lead to higher costs for consumers and raise the cost of school lunches.

The Mayor discussed his position in the midst of a stepped-up schedule of upstate visits in anticipation of a probable run for the Senate. He asserted that he had actually announced his new position at a little-noticed speech in Cooperstown at least two months ago.

But when reporters called Mr. Giuliani's office for comment after Mrs. Clinton weighed in the issue on July 8, his aides made no mention of the speech Mr. Giuliani referred to this evening. At the time, they noted that New York City had lobbied in Albany against the legislation that would have allowed New York to join the compact.

Mr. Giuliani's press secretary, Sunny Mindel, who accompanied Mr. Giuliani on the trip here, said she was unable to say why the position Mr. Giuliani outlined today had not been discussed at that time.

In any event, Mr. Giuliani's new stance

removes what clearly could have a barrier between him and Republican leaders, like Mr. Libous, in this part of New York.

"My earlier concerns had been satisfied," Mr. Giuliani said. "I announced that, actually, about two months ago. It was at night, it was at a dinner, and there were only two or three members of the press around and you never reported it."

The subject of the Northeast Interstate Dairy Compact has been challenging politically for both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani. The First Lady, in supporting New York's inclusion in the compact, found herself breaking from the policy that had been advocated by her husband's Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Giuliani had to weigh the demands of what is a very important issue upstate, where the Republican Mayor needs to do well against Mrs. Clinton, against the concerns of his current constituents, New York City consumers. Another political aspect of the milk compact is the fact that environmentalists support it because it assures the viability of small dairy farms.

The compact is scheduled to expire on Oct. 1. The legislation before Congress would renew it and enable New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Pennsylvania to join the cartel.



State Senator Thomas W. Libous, left, of Binghamton, N.Y., and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

**NEAL TRAVIS
NEW YORK**

By-the-Sea will be Clinton-free

PEOPLE on Southampton's exclusive Gin Lane were coming down with the vapors yesterday in the belief Hillary and Bill Clinton would be staying in their midst later this month.

The rumors started after Sunday night's big charity party at producer Marty Richards' Gin Lane manse, By-the-Sea. Late in the evening, Richards was summoned from the main tent to take a call from Hillary, who had her feet up at Camp David after spending the day house-hunting in Westchester.

The 350-odd guests at the party assumed the call meant the Clintons had decided on Marty's place for their fund-raising East End vacation. In fact, Hillary was calling to thank Richards

for past support and for offering his home to them. I understand the White House first approached him in February about the first family borrowing the beachfront estate.

I hear that Hillary told Richards they have decided to stay at Steven Spielberg's East Hampton complex, probably because it's easier to secure from terrorists and process servers.

Whatever, Richards then put Michael Bolton on the phone. Bolton, who had knocked himself out singing for the classy crowd in return for their contributions to his Women and Children at Risk cause, was suitably impressed and promised Hillary he'd "do anything to help" her Senate bid.

The Skinny for Hill

GIVEN that it takes a lot of villages to get yourself elected to statewide office, Hillary Rodham Clinton would do well to bone up on the issues vital to the little upstate town of Skaneateles before she and Bill vacation there after their Hamptons sojourn.

The main topic in "Skinny-atlas" is the amount of truck traffic on Route 20, which runs westward from Albany right through the town. Hillary could promise to get them a bypass, if she's elected to the Senate — a pledge that might win over some of the rock-ribbed Republicans who live or vacation there.

Of course, even people of the opposite political persuasion are impressed by the power of the presidency, so the Clintons will probably get to chum around with Pat Barrett, former state GOP chairman, who lives just down the road. Barrett, who got awfully rich when he owned Avis, flies his own plane and has the biggest houseboat on the lake. Well worth knowing.

As for Clinton himself, he should be aware that the Skaneateles Country Club is the place to play golf. Club officials refuse to comment on how they'll handle the first duffer's presence, but maybe Bill's people can get him a guest pass by calling the club pro, Mike Doctor, or president, Jeff Dove.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Smith backs away

Sen. Robert C. Smith of New Hampshire, who bolted the Republican Party a month ago, said yesterday will not seek the presidential nomination of the U.S. Taxpayers Party and may terminate his candidacy entirely.

Mr. Smith said he decided he would rather remain an independent senator and White House contender than join the U.S. Taxpayers Party, which will pick its 2000 presidential nominee at a St. Louis convention next month.

"It would not be fair for me to attend their convention and accept their nomination, given my unwillingness to join," Mr. Smith told backers in Bedford, N.H.

Later, in Manchester, Mr. Smith, while fielding questions at a meeting of the local Chamber of Commerce, said he may bring to an end his White House campaign, Reuters news agency reports.

"At this point, I can't tell you for sure what I will do, but I will be able to say probably in about a week," Mr. Smith said.

Mr. Smith said that among the factors he was considering is the health of his wife, Mary Jo, who was undergoing tests after complaining of chest pains and numbness Tuesday.

The senator said he was awaiting the results of tests on his wife. "That will obviously weigh heavily into what I may do," he said.

The Holy Grail

Texas Gov. George W. Bush, at a heated news conference in Austin yesterday, refused to answer the cocaine question, the answer to which has become the political Holy Grail of the press corps since Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle suggested the media were taking it easy on the Republican presidential front-runner.

At a Capitol news conference, Mr. Bush chided reporters who raised the issue, the Associated Press reports.

"Somebody finds it causes ...

Inside Politics

Compiled by Greg Pierce

ignored the question and turned to another reporter who asked him about a different subject.

Web wars

Hillary Rodham Clinton is getting her revenge: a Web site created by a California-based group has come up with YesRudy, a spoof on New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's site promoting his run for the Senate, Agence France-Presse reports.

Almost identical to the mayor's official RudyYes site — the colors, logos and layout are practically the same — the text takes a number of jabs at Mr. Giuliani, including statements he apparently made in 1982 on Haiti.

"Yup, everyone thought Baby Doc was pretty darn bad. ... Everyone except me," the site quotes him as saying about dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, who was overthrown in 1986.

Supporters of Mr. Giuliani previously created a Web site called HillaryNo.com, which makes fun of Mrs. Clinton's political ambitions.

"With no elected governmental experience, never elected to office, her failed health care experiment under her belt, Mrs. Clinton now wants to be part of the Senate," the site says.

and explode bombs at U.S. political and military targets. The remaining five would have their criminal fines waived and only two would serve any additional time. These attacks killed six people, wounded dozens and maimed three New York City police officers: Detective Anthony S. Senft lost an eye and a finger, Detective Richard Pastorella was blinded and Officer Rocco Pascarella lost his leg," Mr. Gallegos said in the letter.

"Your claim that none of these people were involved in any deaths is patently false. As members of the terrorist organization that was planting these bombs, all of them are accessories to the killings as a result of the bomb attacks. Two of the persons to whom you have offered clemency were convicted of a \$7.5 million armored truck robbery, which undoubtedly [was] financed the FALN's 130 bomb attacks."

Mr. Gallegos added: "I can only assume you are again pandering for some political purpose. This time, Mr. President, it must stop before it begins."

Thompson and McCain

Sen. Fred Thompson yesterday endorsed Arizona Sen. John McCain for president.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Exit stage right

With much fanfare late last week, President Clinton visited headquarters of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, primarily a skylight-covered area of the building known as the patio.

"A beautiful area used for ceremonies and VIP visits," says one inside source.

"There are fountains surrounded by columns, and the walls are decorated with large oil portraits of many recent secretaries of agriculture — Republican secretaries, by and large."

The source continues that should anyone doubt "this administration's willingness to use the police state tactics," consider this: Prior to President Clinton arriving at USDA headquarters on Thursday, all of the portraits of the past Republican secretaries of agriculture had been removed from the walls.

This couldn't be, could it? Regardless, it was our duty to find out. We called the office of Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman and were connected to spokesman Andrew Kauders.

Sure enough, Mr. Kauders confirmed upon investigation, as many as 11 or 12 portraits that were on permanent display in the patio were "shifted" for the Clinton event so as not to be in the "backdrop."

All were agriculture secretaries from recent administrations, mainly Bush and Reagan. But you didn't have to be a Republican to get the boot.

Mr. Kauders confirms that the bumping began with the portrait of former Clinton Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, who came under fire for accepting gratuities from persons regulated by the department.

Smell the baloney

Seeking to balance the media scales, Senate campaign organizers for Hillary Rodham Clinton have posted the following memo on the "Hillary 2000" Web site:

"Support the Listening Tour: If you support Hillary's listening tour, call your local radio station or write to your local newspaper and tell them you are glad to know someone is listening to your concerns. A few have criticized Hillary for her listening, but New Yorkers have been responsive at every stop."

Obviously, more than a "few" are criticizing the first lady, or else why would Hillary's lieutenants file such a plea?

Let's pick up a recent copy of

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCain



Hillary Rodham Clinton is asking New Yorkers to speak up on how much they appreciate her listening.

the Elmira Star-Gazette, and turn to the letters-to-the-editor page. Here we find two letters concerning Hillary, the first from Ray Malloy, who points to the Elmira schoolteacher who "apparently has little regard for his students since he carried a sign that read, 'Political Whore.'"

The second letter is from Butch Ray, of Horseheads, N.Y.: "I am writing in an urgent attempt to get the people of the Elmira area — indeed the whole state — to wake up and see the light..."

"Doesn't the state of New York have anybody who would make a good representative? Is the crop of politicians here so bad that we have to import from other states? 'I think the American people have had all they could ever want of anyone even remotely connected with Bill Clinton. Do you really want him living in your state, selling the same brand of baloney he has been selling for the last seven years?'"

"Please, folks, wake up to this woman before it is too late."

Hillary Witch Project

While we're plugging Hillary Rodham Clinton's all-but-certain run for the New York Senate seat

being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, P.J. Gladnick, of pjcomix (www.pjcomix.com), reveals:

"We just published 'Hillary in Wonderland,' Comix starring a certain N.Y. Yankees fan who was named after an obscure New Zealand beekeeper. This comix story is an updated version of 'Alice in Wonderland,' starring Hillary and her adventures in 'Wonderland-by-the-Potomac.'"

"In a couple of weeks we will be publishing a horror story — 'The Hillary Witch Project.'"

Biersack bolts

Carl Biersack, since 1995 the legislative director for Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi, is joining the lobbying firm of Barbour Griffith & Rogers as director of government affairs.

"I am excited to welcome Carl," says founding partner Haley Barbour, former chairman of the Republican National Committee. "Working for the Senate majority leader, he has established a strong reputation on Capitol Hill and played a pivotal role in many legislative victories."

Which included the 1996 Telecommunications Act, ISTEA and the Ocean Shipping Act.

Before arriving on Capitol Hill, Mr. Biersack worked in the Pentagon as assistant deputy director for programs DISC4 (Directorate of Command, Control, Communications and Computers), charged with an annual appropriation of \$3 billion.

Madeleine's Travels

"So pack a very large suitcase."

— State Department spokesman James P. Rubin, advising reporters yesterday that Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, between Sept. 1-8, would be circling the globe — departing the United States for Morocco, Egypt, Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, Syria, Jordan, Vietnam and New Zealand.

• John McCain can be reached at 202/636-3284 or by e-mail at mcmccas@twmail.com.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

COMMENTARY

MONA CHAREN

Political trendiness

The producers of "Seinfeld" had the good judgment to end the show when it was at the height of its popularity. Would that the Clintons had such judgment. And then there's Jerry Springer, but more about him in a moment.

Is it just me, or does this once-great nation seem sentenced to being the unwilling audience for the Clintons' long-running soap opera? With each new installment of their squalid, never-ending tale, one positively pines for the dullness of the Bush years. Or, to quote P.J. O'Rourke, "Ah, the '80s — when sleeping with the president meant attending a Cabinet meeting."

Proving once again that her reputation for high intelligence is overblown, Mrs. Clinton has unburdened herself to Talk magazine and coughed up some whoppers.

"He couldn't protect me," she explained, "so he lied." Now, leaving aside the skein-like interpersonal dynamics this nugget suggests, is this quite the party line? He lied? Lanny Davis, call your office! The president has acknowledged he "misled" people, he has never admitted lying. That's why we've had to endure statements like, "It depends on what your definition of 'is' is."

Oh well, that was last year's tactic. Now, relying upon the electorate's short attention span, the Clintons are changing the story to

suit current needs. As a Senate candidate, Mrs. Clinton evidently did not wish to be viewed as a doormat wife (even if this was her most popular persona with voters). And so she offered her own psychological diagnosis of poor Bill. He was torn between two women, mother and grandmother, at the tender age of 4, she explained. And this, she has been told, "is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

Several psychologists interviewed by the Denver Rocky Mountain News weren't buying. One pointed out that lots of adults who had difficulties as children nevertheless manage to stay faithful to their spouses. Another could not think of a psychological reason why enduring a conflict between mother and grandmother would lead a man to cheat on his wife.

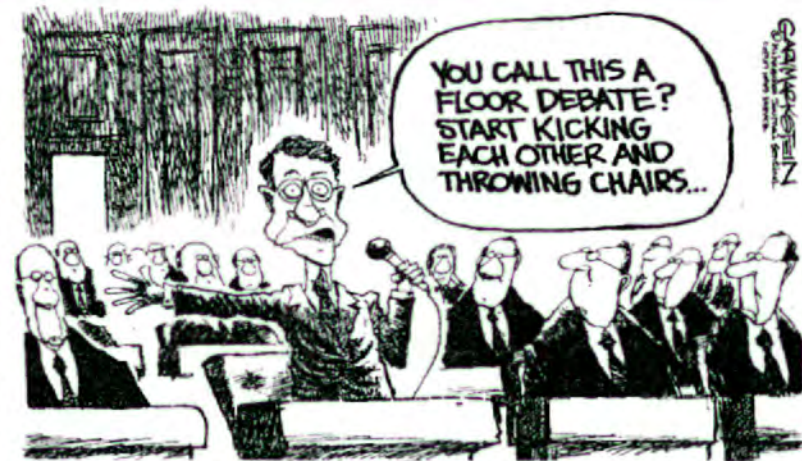
Jeff Dolgan, chief of psychology at Children's Hospital in Denver, observed that it sounded like someone — most likely the president — had told Hillary this. And Dr. Audrey Brodt speculated further that young Bill Clinton had probably learned to play his mother and grandmother off one another and later played his wife off other women.

Now we're getting somewhere. Let's not kid ourselves, Hillary has been a full partner and co-conspirator with Bill from the word go — particularly where his cutting around was concerned. In every crisis involving Bill's women, it was Hillary who rallied the troops, defended her husband publicly, and spat accusations in every direction. It was she who called Jennifer Flowers a liar. It was she who impugned Paula Jones as trailer-park trash and bitterly resisted any talk of settlement. It was she who blamed "a vast, right-wing conspiracy" for the Monica Lewinsky story and she who wondered whether "anti-Arkansas bias" accounted for the many stories of Bill's abhorrent conduct.

Say she was blinded by love if you like, but that's no compliment to a fully grown woman. If she actually thought Mrs. Flowers was lying, how did she account for the fact Bill apologized to Mario Cuomo for comments Mrs. Flowers recorded while also maintaining that the tapes were fraudulent?

But enough about the Clintons. For true uplift it seems we may soon be able to turn to Senate candidate Jerry Springer.

Yes, the man who has made mil-



IF JERRY SPRINGER RAN AND WON THE SENATE...

lions peddling toxic waste on television says that his "true passion" has always been politics. He is considering the overture by local Democratic politicians that he run for the Senate from Ohio. National Democrats are cringing at the idea (the Senate minority leader called it a "joke"), but Ohio

Republicans are gleeful. Bob Bennett, the state's Republican chairman, floated the names of other potential candidates for the Democrats: Howard Stern, Dennis Rodman and Tanya Harding.

The Democrats have already come close. In 1998, they nominated Jeffrey Fieger, Jack Kevorkian's

foul-mouthed lawyer, for governor of Michigan. He was trounced by incumbent John Engler. Perhaps we are seeing the beginnings of the Clinton legacy after all.

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Hillary, get real

By Lee Chafee

Hillary Clinton first rubbed me the wrong way during the 1992 presidential campaign when she and Bill gave their now-notorious "60 Minutes" soft-soap version of his sexcapades. At the time, they were running hard for the political center, filching the family values theme from the pocket of the right as they went.

Hillary was deep in head-band mode — the career woman as demure damsel. But she flashed her true steel with her sneering jab that she was not just "staying at home baking cookies." Like millions of other American women, I had decided that rearing my children full-time would be best for them. As had many others, I gave up a career to take on tasks at home. What kind of a feminist was she anyway?

But there was more to it. It was clear Hillary had been playing someone she was not. The head-band gig was just an act, a pose. There was a calculated phoniness about it. It was also annoying when Hillary, who was whisked into the White House on her husband's

coattails, fancied herself an elected office-holder. No mere first lady she. Hillary Clinton landed the job she wanted, heading up the health-care task force. But Americans hadn't voted for her. It was not clear at all that she was the best choice for the job she got by being Mrs. Clinton. These doubts were confirmed when she proved to be in way over her head.

It wasn't long before it seemed the world had split in two: the Pro-Hillaryites vs. the Anti-Hillaryites. The former threw character issues to the wind, caring only about her policy judgments and social causes. They rallied around her on health care; they hearkened to her call on children; they linked arms with her against the right. The latter, on the other hand, looked more at the woman herself and saw a person obsessed with political power, willing to do anything to get it, and to endure anything to keep it.

Now when Hillary does anything it causes something of a national uproar; her fans and critics come out punching from opposite corners while the press grins ear-to-ear from the ropes.

Of course there's been plenty to spar over. For months it was Hillary's public stoicism in the face of her husband's searing insults that captured the country's

attention — and lifted her high in popular esteem. But not for some of us. Why would a woman of her abilities and social views tolerate such non-stop humiliation, year after year? But there she was, just after his national confession, walking across the South Lawn hand-in-hand with the serial philanderer and their lovely daughter, preceded by Buddy on his leash.

The first family, off to Martha's Vineyard together for a vacation. Another Hillary charade.

Why did she give him even that fig leaf of publicity? What message for strong, proud, modern women was she sending from the bully pulpit? It was as though she herself had won re-election in 1996, and there was no way she was moving out of the White House until her term was up. It looked as though she had put up with so much from him to get there that nothing would strip the reins

from her grasp.

Yes, Hillary was in a most painful and awkward spot. But even given her propensity for masks, there was something pretty cold about her calculated photo-op on the lawn.

But here's the rub: Despite the fact that Hillary is a calculating politician, a Wellesley-educated and a Yale lawyer, her political judgment is iffy at best. She can't even manage a good political smoothing-over, as the recent Talk magazine interview has so disastrously demonstrated.

The interview was handed to her on a silver platter. Hillary's handlers gave her the political opportunity of a lifetime: an interview with a friendly reporter in a glossy magazine premiering at a New York gala under the Statue of Liberty, presided over by mag-maven Tina Brown and Hollywood Clinton moneybags Harvey Weinstein — complete with

built-in glitz, front-page photos, fireworks, movie stars and glitter. She couldn't have asked for a better chance to shine. And yet she blew it. The calculator of all calculators miscalculated.

It would have been possible, although tricky, for Hillary to have maneuvered through the Talk interview in such a way as to defuse her husband's adultery and explain why she stood by him — but she failed. It's been such a long time since she indulged in any genuine discourse in public that she couldn't manage one honest interview.

"He couldn't protect me, so he lied," Hillary opined, noting she thought her husband's infidelity "was resolved 10 years ago. I thought he had conquered it." Good night! She couldn't possibly have believed that. Did she really expect us to?

"He was so young, barely 4, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out [of his memory] and look at it. There was a terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother." So that was it. Granny made him do it. So much for the "vast right-wing conspiracy" she'd carped about last year.

As she went about trying to distance herself from her husband and his baggage, to start standing on her own two feet — she neglected to factor this in: She has stood by her man for so long that many of us have come to block out entirely any "human" side to Hillary. She was being politically

shrewd, we hoped, looking at the bigger picture of her political future. We were banking on her as a brilliant politician — and suddenly here she was, psycho-babbling to Talk: "A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation," Hillary cooed. "There is always a desire to please each one."

Now, I actually believe there's a good possibility that Bill was scarred by his youth and that his lying, cheating ways somehow grew out of this. But for Hillary, this touchy-feely pop psychology was just another political chess move. It may have been true even from her standpoint — but this sudden intimacy was too much, too little, too late to sound real.

She clearly wanted to show Americans, especially New Yorkers, a softer side — and to win our empathy along the way. But it had been so long since she'd exposed anything of her true self that we couldn't shift gears. And in the world of politics, this new "sharing" was a clumsy move.

So now Hillary is like the man exposed behind the curtain in The Wizard of Oz. She's got her flacks issuing statements explaining what she really meant to say. All in all her handling of the whole thing makes one wonder just what kind of job she would do in the Senate. Would Daniel Patrick Moynihan ever have found himself in this kind of a mess? Not a chance.



HILLARY CLINTON

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lee Chafee is a regular contributor to The Washington Times op-ed page.

ART BUCHWALD

Letting the Cad Out of the Bag

We are getting to know more about our presidents' personal lives than we want to.

Even first ladies are spilling the beans on their husbands, as we have just seen with Hillary Rodham Clinton in *Talk* magazine.

This bodes ill for future presidential candidates who might have personal problems that in the past were kept in a White House broom closet.

"Mrs. Dumbarton, what is the weirdest thing that happened to your husband in his youth?"

"When he was a boy, he always had fights with his

sister. Since she was much stronger than he was, he had to be taken to the hospital for stitches on his lips. This made him do stupid things when he grew up."

"Mrs. Dumbarton, the country seems to be in excellent economic shape right now. Does this have anything to do with trips he made to Las Vegas casinos?"

"I knew about the trips, but I felt as long as the country had a budget surplus the president had a right to go where he wanted to."

"Can we talk about White House interns?"

"The White House intern is the key to a strong presidential administration. To function properly, interns must have the freedom to go into the Oval Office anytime they choose to find out how the government works."

"Has the president ever professed a desire to watch X-rated movies on Air Force One?"

"No. It's disgusting what the newspapers are writing about him. I know him better than anybody, and he is a normal person whose only obsession is to save the Social Security system. If that is kinky, let

the voter make the most of it."

"Why are people more interested in the president's sex life than they are in his Medicare programs?" I asked her.

"Because the media just keep after him. When my husband was sworn in as president, the first question he was asked after his inaugural address was, 'Any female lawsuits we should know about?' How can anyone run a country when every woman claims the president was in love with her?"

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Report

+ YNE A15

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1999

The New York Times

Political N

Tax Cut Poses More Danger to Giuliani Than to Mrs. Clinton

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Across the nation, Congressional Republicans fanned out this week to rally support for the \$792 billion tax cut — the cornerstone of their 2000 election effort — that President Clinton has pledged to veto. Across New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton, advocating the Democratic line as she prepares for a probable run for Senate, denounced the same bill as a threat to Medicare, Social Security and the nation's financial health.

Those conflicting political views have now converged at the feet of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the New York Republican who, like Mrs. Clinton, is considering a race for the Senate next year. Suddenly, Mr. Giuliani is finding himself squeezed on one side by Mrs. Clinton and on the other by conservative Republicans who are pressing him to take a position on a piece of legislation that he would, presumably, like to avoid discussing for as long as possible.

Since Ronald Reagan came to Washington in 1981, reducing taxes and government spending have been

the defining issues for Republican officeholders in this nation. That philosophy shaped the nearly \$800 billion tax cut that Congress passed earlier this summer, the largest since Mr. Reagan was in office, and it is the program that Congressional leaders hope to run on next year.

But there is no evidence, pollsters and political consultants said yesterday, that New York voters of either party share quite the passion of Congressional Republicans on tax cuts, particularly during flush economic times. That is particularly true when cuts are presented as coming at the cost of spending on programs that are relatively popular, like Social Security and Medicare.

"Mayor Rudy Giuliani will have a difficult time mobilizing the New York electorate using tax cuts as his message," said Jonathan W. Siegel, director of the Harris Poll Election 2000 unit. "Barring a change in the political or economic environment, they are simply not that compelling an issue to most people."

Initially, Mr. Giuliani, while reiterating his own support for more Fed-

eral tax cuts, declined to say how he would have voted on the tax cut bill, saying he had not had an opportunity to study it. By yesterday, under attack by Judith Hope, the chairwoman of the state Democratic Party, and Representative Rick A. Lazio, the conservative Republican who had threatened to challenge Mr. Giuliani for the senatorial nomination, the Mayor offered a slightly more expansive view on the measure.

Mr. Giuliani said that he backed large tax cuts, but not as large as those that had been legislated by the Republicans.

On one hand, the debate on the Republican tax cut has presented New Yorkers with a sharp and early contrast between the two probable major party candidates for Senate. Over the last few weeks, Mrs. Clinton has been talking first about assuring the viability of two of the nation's largest spending programs, Medicare and Social Security. By contrast, Mr. Giuliani has talked mainly about cutting taxes, particularly the capital gains tax.

Beyond that, Mr. Giuliani's predic-

ament suggests that Mrs. Clinton is not alone in confronting some fairly tricky ground in the year ahead, as each seeks to please the diverse political agendas of supporters.

In Mrs. Clinton's case, the main complication is her husband's administration; for Mr. Giuliani, it is the Republican leadership in Congress, as well as conservative voters in New York.

There is no doubt that the Republican Party, intense in its devotion to defeating Mrs. Clinton, will give Mr. Giuliani some room to move as he seeks office in a state where Democratic voters hold the edge.

"Short of endorsing Al Gore, Rudy Giuliani can do anything he wants, and the Beltway G.O.P. will tolerate it," said Nelson Warfield, a Republican consultant. "Rudy Giuliani has cheated on the national party repeatedly, and on issues like the tax cut, he'll stray again. But the G.O.P. leadership is married to him."

But there is only so far that this Republican in particular can go in defying the Republican leadership in Congress, should he chose to do so.

Mr. Giuliani is already viewed suspiciously in Republican circles, given his moderate position on such issues as abortion rights and gay rights, and for endorsing Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat, in 1994.

Tax cuts are a particularly central issue for the party, as has become clear this year on Capitol Hill. And Washington politics notwithstanding, Mr. Giuliani has to take care not to take positions that discourage Republican voters from turning out. And he presumably needs to make sure that the Conservative Party, which has made no secret of its concerns about Mr. Giuliani's opinions, does not abandon him in the 2000 election.

That is what explains Mrs. Clinton's decision to attack the tax bill at her recent listening seminars; though she never mentions Mr. Giuliani's name, she is trying to force him to deal with the issue.

Still, even in New York, tax cuts are not a cut-and-dried issue, and for all of Mr. Giuliani's difficulties, Mrs. Clinton may not have an easy time using it against him.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In America
BOB HERBERT

Any Day Now

The presumed candidate sits serenely before her specially invited audience. She nods every now and then. When she speaks, it's mostly platitudes, delivered in a monotone. There is no feeling of spontaneity, no sense of Hillary Rodham Clinton descending from her privileged status as First Lady into the real world of the people she hopes to represent in the Senate.

She flies in, hurries from one appearance to another, then flies back to her world. There was a report last night that the Clintons may be interested in a house in Greenburgh, in Westchester County. If that's true, it's not a moment too soon.

There are those who think the carpetbagger problem is no big deal. They are deluded. I hear Democratic voters speaking resentfully about it all the time. A typical comment is: "Who does she think she's fooling with that Yankee cap?"

When Robert Kennedy won his Senate seat in 1964 he ran nearly two million votes behind Lyndon Johnson, who carried the state by 2.7 million votes in his landslide victory over Barry Goldwater. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. reminds us that even though Kennedy ran far behind the President, he was "greatly helped" by Johnson's landslide. Mrs. Clinton will have nothing like those coattails to hang onto.

On Monday the First Lady made an appearance in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. The stop was part of her fifth "listening tour" of New York and her first appearance before a mostly black audience.

Bed-Stuy is an area she will carry with approximately 100 percent of the vote. The residents like her, and there is no way to overstate their dislike of Rudolph Giuliani. But Mrs. Clinton needs even more than 100 percent of the vote from neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy. She needs huge turnouts. And to get them she'll have to do what she's not doing now — roll up her sleeves, step forward and begin to honestly and openly cultivate the voters. Like Robert Kennedy, who offered the gift of hope and was revered in Bed-Stuy, Mrs. Clinton will have to give the people a reason to be excited about her.

The same goes for the rest of the state, which will be a much harder sell than Bed-Stuy. I suspect that when the snooze-a-thon listening tours mercifully end, Mrs. Clinton and her advisers will try to come up with other ways to shield her as

much as possible from the rough-and-tumble of politics in New York.

That would be understandable. There are sharks in these waters. Just ask Rick Lazio. But it would be a mistake. At some point the real Hillary Clinton will have to emerge. Running for the Senate is not for the inauthentic or the faint of heart, and it can't be done from afar.

I keep hearing that there's a lot of time until the election. Forget it. Each passing day is a lost opportunity. Mrs. Clinton has got to work this entire enormous state, and she has to generate the kind of enthusiasm that will translate into big poll numbers, especially among women and ethnic minorities.

At the moment, a number of things

Waiting for Mrs. Clinton to emerge.

look problematic for Mrs. Clinton. One, the Republicans are getting their act together and uniting behind Mr. Giuliani, who is already popular upstate, in the suburbs and, ominously for any Democrat, in the city. Two, whenever Mrs. Clinton establishes a residence here, speculation about the state of her marriage will soar. Fair or not, that will feed into the very real problem of Clinton fatigue. And three, there is already grumbling among blacks in New York City (Ally Sharpton — remember him?) that Mrs. Clinton, like her husband in 1992, may try to finesse the black vote. That is, she may dance at arm's length with the black electorate — close enough to win black votes, but not so close that she offends white voters.

The main reason for Mr. Giuliani's popularity (there is general agreement that it's not his personality) is the sense that he has taken control of the city and improved the quality of life. There is no sense yet that Mrs. Clinton is in control of anything. I'm learning, she says.

Well, it's time to get rid of that script. Tell us that you're running for the Senate, and tell us why. Show us the real Hillary Clinton. Coyness never won anything in New York.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady's aide says press misread infidelities quotes

Denies blaming Clinton's childhood

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton was misinterpreted and does not blame her husband's marital infidelity on the tumult of his childhood, her spokeswoman said Tuesday, despite the apparent link the first lady drew in a much-discussed magazine article.

"She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," spokeswoman Marsha Berry said.

In the debut issue of *Talk* magazine, which went on sale yesterday, Mrs. Clinton said the president was "scarred by abuse" as a child.

"Yes, he has his weaknesses," she told the magazine. "Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined, but it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership."

Expanding on her husband's background, Mrs. Clinton said he was scarred at age 4 by a struggle between his mother and grandmother.

"A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation," she said. "There is always a desire to please each one."

The comment followed a frank discussion about President Clinton's infidelities, in which Mrs. Clinton said her husband "doesn't make any excuses for what he did."

The first lady's office discussed the childhood abuse question after news accounts of Mrs. Clinton's interview focused on that aspect. Mrs. Clinton's quotations were misinterpreted, her spokeswoman said.

"I think that she was basically stating some feelings about his childhood, but that they do not excuse his behavior," she said.

On Monday, White House spokesman Joe Lockhart denied that the young Clinton suffered physical abuse but said: "There

"We've all grown tired of Bill's refusal to take responsibility for his behavior."

—Jeffrey Schaler, American U. psychologist

were difficulties in his family. He faced issues that were hard on him; they were hard on his family."

Meanwhile, a psychologist who specializes in public policy as an adjunct professor at American University ridiculed Mrs. Clinton's excuse for her husband's philandering.

"We've all grown tired of Bill's refusal to take responsibility for his behavior," Jeffrey Schaler said. "Now what we are offered is a new explanation. She's rationalizing his behavior."

Mr. Schaler said Mrs. Clinton appears to be explaining away her husband's extramarital affairs by invoking Freudian philosophy, which has been largely discredited by modern psychiatrists and disparaged by feminists.

The first lady, according to Mr. Schaler, is essentially asserting that her husband suffered from an Oedipus complex, meaning that he subconsciously sought the destruction of his father and the love of his mother.

Mr. Schaler also took issue with Mrs. Clinton's claim that the president's philandering is a "sin of weakness" as opposed to "a sin of malice."

"She's enabling him," Mr. Schaler said. "I suppose a rapist could also say that his crime is a sin of weakness. What she's failing to take into account is the harm that he has caused to others."

• Washington Times White House correspondent Bill Samman contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1999

CLINTON AFFAIRS: Hillary Rodham Clinton's spokeswoman disputed that the first lady blames President Clinton's marital infidelities on childhood emotional trauma. "She did not say the president's childhood in any way caused his behavior, nor does she believe that," Marsha Berry said. Hillary Clinton, when asked by *Time* magazine whether her husband's sexual conduct was an addiction, volunteered that he was "barely 4 when he was scarred by abuse" from the "terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In Wake of Violence, a TV Campaign for Communication

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

The nation's major television networks, in concert with the White House, will blanket the airwaves tonight with a message urging parents to talk with their children about violence in the wake of shootings at public schools and a community center.

In the public service announcement, to air on more than two dozen networks between 8 and 9 p.m., President Clinton says: "Our children need our help to deal with tough issues, like violence. Please, talk with your kids."

The Ad Council calls the coordinated effort "unprecedented," saying it will reach millions of viewers during tonight's "family hour" of TV programming. The announcements will continue airing at various times throughout the year. But some of the campaign's supporters acknowledge that it offers few specific suggestions for parents, and note that it is designed more to ease the fears of preteens than to try to avert youth violence.

The "Talk With Your Kids" cam-

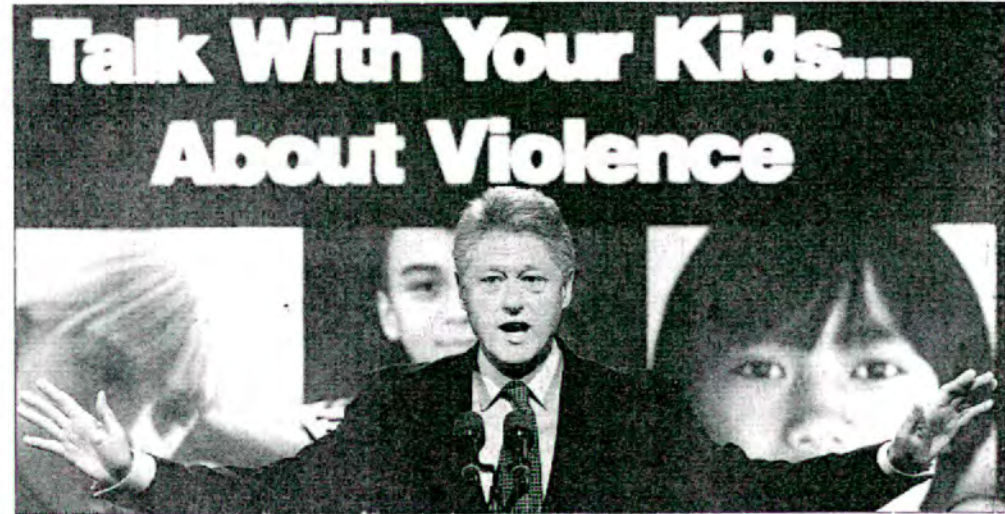
paign grew out of a May meeting at the White House in which the Clintons urged movie makers, TV programmers and other media leaders to consider whether their products encourage or glorify violence among young consumers. The meeting was called in the aftermath of the April shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., which took 15 lives, including those of the two teenage gunmen.

Since that time, a teenager shot and wounded classmates at a Georgia school, and a neo-Nazi gunman wounded several children at a Los Angeles Jewish community center before killing an Asian American postal worker.

The 30-second public service announcement was shown yesterday at a White House event featuring the president and the first lady, who has made tougher gun control laws a centerpiece of her all-but-announced bid for a Senate seat from New York.

The first lady rebuked House Republicans who have rejected the administration's efforts to tighten firearms laws, such as requiring criminal background checks for prospective buyers at gun shows.

"After the shootings in Littleton, many members of Congress did say 'enough,' and the Senate passed tough new provisions, proposed by the president, that would have strengthened our country's gun safety laws," Hillary Rodham Clinton told dozens of supporters. "But even these most common-sense of measures—that in no way would have restricted the activities of honest and legitimate gun owners—



At the White House, President Clinton promotes a public service announcement campaign that begins tonight on more than two dozen television networks.

were blocked by a majority in the House who apparently were and are more interested in the approval of the National Rifle Association than in the safety of our children."

The president told the audience: "Will this public service ad get every parent in America and every child to talk about every dangerous thing that happens at every school? No, but it will have a huge impact." He said schoolchildren should

worry about piano recitals and athletic events, not gun violence. "We ought to give our kids back their childhood, and we can do it, if we do it together," the president said.

The public service announcement features several children making brief comments about potentially violent incidents, such as: "There was this kid that was like 17. He came to school with a gun." The president, appearing at the end,

simply asks parents to talk with their children about violence. The ad invites viewers to call 1-800-CHILD-44 for booklets on the issue.

One of the brochures says, "Research shows that children, especially those between the ages of 8 and 12, want their parents to talk with them about today's toughest issues, including violence." A typical conversation, it says, might in-

volve a child noting that in movies, stars such as Steven Seagal and Arnold Schwarzenegger "fight all the time, and everybody says they're heroes. How come?"

The suggested reply is: "The people you mentioned are actors playing a part. If they acted like that in real life, they'd probably be in jail or dead. I don't think anyone who relies on violence all the time is very smart or brave at all."

CORRECTION

In yesterday's Metro In Brief column, a headline incorrectly described Terry Fleming, who was killed in a Fauquier County accident Monday, as a man.

Clinton previews efforts vs. violence

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

President Clinton yesterday announced new initiatives to combat youth violence, including television public-service announcements featuring frightened kids urging their classmates to behave.

Although studies show youth violence in decline, recent school shootings in Colorado, Georgia and California have shocked parents and have put pressure on the Clinton administration, Congress and the entertainment industry to search for solutions.

"It's important to tell these children here with us today and others that the chances of a tragedy happening are small, less than they used to be, less than one in a million," Mr. Clinton told a news conference. "But that's not good enough when you see how horrible it is when it occurs."

In addition to anti-violence advertisements, which major television networks and cable stations will begin airing tonight, Mr. Clinton announced new federal grants to beef up school security and an outreach program that will encourage parents to talk to their children about violence.

Major TV networks and more than 20 cable stations have agreed to donate \$1.5 million of free air time to telecast the White House's anti-violence advertisements during prime time. Some programmers said they would air the ads throughout the year.

The television spots feature young children who describe their fears about violence at school, and Mr. Clinton, who urges parents and their children to talk about the problem. The messages include a toll-free number to call for a free booklet on how to talk to children, especially those ages 8 to 12, about safety and the dangers of weapons and gang violence. Similar radio ads are to air later this month.

"Will this public-service ad get every parent in America and every child to talk about every danger-

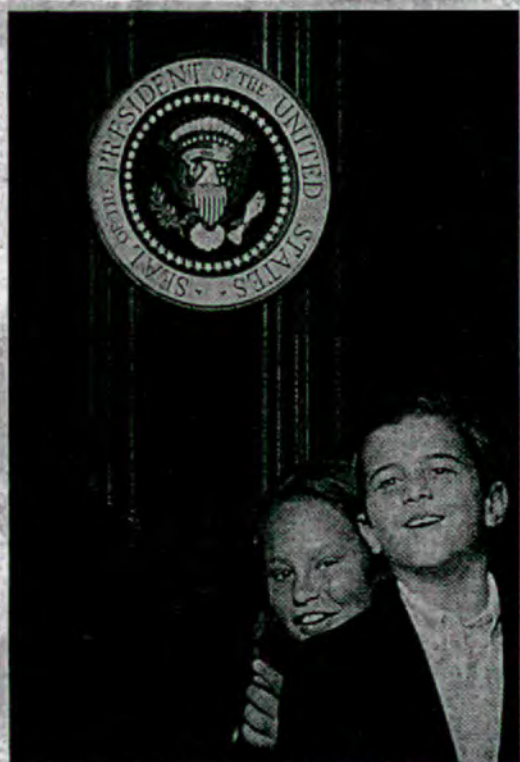


Photo by J.M. Edrins Jr./The Washington Times
Lailani Tassilio, 11, and Harrison Boatwright, 9, star along with President Clinton in new anti-violence public-service announcements.

ous thing that happens at every school? No. But it will have a huge impact," Mr. Clinton said.

The White House also pledged \$15 million in Justice Department community-policing grants to help school districts improve safety and to identify students who may be prone to violence.

The ads were paid for by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, an independent health care philanthropy based in Menlo Park, Calif., and Children Now, an independent advocacy group for children in Oakland, Calif.

Nobody expects the White House campaign to stop school violence, but it gave Mr. Clinton, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and television network executives something concrete to show after

lots of discussion about children and guns.

It also gave the Clintons an opportunity to criticize the Republican-controlled Congress for not passing legislation to close loopholes in the nation's gun laws.

"What will it take for our country to say enough? What will it take for Congress to pass common-sense gun laws to keep handguns and assault weapons out of the hands of juveniles and criminals?" asked Mrs. Clinton, who is all but certain to run for the U.S. Senate from New York in 2000.

With the National Rifle Association and its determined band of congressional allies staunchly opposed, a gun bill this year remains an uphill struggle.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Prez's lesson for parents

Parents turning on the TV tonight will get a lecture from President Clinton — urging them to talk to their kids about back-to-school gun fears.

Kids "shouldn't be worried about whether what they saw in Littleton or Conyers or . . . at the Jewish community center in Los Angeles could possibly happen to them," Clinton said, referring to a spate of shooting sprees aimed at kids this year.

Clinton yesterday unveiled a TV spot that will air on all major broadcast and cable networks between 8 and 9 p.m. in which kids discuss their fears and Clinton tells parents: "Our children need our help to deal with tough issues like violence. Please talk with your kids."

More than two dozen TV outlets have agreed to run the privately funded "Talk With Your Kids About Violence" spots tonight, donating about \$1.5 million in free air time.

"This ad and others like it will be seen by just about every single person in America who turns on the television (tonight) during the family hour of prime time," Clinton said. He said the spots will continue to run sporadically for the rest of the year.

The president claimed that despite the bloody shooting sprees, including the April slaughter of 12 students and a teacher at Columbine HS in Littleton, Colo., crime is at a 26-year low and "overall violence has actually decreased in our schools." *Marilyn Rauber*

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Hate starts at home; so do love, tolerance

Whether tougher gun-control laws would curb the new wave of hate and violence may be debatable. What is not debatable is the value of the TV campaign this week led by President Bill Clinton and first lady Hillary urging parents to talk to their kids about violence.

Our childhoods make us what we are. Our hurts and our happiness. Our loves and our hates. Our successes and our failures.

All of our childhood experiences are woven into the fabric of our adult characters. If hate gets out of hand for kids at home, it

often is fueled later by hate groups. Or, sometimes fanned by their anti-hate counterparts. Magnitude of that national nightmare:



PLAIN TALK

By Al Neuharth
USA TODAY FOUNDER

► A record 537 hate groups, large and small, now spread racial-supremacy venom.

► An estimated 300 antidote organizations are trying to counter that, half of them started in the 1990s.

Some of both groups spread their messages largely on the Internet. But more and more are facing off at the same public place, at the same time, with parades or picketing, which often lead to violence.

Aryan Nations, the Northwest neo-Nazi group to which Buford Furrow belonged, has been getting renewed attention because of his admitted tragic rampage in Los Angeles last week. The Ku Klux Klan apparently still has the largest membership of any racist hate group, but West Virginia's National Alliance, with its 35 chapters, may be the most active.

Many of the organized haters are white males approaching middle age, like Furrow who is 37. But more than half of all reported hate crimes are committed by young people ages 15-24.

No matter when the hatred gets out of control, it generally is traceable to childhood. "Kids learn bigotry from their parents," says Jack Levin who runs the Brudnick Center on Violence at Northeastern University.

Bigotry and hate. Love and tolerance. If parents can teach their kids the importance of the difference, they can make a bigger difference than all the laws of the land.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PERISCOPE®

CAMPAIGN 2000

Annette Says Yes to Warren's Run

IT'S NO JOKE AND liberals aren't laughing: Warren Beatty is seriously considering running for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. At a recent dinner party given by Arianna Huffington, Beatty expounded on his long-held views: that big money has ruined politics and led Democrats to abandon blue-collar workers and the poor. In a subsequent column, Huffington wrote that Beatty hadn't ruled out the idea of running, and *The New York Times* followed by saying that he was "considering" a bid.

Beatty gave cautious, minimalist quotes in each case and has since gone silent. Privately, sources say, he is making and taking calls in a world of politics he actually knows very well; he's been close to Democratic campaigns going back to Robert F. Kennedy in 1968. With no full-throated liberals in the race (and none with the star



Beatty and Bening have practiced for the role

power of a Jesse Jackson), activists say they are telling Beatty to run. He's planning to take the next month or so to decide. If he ran, it would be a low-budget, street-corner affair—theoretically low key, but in reality, mobbed by media and stargazers.

At first, friends say, Beatty worried about whether he would be taken seriously. But they say he has been pleasantly surprised by the early reaction. There were fewer jokes than expected. According to the sources, he's confident that his first campaign speeches would stop the remaining smirks. Another concern is his family. At 62 and married to actress Annette Bening since 1992, Beatty is the father of three children, ages 7, 5 and 2½. But sources close to the actor tell *NEWSWEEK* that his wife is enthusiastic, and she, like her husband, has practiced for the role. He played the protest

candidate and eponymous hero of the movie "Bulworth"; in "The American President" she fell in love with the commander in chief.



A big Puerto Rican constituency

CLINTON

Pardon Us?

WHEN BILL CLINTON commuted the sentences of 16 Puerto Rican nationalists last week, he ended a dance that had begun with his first year in office—and FBI officials are furious. For years the bureau successfully countered pressure from human-rights activists to release the FALN militants, who carried out 130 bombings from 1974 to 1983. Some agents grumble that what made this year different is Hillary Clinton's New York Senate run. "There are more Puerto Ricans in New York than in San Juan," says a senior FBI official. The White House denies any connection.

WATER

... And Not a Drop to Drink

IN DROUGHT-STRICKEN Lynn Township, Pa., the corn has withered, the grass is brown and residents are using the bare minimum of water. Yet every day, tanker trucks from the Perrier Group of America pull away from Hoffman Spring, brimming with aqua that will become Deer Park Spring Water. Some residents are



irate. "Perrier didn't cause the drought, but to keep taking water now is unconscionable," says Peggy Leahy, a local activist. Perrier says it takes less than 1 percent of local water and has cut back to half of what the state permits. Since June it has reduced its haul from 47 tanker loads a day to 24 and may go down to 15 if the drought continues. Activists aren't soothed, but "the one with the most money wins," admits Leahy.

Trucked away, not fed back into the ecosystem

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Special GOP Corndog Edition

Sure the Iowa straw poll was meaningless. Sure it's months till real votes. Sure there was more vote-buying than Al Capone's Chicago. But 600 reporters were there, so the C.W. loved it.

C.W.

Bush	▲ At 31 percent, not a Texas-sized victory—but a win is a win. Tip: Watch your language.
Forbes	▲ \$ can't buy love, but it can buy 2d place. Can you bus a whole country to the polls?
Dole	◀▶ Despite amateurish org., a respectable 3d. What if the Bobster had supported her?
Bauer	◀▶ "Pro-family" zealot noses out Buchanan to win Values crown. But in 1999, who cares?
Alexander	▼ '04 apparel: I made 80 visits to Iowa and all I got was this lousy T shirt.
Quayle	▼ Former veep bags exactly 916 votes. How do you spell "hasta la vista"?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Report

YNE A15

TUESDAY, AUGUST 24, 1999

The New York Times

Police Victims of Bombing Fight Clemency

By MICHAEL COOPER

Officer Rocco Pascarella lost part of his left leg when a bomb planted by Puerto Rican nationalists outside Police Headquarters in Manhattan exploded on New Year's Eve in 1982. Later that night, Detective Richard Pastorella lost five fingers and was left blind after he tried to disarm a bomb across the street; his partner, Detective Anthony Senft, lost an eye. That same night, members of a Puerto Rican nationalist group, the Armed Forces of National Liberation, better known by its Spanish initials, F.A.L.N., claimed responsibility for the bombings.

Yesterday, the three retired officers returned to 1 Police Plaza to join Police Commissioner Howard Safir and police union officials in calling on President Clinton to withdraw a clemency offer that he made to 16 jailed members of the group.

Mr. Pastorella, who now wears dark glasses, was led to a lectern in front of reporters. "Go ahead," Thomas J. Scotto, the president of the Detectives Endowment Association, whispered as he reached the lectern. "The mike is right there."

The retired detective told the group that he thought the President was making a mistake.

"How can I tell you what the psychological effect was to my family, to

my children, to my wife?" he said. "Certainly, it took me fully two years to physically recover. But the emotional injuries remain."

"You wake up with nightmares at night and cold sweats," he said. "It never leaves. It never goes away."

President Clinton offered conditional clemency to the 16 members of

An official warns Clinton on 'deals with terrorists.'

the F.A.L.N. on Aug. 11. Most of them were convicted of crimes like seditious conspiracy or possession of an unregistered firearm, and Clinton Administration officials said none of them directly caused any deaths or injuries. The officials added that the President felt that their long prison terms — one was sentenced to 90 years — were excessive. Under the offer, the prisoners must renounce the use of violence and agree to comply with parole requirements.

The President's clemency offer came after a number of politicians, human rights advocates and church

leaders, including former President Jimmy Carter, Desmond Tutu and John Cardinal O'Connor, lent their names to a high-profile campaign calling for their release.

But Mr. Safir denounced the President's offer, saying the F.A.L.N. was responsible for more than 130 bomb attacks between 1974 and 1983 that killed 6 people and injured more than 70. "This type of action will encourage terrorism worldwide," Mr. Safir said of the clemency offer. "We should never make deals with terrorists."

Mr. Pastorella and the relatives of other bombing victims suggested that Mr. Clinton's clemency offer was a politically inspired move intended to drum up Puerto Rican support for Hillary Rodham Clinton as she weighs a run in New York for the United States Senate.

"It says to me, at least, that this is really and truly pandering to the Hispanic community, to the Latino community, for their vote when Mrs. Clinton runs for the vacated seat of Patrick Moynihan in New York State," Mr. Pastorella said.

The White House has denied the assertion that the offer is politically motivated.

Mr. Safir said Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani — Mrs. Clinton's likely opponent in the Senate race — opposes



Appt. 9 Times/The New York Times

Returning yesterday to Police Headquarters were, from left, Detective Anthony Senft, Officer Rocco Pascarella and Detective Richard Pastorella, all of whom were injured in bombings in 1982. At right was Thomas J. Scotto, president of the Detectives Endowment Association.

the clemency offer but did not want to be accused of trying to use the issue for political gain. "The only reason the Mayor is not here is because he doesn't want to politicize this issue," Mr. Safir said.

Mr. Giuliani, who was in Rochester yesterday, said he did not have enough information to judge the merits of the decision to offer clemency, and he repeated calls that he

had made earlier this month for the Justice Department to release its reports recommending clemency for the 16 prisoners. But he questioned their reluctance to sign documents renouncing the use of violence in the future, a condition of their release.

"I think that the failure of the people involved to quickly renounce violence gives you a sense that this was a mistake," he said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

Lynne Duke

In New York, Clinton's FALN Clemency Offer Under Fire

Clemencies for votes? Crudely put, that's what a New York City cop has accused President Clinton of doing: offering clemency to some jailed Puerto Rican rebels in exchange for Hispanic votes for his wife's Senate bid.

Richard Pastorella, an officer who was blinded in a 1982 Puerto Rican terrorist bomb explosion in New York City, made the allegation Monday. He accused Clinton of "really, truly pandering to the Hispanic community."

He made the allegation with the city's police commissioner, **Howard Safir**, at his side. Safir, for his part, said the city's mayor, **Rudolph W. Giuliani**, supported the police position. Giuliani, fund-raising in Rochester, weighed in later, calling Clinton's clemency offer a "mistake." Giuliani is the likely Republican Senate opponent of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**.

The White House denies any relation between her Senate bid and the offer of clemency, which was made Aug. 12.

The 16 convicted rebels were part of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN, in Spanish), which exploded numerous bombs in the 1970s and early 1980s for the cause of Puerto Rican independence. Those offered clemency were not involved in attacks that resulted in fatalities or injuries. Rather, they had been sentenced for seditious conspiracy and weapons possession. Human rights activists and religious figures have lobbied for years for their release, saying the sentences of 15 to 90 years were too harsh. Victims of FALN bombings have lobbied against release.

The clemency offer from Clinton, the subject of long negotiations, is conditional: they must sign statements renouncing violence and pledging to abide by all conditions of parole. That has left some Latinos with "a degree of disappointment" that the 16 are not being pardoned, said **Juan Figueroa**, president of the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy.

But the 16 have not accepted the terms of clemency so far. They reviewed Clinton's offer with their lawyers Monday, White House spokesman **Joe Lockhart** said yesterday, and White House officials "expect to hear from them quite soon."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

White House disputes Giuliani on pardon offer to FALN members

By Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

EDGARTOWN, Mass. — The White House accused New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani yesterday of jumping the gun in criticizing President Clinton's plan to pardon members of a Puerto Rican group that bombed U.S. military and political sites.

"I think he's slightly ahead of himself here," White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart said of Mr. Giuliani, who is expected to oppose first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in next year's New York Senate race.

The mayor was quoted in New York newspapers yesterday saying it was a mistake for Mr. Clinton to offer clemency to members of the pro-independence Puerto Rican group FALN that carried out 130 bombing attacks against U.S. military and political targets from 1974 to 1983.

On Aug. 12, Mr. Clinton offered to free 11 members of the group if they agreed to renounce violence. The inmates have yet to accept the offer.

"The president ... said the premise of his pardoning them was that they would renounce violence, and now it's a week or 10 days later and they haven't renounced violence. That's got to tell you some-

thing," Mr. Giuliani said in Rochester, N.Y., on Monday. "The failure of the people involved to quickly renounce violence gives you a sense that this was a mistake."

He added, "That's got to tell you that there's something wrong here we should really probe."

Former police officers who were injured by FALN bombs have accused the president of agreeing to spring the inmates to make his wife more appealing to New York's large Puerto Rican population.

"This is really, truly pandering to the Hispanic community, to the Latino community, for the vote when Mrs. Clinton runs," said former Detective Richard Pastorella, who was blinded by a FALN bomb.

White House spokesman Jim Kennedy said, "There is absolutely no connection between the president's decision here and Mrs. Clinton's possible campaign."

Mr. Lockhart said the inmates met with their attorneys Monday to discuss Mr. Clinton's offer.

"If they are willing to renounce violence and agree to the parole terms that any parolee would, their sentences will be commuted," the spokesman told reporters covering Mr. Clinton's vacation on Martha's Vineyard.

"It's improper to draw any conclusion from the fact that that

hasn't happened yet, because I think anyone should have the right to talk and consult with their attorney on an offer like this," he said.

Mr. Lockhart said he expects an answer soon from the 11 members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation, which is known by the Spanish acronym FALN.

"We expect to hear from them quite soon," Mr. Lockhart said. "It was not unexpected that the group of people involved here would want to talk to their attorneys before agreeing to the details of the offer that the president has put out there."

The 11 offered immediate release were sentenced to prison in February 1981 and October 1985 for crimes ranging from conspiracy to possession of unregistered firearms. Their terms ranged from 35 to 90 years.

Those offered clemency were not directly involved in any deaths or injuries, officials said, although people were killed in attacks by other members of the group.

Human rights advocates, church leaders and politicians such as former President Jimmy Carter have campaigned for their release, arguing that they were punished too severely relative to the nature of their crimes.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mayor rips prez after meeting FALN victims

By DAVID SEIFMAN
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Mayor Giuliani yesterday continued his attack on President Clinton's clemency offer to members of the terrorist group FALN — saying he's met with cops injured in the group's 1982 attack on police headquarters.

"I agree with them that the president should rescind the offer of clemency," Giuliani said, adding that FALN's hesitancy over accepting the offer only makes the matter more embarrassing for the United States.

Two weeks ago, Clinton touched off a firestorm by offering to pardon 16 members of the FALN — the Spanish acronym for Armed Forces for National Liberation — if they made a statement renouncing violence.

"It doesn't look right for the president of the United States to offer clemency, place a condition on it, and then the people who are convicted felons sit around saying, 'Well, we're not sure we're going to take that condition, Mr. President,' the

"I agree with them that the president should rescind the offer of clemency."

MAYOR GIULIANI

mayor said.

On Tuesday, Giuliani met with three of the most vocal opponents to Clinton's offer: a trio of former cops injured in the 1982 terrorist explosion.

Anthony Senft lost an eye and partial hearing in the attack. Richard Pastorella was blinded and maimed, and Rocco Pascarella lost his left leg, left eye and left ear.

Giuliani joined the cops in agreeing the offer was "something that should not be used politically ... and not something to gain votes," said Senft's wife, Carol, who attended the meeting along with Pascarella's wife, Eileen.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Clinton Bestows Medal of Freedom

President Gerald R. Ford, left rear, to whom President Clinton had just awarded the Medal of Freedom, watched yesterday along with the President's wife, Hillary, as the award was also given to Evelyn Dubrow, left, a lobbyist on labor issues. Established by President Harry S. Truman as a wartime honor, the medal was reintroduced by President John F. Kennedy as way to honor civilian service. Also receiving the award yesterday at the White House ceremony were Edgar M. Bronfman Sr., president of the World Jewish Congress; Lloyd M. Bentsen, a former Treasury Secretary; Sister Isolina Ferre, founder of community service centers, clinics and programs for the poor; Oliver White Hill, a civil rights lawyer best known for litigating one of the school desegregation cases that became the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case; Max Kampelman, an arms-control expert who worked in Democratic and Republican administrations, and Edgar Wayburn, a leader in the Sierra Club for almost 40 years.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

Eight Receive Medal of Freedom

FREEDOM, From C1

R. Ford, Oliver White Hill, Max Kampelman and Edgar Wayburn. (Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter received their medals Monday in Atlanta.)

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told the audience that the award celebrates this country's "democratic ideals" and recognizes people who have made the "nation and our world" better.

"Barbara Jordan once said, 'What the people want is very simple: They want an America as good as its promise,'" she noted. The 10 people honored made "good on that promise."

President Clinton next stepped to the lectern. First he offered his condolences to the families of those wounded in Tuesday's shooting at a Jewish community center in Los Angeles.

"What we heard about the suspect and his motives is deeply disturbing. Nothing could be further from what we honor today," he said.

Then he read his speech and awarded the first honor: to another president.

Exactly 25 years and two days ago, Gerald R. Ford stood in the East Room raising his right hand, becoming president of a country reeling in the aftermath of Watergate and the resignation of Richard Nixon.

Yesterday, Ford came back to the East Room, older, thinner, somehow smaller as he sat next to the first lady.

"Gerald Ford ended a long national nightmare" when he took the presidential oath, Clinton said.

Clinton summoned a colonel to read the declaration, then turned to face Ford. The former president, in a blue pinstriped suit, stood. Clinton wrapped his arms around him and fastened on the Medal of Freedom.

Ford, neither smiling nor frowning, wearing a face that seemed to reveal nothing, turned to the audience. The audience stood to give thunderous applause, and Ford acknowledged it, then sat down.

The ceremony was grand and brief, steeped in valor, diversity, history and pride. Under massive chandeliers, the room was crowded with dignitaries—Madeleine K. Albright, Henry Kissinger, Alan Greenspan—and regular people who did what they could to change the world.

There was Sister Ferre, who fought to "empower individuals and families by helping them recognize their dignity and abilities," Clinton said. She was recognized internationally in the late 1950s and '60s for mediating gang wars in Brooklyn.

And Duhrow, a union activist who for more than 50 years rattled the halls of Congress to improve domestic labor conditions. She fought to increase the minimum wage, health care benefits and equity in pay for women.

Kampelman, a lawyer, negotiator and diplomat, worked as a human rights champion fighting to undermine "the pillars of communism" and to lay the groundwork for nuclear arms reduction between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Wayburn, a five-time president and member of the board of the Sierra Club, pushed for the expansion of California's Mount Tamalpais State Park and helped safeguard other wilderness areas from commercial development.

Bronfman, as president of the World Jewish Congress, "fought persecution, helped preserve Jewish heritage and struggled to secure justice for victims of the Holocaust."

Bentsen, Clinton's first treasury secretary, was honored for his support of civil rights and his work bringing "greater opportunity and unprecedented prosperity to our country." In a wheelchair, he received the award in one of his first public appearances after a stroke.

And there was Oliver White Hill, a lawyer who along with Thurgood Marshall pressed the case for school desegregation, litigating one of the cases that became *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 1948, Hill became the first African American politician since Reconstruction to be elected to the city council in Richmond.

After the speeches ended and the room emptied, Ford spoke with reporters outside. He said he was happy to be back at the White House and honored to receive the Medal of Freedom.

"Betty got the award from George Bush about nine years ago. I'm glad to end all that discrimination," he said, smiling.

Somebody asked him what his reaction was to the shootings in Los Angeles. "I'm getting damned tired of it happening," he said.

Then he turned to walk back to the White House.

Eight Who Let Freedom Ring

Gerald Ford, Lloyd Bentsen Among White House Medalists

By DENNIS L. BROWN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Up close, the Medal of Freedom is not much bigger than a quarter. Gold and threaded with a blue silk ribbon, it seems to hang heavy upon its wearers.

Maybe that's because the recipients of this medal, the highest honor the nation bestows on civilians, try to stand straighter while wearing it. Perhaps it isn't the weight of the medal at all but the weight of the years it took the wearer to get to this point in his or her life, to triumph over all the struggles, to fight the Goliaths.

Eight people, some called them heroes and heroines, brave and unbent souls, once fiery but older now, got their medals yesterday in the East Room of the White House: Lloyd M. Bentsen, Edgar M. Bronfman Sr., Evy Duhrow, Sister M. Isolina Ferre, Gerald

See FREEDOM, C3, Col. 1

The Washington Post

Style

THURSDAY AUGUST 12, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton honors Ford with Medal of Freedom

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Twenty-five years to the week after he was thrust into the presidency by Watergate, Gerald Ford returned to the White House yesterday to be praised as the steady hand that helped America heal.

Presidents Clinton and Ford strode side by side into the East Room, where Mr. Ford and seven other people received the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

"Steady, trustworthy, Gerald Ford ended a long national nightmare," Mr. Clinton said, referring to the Watergate scandal and President Nixon's resignation on Aug. 9, 1974. Mr. Ford then became president and served out what would have been Mr. Nixon's second term.

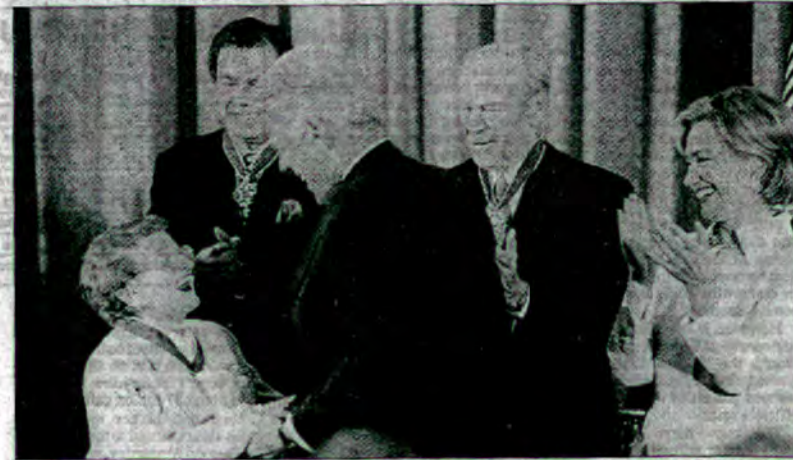
"When he left the White House after 895 days, America was stronger, calmer and more self-confident," Mr. Clinton said. "America was, in other words, more like President Ford himself."

The medal is the nation's highest civilian honor. Mr. Clinton awarded it to former President Jimmy Carter in Atlanta on Monday, making George Bush the only living former president who has not received the award.

Established by President Truman as a wartime honor, the medal was reintroduced by President Kennedy as a way to honor civilian service. Mr. Clinton has awarded the medal to civil rights leaders, philanthropists, entertainers and statesmen.

"In honoring them, we honor also the values and principles of our nation's founding and our nation's future," Mr. Clinton said of yesterday's honorees. The recipients did not speak inside the White House, but Mr. Ford paused outside to reflect on the events of a quarter-century ago.

"I couldn't avoid those reminiscences. It was a monumental



President Clinton gives the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Evy Dubrow. Applauding her are recipients Edgar M. Bronfman Sr. (left) and former President Gerald Ford. Hillary Rodham Clinton also was on hand.

day," he said. "It was a unique situation as far as the country is concerned, and I hope it never happens again."

In addition to Mr. Ford, the honorees were:

- Lloyd M. Bentsen, Mr. Clinton's first Treasury secretary, who served 22 years in the Senate and six years in the House. He was the Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee in 1988.
- Edgar M. Bronfman Sr., president of the World Jewish Congress. He has "worked to ensure basic rights for Jews around the world and to fight anti-Semitism and has spearheaded the effort to retrieve the assets of Holocaust victims and their families," according to the

White House tribute.

- Evy Dubrow, an advocate for more than 50 years of laws to improve domestic labor conditions. "She has been influential in numerous causes, including broadening laws against discrimination and protecting American industry from unfair foreign competition," the tribute said.

- Sister M. Isolina Ferre, founder of community service centers, clinics and programs to empower the poor in Puerto Rico, New York and Appalachia. She gained international recognition in the late 1950s and 1960s for her mediation efforts with youth gangs in Brooklyn.
- Oliver White Hill, civil rights

lawyer. He is best known for litigating one of the school desegregation cases that became the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* case.

- Max Kampelman, lawyer, diplomat and negotiator in Democratic and Republican administrations. "In those roles, he emphasized human rights in East-West diplomacy and prepared the foundation for long-term arms reductions between the United States and the Soviet Union," the tribute said.

- Edgar Wayburn, five-time president and a member of the board of directors of the Sierra Club for almost 40 years.

Bill's clemency draws cheers — and cynics

President Clinton's offer of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists drew applause yesterday from Hispanics in the city — and speculation he is trying to win votes for his wife's Senate campaign.

Administration officials said members of the FALN, convicted of sedition two decades ago for their bombing spree on behalf of Puerto Rican independence, could be freed if they renounce violence.

In East Harlem, Brenda Melendez, 28, said: "There are people out there who have done worse things — and they're free."

Nick Logo, 57, a travel agency owner, agreed: "I think 19 years is more than enough. If they didn't kill anyone, why shouldn't they be free?" he said.

Angel Santos, 47, said Clinton was "tired" of protests urging their release.

"And, of course, it will

By Gregg Birnbaur in Albany and Maria Malave in New York

help Hillary in her Senate race. But these guys deserved their freedom long ago," he said, adding, "It's about time."

Pollster John Zogby said the clemency offer could boost Mrs. Clinton's standing with a crucial New York voting group.

"Clearly, one has to start from the premise that the White House is at the first lady's disposal," Zogby said.

"Clemency is a popular issue in the community. There's a sense that clemency is welcome."

The Hispanic vote in New York, much of it Puerto Rican, could be key in the Senate race next year for Mrs. Clinton because her potential opponent, Mayor Giuliani, is popular among Hispanics, Zogby said.



HILLARY CLINTON
Boost for campaign

But opinion among Hispanic voters is far from unanimous.

"I don't agree with what the president is doing," said Juan Peña, 76.

"No one knows what these men are thinking. Who's to say they won't do it again? They could start bombing again and innocent people could die."

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Rudy set to jockey for position at Saratoga

By DAVID SEIFMAN
City Hall Bureau Chief

Mayor Giuliani is stepping up his race for the U.S. Senate by making tracks to Saratoga race course next week.

The historic track is the first of five political stops around the state on the mayor's schedule over the next two weeks.

State Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno, an inveterate horseman, made Giuliani a "standing offer" months ago to join him at the races, according to Bruno spokesman John McArdle. Giuliani will be at center stage before some 20,000 fans — and voters — when he presents the trophy after the featured race.

The mayor also will be the keynote speaker at a meeting of top Republican

contributors, including those in Team 100, a select group of people who have each raised at least \$100,000 for the GOP.

Mayoral aides are counting on financial help from Republicans around the nation in the showdown shaping up against First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. On Thursday, Giuliani returns upstairs for the annual steak roast in Binghamton sponsored by Republican state Sen. Tom Libous.

Two days later, Giuliani is scheduled to make another Hamptons trek for a fund-raiser hosted by Howard Gittis, a top aide to tycoon Ron Perelman.

It's on to Rochester for fund-raisers on Monday, Aug. 23, followed by a bash for supporters in Manhasset that weekend.

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Clinton Pardons Terror

Just last week, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, speaking on the first anniversary of the deadly U.S. embassy bombings in Africa, vowed to wage an all-out war against terrorism. This week, President Clinton turned that promise into a joke by offering to commute the justifiably harsh prison sentences of 14 FALN terrorists, including the wife of its bomb-maker mastermind, the notorious William Morales.

The FALN, for those who may have forgotten, was a small group of separatists who launched a deadly "war of nerves" to bring about independence for Puerto Rico. Over a six-year period, the group claimed responsibility for more than 100 bombings that took six lives and injured some 130 people.

New Yorkers had particular reason to fear the FALN. In 1975, it bombed Fraunces Tavern in the Wall Street area, killing four.

It also bombed Police Headquarters in 1983, maiming for life three cops who tried to defuse the bombs. One, Salvatore Pastorella, was blinded and lost the fingers on his right hand; another, Anthony Sest, was partially blinded; the third, Rocco Pasarella, had his right leg amputated.

Another FALN blast, at the Mobil Oil building on East 42nd Street, sent shards of glass into Charles Steinberg, a 26-year-old newlywed lawyer, killing him instantly.

That explosive, like most of the others, was planted by Morales, the murderous FALN master bomber, who escaped from custody and now lives a life of relative luxury in Communist Cuba.

His wife, Dyleia Pagan, was among those offered clemency by the president. She was convicted of conspiring to bomb 48 buildings in the Chicago area in the late '70s. Two

others covered by Clinton's offer took part in a 1983 armored truck heist in West Hartford, Conn.

The president will also free Luis Rosa, one of 11 FALN members arrested in Evanston, Ill., in 1980. Documents uncovered by federal agents indicated the group planned to kidnap millionaire industrialist Henry Crown and hold him for ransom. Earlier FALN activities in the Chicago area included more than a half-dozen bombings.

Even now, the imprisoned FALN terrorists claim to be "prisoners of war" — after their arrests, they refused to participate in their trials. Their release has come about thanks to a celebrity-studded PR campaign.

The White House claims the releases are justified because those involved "never killed anyone." Maybe not — but their colleagues certainly did.

And no one among those who are about to be let loose on the streets — in exchange for a mere promise to refrain from violence — was in the slightest bit ignorant of their movement's deadly tactics, or reluctant to take part in them.

These people took part in violent crimes on behalf of a murderous movement. They are not, in the offensively silly description of Rep. Jose Serrano (D-Bronx) "political prisoners, because their offenses were complicated by the political ramifications." No cause justifies criminal attacks designed to kill innocent people — or engaging in other acts to support those attacks.

Like Jimmy Carter's earlier decision to pardon Puerto Rican nationalists who shot up Congress and tried to assassinate President Harry Truman, Clinton's clemency offer is an outrageous insult to those who suffered at the FALN's hands.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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