

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NOVEMBER 22, 1999 NEWSWEEK 3

PERISCOPE



At the White House last year

HILLARY

Book Trouble

HILLARY CLINTON'S latest book, on entertaining at the White House, is receiving withering scrutiny before it makes it to press. First the manuscript went into rewrite after aides judged it too airy for a senatorial candidate. "You don't want to look like Martha Stewart," says a publishing source. Now White House lawyers may derail a book tour, since it could be construed as campaigning. (Her tour for a picture book about First Pets Socks and Buddy was scotched by the Monica mess, and the book flopped.) Her next tome: a mini-memoir that'll serve as a campaign bio.

SCANDALS

More Than Just a Kiss

Hillary's conflicted life as First Lady and candidate

By DEBRA ROSENBERG

A MEETING WITH THE WIFE OF THE leader of the Palestinian Authority is not normally on the tour of the "Three I's"—Ireland, Italy, and Israel—traditionally required of candidates courting the ethnic vote in New York. But if the candidate is also the First Lady, duty calls. Last week Hillary Clinton sat impassively at a West Bank ceremony while Suha Arafat accused Israel of poisoning Palestinian women and children in the occupied territories. She offered Mrs. Arafat the traditional peck on both cheeks. The picture of "the Kiss" was soon airing on every TV station in New York. SHAME ON HILLARY, blared the New York Post.

Navigating the shoals of New York politics is hard enough. Trying to do it while representing the United States as First Lady is an invitation to a shipwreck. Mrs. Clinton has been struggling in her double role. Last summer she first supported, then opposed, President Clinton's offer of clemency to some convicted Puerto Rican terrorists. Last week she took flak for airing some early TV ads paid for with "soft money" provided by the Democratic Party—the same widely criticized device used by her husband (as

well as by the GOP) in the 1996 presidential campaign. As criticism mounts, the whispering has begun: will she decide not to run after all? Her aides insist she has no intention of backing out, but they acknowledge that the campaign of Hillary Clinton is stumbling before it even officially begins.

Mrs. Clinton's trip to the Middle East was an invitation to trouble. Sensing the worst, her advisers urged her not to go. But she felt obliged: she had made a commitment long before she began flirting with a Senate bid. Indeed, her desire to keep politics out of the trip was one reason she put off formally announcing her candidacy. Trying to recover from her ill-fated side trip to the West Bank, she told reporters that she had not realized that Mrs. Arafat's remarks were so inflammatory until she saw a transcript. But she had been provided with simultaneous, if halting, interpretation. According to aides, Mrs.

Clinton wanted to strongly and quickly denounce Mrs. Arafat's remarks, but she wanted to clear her statement with the White House. That took hours and produced a terse and somewhat tepid critique. The White House rejected as too harsh a first draft by Hillary's campaign advisers. The statement didn't even mention Mrs. Arafat by name, though Hillary later did sharpen her attack.

The First Lady's popularity is starting to slip with New York voters. Her favorability rating has dropped from a high of 52 percent last spring in one New York Times poll to 37 percent, while her unfavorable rating has jumped 16 points, from 22 to 38 percent. Polls show her in a dead heat with New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. The state Democratic Party was nervous enough to begin running soft-focus ads of Hillary "listening" to New Yorkers. Her aides say Hillary saw no need for the ads but went along. That sort of tactic is easier to sell if you're just the First Lady than if you're trying to impress the hard-bitten voters of New York.



Two roles: Her visit to Israel (with Chelsea) didn't get the headlines

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WINNERS & LOSERS



CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN

Former Senator wins New Zealand ambassadorship. Now, no more cavorting with dictators

YOUR UPS PERSON

Men in Brown are Internet hipsters. UPS launches killer IPO, thanks to e-commerce deliveries

ANNIE

Musical wine TV ratings. Cultural barometer Warbucks takes black wife; no one cares

PAT BUCHANAN

Asks lefty, perennial loser Lenora Fulani to co-chair campaign. Was McGovern booked?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

West Bank visit offends Israelis and Palestinians. C'mon, do Belfast, and go 4 for 4

LEPRECHAUNS

NBC bombs with ratings gambit. That, and they're after me Lucky Charms



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SHOCK FOR SHOCK

The mayor is still angry. The museum's lifeline is threatened. Now it's finally time to see what the "Sensation" is all about

By STEVEN HENRY MADOFF

IN ITS OWN WAY, "SENSATION," THE Brooklyn Museum of Art's sprawling show of young British artists that has opened up the latest front in the culture wars, is a sheep in wolf's clothing. That was bound to be. Not even an ad man's dream of a drop-dead one-liner can hold its shock past the listener's double take. And "Sensation" is precisely that: a vanity showcase from the collection of British ad mogul Charles Saatchi—loud and "naughty" works juxtaposed with the occasional better one—that has generated more noise than it deserves.

Outraged by one work in the exhibition, Chris Ofili's black madonna festooned with elephant dung, Rudolph Giuliani, New York City mayor and all-but-declared U.S. Senate candidate, refused to pay the October installment of the city's \$7 million subsidy to the museum.

SOME COMFORT GAINED FROM THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE INHERENT LIES IN EVERYTHING, Damien Hirst

No British artist has been more controversial than Hirst, whose dissected animals have lured and repelled viewers

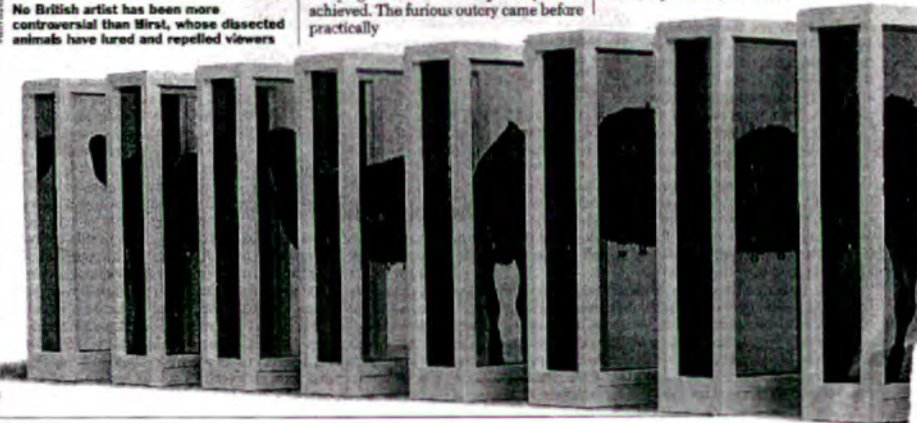
um. The city further claimed that the institution, in league with Christie's auction house, a sponsor of the show and the seller of \$2.6 million of Saatchi's art last year, was knowingly trying to raise the value of Saatchi's collection. It then filed suit to throw the museum—one of the finest in the country—out of the gracious city-owned building that has been its home for more than 100 years. Supporters rallied to each side, and both the New York Civil Liberties Union and the Catholic League organized pickets.

The furor made its way to Washington as well, where the Senate passed a non-binding resolution sponsored by New Hampshire Senator Robert Smith that called for an end to federal funding for the museum. Trying not to alienate either camp, Hillary Clinton, Giuliani's likely opponent for New York's Senate seat, chided the mayor for threatening to shut down the museum but added, "There are parts of this exhibit that would be deeply offensive. I would not go to see this exhibit."

One of the more remarkable aspects of this whole affair is that "Sensation" has gained more attention than any marketing campaign for it could possibly have achieved. The furious outcry came before

anyone had actually viewed the art. If Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton had bothered to go, they would have seen an exhibition that trades shock for shallowness with all the easy insouciance of youth. It has long been a vogue of contemporary art to focus on social issues at the expense of classical ideals of beauty, and the art here follows that vogue with a vengeance. That's not to say that the work doesn't have jolts of visual energy, corrosive or not. It is an energy that was new to the somnolent British art scene and brought these artists local and then international attention throughout the '90s.

But the plain and sometimes ugly truth is that when this sort of work sticks its jaw out into the wider world, its jaw turns to glass. That is surely the case with the lightning rod of the show, Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* (1996). The work, which has now been placed behind Plexiglas, with a velvet rope in front and a guard standing by to protect it from any angry viewers, is a perfectly competent rendering of a Christian icon—a central figure on a ground of gold. The drawing of an African Mary (Ofili is of Nigerian descent) is plausible, but there is



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R T

DICK'S SAKE?

no real depth, no great feeling in the line. You might pass right by were it not for Ofili's strategy to shove the voltage up by adorning it with a pattern of cutouts from porn mags of women's crotches and then adding to the rhythm of the work with clumps of elephant dung. Interpretations reach too glibly for the symbolism of this Virgin in a cloud of sex parts as an emblem of the sacred's overcoming the profane, of the elephant manure as an African symbol of regeneration that adds luster to the Madonna's beneficence. And so it may be, but the painting is surely a calculated come-on.

In work after work in "Sensation," and there are some 92 pieces by 42 artists spread out over nearly 22,000 sq. ft. of gallery space, you see the same calculation peeking its tongue-wagging little head out of the art. Much of what's on show here really ought to be viewed the way another work about another Mary was—last year's bathroom-humor blockbuster, *Something About Mary*. It's lewd and long on visual pratfalls, and there is not a great deal else to do but roll your eyes as you pass Sarah Lucas' *Eu Natural* (1994), a dingy mattress leaning against a wall with an erect cucumber shooting up with two oranges at its base,



GHOST, Rachel Whiteread

A respite can be found in this plaster cast of the space that filled a Victorian room

two ripe melons across the way ... you get the idea.

Throughout the show, there's an obsession with the body, leering humor about sex and yammering about death. Tracey Emin's canvas tent called *Everyone I Have Ever Slept With* (1995) is done inside with crudely laid-out names and notes about old paramours. It camps out a short distance from Mona Hatoum's more elegant but hardly deep creation (despite its title, *Deep*

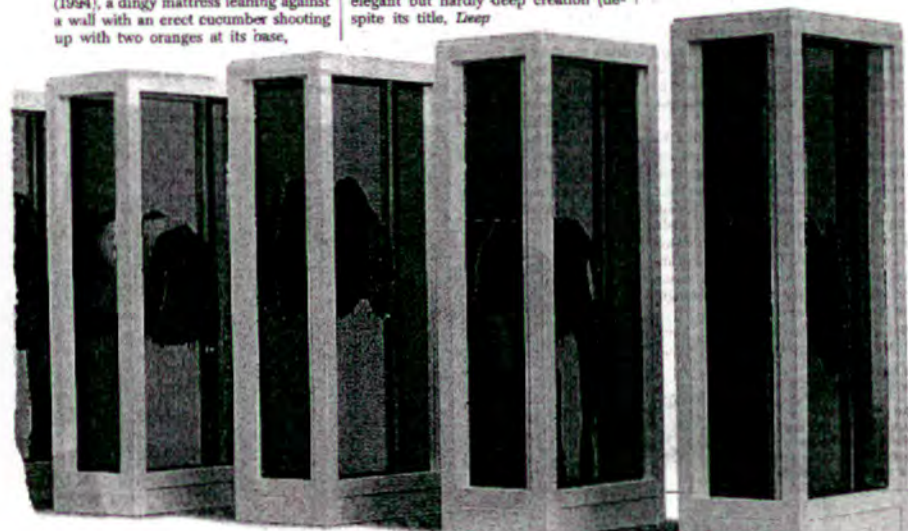
ANGEL, Ron Mueck

Some pieces do enchant, such as this winsome seraph, who seems to brood as he surveys the angrier works around him

Throat: a dining table with proper tablecloth and silver, and a plate whose bottom is a video screen showing the travels of an invasive camera down a human gullet.

And then there are the enormously silly, explicitly sexual sculptural romps by Jake and Dinos Chapman, whose fascination with genetic mutation leads them down the very foolish path of constructing girlish mannequins with phalluses for noses and sexual orifices in all the wrong places. Hardly Rodin. But then Rodin's *Salome*, created just before the turn of the century, wrapped the great French novelist in a cape beneath which, it was said, he was holding his own member in the potent coupling of climax and creative genius. The work outraged its patrons and wasn't cast in bronze until after Rodin's death. Now it is considered a masterpiece that foretells the abstract sculpture that became a hallmark of this century's art.

That's not to say that the Chapmans' puerile offerings will rise to a place of lasting esteem. No, the point is that work once seen as scandalous takes on new meaning as culture is rocked by alien, disquieting expressions and then slowly evolves. And there are works in this show that warrant respect and have had it from critics and gallerygoers for some time.



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CAMPAIGN 2000

New York to Hillary: 'In or Out?'

SO FAR, HILLARY Clinton's "listening" strategy in her still unofficial New York Senate run has succeeded in keeping expectations—not to mention campaign costs—low. But is it time to put her money where her ears are? Last week Rep. Charles Rangel, the New York City congressman who first urged Hillary to get into the race, groused that the First Lady has to declare herself "in or out." Rangel also attributed her recent stumble over clemency for Puerto Rican terrorists to the lack of a full-bore campaign: "She cannot cover the state and respond to questions unless she has a campaign organization," he said. Other local pols have made similar complaints, saying that backers are



Hillary's waiting game is taking its toll

cager to get involved but don't know whom to call.

Insiders say Hillary, who expects to spend \$25 million before Election Day, is loath to

begin depleting her campaign treasury until she announces officially, probably early next year. (She has watched Al Gore spend down his own war chest.) Relying on grass-roots volunteers and old friends like Harold Ickes, a veteran of her husband's White House campaigns,

Hillary has been able to avoid hiring a high-priced campaign manager, who would rack up more bills. An official hire could also ratchet up press scrutiny—magnifying even minor gaffes. But insiders say she is now debating whether it's time to beef up her staff, if only to soothe anxious supporters.

"When we do have a candidate and we do have a campaign," Rangel told *NEWSWEEK*, "I will be ready to engage."

Hillary Clinton Learns From Campaign Mistake As She Steps Up Outreach and Fund Raising

By JEANNE CUMMINGS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Like many other Hispanic leaders, Puerto Rico Gov. Pedro Rosello was stung by Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision to do an about-face and oppose presidential clemency for a group of inmates who had fought for the independence of the small U.S. commonwealth.

But after the first lady had him over to the White House for a private meeting recently, the Democratic governor now says he will not only endorse her expected candidacy for a New York Senate seat, "I will do my best to help her get elected." That's no hollow offer: Of the 2.5 million native Puerto Ricans living in the 50 states, a million reside in New York City.

Trailing in Polls

Mrs. Clinton's success in patching things up with Mr. Rosello is one of several signs that she is righting her campaign operation and taking her candidacy to a new level after setting off a firestorm last month by flip-flopping on the clemency issue. The adjustments come at a time when polls show her trailing in a match-up with expected GOP opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

From outreach to key Democratic constituencies to fund raising to staking out campaign positions, Mrs. Clinton is fine-tuning her operation. Although her candidacy remains formally unannounced, "she is running, and she is running hard," says Alan Patricof, co-chairman of Patricof & Co. Ventures, a New York-based venture-capital firm, and finance chairman of Mrs. Clinton's exploratory campaign.

While the first lady has been mending relations with key Puerto Rican leaders, her top campaign adviser, Harold Ickes, has been reaching out to disgruntled African-American leaders such as the Rev. Al Sharpton. The campaign also has designated several staff members to tend to relations with New York's various community and ethnic groups.

"There has been a dramatic improvement," says Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel, the dean of New York's congressional delegation and one of those who criticized Mrs. Clinton's campaign operation a month ago. "Her exploratory committee is booked up into a regular Democratic network. The ethnic issues are now plugged into established Hispanic and African-American political organizations, and people with credibility have been contacted so that people now know where to go for information."

Furious Fund Raising

The first lady also is working furiously behind the scenes to generate the \$25 million her campaign says it needs to compete in the high-price New York media market. In September alone, Mrs. Clinton appeared at 21 Empire State fund-raising events that ranged from high-profile public appearances to more intimate gatherings in private homes with groups of 50 to 100 people. And her two direct-mail appeals have generated better-than-expected revenues from small donors.

Mrs. Clinton doesn't have to disclose the size of her campaign kitty until January. But one adviser predicts that she will have nearly half of the money she needs for the campaign by the time she makes her formal announcement next year.

Even so, her allies are trying to keep expectations in check, particularly in light of her reputation as a formidable fund-raiser. They point out, for example, that Mr. Giuliani already had about \$2.5 million in the bank when Mrs. Clinton announced the creation of her exploratory committee in July. In addition, aides say her traveling costs are often inflated by the demands of the U.S. Secret Service.

To offset those extra expenses and ensure that she has cash when she needs it, Mrs. Clinton has resisted hiring more staff and campaign consultants. But her frugality has cost her something equally valuable, some allies say. A full-time, New York-based campaign manager probably would have helped her avoid the mishandling of the Puerto Rico clemency issue. According to advisers, Mrs. Clinton has begun searching for a full-time manager and media consultant.

Despite her campaign's claims of special financial burdens, Mr. Patricof says Mrs. Clinton's first financial disclosure report will instantly "make her a very credible candidate. It will represent a significant accomplishment, especially considering it comes from a standing start."

Ready Cash for Giuliani

Of course, Mr. Giuliani is not sitting idly by. He, too, has adopted an aggressive fund-raising schedule that has taken him from New York to Arkansas. During a recent trip to Washington, Mr. Giuliani learned that he can count on contributions from a host of political action committees that are simply waiting for his formal announcement.

"He'll have all the money he needs, and then some," predicts Guy Molinari, borough president of Staten Island. His daughter, former GOP Rep. Susan Molinari, headlined a women's fund-raising breakfast last week for Mr. Giuliani that drew 1,600 people.

While Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising operations churn along, the first lady has also begun shifting her public posture by offering a campaign-style speech that highlights specific policy differences with Mr. Giuliani on national issues. "This race is going to be decided on issues, and there are clear differences on these issues," says Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson.

Mrs. Clinton's first round of audiences that heard the new stump speech was heavily weighted toward organized labor. That was an indication that she is hoping to nail down support with the party's liberal base early enough to allow her to court the state's critical swing voters next year. Late last week, she appeared before the Civil Service Employees Association, a union that remained neutral during last year's race between current Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer and former GOP

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. This time, the union is expected to put the weight of its 213,000 members behind the first lady.

In her address, Mrs. Clinton didn't mention the mayor but made clear that raising the minimum wage, supporting the patients' bill of rights and passing a treaty aimed at reducing the spread of nuclear weapons are all issues on which they differ. "There are many people in Congress and in this country who want us to do a U-turn and go back to where we were eight years ago," she said.

Bruce Teitelbaum, Mr. Giuliani's campaign committee director, says the mayor has no plans to respond directly to Mrs. Clinton's "distortions, spinning and personal invectives." Rather, he says, Mr. Giuliani will focus on "building his record of accomplishments" in New York City so the voters can "make an assessment of his job performance."

Perhaps the most vivid example of the first lady's campaign adjustments came when another Puerto Rican controversy hit the news last week. Mrs. Clinton was sure not to make the same mistake twice.

At issue was Puerto Rico's demand for an end to the U.S. Navy bombing exercises on the island of Vieques because of environmental and safety concerns. A Pentagon panel recommended a five-year phase-out of the exercises, but Mrs. Clinton called for an immediate military withdrawal—just as Gov. Rosello had suggested in their White House meeting.

Gov. Rosello likens the controversy generated over the earlier clemency issue to "getting stubbed in the toe while dancing" with someone you care about. When one looks at the other potential partners on the dance floor, he says, supporting Mrs. Clinton's candidacy "is a no-brainer."

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Gore Jabs At Bradley On Medicare

Vice President Adopts
An Aggressive Stance
In One-on-One Forum

By BOB DAVIS and JOHN HARWOOD
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
HANOVER, N.H. — Vice President Gore used the first televised encounter with his Democratic-primary rival Bill Bradley to attack the former senator for jeopardizing Medicare and to put some distance between himself and President Clinton.

Mr. Gore's aggressive tactics underscore his recent efforts to shed his wooden image and redefine himself as a fighter. Although Mr. Bradley's aides had indicated the former New Jersey senator would parry any attacks, he largely let the charges go unanswered.

Mr. Bradley clearly hewed to his campaign strategy of appearing above the fray. Indeed, after a questioner asked his opinion of the Clinton-Gore fund-raising controversies during 1996, he passed up the opportunity to take a whack at the vice president. Instead, he looked at Mr. Gore with a sly smile and said, simply, "There were obviously some irregularities that have been addressed."

The exchange came during a 60-minute session in Dartmouth College, sponsored by Cable News Network and WMUR-TV in Manchester, N.H., that was fashioned as a "town hall." Audience members tossed questions at the two candidates, and the format wasn't designed as a debate.

Still, Mr. Gore used the encounter to engage Mr. Bradley on Medicare, a key concern to Democratic voters. After Mr. Bradley discussed his plan to greatly expand health-care coverage, which he said would cost \$50 billion to \$65 billion, Mr. Gore challenged the figures.

Citing an estimate by a health-care scholar at Emory University, Kenneth Thorpe—a former Clinton administration official—the vice president said Mr. Bradley's plan would cost more than \$1 trillion. That would consume any budget surplus, Mr. Gore said, and wipe out money needed to keep Medicare solvent.

"Medicare cannot be an afterthought," Mr. Gore said. "Otherwise you are putting Medicare at risk."

After several such thrusts, Mr. Bradley responded, "I dispute the cost figure Al has used." He said the two camps consulted different health-care experts.

Whether Mr. Gore's attack strategy will work is an open question. The vice president may strike voters as too aggressive, particularly on television, which tends to reward those who appear cool and in control. On the other hand, Mr. Bradley's detachment and control may come off as weakness. Both men are striving to appear "presidential," but there isn't any clear guide on how to project such an aura of authority.

Indeed, Mr. Gore used the encounter to put some distance between himself and the president. Responding to the first question asked of him, Mr. Gore said, "I understand the disappointment and anger you feel to President Clinton. And I felt it myself." Nevertheless, he called Mr. Clinton his friend and said he thinks the public wants "to move and turn the page" on Mr. Clinton's imbroglio.

For the moment, though, Mr. Gore's change in tactics seems to be helping his campaign. A new Wall Street Journal/NBC News Poll shows that Mr. Gore has halted the erosion of his lead over Mr. Bradley in the Democratic primary and has cut into Texas Gov. George W. Bush's lead in a general-election matchup.

Mr. Bradley had halved the vice president's lead among Democrats nationally during the previous six months. But the most recent poll shows that momentum has stopped. Mr. Gore now leads 53%-29%; the margin was 53%-32% in September.

In a general election, Mr. Gore now trails Mr. Bush 49%-39%, a substantial margin but reduced sharply from the 52%-35% gap in September. When Patrick Buchanan is included as the Reform Party nominee in a hypothetical three-way matchup, Mr. Gore pulls even closer, trailing Mr. Bush 44%-36%. The September survey showed Mr. Bush maintaining a double-digit lead in a three-way race.

By contrast, Mr. Bradley hasn't improved his standing against either Mr. Bush or Mr. Gore during the past month. He trails the GOP front-runner 48%-39% in a two-way matchup, and 43%-38% in a three-way race with Mr. Buchanan.

In the Republican primary, Sen. John McCain of Arizona has moved to a 15% share of GOP voters nationally from 7% in the wake of Elizabeth Dole's withdrawal from the race last week. But Mr. Bush increased his standing, moving to a highest-ever 68% share of the GOP vote from 59% in the September survey. Publisher Steve Forbes, religious-right candidate Gary Bauer and Sen. Orrin Hatch all remain in single digits.

A second televised town hall forum will be held tonight here, featuring several of the GOP candidates, but not Gov. Bush.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1999

Hillary Clinton Joins Florence Culture Debate

By Christopher Emdin
The New York Times

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton warned at a conference in Florence on Thursday that "Americanization" and globalization posed heavy risks for invaluable cultural resources across the world, adding that neglecting such concerns often led economic development programs to fail.

Decrying what she said was excessive "waste and tragedy" due to a culturally illiterate approach to development, she praised programs that involved children and paid close attention to local traditions.

She singled out the "adopt a monument" program in Palermo, in which students look after a local church or archaeological site, as exemplary, saying children gained pride and a sense of identity that would later translate into social assets. The process of globalization, she said, could threaten cultural traditions and "create consumers rather than citizens."

The Florence conference, sponsored by the Italian government and the World Bank, tried to promote the idea that "culture counts" in efforts



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton admires the frescoes on the ceiling of Florence's Villa Torregiani with its owners, Donatella Dini, right, and her son Cesare Zingoni, left.

to boost third world economies as well as those of the advanced industrial nations. Italy, which proudly claims to be home to more than half of the "world heritage" sites listed by Unesco, has had a vast — and at times difficult — experience with trying to combat poverty while protecting priceless monuments. In partnership with the World Bank, Italy is now designing a scheme to exploit its experience and know-how.

"Too often, in the name of development, we have destroyed historical

buildings and replaced them with parking lots," said Ms. Clinton, going on to blast the boom in costly "use-and-throw" items that "people think represent culture."

In her trips abroad in recent years she had seen "the same brand-name T-shirts and the same brand-name drinks" too often among youth abroad, as well as a brewing urge among people to "rebel," even violently against globalization in defense

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FLORENCE From Page 1

of their identity.

She hailed a program in Mali in which farmers were given seed loans in exchange for turning in historically valuable items to local museums, and initiatives in Italy in which children learn about a site and give tours.

In an editorial published on Wednesday in the International Herald-Tribune, Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini and World Bank president James Wolfensohn said culture was essential in the fight against poverty and stressed that investments in cultural heritage tended to promote labor-intensive activities that were crucial in generating wealth and income.

According to Foreign Undersecretary Patrizia Tosi, Italy has given more than 100 billion lire in the last decade to help developing countries preserve their cultural patrimony, as well as helping set up schools in China and Slovenia to train locals in restoration techniques.

The first step in a coherent global strategy to preserve the world's architectural wonders, Ms. Tosi said, was to map what exists and classify monuments according to their risk profiles.

In what she described as a more controversial posture, Culture Minister Giovanna Melandri urged to expand the old approach to conservation past a list of monuments up to a broader category including performing arts, music, literary traditions and even whole landscapes, as well as related industries — and that the subject "should figure" in next month's world trade talks in Seattle.

An inter-ministerial conference on the landscape will be held in Rome late next week.

Ms. Melandri also said that programs aimed at protecting cultural traditions should be guided by two fundamental ethical criteria, namely, the promotion of accessibility and pluralism, and creating suitable juridical and administrative mechanisms able to assure that good intentions were not in vain.

The latter point is particularly poignant in Italy, where illegal building and environmental violations often plague efforts to conserve natural and historical sites. On Wednesday, Salvatore Mastruzzi, the director-general of the Culture Ministry for the landscape, blasted regional administrative courts, or TARs, for being too lax in interpreting the nation's building codes. "The TARs are the sworn enemies of the landscape," he fumed, adding that many of the rulings were later overturned by the Consiglio di Stato, an administrative appeals court.

Both Ms. Clinton and Ms. Melandri have highlighted the role of volunteer groups, be they children or targeted organizations, in the fostering of local cultural preservation projects.

On Tuesday, Ms. Melandri signed a pact with several of Italy's largest local volunteer groups and hopes to include as many as 1,600 more associations in an effort to take advantage of some 60,000 people who say they are ready to work for free in museums, archaeological sites, museums and libraries. Their input could be "worth" up to \$25 billion lire a year toward expanding opening hours and beefing up security and information services, according to the ministry, which said that existing, paid jobs would not be disrupted.

But despite the busy world of Italian volunteers, companies and individuals wishing to donate money to cultural causes are often blocked by tax laws that cap deductible contributions at \$1,000 per person or \$2,500 per firm. On the eve of the conference in Florence, Umberto Agnelli, who directs the investments of the Turin family that controls Fiat, called for reform along the American lines, which would allow private sector firms to make sizable investments in non-profit ventures, including in

areas such as Africa where their business presence remains minimal.

After the talk of the global value of local cultural traditions, Ms. Clinton went to visit Florence's famed museums, including the Uffizi Gallery and Palazzo Vecchio, where a new exhibition of early sculptures by Michelangelo opens to the public today.

In a curious coincidence with Mr. Melandri's emphasis on the importance of landscapes, Mr. Clinton dined Wednesday night at the Villa Medici, one of the first Renaissance villas to be designed in conjunction with its garden. Commissioned in 1458 by the arts patron Cosimo de' Medici and beloved by his son, known as Lorenzo the Magnificent, the villa, in Fiesole in the Tuscan hills, was purchased by Lady Sybil Cutting in 1915; she commissioned architects to under-

take what scholars say was the first effort to restore a building in concert with its surrounding landscape. The villa has since returned to Italian hands.

A brief bomb scare took place Thursday afternoon after a suspect suitcase was found outside of the U.S. Consulate in Florence. Technicians used light explosives to open the bag but found only a few old sheets and towels.

Italy's Culture Minister wants performing arts and landscape traditions also to be preserved.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Richard Cohen

So Long, Ken Starr

Ken Starr has said goodbye. He wrote an op-ed piece for the Wall Street Journal, was the subject of a measured editorial in The Washington Post, got a somewhat more strident sendoff in the New York Times and sat for a tender interview by Tim Russert on "Meet the Press." Russert asked lots of questions, all of them easily anticipated, but not the one I really wanted to hear: Aren't you ashamed, Mr. Starr?

Starr certainly did not act ashamed. He admitted to this or that minor error—hindsight things that could not have occurred to anyone at the time but, in retrospect, hurt his investigation a bit. He should not, he told Russert, have accepted speaking gigs from organizations such as the Rev. Pat Robertson's Regent University. That gave the wrong impression, Starr said, and led some truly odd people to conclude that he was a Republican ideologue. He seemed dismayed that anyone could think

such a thing.

Of course, Starr did not mention that he had been appointed by a three-judge panel of ossified conservatives. He forgot to say that he was chosen after the panel dismissed the interim "regulatory special counsel," Robert Fiske. And he neglected to mention that he was already a well-known commodity, a prominent Republican lawyer whose clients included the Clinton administration's sworn enemies, the tobacco companies.

It was about then that Russert hit him with the polls: Ken Starr's favorable rating, 30; unfavorable, 61. "The exact opposite of President Clinton. What happened to you?"

Starr was primed. What happened? This is what happened. He was a law officer, restrained by statute and by custom, holding his tongue and thinking only the purest thoughts while Clinton's gnat, his button man, the odious James Carville, was sneezing him. "There's

going to be a war," Carville had said. And then Hillary Clinton herself chimed in, blaming a "vast right-wing conspiracy" for her husband's problems. Starr was out-PR'ed. What's a special prosecutor to do?

It went on like this. Sitting opposite Russert was the most-reasonable of men. His voice was mellow, his aspect angelic. In another age, *Kapellmeisters* would have vied to create music for him. "A Cantata for the Independent Counsel," and to this day the religious would cherish his relics—like, for instance, the wire Linda Tripp wore when she entrapped Monica Lewinsky.

Somehow that was not mentioned. Somehow, in his op-ed piece and on the air Starr did not say how he came to use the vast powers of the government to prove that—Yes!—Bill Clinton had lied about having sex with Lewinsky. Imagine that! Sex! And he lied about it! Oh, woe is me, the Republic is in peril!

Somehow, he did not quite explain how he set out to look into a failed real estate deal in Arkansas and wound up intimidating a young woman in a hotel in Virginia. He did not say, either, why he felt compelled to issue that dirty report or interrogate the president of the United States about what, precisely, he did with a certain woman in the alcove next to the Oval Office. And, of course, he did not explain why we should not fear a prosecutor such as him more than we do a philandering president.

Don't get me wrong. I have written many times that it was wrong—im-permissible—for Clinton to have lied either in his deposition or before the grand jury. No one can do that—not even the president. No, especially not the president. But Starr trapped him. Starr had him mortified, embarrassed. He rammed through the door to Clinton's personal life, busted in to where Clinton stored his fantasies, opened the drawers and threw every-

thing out on the lawn for all the neighbors to see. This was not a mere investigation. This was an inquisition—an attempt to murder the soul.

So, my question: Are you proud of what you have done, Mr. Starr? Is the country better off because we know more about the president's sex life than we do about our best friend's? Did we have to know about that dress? Did we have to pay for Tripp's betrayal of her friend? How did you, a former judge and a former contender for the Supreme Court, effectively wind up skulking around the White House, peeking through the window like a private dick in a divorce case?

Could it be that all of this—not Carville, not Hillary Clinton, not the White House PR effort—is why the country loathes you so? It's not your enemies who did you in, Mr. Starr, it's yourself. You have it all wrong—still and to this day. That's why it's not goodbye, Mr. Starr. That's why it's good riddance.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary toasts Pat — but Bill won't even toss him a crumb

By DEBORAH ORIN

Washington Bureau Chief

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made a video toasting Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan for a dinner honoring him



last night — but President Clinton refused to do the same after Moynihan endorsed Bill Bradley, sources said yesterday.

The split on whether to send a Moynihan video tribute to the Orthodox Union dinner — where Bradley was the keynoter — is the latest case in which the Clintons have gone separate ways since she began running for the retiring Moynihan's Senate seat.

AFL-CIO ENDORSING GORE

Vice President Al Gore is headed to Los Angeles today to pick up the AFL-CIO's endorsement in person tomorrow — and a new poll shows how badly he needs it.

The CNN poll shows Gore now leads sole Democratic rival Bill Bradley by just 12 points nationally — down from a 33-point lead last month. The new poll puts Gore at 51 percent to Bradley's 39.

The endorsement by the 13-million-member union will bring Gore grass-roots troops and phone-bank help at a time when he has to watch his pennies because of early big spending.

The last time the AFL-CIO endorsed this early was in 1983, when it backed former Vice President Walter Mondale, who became the Democratic nominee but lost 49 states to Ronald Reagan.

AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, a strong Gore backer, set the stage for the endorsement by blasting an "ugly, anti-poor, anti-working-family, Republican-controlled Congress."

Deborah Orin



AL GORE
Union man.

The president's staff had indicated he'd send a video, but scrubbed that when Moynihan endorsed Bradley and dealt Al Gore an embarrassing blow with his warning that the vice president "can't be elected," sources said.

Two former presidents, Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Gerald

Ford, both sent videos, which were put into a montage with comments from other Moynihan pals.

Moynihan introduced Mrs. Clinton to New Yorkers by hosting her first political event at his upstate farm and warmly praising her.

But the president has said he'll do everything he

can to help elect Gore as his handpicked heir.

Clinton ultimately sent a letter for the Moynihan dinner, as did former President George Bush, whose son George W. leads the 2000 Republican presidential race.

A White House official said "I don't have any reason to think this had anything to do with the

[Bradley] endorsement" — but was unable to offer any explanation for why the president didn't send a video honoring a giant in his own party.

Several prominent New York Democrats who back Gore skipped last night's dinner, even though their names appeared on the invitation — drawn up before Moynihan endorsed Bradley.

"We did not know Pat Moynihan would be endorsing Bill Bradley in September and we know this made it awkward for some good Democrats, and I regret that," said the dinner chairman, David Luchins, a Moynihan aide.

The Orthodox Union, a politically neutral Jewish group, invited Bradley to give the keynote honoring Moynihan, his long-time friend. Gore gave the keynote speech at last year's dinner.

This summer, when Mrs. Clinton broke with her husband's policy and came out for moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, she did so in a letter to the head of the Orthodox Union.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Hillary Rodham Clinton greets members of the Healthcare Association of New York State yesterday at the Sagamore Resort on the shores of Lake George in the Adirondacks.

Hillary revisits health care in address in Adirondacks

BOLTON LANDING, N.Y. (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made it clear a campaign for a U.S. Senate seat from New York would focus on health care, calling yesterday for restoring trust to the nation's medical system.

Speaking before the Healthcare Association of New York State, a trade group representing hospitals and nursing homes, Mrs. Clinton said many Americans remember the era of television's Dr. Marcus Welby.

"When people fondly talk about some golden age of the past... they want once again to be able to trust the system," she told an audience of about 400 at the posh Sagamore Resort on the shores of Lake George.

Mrs. Clinton, who directed President Clinton's failed bid to expand national health care benefits, said she wasn't just talking about patients, but also about hospital administrators, doctors and nurses.

"Many doctors today feel their professional discretion and autonomy are being taken away," she said.

The address marked one of the first policy speeches of Mrs. Clinton's fledgling campaign and made it clear she planned to keep at the issue she failed to push through Congress in 1994. She conceded yesterday that her plan then had been too ambitious.

"Given the results of that effort, there are probably many who find it hard to understand why I would keep talking about health care," she said. "The answer is simple: It's something I have been talking about and working on my entire adult life."

Asked for his reaction to Mrs. Clinton's remarks, Healthcare Association President Daniel Sisto, said, "She clearly offered the right prescription."

Continuing the health care theme, Mrs. Clinton spoke later in the day to about 500 members of the New York State Nurses Association in Lake Placid.

"Often the kind of effort you put in is nothing short of heroic," the first lady told the nurses. "We have to do more so nurses

"Often the kind of effort you put in is nothing short of heroic. We have to do more so nurses never have to choose between their patients and their jobs."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton

never have to choose between their patients and their jobs."

In her remarks in Bolton Landing, Mrs. Clinton attacked the Balanced Budget Act of 1997, approved by Congress and her husband, saying it cut too much from health care. Mr. Clinton and some members of Congress are looking to ease some of those cuts this year.

"These cuts went too far... They have caused too much pain and are cutting into too much muscle and bone," the first lady said.

"This must be fixed and it needs to be fixed this year."

Mrs. Clinton is considering a run for the Senate seat being vacated by fellow Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The race is expected to pit her against Republican New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

The trip was Mrs. Clinton's first to the Adirondack Mountains since she formed a campaign exploratory committee in July. Earlier this year, the first lady's camp came under fire after an unidentified adviser told the New York Daily News that the Clintons would never vacation in the "fly-infested" Adirondacks.

Mrs. Clinton got to see the mountains in their fall splendor. The Adirondack foliage was at near-peak colors with red, orange and yellow leaves wet from an overnight rain.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The New York Times

Hillary Clinton's Exploratory Campaign Is Low Profile and Taking Few Risks

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

When Hillary Rodham Clinton was first asked about Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's attacks on an art exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the First Lady said she did not have enough information about the dispute to offer an opinion. When Mrs. Clinton finally weighed in, she couched her position in cautious terms, saying simply that she agreed with Peter F. Vellone, the City Council Speaker, who had denounced Mr. Giuliani four days earlier on the museum issue.

On one level, Mrs. Clinton's careful response was testimony to the political complexities underlying Mr. Giuliani's attempt to shutter an exhibit that includes a work that he described as "Catholic bashing." But beyond that, her tone was in keeping with the posture that her exploratory campaign for the United States Senate has consistently struck since it was started in July: cautious and slow-moving, taking few risks and keeping a studiously low profile.

Even as she has become a regular presence in New York, Mrs. Clinton has barely mentioned her prospective Republican rival by name, much less criticizing Mr. Giuliani directly. She has not delivered a major speech laying out the themes of her campaign or why she is considering a Senate run in New York, a state

where she has never lived.

Mrs. Clinton has not named a campaign manager or hired a campaign consultant. While she is increasingly making herself available to reporters at news conferences, her answers to questions, like the one about the museum, are frequently muffled in lawyerly language, seemingly intended not to draw attention.

To the surprise of anyone familiar with the rapid-response politicking that has become her husband's hallmark, she has even ignored provocative remarks by Mr. Giuliani, including when he said that she "agrees with using public funds to attack and bash the Catholic religion." She responded that she agreed with Mr. Vellone that the exhibit was objectionable but opposed Mr. Giuliani's threat to cut funds to the museum.

In a typical campaign, 14 months before Election Day would be too early for a candidate to take any but the most rudimentary steps toward running for office; it would, for example, arguably be unwise for the campaign to spend funds this early to hire a full staff. And Mrs. Clinton's advisers describe her caution as calculated, reflecting an effort to put off direct engagement with Mr. Giuliani until more people pay attention, while giving her an opportunity to learn her way in this new profession.

But this has proved to be anything but a normal campaign. And as Mrs.

Clinton moves into the fourth month of her exploration, there are signs of impatience among some Democrats with her languid pace, particularly given Mr. Giuliani's more energetic campaign, as evidenced by his regular assaults on Mrs. Clinton from City Hall. A number of Democrats said Mrs. Clinton was slow to outline basic themes of her candidacy and had allowed much of the early debate to be set by Mr. Giuliani or by her own mistakes.

Signs of impatience over the First Lady's political pace.

"It seems to me kind of directionless," said Mel Miller, the Brooklyn Democrat and former Speaker of the State Assembly.

Ken Sunshine, a labor consultant who was a political adviser to former Mayor David N. Dinkins, said there was concern among Democrats that Mrs. Clinton might end up being the type of candidate whose stump abilities did not match the candidate's résumé. "I think Hillary Clinton has got to, and will, act like a vibrant candidate from New York," Mr. Sun-

shine said. "I think she's going to get better. But it's taking a little long."

A poll that appeared yesterday in The Daily News suggested one reason for Democrats' concern. It showed the number of city residents who support her in a hypothetical race with Mr. Giuliani declining from 63 percent in June to 51 percent last week.

Even among Mrs. Clinton's own advisers, there are signs of growing uncertainty about the wisdom of adopting something of a crouch. "Two or three months ago, I thought we should wait a while," said James Carville, the longtime consultant and friend to Mrs. Clinton and President Clinton. "Now, I wonder if I made a mistake. This thing is awfully hot awfully early."

The critical question now is whether this early period, which candidates typically use to prepare for a race with little public notice, may turn out in this case to be a time when voters are forming their first judgments of the candidates. If that is true, Mrs. Clinton may someday look back at this quiet period as a lost opportunity.

That is not to say that Mrs. Clinton has been dormant. In a subtle but certain way, the First Lady has been quietly setting some blocks in place for next year's campaign.

Her listening tour, intended to make her a more familiar figure in

New York, was the most obvious part of that. More important, she has sought to identify herself with issues that Democrats feel will be central in next year's Congressional races, in the process seeking to maneuver Mr. Giuliani into responding with an embrace of the Republican line.

But on many topics, Mrs. Clinton has been far more reserved; her four-day no-comment period on the Brooklyn art exhibit was not unusual. She has ducked questions about her position on whether her husband should commute the life sentence of Jonathan Pollard, an American who spied for Israel.

Her faltering response to her husband's decision to grant executive clemency to 16 members of a Puerto Rican nationalist group is seen by her advisers as perhaps the most damaging event of this short-lived campaign. Mrs. Clinton, through a spokesman, offered unenthusiastic support for her husband's initial effort, but as opposition to the initiative grew, she abruptly called on him to withdraw the clemency offer.

Mrs. Clinton's reserved posture is a product of a strategic determination, but it is also the hesitant performance of someone who is new to the business of being a candidate.

"She's never campaigned before," said Harold Ickes, her senior political adviser. "By nature, she's a lawyer. By nature, she's cautious."

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THE NEW YORK TIMES NEW YORK FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1999

New York Report

The New York Times

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Mrs. Clinton Makes an Issue of Health Coverage

Renewing a Fight Lost 6 Years Ago

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

LAKE PLACID, N.Y., Oct. 14 — Citing a continued rise in the number of Americans without health coverage, Hillary Rodham Clinton today called for "quality, affordable health insurance for everyone in the country," saying it would be a mistake to abandon the goal because of her failed effort to change the system six years ago.

The First Lady, in back-to-back speeches on health care, also sharply criticized Medicare cuts that had been embraced by President Clinton to balance the budget in 1997, saying they had proved damaging to hospitals, particularly in New York. "These cuts went too far," Mrs. Clinton declared. "They have caused too much pain and are cutting into too much muscle and bone."

The remarks by Mrs. Clinton, during a trip across the already snow-dappled Adirondack region, offered the first glimpse into how she intends to make health care a central subject of her expected campaign for United States Senate. She delivered two 30-minute speeches on the subject today, expressing concern about "the growing ranks of the uninsured" and what she described as the collapse of trust in the health care system among patients, doctors, nurses and health care administrators.

Mrs. Clinton strongly defended her effort in 1993 and 1994 to persuade Congress to pass a universal health care system, and said its failure then would not discourage her now.

"I am proud that we did try to help millions of people who don't have insurance in this country," Mrs. Clinton told hospital administrators this morning at a meeting of the Healthcare Association of New York State at a resort on Lake George. "We were right to be concerned. But clearly we need a different approach."

"When you stop moving forward, you have two choices: You can turn your back on a problem and do nothing and help no one, or you can learn from the past and from your mistakes and try a better way," she said. "And that's what I think we still have to do."

Mrs. Clinton did not dwell on the mistakes that led to the collapse of her health care initiative but suggested they involved the tactics of winning its approval and its ambi-



Hillary Rodham Clinton greeted members of the Healthcare Association of New York State in Bo Landing, N.Y., yesterday. In two speeches yesterday, she began making health care a campaign issue.

tious scope, not the actual goal of providing universal coverage.

Beyond setting the goal of providing "quality, affordable health insurance for everyone," Mrs. Clinton did not say how she would like to see that accomplished. "I don't have a plan to unveil today," she said here, in a speech to the New York State Nurses Association. "That's going to take a lot of time with a lot of people working together."

By contrast, Mrs. Clinton was more forthcoming in discussing health care issues that are now being debated in Washington, particularly the fallout of the Balanced Budget Act that Mr. Clinton signed in 1997. That measure cut the growth of Medicare spending by \$115 billion over five years, an amount that was more than was originally estimated.

The cuts have drawn a storm of protest from hospital administrators and health care union leaders, including Dennis Rivera, the head of 1199 and one of Mrs. Clinton's most powerful supporters. Mr. Clinton has also now said that the cuts were

deeper than intended, and the Administration, along with Republicans and Democrats in Congress, have offered a variety of proposals to restore some of the money.

Mrs. Clinton had joined a delegation of New York officials in the White House in lobbying against the cuts, but today was the first time she had spoken out directly against them. "The Congress must not recess until it has addressed this problem," she said. "This must be fixed. And it needs to be fixed this year." Mrs. Clinton did not say which plan she preferred.

As usual, the First Lady did not mention her likely Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. Nonetheless, her decision to embrace health care as an early issue in her campaign reflects a conclusion by her advisers that the topic plays to Mrs. Clinton's strength, given her public identification with the topic, while underscoring what they see as a weakness for the Mayor, given his identification in New York with efforts to cut health care spending.

In trying to draw one contrast: Mr. Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton repeated returned to legislation being debated in Congress to regulate health maintenance organizations. The Senate and House have produced different versions of the bill; the House version would permit patients to H.M.O.'s. Mrs. Clinton strongly supports that bill. Mr. Giuliani has he supports some aspects of it, has so far declined to either end or oppose the pending bills.

Mrs. Clinton's remarks today, laced with criticism of health maintenance organizations, notwithstanding the fact that they had been one of the pillars of her own original health care plan. Today, she suggested the rise of the organizations he to account for the decline in trust in the health care system that she has become widespread.

"Let's restore common sense," she said. "Let's restore trust. I restore the professional judgment and discretion of the physicians, caring of the nurse, as what re drives health care."

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PRESERVATION

ART BUCHWALD

In Two Races At Once

There seem to be complications in regard to Hillary Rodham Clinton's race for the Senate. Just when it looked as if she would toss her bonnet into the ring in New York, Gov. Christine Todd Whitman decided not to run for the Senate from New Jersey. So the race in Jersey is wide open, and people have been urging Hillary to run from that state instead of New York. This makes some sense because it's much cheaper to run for the Senate in New Jersey than in New York, and you don't have to travel as much. The only disadvantage is that you can't campaign when the Giants or the Jets are playing in the Meadowlands. Also, Chappaqua, where the Clintons are buying a place, is closer than Trenton when Hillary wants to come home in the evening.

Michael Mensa has an even better idea.

He suggests Hillary run from both New York and New Jersey at the same time so that her chances of winning are twice as good—either in one state or the other.

Jersey and New York have two different sets of problems, so Hillary could campaign in different ways in each one.

For example, New Jersey has a garbage problem. The problem is that it keeps getting New York's garbage. Hillary would promise

New Jersey voters that, if elected, she would see that Connecticut gets New York's garbage.

New York has problems of its own. None of its citizens can get through the Holland and Lincoln tunnels on the weekends. Hillary could promise New Yorkers if she were elected she would build another tunnel financed by and named after Donald Trump.

I brought up the fact of residence. It appears that Hillary will be moving to New York. New Jersey voters would want their senator to reside there.

Mensa said, "Hillary could spend the winter in New York and the summer in Newark."

Mensa said the important thing is where President Clinton plays golf. New York has more golf courses, but to play you have to tee off at 5 o'clock in the morning. You don't have to tee off until 7 a.m. in New Jersey.

I then asked if anyone had ever run for senator in two states at the same time before. He said, "No one from Arkansas has."

Anyway, the idea is being given consideration by Democrats in both states. It would cost more money, but it would be worth it.

I asked Mensa what would happen if Hillary won in both states. He replied, "Then Hillary could move the Brooklyn Museum to Trenton."

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The Washington Post

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1999

World review

By David W. Jones

Drama or sensation?

As a young reporter I once interviewed a media-savvy official who unexpectedly asked me, "What is your angle going to be?"

"No angle," I told him pompously. "I just want to present the facts fairly and accurately."

"Oh, come on," the interviewee replied. "Every news story always has an angle."

I didn't admit then, but on reflection I had to concede there was much truth in what he said.

There are any number of ways to present a set of facts, and in choosing one element over another for the lead paragraph we inevitably say to our readers that we consider this to be the most important or interesting.

In constructing our stories, we try to reconcile two imperatives:

The lifeblood of any news organization is its credibility, and to maintain that, we have to make sure that our readers can always rely on the fairness and reliability of our reporting. At the same time, we are in business to sell newspapers in a competitive market and need to present our information in the most useful and interesting way we can.

Often, a story can be made more readable simply by moving one element to the top without taking anything away from its balance and fairness.

Reporter Andy Borowiec submitted a rather dry article some time ago based on a survey of international attitudes toward democracy or something of that sort. About halfway through the story, he mentioned that the sponsoring organization had ranked various countries according to the degree to which they were "free." The United States had placed fifth.

Aware that many Americans take great pride in considering the United States the freest country on earth, I asked Mr. Borowiec to redraft his article placing this element in the lead.

He did so, and the article set off a firestorm, with radio stations calling him from as far away as Texas for interviews about this outrageous slander against the United States.

Was this sensationalism? Or was it simply good newspapering by identifying what was inherently dramatic and interesting in the story and putting it where the headline writer would find it?

A sculpture in Ottawa

A similar situation occurred last week. During a recent vacation in Canada I had heard of a local controversy over the architecture of a new U.S. Embassy building being completed in Ottawa, and that President Clinton was due there last Friday for the formal opening.

We commissioned free-lance reporter Barry Brown in Toronto to prepare a story about the dispute in time to appear a couple of days before Mr. Clinton's trip.

When the article arrived, I was surprised to discover that residents of Ottawa were less concerned about the embassy



Clinton

than about a huge abstract sculpture in front of the building comprising what appeared to be a collection of flying steel girders. Mr. Brown also

mentioned that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had been in Ottawa a week earlier to dedicate the sculpture.

A thought went off like a buzzer in my brain. The battle between the Brooklyn Museum of Art and New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani over an art exhibit was raging at the time and Mrs. Clinton had inevitably been drawn into the dispute.

Couldn't we write this article, I asked Mr. Brown, to say that Mrs. Clinton had played a role in a second art dispute in Canada?

As it happened, the link was a natural. In dedicating the sculpture, Mrs. Clinton had spoken about "the importance of art in our lives" — a statement with inescapable irony in light of the New York controversy. And Ottawa's leading newspaper had already published an editorial about the sculpture that drew a parallel to the Brooklyn show.

We also included quotes from Canadians who loved the sculpture, and we treated the issue throughout in a lighthearted tone.

Photo Editor Alan Zlotky got on the phone to the Ottawa Citizen newspaper and secured a photograph of the artwork, which appeared with the front page story Wednesday, allowing readers to judge for themselves.

Was this sensationalism? Or, as I believe, just putting the spotlight on the most interesting aspect of a story?

• David W. Jones is foreign editor of *The Washington Times*. His e-mail is jones@twtdmail.com.

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The Washington Times

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1999

Hillary Clinton Learns From Campaign Mistakes As She Steps Up Outreach and Fund Raising

By JEANNE CUMMINGS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Like many other Hispanic leaders, Puerto Rico Gov. Pedro Rosello was stung by Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision to do an about-face and oppose presidential clemency for a group of inmates who had fought for the independence of the small U.S. commonwealth.

But after the first lady had him over to the White House for a private meeting recently, the Democratic governor now says he will not only endorse her expected candidacy for a New York Senate seat, "I will do my best to help her get elected." That's no hollow offer: Of the 2.5 million native Puerto Ricans living in the 50 states, a million reside in New York City.

Trailing in Polls

Mrs. Clinton's success in patching things up with Mr. Rosello is one of several signs that she is righting her campaign operation and taking her candidacy to a new level after setting off a firestorm last month by flip-flopping on the clemency issue. The adjustments come at a time when polls show her trailing in a match-up with expected GOP opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

From outreach to key Democratic constituencies to fund raising to staking out campaign positions, Mrs. Clinton is fine-tuning her operation. Although her candidacy remains formally unannounced, "she is running, and she is running hard," says Alan Patricof, co-chairman of Patricof & Co. Ventures, a New York-based venture-capital firm, and finance chairman of Mrs. Clinton's exploratory campaign.

While the first lady has been mending relations with key Puerto Rican leaders, her top campaign adviser, Harold Ickes, has been reaching out to disgruntled African-American leaders such as the Rev. Al Sharpton. The campaign also has designated several staff members to tend to relations with New York's various community and ethnic groups.

"There has been a dramatic improvement," says Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel, the dean of New York's congressional delegation and one of those who criticized Mrs. Clinton's campaign operation a month ago. "Her exploratory committee is hooked up into a regular Democratic network. The ethnic issues are now plugged into established Hispanic and African-American political organizations, and people with credibility have been contacted so that people now know where to go for information."

Furious Fund Raising

The first lady also is working furiously behind the scenes to generate the \$25 million her campaign says it needs to compete in the high-price New York media market. In September alone, Mrs. Clinton appeared at 21 Empire State fund-raising events that ranged from high-profile public appearances to more intimate gatherings in private homes with groups of 50 to 100 people. And her two direct-mail appeals have generated better-than-expected revenues from small donors.

Mrs. Clinton doesn't have to disclose the size of her campaign kitty until January. But one adviser predicts that she will have nearly half of the money she needs for the campaign by the time she makes her formal announcement next year.

Even so, her allies are trying to keep expectations in check, particularly in light of her reputation as a formidable fund-raiser. They point out, for example, that Mr. Giuliani already had about \$2.5 million in the bank when Mrs. Clinton announced the creation of her exploratory committee in July. In addition, aides say her traveling costs are often inflated by the demands of the U.S. Secret Service.

To offset those extra expenses and ensure that she has cash when she needs it, Mrs. Clinton has resisted hiring more staff and campaign consultants. But her frugality has cost her something equally valuable, some allies say. A full-time, New York-based campaign manager probably would have helped her avoid the mishandling of the Puerto Rico clemency issue. According to advisers, Mrs. Clinton has begun searching for a full-time manager and media consultant.

Despite her campaign's claims of special-financial burdens, Mr. Patricof says Mrs. Clinton's first financial disclosure report will instantly "make her a very credible candidate. It will represent a significant accomplishment, especially considering it comes from a standing start."

Ready Cash for Giuliani

Of course, Mr. Giuliani is not sitting idly by. He, too, has adopted an aggressive fund-raising schedule that has taken him from New York to Arkansas. During a recent trip to Washington, Mr. Giuliani learned that he can count on contributions from a host of political action committees that are simply waiting for his formal announcement.

"He'll have all the money he needs, and then some," predicts Guy Molinari, borough president of Staten Island. His daughter, former GOP Rep. Susan Molinari, headlined a women's fund-raising breakfast last week for Mr. Giuliani that drew 1,600 people.

While Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising operations churn along, the first lady has also begun shifting her public posture by offering a campaign-style speech that highlights specific policy differences with Mr. Giuliani on national issues. "This race is going to be decided on issues, and there are clear differences on these issues," says Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson.

Mrs. Clinton's first round of audiences that heard the new stump speech was heavily weighted toward organized labor. That was an indication that she is hoping to nail down support with the party's liberal base early enough to allow her to court the state's critical swing voters next year. Late last week, she appeared before the Civil Service Employees Association, a union that remained neutral during last year's race between current Democratic

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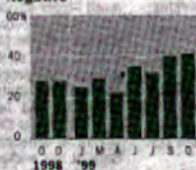
Taking the Political Pulse

Attitudes Toward Hillary Clinton

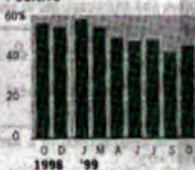
America's view, in percentage



Negative



Positive



Source: THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. This time, the union is expected to put the weight of its 213,000 members behind the first lady.

In her address, Mrs. Clinton didn't mention the mayor but made clear that raising the minimum wage, supporting the patients' bill of rights and passing a treaty aimed at reducing the spread of nuclear weapons are all issues on which they differ. "There are many people in Congress and in this country who want us to do a U-turn and go back to where we were eight years ago," she said.

Bruce Teitelbaum, Mr. Giuliani's campaign committee director, says the mayor has no plans to respond directly to Mrs. Clinton's "distortions, spinning and personal invectives." Rather, he says, Mr. Giuliani will focus on "building his record of accomplishments" in New York City so the voters can "make an assessment of his job performance."

Perhaps the most vivid example of the first lady's campaign adjustments came when another Puerto Rican controversy hit the news last week. Mrs. Clinton was sure not to make the same mistake twice.

At issue was Puerto Rico's demand for an end to the U.S. Navy bombing exercises on the island of Vieques because of environmental and safety concerns. A Pentagon panel recommended a five-year phase-out of the exercises, but Mrs. Clinton called for an immediate military withdrawal—just as Gov. Rosello had suggested in their White House meeting.

Gov. Rosello likens the controversy generated over the earlier clemency issue to "getting stubbed in the toe while dancing" with someone you care about. When one looks at the other potential partners on the dance floor, he says, supporting Mrs. Clinton's candidacy "is a no-brainer."

Monday, October 25, 1999 **WHITE HOUSE WEEKLY**

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

There is a school of political thought that says Hillary Rodham Clinton will eventually withdraw from the New York Senate race and throw her support behind another strong candidate, such as Andrew Cuomo, secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

But Cuomo insisted last week that Hillary—and not himself—will be the next Democratic Senator from New York.

"New York politics can be strange, even for a New Yorker," Cuomo said. "It's going to be a while between now and then, but when the votes are counted, Hillary will win."

He enthused: "She would be a phenomenal Senator for the state of New York."

Cuomo's last prediction about the future of a major politician in New York did not exactly pan out. According to ex-Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos, it was Cuomo who assured the White House back in 1993 that his father, Mario, would accept the president's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.

"The answer is yes," Stephanopoulos quotes Cuomo as saying in the former's memoir, "All Too Human."

"Mario will do it because the president wants him to."

But 15 minutes before Clinton was scheduled to call the New York governor with the offer, Mario preemptively phoned Stephanopoulos to declare he would refuse the nomination.

Stephanopoulos described the episode as another embarrassing "disaster" for the fledgling administration.

But perhaps Hillary supporters who fear that Andrew's prediction is a harbinger of doom should not despair after all. Moments after assuring reporters that Hillary would win, Andrew proceeded to pronounce the Big Apple's Rudy Giuliani "a great mayor."

Tuesday, October 12, 1999 **WHITE HOUSE WEEKLY**

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

It's official: President Clinton is now on record predicting that Democrats will win not only the White House next year, but also control of the House and Senate.

A few weeks ago, during a speech to the Democratic National Committee's business council, the president said of next year's race for the White House: "My guess is we win." Although he couched his prediction in phrases like "who knows what will happen?" it was the first time the president publicly stated that his own party would retain control of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Last week, Clinton went a couple of steps further during a speech at the New Democrat Network Dinner.

"I didn't think I could say this six months ago, but we now have, I believe, a reasonable chance to pick up enough seats not only to have a majority in the House—which everybody knows and even our adversaries acknowledged—but even in the Senate, thanks to the extraordinary people who are running for Senate seats on our side."

The president stopped short of singling out his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who last week edged even closer to declaring her candidacy for the soon-to-be-vacant Senate seat in New York.

W H W

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

AT THE Lena Horne tribute the other eve, I asked Rosie O'Donnell about her "Happy Birthday" party planned for Monday night at the New Amsterdam, saluting Hillary Rodham Clinton. Why is she doing it?

Rosie, who recently shed 28 pounds, explained: "I am a supporter of Mrs. Clinton in every aspect. We'll have different performers from Broadway past and present, and Fran Weisler has set up the entire production."

Is there any conflict in her public political stance? "Hell no," said Rosie. "I have more leeway than journalists. I'm not one. I'm a talk show host. My backing doesn't carry weight. I have known Mrs. Clinton since she came to the White House. I was always for her work with the Children's Defense Fund and Marian Wright Edelman. So there you have it!"

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Johnny Chung, a notorious figure in the 1996 Democratic funny-money scandal, was recently invited to a \$10,000 fund-raiser for Hillary Rodham Clinton hosted by movie-maker Steven Spielberg.

"Is that a joke or what?" Chung told The Post.

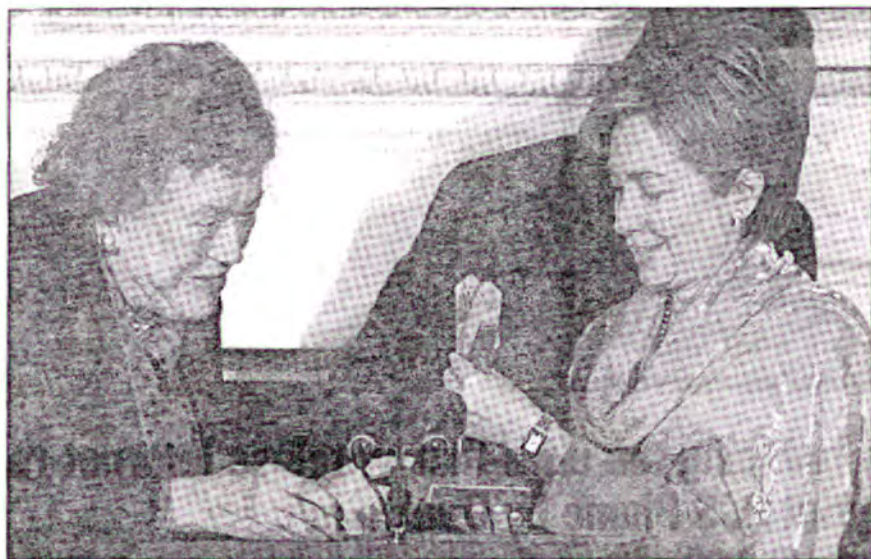
"I am broke, and even if I had the money, why should I give my donation to someone who doesn't even declare to be an official candidate yet?" said Chung, who pleaded guilty to funneling \$20,000 in illegal cash to the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1996.

Chung was invited to pay \$1,000 to join the first lady for an afternoon tea, another \$1,000 to attend a cocktail party with her at the Beverly Hilton, and another \$10,000 to take his wife to a dinner for Mrs. Clinton hosted by Spielberg and wife Kate Capshaw.

"It was obviously a mistake," Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said yesterday.

"The campaign has very strict compliance standards, and we certainly wouldn't have accepted his money if he had given it," Wolfson added.

Wolfson said he didn't know how Chung got an invitation to the dinner but denied the campaign



CASSEROLE MODEL: Hillary Rodham Clinton honors kitchen legend Julia Child yesterday at the White House. AP

got Chung's name from an off-limits White House database, or the official visitors' log kept by the Secret Service.

Chung visited the White House 49 times before the 1996 fund-raising scandal exploded — and half those visits were cleared by the Mrs. Clinton's office, according to Secret Service records.

In March 1995, he gave Mrs. Clinton's chief of

staff, Maggie Williams, a \$50,000 check and, one week later, got to take six Chinese business pals to meet the president in the Oval Office after a radio address. In all, the DNC returned \$360,000 of Chung's funny money.

Officials from the Democratic National Committee, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Democratic Congressional Campaign

Committee and the California State Democratic Committee all said yesterday that Chung's name has been purged from their lists.

"I don't know whose [donor] list they were using. It's certainly not ours," said an official with the congressional campaign committee.

The money from the Spielberg event goes to the Senate campaign com-

mittee, which can spend up to \$1.7 million on Mrs. Clinton's race.

Wolfson said the campaign hired a California fund-raising firm, and that 10,000 invitations were sent out.

"We have no idea whose list he's on," Wolfson insisted.

Chung said he's also received fund-raising solicitations from Al Gore's presidential campaign.

Hillary wants a few more dollars from 'funny money' fund-raiser

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Public Employees' Union Is Set to Endorse Mrs. Clinton

By MARC LACEY

WASHINGTON, Oct. 21 — New York's largest public employees' union stayed neutral in Senator Charles E. Schumer's defeat of Alfonse M. D'Amato last year, but its president said today that the group will back Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate candidacy over that of her likely opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"There's no question we will weigh in here and there's no question who we'll weigh in for," Danny Donohue, president of the 268,000-member Civil Service Employees Association, said in an interview.

Mrs. Clinton, speaking at the group's annual convention, attacked Republican policies she called unfriendly to working people and praised

the union for being the first New York labor group to back President Clinton's 1992 candidacy.

"We have to remain vigilant because there are many people in Congress and in this country who want us to do a U-turn and go back to where we were eight years ago," she said.

Mr. Donohue said the public employees' union did not endorse a candidate in the Schumer-D'Amato contest because both candidates had been responsive to the union.

Mr. Donohue did not say which of Mr. Giuliani's policies troubled the group, but he said Mrs. Clinton had been a strong advocate for education and other issues the union sees as important.

Mr. Donohue said he would formally issue the endorsement of Mrs. Clinton after hearing from the union's political action committees and after Mrs. Clinton officially enters the race. Because the union has both Democratic and Republican members, Mr. Donohue said he expected some dissent.

"They both have their drawbacks," said Jeanne Kelso, a Republican union member from Saranac, near the Canadian border. "Hillary is not from New York and Giuliani might think New York is all about New York City."

The back of Mrs. Kelso's jacket was emblazoned with the words "Clinton County," which, she pointed out, was the name of her home county, not a plug for Mrs. Clinton.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1999

Is Hillary Going To Bail Out?

Why else delay making her Senate candidacy official?

BEFORE the summer, Hillary Clinton said she would announce her candidacy for the Senate in October. As she asked Rep. Nita Lowey to pull out, she promised that she would jump in during the fall. Now, during an upstate tour last week, she suddenly delays a decision until "sometime next year." While her flip-flop passed without journalistic or political comment, it deserves closer scrutiny.

Hillary hopes to placate her New York supporters by saying that she is leaning toward running, once even saying if she leaned any more she would fall over. But the fact remains that she hasn't announced. And when a candidate delays announcing her candidacy, something is going on.

There's no political reason for Hillary not to announce her candidacy. She doesn't benefit from her current half-in, half-out status. Her refusal to announce her candidacy is taxing the patience of some of her formerly most-avid followers. Rep. Charles Rangel (D-Harlem), one of her most ardent suitors in seeking to persuade her to run in New York, has said what many of her backers are thinking: Fish or cut bait.

So why the procrastination?

It might be that her poll numbers are tanking. In August, New York's most accurate pollster, John Zogby, put Hillary in a statistical tie with Giuliani. By September, she was 4 behind. In October, she had slipped to 11 points back. (Generally, the polls that show a tighter race, like Quinnipiac, are less accurate in predicting the outcome since they survey all voters, not likely voters.)

The welcome mat New Yorkers seemed to lay out for the first lady seems to be wearing thin. The FALN terrorist clemency, the shenanigans about her mortgage and her ambiguous position on the Brooklyn Museum of Art exhibition seem to be cutting into her popularity. But the more likely explanation for Hillary's expanding deficit is the growth of Giuliani's positives.



DICK MORRIS
ON
TUESDAY

Polls now give the New York mayor his highest approval ratings of the year. As upstate voters learn more about Rudy's record in New York City, his capacity to win votes seems to grow. In Zogby's polling, Rudy's gains upstate are impressive. In the city, he gets 35 percent of the vote, well above what a Republican needs to win statewide.

The first lady, never one to charge blindly into a losing fight, may be reconsidering squandering her political prospects on an uphill race, during a Republican year, against a popular moderate Republican.

Another explanation for her reluctance to jump into the fray may be the appointment of a new federal independent counsel, Robert Ray, to

bias because Giuliani's office hired him as an assistant prosecutor during Rudy's last days as United States attorney.

This charge is ridiculous. Ray began his job after Giuliani left office — and since when does a U.S. attorney personally do his own hiring? But it is significant that Clinton felt it necessary to begin the process of discrediting Starr's successor.

Hillary does not want to be in the middle of a serious investigation while her candidacy hangs in the balance in New York. As long as Starr was her only threat, she could count on his poor reputation to protect her. She knew he would issue a nasty report, but that would have been a one-day story. Ray might have a more detailed and serious probe in mind.

One struggles to find an innocuous reason for Hillary's delay of an announcement. She is in the thick of the race right now, whether she announces or not. Each day's give and take between the first lady and the mayor has an intensely most campaigns don't reach until right before Election Day.

But consider what not announcing is costing her. Beyond the impatience of many of her supporters, it stops her from advertising on television. It might undermine the willingness of people to give

her money. Already accused of opportunism as she moves to run in a state in which she has never lived, she only heightens the negative by delaying her entry into the race. Where she should show a passionate commitment, she shows only political caution as she carefully weighs her options.

Meanwhile, as she raises money, her donors would do well to remember that should she decide not to run, she can keep their money and spend it on any political purpose she wishes, in any state she wants.

Why won't Hillary honor her original October deadline for making a decision? My bet is that she will take the money — and not run.

Where she should show a passionate commitment, she shows only political caution as she carefully weighs her options.

succeed Kenneth Starr as the Clinton's inquisitor. Unlike his discredited predecessor, Ray cannot be counted on to self-destruct.

Starr's image was destroyed by his seemingly mindless obsession with the Lewinsky sex scandal. Ray doesn't have Starr's baggage. He can follow the evidence in examining the first lady's role in the fraudulent Castle Grande land deal and the Travel Office firings wherever it leads.

The administration fears Ray. It reacted quickly to tarnish him as soon as he was appointed. Led by James Carville (and sounding like a broken record), they excoriated the new special prosecutor as "politically motivated" — claiming that Ray has a

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1999

Puerto Rico gov backs Hillary

By BRIAN BLUMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Puerto Rican Gov. Pedro Rossello, who uses Hillary Clinton's top campaign strategist as a consultant, said yesterday he's endorsing her for Senate despite their spat over freeing FALN terrorists.

The strategist, Harold Ickes, recently told The Post he has been doing public-relations work for Rossello.

But Ickes yesterday ducked questions about whether he set up a recent face-to-face White House meeting between Mrs. Clinton and Rossello. Ickes didn't return calls, and the first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said, "I don't know what role he played at all."

But the ice between Mrs. Clinton and Rossello has apparently thawed.

"I have actually endorsed Mrs.

Clinton. I will be working with Mrs. Clinton in her run at the Senate from New York," Rossello said yesterday on Fox News Channel, which is owned by News Corp., owner of The Post.

The popular governor could help Mrs. Clinton reclaim the support of some of the Hispanic New Yorkers who were angry that she flip-flopped, ultimately opposing her husband's get-out-of-jail deal for the FALN.

Rossello, who supported the

FALN clemency deal, claimed that Mrs. Clinton's flip-flop helped resolve the controversy.

She first backed clemency then came out against it when the jailed terrorists failed to show remorse after three weeks of being offered the conditional pardon.

"Within 48 hours of her expressions, we had a resolution of this matter," Rossello said, referring to the FALN members' belated acceptance of the deal.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

N.Y. broadcaster decides to tune out Hillary's campaign

Refusal to offer media interviews cited

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton may be listening to New Yorkers as she prepares for a probable senatorial campaign, but at least two radio and TV organizations have decided to tune her out until she has something important to say.

"After 14 weeks of covering her since her 'listening tour' began, we had to make a news judgment," said Richard French, general manager of WRNN-TV, a station based in Kingston. He said in an interview that his reporters would no longer be used as "props" for the first lady because "she won't give her positions on specific issues or participate in interviews."

Mr. French, a Democrat, said his political leanings had no impact on the decision to withdraw his camera crews from following Mrs. Clinton. It was, he added, simply a case of her unresponsiveness and a failure of the campaign to allow the station, which has a potential audience of 2.3 million, to ask her pertinent questions.

His announcement comes three months after Whitney Radio, the operator of two stations in New Rochelle, N.Y., terminated coverage of Mrs. Clinton's campaign around the state. William O'Shaughnessy, president and owner of Whitney, said, "We have no interest in being party to a coronation."

Both media outlets are among the dozens of media organizations requesting time for one-on-one interviews with Mrs. Clinton. Her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said Monday that she would entertain none of them until after the first of the year, when she will presumably announce her intentions about the Senate race. His words only added to the frustration experienced by reporters who have covered the first lady since she announced her intention to explore the possibility of running for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Mrs. Clinton has spent consider-

able time in the state addressing small, largely handpicked audiences about various issues. She is guarded with the press and the few questions she takes are answered with little specificity on local issues, especially if they are controversial. Secret Service agents have reinforced the lack of access to Mrs. Clinton by often keeping reporters and cameras at bay.

Both men said they had conversations with Mr. Wolfson when Mrs. Clinton announced her interest in the race. Mr. French said he was led to believe that more opportunities would arise that would allow them to conduct interviews.

"We were led to believe that before the 14th week something would take place," he said.

Phil Reisman, a columnist for the Journal News in White Plains, N.Y., said: "If Hillary Clinton decides to answer a question and there's nobody there to hear it, will it make a sound bite?"

Mr. Reisman added, however, that usually "they" — members of the major national news organizations — are still showing up. On television, he added, it looks like a throng, but in reality it is "a non-committal Mr. Wolfson surrounded by bored press people hanging around for free sandwiches, [public relations people] and Secret Service agents. And there's Hillary staring out at the portable toilets in the background."

Mr. O'Shaughnessy, whose company owns WVOX-AM and WRTN-FM, represents New York stations as a member of the board of the National Association of Broadcasters, where he said he is considered to be "the point man on First Amendment issues."

A colorful Republican, he described most of his colleagues as "a group of damn ducks walking across the road, one after another yelling 'quack, quack' and hoping for a morsel dropped from the mouth of Mrs. Clinton's considerable retinue of outriders and flankers."

Mr. Wolfson had no comment.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR.

Though Hillary Rodham Clinton was having a grand time the other night at a fund raiser called "Broadway for Hillary," ugly questions are again arising about her White House afterlife. Even as she glances through Manhattan's posh soirees, some of us are again wondering if Hillary is all that serious about challenging New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani for Pat Moynihan's Senate seat. Last spring she promised to announce her Senate candidacy in October. Now she says she will make her announcement "sometime next year."

This procrastination has gone unremarked by many of the pundits, but not by the esteemed Rush Limbaugh or by Hillary's erstwhile political adviser, Dick Morris. "When a candidate delays announcing her candidacy, something is going on," the campaign pro noted in the New York Post. Mr. Morris went on to observe that "There's no political reason for Hillary not to announce her candidacy." He reports that in New York political circles some of Hillary's "most ardent suitors" are growing impatient-watch that terminology, Dick. This is one of the romantic Clintons you are writing about. On a matter of practical politics, Mr. Morris reminds his readers that until Hillary declares her candidacy she cannot advertise in media and her fund raising will lag.

Mr. Limbaugh thinks it suspicious that Hillary demurred from appearing in public amongst the popolo minuto at a Yankees game.

Hillary's hesitation

He believes that she fears ordinary New Yorkers might boo her. Both Mr. Limbaugh and Mr. Morris cite Hillary's decline in the polls as another reason she will ultimately take a pass on a run against Mr. Giuliani.

When first she floated her availability for Mr. Moynihan's seat, the polls showed her a popular favorite. Then she began showing up around the state. Like some sort of political messiah she toured the state on a "listening campaign" to see just how desperate conditions might be in one of the country's most prosperous states. She donned New York baseball hats, got into rows over long-forgotten Puerto Rican terrorists and the Brooklyn Museum (known to wags as the BM), and could not even negotiate for a New York residence without raising questions of scandal. By August the respected Zogby poll had her down to a statistical dead heat with Mr. Giuliani. By September she was behind. By October she was 11 points behind. Stop the polls, I want to get off.

Mr. Limbaugh and Mr. Morris cite Hillary's growing unpopularity as the reason she has yet to declare. Mr. Morris points to another problem for Hillary. Robert Ray, the new independent counsel replacing Ken Starr, may be investigating Hillary's role in Travelgate and her fraudulent Castle Grande deal. Mr. Morris writes that

"Hillary does not want to be in the middle of a serious investigation while her candidacy hangs in the balance in New York." In sum, she is reluctant to run because of her sinking polls and an impending investigation by the new independent counsel.

Actually, I believe that Hillary has more to fear than a mere investigation. A new book about Hillary reminds us that in responding under oath to congressional interrogatories about her role in Travelgate she impetuously committed perjury. She also possibly committed perjury in her grand jury testimony about Castle Grande, some of whose documents mysteriously appeared in her White House quarters long after they had been subpoenaed. That would add a charge of obstruction of justice to her legal problems.

Hell to Pay: The Unfolding Story of Hillary Rodham Clinton" is written by Barbara Olson, the House of Representatives' chief investigative counsel for Travelgate and the inquiry into those 900 FBI files that were illegally shipped to the White House early

in the first Clinton administration. Miss Olson's book contains damning evidence that the lady who would be New York's junior senator is also implicated in a criminal investigation. Contrary to Mr. Morris' interpretation of Hillary's delayed candidacy, Miss Olson believes that "if investigated or indicted, Mrs. Clinton would stay in the race. Her candidacy would renew her First Victim status that has served her so well in surviving all her other scandals."

I am inclined to agree with Miss Olson. Through all of the Clintons' brushes with the law Hillary has urged obstructive tactics. She



called for the war against Mr. Starr. She has sent her Carvilles out to smear and government lawyers out to resist legitimate governmental and judicial processes. If she is in serious danger of indictment, she will run to protect herself from conviction. If she is not in serious danger with the law she will duck out of this Senate race. Right now it looks like she might lose, and then her White House afterlife would be sheer dullsville with or without Bill.

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

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



But isn't 'Others' the word they live by?

One night not long after Hillary Rodham Clinton told everybody else in New York to get out of her way, I sat next to Rep. Nita M. Lowey at dinner at the home of the Israeli ambassador.

You're supposed to make polite small talk at such dinners, and I always make mine as small and polite as possible.

"Mrs. Lowey," I said, "have you figured out what you're going to say to the reporters on the cold, bleak, wintry day next January when Hillary smiles ever so sweetly and says she's not going to run after all?"

Mrs. Lowey's jaw hit the table with a ladylike thud that rattled her spoon against the wine glass. She finally asked: "Do you know something I don't?"

"Only that I've been watching the Clintons for a long time, and she won't run. Not so much won't, as can't."

This is something only Bill and Miss Hillary (and maybe her hairdresser) know for sure, and you can't blame Nita Lowey and the other Democrats in New York for thinking, like it or not, that all systems are go. But some of the Democrats in New York ought to start looking for their shoes.

Some of them already are. Others, perhaps Nita Lowey, are acclimating themselves to the unthinkable, that the Clintons could leave their party without a candidate and without a lot of time to find one. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, Miss Hillary's rattled liege man, says it's time for her to "fish or cut bait."

Everyone expected her to make the announcement in September. Then she promised that bait-cutting time would come around in October. Now October is all but gone, and last week she told a carefully assembled audience in upstate New York ("we'll tell you what questions you can ask the first lady") that no, she would say one way or the other "sometime next year."

This is a delay that would be disastrous to the party if the announcement "sometime next year" is that she wants to get settled in her new house in Westchester County and tend to the noble causes she neglected in the eight years she sacrificed to being the first lady.



Miss Hillary

"That would be unconscionable," says a senior New York Democrat.

"Not even the Clintons would do that."

Well, of course those of us who have known them

longest find it difficult to believe that Bill and Hillary would do that to their friends, "Others" being the inviolate word they live by. But they could, and, well within the law, take all the money contributed to the Senate campaign to spread it around somewhere else.

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1999

The delay, as both Clintons know, is hurting, not helping, confusing New Yorkers who support her and encouraging those who don't. Her poll numbers are sinking, and nothing would revive them — if only briefly — like the smoke and noise of a boisterous announcement rally.

In a poll by John Zogby, the hottest (and most accurate) pollster going just now, Miss Hillary has slipped from a statistical tie with Rudy Giuliani to being down by 4 points in September, to 11 down this month. Nobody reads the polls with more fear and loathing than the president, unless it's his wife. The Zogby numbers are hand-writing on the wall.

As ominous as all this is, it could get worse. The swiftly mounted attack on Robert Ray, appointed to succeed Kenneth W. Starr as the special prosecutor for Clinton crimes, reflects White House fear of what that might be. James Carville, revealed as the ultimate mean Democrat in all the polls, was sent out on the morning after to fire the opening rounds in the campaign to demonize Mr. Ray. All he could come up with was a stale reprise from his glory days of bashing Mr. Starr ("the appointment was politically motivated"). For once, the mean Democrat sounded as polite as a Republican. Nobody knows better than Miss Hillary what Robert Ray, a former prosecutor in New York, has already found in the Castle Grande land deal. She knows that whether he indicts her or not, reprising the scandal stuff will keep alive the question: Should New Yorkers for half of the egg-salad sandwich left on someone's plate down in Arkansas?

If she runs and loses, she's another Geraldine Ferraro overnight. She will sink, along with her husband, into the icy depths of the sea of public forgetfulness, free to make speeches twice a day to the Feminist Defense Fund, the Valkyrie Virgins of Greenwich Village, the Inner City Institute for Boring Policy Studies, the Schlepworth League and the Village Idiots Association, and nobody, not Alec Baldwin nor Rosie O'Donnell, nor even Eleanor Rodham Clift will listen. Harold Ickes and Sidney Blumenthal will no longer fight over who gets to carry her purse. The long national nightmare-and-hayride will be over at last. She couldn't bear it.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of The Times.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1999

NEAL TRAVIS
NEW YORK

Moguls shelve Clinton library \$\$

THE gravy train that President and Hillary Clinton have for so long been riding may be coming to a halt.

At least one of the moguls who The Washington Post reported the other day had pledged between \$5 million and \$10 million to the Clinton Presidential Library has done no such thing.

This previously generous donor — and some others on the list leaked to the newspaper — is really ticked off at the presumptions of the fund-raisers. The soaring cost of the library — which could go as high as \$125 million — is also causing other fat cats to sit on their wallets.

The D.C. Post's sources claim that between \$20 million and \$130 million has been pledged for the library, but from what I was told yesterday by some of those supposedly committed, the sum that can be counted on at this stage is more like \$10 million.

The Washington paper also picked up on my previous story about David Geffen suddenly canceling a brunch meeting at his home at which

entertainment-industry princes were supposed to pledge millions for the library.

Geffen never returned my call asking why the event was aborted, but it would now seem that the billionaire and avid Clintonista realized he was flogging a dead horse.

"It just seems obscene to be trying to raise so much money for a monument to himself," one disillusioned West Coast supporter tells me. "I've chipped in for the Clinton defense fund, I've contributed a heap to the Democratic Party, and I'm supporting Al Gore. But I don't like their idea that I'm automatically going to help pay for some edifice down in Arkansas."

It will be interesting to see whether this resentment rubs off on Hillary. Invitations are just out to a Nov. 5 series of fund-raisers in L.A. for the first lady. The faithful can attend afternoon tea (\$1,000) at the home of Cheryl Soban, cocktails (\$5,000) at the Beverly Wilshire, and dinner (\$10,000) at the Pacific Palisades home of Steven Spielberg and Kate Capshaw.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

DECEMBER '97, some may recall, the revered University Club threw me out for using a cell phone during my private meeting with Hillary Clinton. Seems that's not allowed. The

phone, that is. Chatting with a First Lady is still permitted.

I reported the ruckus in — uncharacteristically — smarmy fashion. Said the Club's 175 years old as are the members. Said it's Geezergate. I haven't been back since, not that they're exactly desperate to see me.

Anyway, toot the horns, sound the alarm, I am returning. Ambassador Ed Elson and the American Scandinavian Foundation host a gala there Nov. 2 for the Queen of Denmark. I'm invited. I have accepted. This is to tell them in advance it would be a royal insult if they threw me out — again.

HILLARY sightings are everywhere. Walking tour of Queens. Cappuccino plus bagel and cream cheese with the Forest Hills Jewish Center's Rabbi Gerald Skolnik. Guest of Honor at a Catskills fundraiser. Kutscher's Hotel. But there, no questions, no interviews, no mingling. Just dinner. Catskillians eager to shake hands were disappointed. Seems, while Hill's running like a racehorse, she's already worn out three young aides. And they couldn't be with her thus the interfacing had to be downplayed. So, instead of the event being rah rah rah, it was just rah.

Women for Rudy

Former Rep. Susan Molinari led a "Women for Rudy" breakfast yesterday in New York City, declaring: "Come on, Hillary, make our day."

Mrs. Molinari, emceeding an event that attracted 1,600 women, derided first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's frequent appearances around New York state as "months of listening by Mrs. Clinton" compared to "months of action by Mayor [Rudolph W.] Giuliani," the first lady's likely Republican opponent in next year's U.S. Senate race.

"We're here to take what I like to think is a good old-fashioned

real New York opening shot across the bow. Come on, Hillary, make our day," said Mrs. Molinari, a New York Republican.

Cloning Hillary

A commercial for Pizza Hut's new New York-style pizza debuts on network television during tomorrow's opening game of the World Series, showing a female politico with a strong Arkansas accent declaring her candidacy for the U.S. Senate.

"You got to fold it to eat it, and man, it is New York big — 16 inches across," the woman exclaims. "How do I know so much about New York pizza? Cause I want to be your next senator."

The commercial ends with a New York cop, in his best Bronx accent, asking: "\$9.99, what do you think this is, Arkansas?"

Now surely there are people in this uniquely populated country of ours who will swear the goofy woman in the ad is Hillary Rodham Clinton herself. Which could either help or hurt the first lady's chances of over winning election.

"I don't think so," says Jay Allison, Pizza Hut's spokesman.

Still, we remind Mr. Allison, companies like his get sued every day for impersonating important people like Mrs. Clinton.

"When you go through the commercial, you will find it's a parody on the race, not the individual," he says. "It would be a stretch to think it was her."

Are you certain, Mr. Allison?

"We're having some fun," he insists.

But will Mrs. Clinton think it "fun" to be mistaken for a pepperoni peddler?

"In the actual ad, I believe there is a statement this is not an actual campaign event," he assures us.

Clinton's mood

"The buzz in Washington is that the president is starting to act a little, well, weird," the New York Post's Deborah Orrin writes.

The buzz started last Sunday when the world's most powerful man went out all alone at 4:20 p.m. in a steady drizzle and played 18 holes of golf, finishing in the dark about 7:15 p.m. On a day when wife Hillary was in town," Miss Orrin said.

That capped Clinton's sudden spate of gaffes — saying the Irish are hooked on fighting like drunks, claiming he once thought a Secret Service man would gun him down, and revealing his fixation with right-wing pit bull Larry Klayman.

There's a growing sense that Clinton just doesn't seem to care any more and is kissing away his last chance at a legacy — with sloppy, listless staff work from the Oval Office on down having doomed the test-ban treaty.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton, meet Robert Mundell

Typically, Hillary Rodham Clinton got it all wrong. And her timing was especially bad. Three days after the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science to Robert Mundell, the intellectual godfather of Reaganomics in general and supply-side economics in particular, the first lady declared, "I don't think that Reaganomics and supply-side economics was the right direction for this country."

Recall that President Reagan inherited an economy characterized by a 13 percent annual inflation rate (two years in a row), rising unemployment, interest rates higher than 20 percent, a top tax rate of 70 percent applicable to so-called unearned income, annual, unlegislated, bracket-creep-induced tax increases affecting every wage earner, a currency under attack around the globe, a free fall in U.S. industrial competitiveness — all the product of a thoroughly discredited Keynesian policy more adept at generating stagflation than non-inflationary growth. Would Mrs. Clinton really have preferred more of the same, something a second Carter term would have guaranteed? In fact, Reaganomics reversed the Carter policy mix, following the prescriptions advocated by Mr. Mundell — tight money to stop the inflation and supply-side tax cuts to spur economic growth and increased defense spending.

Though considered economic heresy by the Keynesian establishment, the successes of the Mundell-recommended policies are now utterly indisputable. Contrary to Keynesian predictions, which held that inflation could not be subdued in an environment of large tax cuts, the rate of consumer price inflation collapsed from 13 percent in 1980 to less than 4 percent in 1982. To be sure, the Fed's tight money policies produced a deep recession, for which Mr. Reagan was relentlessly blamed and repeatedly mocked for his determination to "stay the course." Who now will deny the sizable long-term benefits the economy achieved by defeating inflation, which was less than 2 percent last year.

Moreover, despite some backsliding on the marginal-rate, tax-reduction front in 1990 and 1993, today's maximum tax rates (39.6 percent for wage-and-salary, interest and dividend income and 19.8 percent for capital gains) are still substantially lower than the maximum rates Mr. Reagan inherited (50 percent for wage-and-salary income, 70 percent for interest and dividend income and 28 percent for capital gains). In addition, Mr. Reagan eliminated bracket creep by indexing tax brackets each year to account for inflation. With inflation subdued and net supply-side tax reductions still in place, albeit at a reduced level, the long-term results of Reaganomics are apparent to virtually everybody but the likes of Mrs. Clinton.

Yet, apart from Mr. Mundell and other supply-side gurus, who else predicted the prosperity that Reaganomics has produced? When Mr. Reagan began phasing in his 25 percent tax-rate reduction in 1981, who, besides supply-side optimists — keenly aware of the incentive-producing effects of marginal tax-rate reductions — would have believed that a nearly nonstop 17-year economic expansion, which has been interrupted by one of the shortest (eight months), most shallow recessions since World War II, would have been possible?

A discussion of Reaganomics would, of course, not be complete without addressing the budget deficit. So let's talk about it. In 1980, the federal budget deficit was \$74 billion. It resulted from \$134 billion in defense spending, \$457 in non-defense spending and \$517 billion in tax receipts. Between 1980 and 1988, total tax revenues increased by 75 percent (from \$517 billion to \$909 billion). This increase was not much different from the 82 percent growth in nominal gross domestic product (GDP). In 1988, Mr. Reagan's last year in office, annual defense spending had increased by \$156 billion to \$290 billion (compared to 1980). The 1988 deficit was \$155 billion, reflecting an \$81 billion increase over 1980's deficit. In other words, Mr. Reagan managed to increase defense spending by nearly twice the amount of the increase in the deficit. The defense buildup was, of course, indispensable in producing the Soviet Union's utter defeat in the Cold War. Apportioning part of this cost, in the form of debt service, to the future generations that will benefit from the Cold War victory hardly seems unfair.

The budget deficit peaked at \$290 billion in 1992, four years after Mr. Reagan left office. How did the deficit nearly double in four years, especially when nominal defense spending was virtually frozen (inflation-adjusted defense spending declined by 9 percent) and tax revenues increased by 20 percent (nominal GDP increased by 24 percent)? The answer lies in an explosion of non-defense spending, which increased by 40 percent from 1988 to 1992, a growth rate that was 67 percent faster than the nominal growth of the economy. Reaganomics can hardly be blamed for the fact that Mr. Reagan's successor fed a Democratic Congress's insatiable appetite for non-defense spending.

When Republicans gained control of Congress in the 1994 elections, they imposed a modicum of restraint on nondefense spending, which increased by 17 percent between 1994 and 1998, compared to an increase of 23 percent in nominal GDP. Meanwhile, even at income-tax rates that were still substantially below the levels Mr. Reagan inherited, total tax revenues increased 37 percent (individual income-tax revenues increased by more than 40 percent) from 1994 to 1998, rising substantially faster than the growth rate of the economy and producing the first budget surplus since 1969. From here, that looks like complete vindication of Nobel laureate Mundell, Reaganomics and its supply-side component.

Perhaps Mrs. Clinton's refusal to acknowledge the facts results from her own experience. "If Reaganomics works at all," Mrs. Clinton wrote to her Whitewater business partner James McDougal less than two months after President Reagan signed the historic tax-reduction legislation in 1981, "Whitewater could become the western hemisphere's mecca." (sic) As we have observed before, Reaganomics was powerful enough to defeat the Soviet Union and propel the U.S. economy upon an unprecedented path of peacetime economic expansion. But even the will of Ronald Reagan and the intellectual candle power of Robert Mundell were not up to the task of rescuing a harebrained, bone-headed Ozarks real-estate deal and making Mrs. Clinton the rich woman she so desperately wanted to become. Perhaps that's her real complaint with Reaganomics and Mr. Mundell.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

USA TODAY · TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1999 · 9A

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY: President Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, celebrated their 24th wedding anniversary Monday with a quiet day at the Camp David presidential retreat in the Maryland mountains. Both were resting from recent travel. She was on a European tour last week, and Saturday, the president ended a three-day trip to New York, Ottawa and Chicago.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1999

BIRTHDAY BASH: Invitations are in the mail for a Hillary Rodham Clinton "birthday celebration" expected to raise at least \$1 million for her New York Senate campaign.

The "Broadway for Hillary" event will be at the Ford Center for the Performing Arts in Manhattan on Oct. 25, the day before she turns 52. Rosie O'Donnell and Nathan Lane are the hosts. Tickets are \$250 to \$1,000 and include a production featuring Sandy Duncan and Joel Grey. Big fundraisers get to join the first lady at a private reception and dinner.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

Critics decry first lady's 'free ride'

Hillary Clinton's team says status has both perks, problems

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

When Hillary Rodham Clinton sweeps through the Catskill Mountains today at the start of a three-day campaign swing across New York, she'll do it in a Secret Service-protected motorcade with a government-paid aide and photographer by her side. When she heads back to Washington Wednesday, she'll do it in an at-her-disposal, rarely delayed jet flown by government-paid pilots.

And wherever she goes, chances are she'll show up on the local news that night, even if she's had nothing particularly newsworthy to say.

Everyone knows the president's wife is not your typical first-time political candidate.

Her aides say the first lady's unique position has advantages and disadvantages as she prepares to take on New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate, in the race for a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

On the plus side: Whether she's in Rockland County or in Rochester, she can travel with ease, and everyone knows her name. On the minus: Her every utterance is magnified by a press corps that follows her every move.

Perks of her position

Clinton's Republican opponents scoff at the notion that she suffers even the slightest disadvantage.

Instead, they say, she's capitalizing on the perks of her position, spending tens of thousands of government dollars to satisfy her personal ambitions — and taking taxpayers for a ride.

"One thing voters really don't like is their money being spent on political campaigns," says Frank Lunz, a GOP pollster who has worked for Giuliani. "It's your tax dollars being spent on flying her around a state she doesn't even know."

Dan Allen, spokesman for the New York Republican State Committee, adds: "It's definitely an issue that she'll have to answer to."

Federal election rules are clear: Now that the first lady has formed an exploratory committee, she and most staffers who accompany her on political trips must reimburse the government for the going rate of a



N.Y. visit: Hillary Rodham Clinton greets a crowd Oct. 1 in Watertown.

first-class commercial airline ticket each time they fly on a military aircraft.

But Republicans are steamed because, at that reimbursement rate, the Clinton exploratory committee only covers about half of what it costs to take a U.S. Air Force C-9 or C-20 from Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington to New York. A C-9, for example, costs more than \$2,000 an hour to operate, and that doesn't include the salaries for the pilots.

Last month, Rep. John Sweeney, R-N.Y., sponsored an amendment to the campaign finance bill passed by the House that would require any non-incumbent candidate for Congress or the White House who uses government-owned transportation for campaign-related purposes to reimburse the government for the full costs of the trip.

"Hillary Clinton is getting a free ride that my constituents are paying for," Sweeney said at the time. The amendment is not under consideration in the Senate and is not expected to become law.

Clinton's aides acknowledge that the costs associated with her trips north exceed what her campaign committee pays the government.

But they say there's nothing she can do. Because of her position as the president's wife, the Secret Service advises her to fly on secure military jets rather than commercial aircraft.

The first lady "follows the regulations through the FEC (Federal Election Commission), and the whole issue of using military air is a security issue based on the Secret Service's preference," says her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry. Clinton's campaign staff is based in

New York, and workers are paid by the exploratory committee. Also, Clinton maintains separate computers and office supplies in Washington for any campaign-related business and expenses.

And every time a Washington-based, government-paid aide makes a phone call to the exploratory committee in New York, the aide uses a credit card, so the call is billed to the campaign.

Murky issues

Even so, there are murky issues and questions about how much of a political advantage the first lady gains simply by virtue of her status and the government-paid operation that surrounds her.

► The government assets, including Secret Service agents, photographers and aides, "add luster and credibility and gravitas" any time she campaigns in New York, former Republican National Committee chairman Rich Bond says.

Clinton is accompanied on the road by a White House photographer and a personal aide, both of whom are paid by the government. Howard Wolfson, spokesman for Clinton's campaign committee, says the staffers' work has nothing to do with politics. Any photos taken, for example, are used only for White House historical archives, not for campaigning.

And the first lady, according to Jim Kennedy, spokesman for the White House counsel's office, is entitled to take political trips with a government aide because even as a candidate, she's "the first lady 24 hours a day."

But such accoutrements do give Clinton more star power on the campaign trail, Bond says, though the flamboyant and controversial Giuliani is clearly a celebrity in his own right.

► Her official trips as first lady can help her campaign even if they seem to have nothing to do with New York.

Next month, for example, Clinton is planning a trip to the Middle East that will include a stop in Israel.

Aides say the trip is official business and she is going in her capacity as a goodwill ambassador for her husband's administration. Therefore, the government will pick up the tab.

Giuliani supporters, however, note that New York has a powerful Jewish voting bloc, and reporters are sure to put her trip in the context of her Senate campaign.

"She'll be treated like a head of state over there," Bond says. "Of course it makes a difference."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

**Poll: Clinton, Giuliani Close;
Another Dem Joins Race**

■ THE LATEST POLL SHOWS the potential New York Senate matchup between New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan remains close.

The Quinnipiac College survey found 46 percent favoring Giuliani and 43 percent supporting Clinton; given the poll's 3 point error margin, the two candidates appear to be in a dead heat.

A Quinnipiac poll released earlier this month by also showed a dead heat in the contest. This latest poll was based on a survey of 1,049 registered voters from Sept. 24-30.

Meanwhile, a surgeon from New York City's Park Avenue says he is tired of waiting for Clinton to declare her candidacy — so he is running himself.

"The fact that Hillary has not declared herself a candidate — well, someone should," said Mark McMahon, who joins a retired New York City detective as the only two officially declared candidates for the Democratic nod.

As for some of the hot button issues already on the table, McMahon says he is against the clemency granted to the FALN activists; supports freeing Jonathan Pollard, convicted of spying for Israel; and thinks Giuliani is right to withhold funding from the Brooklyn Museum of Art over the controversial "Sensation" exhibit.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's bash

Invitations are in the mail for a Hillary Rodham Clinton "birthday celebration" that is expected to raise at least \$1 million for her Senate campaign committee, a spokesman said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the first lady launched her first direct attack on New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, her expected opponent in the Senate race, accusing him of avoiding the issue of whether patients should be able to sue their HMOs, the Associated Press reports.

The birthday "Broadway for Hillary" event will be held at the Ford Center for the Performing Arts in Manhattan on Oct. 25, the day before the first lady's 52nd birthday, and is to be hosted by Rosie O'Donnell and Nathan Lane.

Ticket prices range from \$250 to \$1,000 each, for which supporters will see a Broadway-like pro-

duction featuring Sandy Duncan and Joel Grey.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary files her statement of candidacy

Barbara J. Salfr
WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton became a full-fledged Senate candidate in the eyes of federal election law yesterday. She filed her statement of candidacy with the secretary of the Senate — a move that transforms her "sting-the-waters" campaign into one that can launch a media blitz like an announced candidate and raise money for both the pri-

'Not an official announcement,' yet

mary and general elections. Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, said filing the form is "another important step forward" in her so-called exploratory campaign but it "is not an official announcement" of her candidacy. No timetable is set for her verbal declaration, he said, although she has planned a flurry of fund-

raising events over the next few weeks, including a "Broadway for Hillary" birthday party on Oct. 25. Mrs. Clinton's paperwork filed with the Senate secretary is automatically relayed to the Federal Elections Commission. Filing with the FEC "allows her to raise money up to \$2,000 per each individual," Mr. Wolfson said. Experts say the murky arena of

campaign-finance law generally just permits "exploratory" campaigns to raise \$1,000 per individual for the primary election. Mrs. Clinton signed the candidacy form herself Sunday before heading to Europe for a weeklong trip. Her campaign treasurer, William J. Cunningham III, signed her July 6 statement of organization which was delivered to the FEC personally by campaign attorney. **see HILLARY, page A11**

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

From page A1

Lyn Utrecht in front of a gaggle of TV cameras.

This time around they mailed the statement to the secretary of the Senate, as candidates typically do. It will be forwarded to the FEC.

When officials there received it at 10:30 a.m. yesterday, Mrs. Clinton was in Italy. That sparked new cries of "carpetbagger" from her likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. Mr. Giuliani and others have criticized the first lady for running in a state where she has never lived.

"This is symbolic of her campaign that she takes such a significant step while she is on foreign soil. Not only is she not in New York, where presumably she is running, she is not even in America," said Bruce Teitelbaum, Mr. Giuliani's campaign spokesman.

Mr. Giuliani filed his statement of candidacy in April, but he also has not set a timetable for his "official" declaration.

Until the candidates or their parties file nominating papers to get on the ballot in New York state — which is expected sometime next summer — they are not considered "legal candidates" by the Federal Communications Commission.

Once they file the papers for ballot placement, FCC regulations would then require TV and radio stations to provide equal access for the candidates, said Bobby Baker, the chief of the FCC's office of political programming.

This week, Mrs. Clinton launched her first e-mail attacks against Mr. Giuliani.

In two electronic news releases blasted across the country, Mr. Wolfson said that the first lady supports the "bipartisan Norwood-Dingell Patient's Bill of Rights (that) gives patients the full right to sue their HMOs in state courts."

In the past, Mrs. Clinton's campaign has used public e-mail solely to distribute her daily campaign schedules.

Mr. Teitelbaum said Mr. Giuliani will not take a stand on the issue until "Mrs. Clinton gets back in the United States."

Mrs. Clinton returns to the White House Sunday following a trip to Poland, Slovakia, Italy and Iceland. She is heading to Iceland



Hillary Rodham Clinton waves during a conference in Florence, Italy. Her campaign filed a statement of candidacy with the Senate yesterday.

today, where she will address a conference on women and democracy.

The latest poll shows the Senate race has tightened, with Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton now in a statistical dead heat.

A New York state poll by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion, released yesterday found that 46 percent of voters surveyed favored Mr. Giuliani and 42 percent

prefer Mrs. Clinton — a difference within the poll's 4 percentage point margin of error.

The poll of 702 registered voters was conducted Sunday and Monday.

In last month's Marist poll, Mr. Giuliani was leading Mrs. Clinton 49 percent to 40 percent.

"It is going to be a long campaign and undoubtedly a very close race," Mr. Teitelbaum said.

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton Takes Another Step Toward 2000

With each passing day, first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton's** "exploratory campaign" for the Senate is plainly becoming less of an exploration and more of a campaign. The latest evidence: She has begun to accept \$2,000 contributions.

Under federal election law, the most individuals are allowed to give is \$1,000 during the nominating season, and \$1,000 for the general election. The fact that Hillary Clinton is accepting checks for \$2,000 clearly reflects her expectation that she will be in the race and running hard in the fall of 2000.

Indeed, she quietly filed a statement of candidacy earlier this week with the Federal Election Commission, dropping a letter in the mail before departing for a European trip, aides said. The first lady's most likely Republican opponent, New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani**, has been accepting \$2,000 checks for some time.

Campaign spokesman **Howard Wolfson** said the first lady still has not definitely decided she will make the race, but acknowledged, "We're moving forward."

A poll released yesterday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found the mayor favored by 46 percent of the state's voters while 42 percent backed Clinton, basically a tie. A Marist poll last month had Giuliani leading 49 percent to 40 percent. Pollster **Lee Miringoff** said the mayor was hurt by his battle with the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Hillary Camp Says Giuliani Avoiding HMO Debate

■ IN A DIRECT ATTACK ON Senate campaign rival Rudolph Giuliani, Hillary Rodham Clinton's camp charged Wednesday that New York's mayor is avoiding the issue of whether patients should be able to sue their HMOs, the *Associated Press* reported.

"Rudy Giuliani has never made health care reform a priority," Clinton's political committee spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said. "Now it's time for him to address this critical issue. Does he fully support a patient's right to sue, or just his own?" Wolfson noted that Clinton "supports HMO reform and a patient's right to sue."

Sunny Mindel, the mayor's press secretary, noted that Clinton was on a week-long trip to Europe. "She's in Europe. She lives in Washington. She's thinking about running in New York," Mindel said. "We're thinking about responding when she gets back on American soil."

The attack on the mayor came as the House began debate on legislation that would give patients new rights, including the right to sue their health maintenance organizations. The Senate has passed a much more limited version of the HMO reform legislation.

Mrs. Clinton headed up President Clinton's failed attempt during his first term to overhaul the nation's health care financing system.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Yank 'fan' Hillary is skipping big games

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — a self-described, longtime, diehard Yankee fan — won't be there to root, root, root for the home team.

With New York in the grip of subway series fever, Clinton has decided to skip the Yanks games because her advisers are worried she could get a Bronx cheer from the crowd, according to a report by cybercolumnist Matt Drudge.

"I expect that on those nights when the Yankees are playing at home, you're going to find that there's something else on her schedule — perhaps visiting a foreign country," quipped one Republican to The Post, unable to contain his laughter at the thought of Clinton showing up in the House that Ruth Built.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson denied the report, but confirmed that the first lady "has no plans" to see the Yanks in person, although she will be closely following her favorite team's progress.

Mayor Giuliani, Clinton's likely opponent in the Senate race, will probably be there for all home Yankee championship-series games, and may also take in a Mets game, said Giuliani spokeswoman Sunny Mundel.

Wolfson said he didn't care, adding, "This isn't a race to determine who is the biggest baseball fan in the city."

The first lady drew guffaws a few months ago when — as her New York Senate campaign was gearing up — she donned a Yankees cap at a White House ceremony and suddenly pronounced herself a veteran true-blue fan of the Bronx Bombers.

Clinton is skipping the series even though her schedule puts her in the vicinity of Yankee Stadium for the team's first two home American League Championship games tomorrow and Thursday night.

"We would not want to have the first lady sitting there with rowdy crowds booing her," Drudge quoted a Clinton confidant as saying. "She will not be going to the games, but will be there in spirit."

Clinton is reportedly keeping her option open to put in an appearance if the Yanks make it to the World Series.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1999

Jackie is Hillary-ious

AS if Hillary Rodham Clinton hasn't enough hurdles to overcome in seeking Pat Moynihan's Senate seat, she is also going to have to put up with the barbed wit of quintessential New Yorker Jackie Mason. Jackie returns to Broadway Nov. 16 with his fifth one-man show — "Much Ado About Everything" — and is working up a slew of Hillary jokes. I reached him on the road yesterday and persuaded him to share one with us: "If Hillary had taken as many positions in the bedroom as she did on the FAIRN issue, we would never have heard of Monica Lewinsky." (OK, it sounds funnier in Jackie's delivery.)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HILLARY CLINTON
Yank "fan" missed games

GOP cries foul over Hillary's absence

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton skipped the Yankee game last night—and took some brickbats from Republicans for sitting it out.

Mrs. Clinton, who six months ago proclaimed herself a diehard fan of the Bronx Bombers, spent the day in her native Chicago, visiting historic sites and raising cash for her expected Senate campaign.

"As a self-professed lifelong fan of the Yankees, Mrs. Clinton's place is with her fellow fans in Yankee stadium, not at a fat cat Chicago fund-raiser," said GOP national chairman Jim Nicholson.

During game time in The Bronx, the first lady was scheduled to attend a fund-raiser for her at the Chicago Public Library.

Birthday-related events this week alone have raked in an estimated \$2 million for Mrs. Clinton, who turned 52 years old on Tuesday.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, declined to comment, but he has previously said the contest in New York was not to see who's the biggest Yankee fan.

The first lady's campaign had denied earlier reports that she had decided to pass up the team's home games because of fears she would be booed by the Yankee crowd.

The first lady, whose previous allegiance was to the Chicago Cubs, has come under fire since she donned a Yankees cap in April at a White House photo op with last year's championship Yankee team.

"I know she's a great Yankee fan, but I don't know exactly where she is," said Bruce Teitelbaum, Mayor Giuliani's campaign manager, with tongue in cheek. Giuliani attended last

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PHOTOCOPY
REPRODUCTION

Los Angeles Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

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N.Y. Case Triggers Police 'Racial Profiling' Debate

■ **Law enforcement:** Black actor sues over detainment. Some say crime rate drop is at expense of civil liberties.

By JOSH GETLIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Alton White still remembers what apologetic New York police officers said when they set him free. He was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

On a hot July afternoon, the black star of "Ragtime" on Broadway was arrested in the lobby of his Harlem apartment building, along with five other men. Police were looking for several males suspected of dealing drugs, but they handcuffed everyone in the vestibule and took them down to the local precinct for questioning.

White was held for five hours, even though police quickly determined he had no criminal record, no gun and no drugs on him. He was strip-searched, and told to be quiet when he objected. By the time White was released, he had missed that night's performance—and was so traumatized that he could not return to the show for four more days.

"This kind of stuff happens to black men in America all the time," said White, who is readying a lawsuit against the New York Police Department, alleging that his constitutional rights were violated. "Do you think this would have happened if I was Caucasian? They saw that I was black, they were looking for someone, and that's all these police officers had to know."

Although White and his attorneys from the New York Civil Liberties Union are discussing a

settlement with the city, he says his \$750,000 lawsuit is not just about money. The soft-spoken actor wants police to implement changes that would prevent such race-based detentions in the future and make individual officers more accountable.

In the weeks since his arrest, the 35-year-old White has become more of a media celebrity than he had ever dreamed. His ordeal alarmed many New Yorkers, and he has been invited to sing "Make Them Hear You"—a rousing song about racial justice from "Ragtime"—at a Broadway fundraiser for presumed New York Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton tonight. White's detention may seem minor in a city that has been rocked by allegations of police cruelty and violence. Three officers were convicted earlier this year in the sodomizing of Abner Louima at a Brooklyn precinct, and four others will go on trial next year for the shooting death of Amadou Diallo—an unarmed West African peddler who was mistaken for a rapist and caught in a hail of 41 bullets as he stood in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building.

But the actor's experience is far more typical of the police treatment that minorities say occurs daily in New York and other cities. Indeed, complaints about "racial profiling" by police are heard across America, even though there is little data showing whether the practice is in fact

Please see RACE, A6

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Continued from A1

widespread. Such profiling, which is illegal, takes place when officers use race as the chief criterion to stop or arrest minority suspects, instead of specific information about a particular crime.

"Racial profiling poses a great ideological problem in police work—the old question of liberty versus security," said Paul Chevigny, a New York University law professor and author of several books on police behavior. "We all insist on our constitutional rights, and racial profiling is wrong. But we also want the crime rate to keep going down, and nobody says that police have an easy job of patrolling the streets."

In California, Gov. Gray Davis recently vetoed a bill that would have required local police departments to maintain records documenting whether racial profiling is a problem in their daily encounters with citizens. Angering some minority leaders, he said it was wrong to force local departments into such record-keeping procedures, but added that he would order the California Highway Patrol to develop such data over three years.

Data Compiled on Stops and Searches

The American Civil Liberties Union, meanwhile, recently filed a lawsuit against the CHP—alleging that it pulls too many motorists over simply because they are black or Latino. While Los Angeles Police Chief Bernard Parks denies that his department practices racial profiling, police in San Diego, San Jose, Oakland and San Francisco have started their own studies, compiling data on the race of motorists stopped by officers.

As protests grow over the practice in New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois and other states, President Clinton has directed federal law enforcement agencies to collect data on the race, ethnicity and gender of people they stop and search.

But some experts question whether racial profiling is that much of a problem, given the fact that police can legally use race as one of several key factors in the identification and arrest of criminal suspects. Amid the pressures and dangers of police work, they say, it's hard to draw the line between officers who use race as a legitimate tool and those who abuse it, said Robert London, a professor at John Jay College of Criminal Law in New York and a 25-year veteran of the city's police force.

"You can't go out and arrest a lot of green people, let's say, just because green people may commit a large number of crimes," he said. "You need specific facts, case by case, and I think that most police in this country do respect that."

Nowhere has the issue triggered more angry debate than in New York, where Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has emphatically denied that police engage in racial profiling. If officers stop and frisk a disproportionate number of minorities, he says, it is because victims have alerted them to the ethnicity of suspects. The mayor has defended 1998 statistics showing that more than 83% of the 27,000 "stop and frisk" incidents recorded by a special police unit involved minorities.

"It's crime victims who tell the Police Department who it should



JOE TABACCA For The Times

'This kind of stuff happens to black men in America all the time. Do you think this would have happened if I was Caucasian? They saw that I was black, they were looking for someone, and that's all these police officers had to know.'

ALTON WHITE

Civil Rights Commission at a New York hearing earlier this year. "The Police Department does not select its suspects, and it doesn't select the places it looks for suspects—victims do."

But sometimes the system breaks down. If West Coast minorities have coined the ironic phrase DWB—"driving while black"—to illustrate their vulnerability, White's story might well be the New York equivalent of "standing while black."

He recalls that police told him they were looking for two Latino men, ages 17 to 21, when they burst into his building. The Broadway actor is dark-skinned and clearly in his mid-30s. Even after neighbors implored police to let White go, saying that he was a peaceful resident, officers insisted on arresting him.

Although White's neighborhood has its share of crime, it is not one of the city's most violent. Last month, officers made 41 arrests in the 33rd Precinct, compared with 123 arrests in East New York's 75th Precinct, easily the city's most dangerous community, according to police statistics. While New York's murder rate is up this year, the 33rd Precinct had a decline in other crimes, with rape down 35.1% compared with last year, felony assault down 15.8% and drug arrests down 6.7%.

Giuliani has heralded the city's 54% drop in crime over the past six years, but White's story rekindles an old debate: How much of the decrease comes at the expense of civil liberties?

"They say we should be happy because crime is going down in New York, but I don't feel safer in my home after what happened," said White, relaxing in his apartment. The actor considers his experience a racial wake-up call. Yet it's also a case of life imitating art.

In "Ragtime," White plays Coalhouse Walker, a jazz pianist who is chased by white police

and believes he will get justice from the police and courts. He is humiliated and rebuffed by the system, and eventually becomes an anarchist.

"Days after the event, I realized, 'Oh, man, this is what I'm doing on stage, this is the same story,'" White said. "Coalhouse believed he would be treated with dignity, and it shattered him when he saw they were treating him like dirt."

On the afternoon of July 16, White was preparing to work out at a gym, then deposit his paycheck, meet an old friend and hustle down to the theater in time for an 8 p.m. curtain. As he neared the front door in the lobby, he saw six officers rushing toward the building. He opened the door for them, thinking they might have come to help an ailing elderly tenant.

Seconds later, he was on his knees, handcuffed, facing the wall. He tried to tell police who he was, wanting to believe they would free him as soon as they realized their mistake, but White says they ignored him. The officers were looking for some drug dealers and quickly arrested two Latino men in the lobby, who later were found to have drugs. Because White was at the scene, police told him, they were arresting him and three other men who also just happened to be there.

For several hours, officers questioned him at the precinct, repeatedly searching his backpack. He began weeping when they ordered him to take off his clothes in a small bathroom and to squat for a strip-search. White could barely contain his anger when he realized that he would miss that night's performance.

Police Apologize for the Incident

"They didn't care," he said. "And the funny thing is, they were very polite, saying this was all a matter of standard procedure. It was very cut and dried, it was their policy."

Hours later, after White's colleagues alerted the media, police spokeswoman Marilyn Mode apologized for the incident, saying the actor had been wrongly arrested.

She explained, however, that White and the three other black men arrested had fit a resident's description of the drug dealers; she said that police had found a kilogram of cocaine in the lobby and two other men were charged with criminal possession. Mode added that strip-searching was routine procedure in all felony drug cases.

"If that's standard procedure, we're all in trouble," said Tommy Hollis, a black "Ragtime" cast member who said White has been devastated by the experience. "As a black man, you learn that, until proven otherwise, you're a potential thug in the eyes of this country. You could be wearing a very nice three-piece suit, but you're still a potential thug."

For White, the upbeat, confident man who opened the door to police is gone forever. Whether he gets justice—or is treated like the character he plays on stage—remains to be seen.

"The cops told me I was in the wrong place, and I live here," White said, still in disbelief. "Something's got to change, because the minute you finish this interview with me, I could walk out on the street—and the whole thing could happen again."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

The Pizza Hut commercial that got the Cajun (Carville, below) ragin'.



PIZZA HUT VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

War and Pizza

Our friend James Carville is really cheesed by that Pizza Hut commercial mocking Hillary Rodham Clinton and her all-but-announced Senate candidacy in New York. With the same ferocity that he brought to his fight against independent counsel Kenneth Starr, Carville is declaring all-out war on the fast-food chain.

"Any time I speak to a Democratic group, I'm going to urge them not to have anything to do with Pizza Hut," the ragin' Cajun told us yesterday. "Anybody from a Democratic campaign that orders pizza from Pizza Hut is a traitor. If I hear of anybody doing it at the White House, I'm going

to try and get them fired. Um, uh, I said that [threat] jokingly." Carville went on: "Giving up Pizza Hut pizza is the culinary equivalent of giving up Brussels sprouts for Lent. That stuff tastes like cardboard anyway."

Yesterday Pizza Hut Senior Vice President Jonathan Blum advised Carville to lighten up. "This is not about politics, it's about pizza," Blum said, claiming that the commercial—in which a twangy-voiced, power-suited female Senate contender touts



Big New Yorker Pizza at a campaign rally—"is a spoof. . . . We did research prior to airing it, and everybody who saw it thought it was humorous. But Carville wasn't in that focus group: 'As long as they stick their nose in politics, I'm just going negative on Pizza Hut.'"

How Taxes Subsidize Senate Race

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

As Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani began taking questions at his daily news conference the other morning, Sunny Mindel, the City Hall press secretary, quietly passed a reporter a slip of paper suggesting a subject to raise. On the paper was a news article, but it had nothing to do with Mr. Giuliani or his administration. It was about upstate broadcast editors' complaints about Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for the Senate.

In July, at a public library in Bath, N.Y., a young aide traveling with Mrs. Clinton on her "listening tour" stood before a group of voters waiting for her to arrive. "I am Kevin, from White House advance," he announced to a stir of excitement, as he proceeded to prepare the crowd for Mrs. Clinton's arrival.

In the first instance, Ms. Mindel failed to coax the reporter into asking a question. And the aide with Mrs. Clinton, Kevin Parker, later said he had misstated his credentials: while he worked on White House advance teams, he volunteered his time for the First Lady that day.

But the two incidents illustrated, in a visible way, a striking similarity between Mr. Giuliani's and Mrs. Clinton's exploratory campaigns for Senate. Both are, to various degrees, being subsidized by the resources and stature of the governments with which they are associated.

Interviews with aides to both likely candidates suggest a common motivation for this: to save money. Faced with a long campaign, Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton are delaying the hiring of a campaign staff for as long as possible, conserving resources for what is expected to be a tremendously expensive television advertising campaign next year.

While there is a long history of the use of official resources by officeholders to aid in their re-election, the emerging race for Senator from New York is different, because Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton are not incumbents trying to stay in office. Instead, they are drawing on the resources of City Hall and the White House to pursue new jobs, and pushing their campaigns into what other politicians and lawyers say is an ethically murky area.

Aides to Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton say they have been scrupulous in following Federal, state and city laws that might apply to their situation. "There is no campaign as of now," said Bruce J. Teitelbaum, the director of Mr. Giuliani's political action committee. "Only an exploratory committee. So for the time being, we're doing just fine with the stuff we have. Should there be any changes, we'll make the appropriate adjustments."

Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's campaign press secretary, said that the First Lady's exploratory committee complies "fully and completely with the law."

"There is a clear separation between the campaign and the White House," Mr. Wolfson said. "Campaign functions are handled by campaign staff."

But the lines appear fuzzier than the aides suggest. To different degrees, their campaigns have the advantage of Federal and New York City laws and regulations that ethics experts have long described as pockmarked and full of loopholes.

"There are going to be issues here," said Gene Russianoff, the senior lawyer for the New York Public Interest Research Group, a civic advocacy organization. Mr. Russianoff said that he had seen nothing that had struck him as crossing the line, but he added, "It's certainly fair game as a political issue."

Federal campaign laws do not count the work of government employees who might arguably be helping out a candidate as in-kind contributions, said Trevor Potter, a Washington lawyer and former chairman of the Federal Election Commission. Similarly, the City Charter and the rules set down by the city's Conflicts of Interest Board prohibit the use of city resources for noncity purposes, but offer a fairly broad definition of what is considered legitimate public business. Press secretaries are exempt, said Mark Davies, the executive director of the board.

In ways that are sometimes obvious but often not, the result of this ambiguity can be seen played out almost daily in the two campaigns.

On Monday, Mr. Giuliani ordered two city agencies to conduct a city-financed study on what has surfaced as an early issue in the Senate race: a proposed increase in the minimum wage, which Mrs. Clinton has supported, and which Mr. Giuliani said he would support if a study proved it would not hurt New York's economy. In most full-bore campaigns, a study of this sort might be done by a campaign's issues department, providing the candidate with the statistics and arguments to back a position.

Mr. Giuliani has yet to hire any issues advisers, and the study is being done by the city's Human Resources Administration and the Economic Development Administration.

Mr. Davies, while declining to comment on this specific case, said that past examples in which elected officials had been accused of using their own staff to deal with a campaign issue that was arguably germane to their office had been judged as falling within the city's ethics regulations. "If it's within the elected officials' jurisdiction, that's just the power of the incumbency," Mr. Davies said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

For her part, the First Lady's daily campaign strategy conference call of top advisers typically includes Ann Lewis, the White House communications director. The First Lady also regularly turns to Sidney Blumenthal, another White House aide, for campaign advice.

Federal ethics law prohibits the use of government resources for non-governmental functions.

But Mrs. Clinton's campaign aides said that kind of business is conduct-

City and U.S. aides help out Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton.

ed outside normal work hours, and thus does not fall under the purview of Federal ethics regulations.

Mrs. Clinton appears to have set up a more extensive paid campaign organization than Mr. Giuliani has. The First Lady has 12 people on a full-time staff, Mr. Giuliani has four, Mr. Teitelbaum said.

Thus, one reason Ms. Mindel, who is paid \$120,000 a year as City Hall press secretary, tried to offer a reporter a question is that the Mayor, unlike Mrs. Clinton, has yet to hire a campaign spokesman. Two weeks ago, when Mrs. Clinton gave a speech attacking Republican policies without mentioning Mr. Giuliani by name, it was Ms. Mindel who offered a response, attacking the First Lady

for not living in New York.

Ms. Mindel said she was merely responding to reporters' needs. "I find it somewhat ironic that you would ask me that," Ms. Mindel said. "I responded to questions that came to me."

But in other, similar cases involving officeholders during a campaign, press secretaries have gone to considerable lengths to avoid a public role in the campaign. "I pretty much stayed out of it," said Cristyne F. Lategano, who was Mr. Giuliani's communications director during his 1997 mayoral bid. "If it were a campaign-related issue, such as how much money did you raise, I would obviously steer clear of that. That's why we had a campaign office."

Mrs. Clinton hired Mr. Wolfson as her exploratory committee spokesman in June.

Mrs. Clinton's White House press secretary, Marsha Berry, has declined to answer questions about Mr. Giuliani. But Mrs. Clinton has received political support from the other wing of the White House. Joe Lockhart, the President's spokesman, recently mocked Mr. Giuliani for staging a trip to Arkansas.

Mr. Parker's advance work, on the other hand, offered a glimpse at a less obvious way in which White House connections help Mrs. Clinton.

Since the campaign has yet to hire people to plan logistics for daily events, Mr. Wolfson said, it has relied on volunteers, many of whom, like Mr. Parker, also work on contract as advance workers for the White House. As a result, Mrs. Clinton is enjoying the voluntary services of people at the top of their profession.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1999

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

The Rodham Boys Cash In

Oh, those Rodham brothers! Hillary's two siblings, Time magazine reports, have been trading in on their White House connections in a way that would make Billy Carter and his Libyan PR stint jealous.

When Tony Rodham admits that "there's some wonderful things that have happened to me because of my relationship with Hillary and Bill," he's not kidding. As Time reveals this week, Tony and his brother Hugh have parlayed their connections into a series of top-level White House briefings for their international business partners.

Of course, sometimes foreign business deals can prove politically embarrassing for the Rodhams' brother-in-law, who has a foreign policy to run. So they've been prevailed upon to pull out of some of those schemes — but not without a fight.

Take the Rodhams' \$118-million plan to export hazelnuts from the former Soviet republic of Georgia. Problem is, they were dealing with a region of Georgia controlled by Aslan Abashidze, the political rival of President Eduard Shevardnaze, a close U.S. ally. Abashidze used the Rodham connection to proclaim during a parliamentary election campaign that President Clinton had "rendered" him "political support."

When National Security Adviser Sandy Berger realized that Hillary's brothers were

being manipulated by Shevardnaze's foe, he told them to pull out of the deal, but they refused. While they eventually relented, Tony Rodham now says he's merely "restructuring" the deal.

Two years ago, Tony Rodham arranged a meeting between Berger and Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, whose support for a debit-card startup company was being solicited by Rodham's client, Gene Prescott. President Clinton himself even dropped in on the meeting — this despite the fact that Luzhkov has been linked to the Russia mob.

Brother Hugh, who waged an embarrassing race for the U.S. Senate in Florida in 1994, has focused on two other money-making schemes. First he insinuated his way into the lucrative settlement between tobacco companies and the state attorneys general. Now he's involved in equally lucrative class-action lawsuits being filed by individual cities against gun manufacturers.

Time reports that Hugh Rodham has set up regular meetings between the lawyers and White House officials after bragging that he'd "filled [the Clintons] in on the status of the talks."

Influence-peddling at the Clinton White House is nothing new — just ask Johnny Chung. Perhaps Moammar Khadafi, shut out of the White House since the Billy Carter days, might want to pick up the phone.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1999 ***

Reluctant Hillary

Earlier this year, Hillary Rodham Clinton promised to announce her Senate candidacy in October, but now the first lady says she will wait until "sometime next year."

"So why the procrastination?" asks New York Post political columnist Dick Morris.

"It might be that her poll numbers are tanking. In August, New York's most accurate pollster, John Zogby, put Hillary in a statistical tie with [New York Mayor Rudolph W.] Giuliani. By September, she was 4 behind. In October, she had slipped 11 points back," Mr. Morris observed.

"The first lady, never one to charge blindly into a losing fight, may be reconsidering squandering her political prospects on an uphill race, during a Republican year, against a popular moderate Republican," he added.

Mrs. Clinton also may be concerned about the appointment of Robert Ray to succeed Kenneth W. Starr as the special counsel in-

vestigating matters involving the Clintons.

"Ray doesn't have Starr's baggage. He can follow the evidence in examining the first lady's role in the fraudulent Castle Grande land deal and the Travel Office firings wherever it leads," Mr. Morris said.

Mr. Morris went on to warn donors to Mrs. Clinton's campaign that she likely will "take the money — and not run."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1999 **



Make a wish

Hillary Rodham Clinton blows out the candles on her birthday cake at New York's Ford Center for the Performing Arts Monday. She is joined by actress Lauren Bacall and Sen. Charles E. Schumer. A Broadway show was specially produced to raise \$1 million in honor of her 52nd birthday yesterday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1999

Mud-slinging Hillary takes the cake, Rudy says

Mayor Giuliani said yesterday the stinging attacks launched against him at Hillary Rodham Clinton's Broadway birthday bash show she is taking the low road in their upcoming Senate race.

"This has been pretty much the way Clinton campaigns have been run," Giuliani said.

"But they sort of get away with it. Remember, they did this to Bob Dole [in the 1996 presidential race], and then when Bob Dole responded six months later, he's accused of negative campaigning."

At Mrs. Clinton's 52nd-birthday extravaganza on Monday night, Rosie O'Donnell and other performers took shots — some blisteringly personal — at the mayor, as the first couple looked on.

To the audience's delight, O'Donnell wisecracked about the size of the mayor's head and his "loopy" hair and said Giuliani planned to write a book like the first lady, only his would be titled, "It Takes a Village Idiot."

O'Donnell also



PUT 'EM UP: Mayor Giuliani, campaigning in Troy for mayoral hopeful Carmella Mantello (left), responds to the Hillary birthday-bashing.

AP

quipped that the predominantly black cast of "Smokey Joe's Cafe" didn't show up for the \$1 million fund-raiser because members were afraid Giuliani would have them arrested for loitering.

O'Donnell said Mrs. Clinton had nothing to do with her performance. "I write my own material," she said

through her spokeswoman.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the mayor was just getting a taste of his own medicine.

"The mayor's the last person in New York who should be complaining about negative campaigning," Wolfson said. "He's

been attacking Mrs. Clinton from Day One."

Giuliani said the birthday party may backfire on Mrs. Clinton.

"She can have the Hollywood crowd, and I'll take the people of New York," he said in upstate Troy, where he endorsed the GOP candidate for mayor.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

B'day girl wants to be pampered

HILLARY's Nativity Day. So what's she want for a present? As per Herself into my ear. "My husband and daughter go halves on their gift for me every year. So far I don't know what it is because they haven't given it to me yet."

This conversation was Monday. The High Holy Day itself was Tuesday.

"But you know what I'd really like? Tuesday, my actual birthday, is when I'm officially going out to celebrate. What I want is, the whole day before I go out, I want to pamper myself. A massage, neck rub, back rub, facial, manicure, pedicure, waxing, shampoo, peel, scrub, exfoliation, mud pack, aromatherapy, whatever you can think of to do to a human body to relax and get a day of beauty. That's what I'd love."

Note to Bill: Figure out how to wrap up a spa.

FRAN WEISLER produced Hillary's birthday show at Ford Center (and speaking of husbands, spouse Barry Weissler is for Giuliani). The evening was wall-to-wall semi mayors, Mark Green, figuring it was a long night before dinner, nibbled a Hersheys in his pocket. Peter Vallone said his Dec. 8 Sheraton fund-raiser — incidentally, his 65th birthday — will feature Tony Bennett, Wynton Marsalis and 2,000 people. At the Supper Club party beforehand Ed Koch, vac-

Cindy Adams



HILLARY CLINTON
Creature comforts.

positioning his three Russian wolfhounds at the door. Go know, as they say in Canarsie, the Secret Service would schlep the Clintons through the back.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In the days of Damon Runyon and other grown-ups, when you could talk about guys and dolls as guys and dolls, someone would have described Elizabeth Dole as "a classy dame."

She's good looking and dresses to show it. She wears high heels, never clunky running shoes. She's aggressive but never loses her feminine charm. Her soft Southern accent helps. She's appealing to women for her courage to get out in front with issues and to men who never found her shrill. She struck the right style if not the right substance.

But she's not ready to be the first woman president. Close, but no cigar. It's not the money. She doesn't have the clarity of vision to speak unequivocally about what she believes. She has never before

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

Two's a crowd in politics

Spouse is not always an asset to candidate

run for elective office, and two Cabinet offices don't count. "Wife of" presidential candidate doesn't either. (Hillary take note).

She was never the Stepford wife her critics tried to make her out to be, but she failed to follow through on issues like gun control and rebuilding the military. She could have linked those two ideas in a powerful theme showing her independence of mind, but she didn't.

Many women decried her withdrawal from the campaign as the result of the prejudice that still confronts female candidates. That's not quite true. She actually tapped fresh resources in galvanizing female contributors and volunteers. More than half of her

big donors were women.

To her credit, she didn't cry sexism. Successful women (and men) have to learn how to run against sexual stereotypes. George W. is boyishly macho and he runs with it, not from it. Elizabeth Dole is feminine in her fashion without compromising her credibility. It's time to stop demanding that a woman who runs for president has to sound like Margaret Thatcher, dominate like Indira Gandhi and look like Golda Meir.

To her credit, sexual politics was peripheral rather than central to Elizabeth Dole's campaign. No one debated what wonders she would bring to the office because she was not a man.

She was hurt rather than helped by being half of a Power Couple. Bob Dole was not an asset. She was not an avenger for her husband as George W. is an avenger for his father. A lot of people say they regret not voting for the father but nobody regrets not voting for the husband. That wasn't her fault, but she was stuck with it. The sooner we can get away from exploiting the spouse, the better.

John McCain and his wife Cindy were interviewed side by side on ABC's "This Week," and both suffered. This was not Bill and Hillary on "60 Minutes," where a wife was called on to save her husband. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to feel sorry for Mrs. McCain to be so

patronized by the interviewers.

She wouldn't disagree with her husband about anything. Most "spouses of" can't either, unless they're "exploring" a run for themselves, for say, a Senate seat from New York.

The lingering sexist issue in campaigns is how we allow these "spouses of" to be exploited. It has mostly fallen on the shoulders of women, but we shouldn't expect a spouse of either sex to be interviewed over what he/she thinks about issues of the candidate. It's always demeaning and may explain why Bob Dole, perhaps unwittingly and certainly ungallantly, talked out loud about sending

money to Sen. McCain's campaign. When Sam Donaldson asked Cindy McCain how she responds when her husband is accused of being a hypocrite for taking money while campaigning for campaign reform, she replied, "I

don't." What else could she say? Did Sam, Cokie or George expect her to agree? "Being the wife of someone like this," she says, "[is] often difficult for me because I can't always answer those questions and I can't always say what I really think with regards to how I feel." So what's the point of the interview?

Conventional wisdom says Elizabeth Dole has a shot at being George W.'s vice if Al Gore (or Bill Bradley) takes Dianne Feinstein or another woman to be his lawful wedded running mate. Maybe, maybe not. Elizabeth Dole would have

been a stronger candidate if she had expanded on her foreign-policy insights. But it's difficult to believe that George W. wants two Doles in his inner circle. We've learned how expensive it can be when you buy one, and get one free.



Suzanne Fields

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WORLD

In Brief

EUROPE

Train Crash Probe Ordered

LONDON—Searchers hanging from harnesses above deep drifts of ash sifted through the a charred railway car, looking for the remains of victims killed this week when two commuter trains crashed head-on.

Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott announced an investigation into rail safety under Railtrack, the company that owns and operates Britain's formerly nationalized rail service. Rail unions expressed disgust when they learned that some of the train cars involved in Tuesday's crash had been salvaged from another crash two years ago.

Forty people are known to have died when the trains collided two miles west of London's Paddington Station, Scotland Yard said. Police were checking a list of 64 other people who might have been on the train.

Clinton Urges Women to Work Together

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton urged hundreds of female politicians, executives and activists to support each other in their battle for democracy and peace across the world.

"It's good to be reminded that one person can make a difference—one woman's voice, one woman's actions may turn the tide," she said at a conference on women and democracy in Iceland's capital. "Our voices must always be heard, but in order for them to be heard we need to support one another and we need to stand with one another."

Today, Clinton will deliver the keynote speech of the conference—the biggest international event in Iceland since the 1986 summit between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

THE AMERICAS

Overseer of Police Shot, Killed in Haiti

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—A former Haitian army colonel who was to head a government post that oversees the police was shot dead by gunmen in central Port-au-Prince, local radio stations reported.

Jean Lamy, a close friend of President Rene Preval, was traveling in his car Friday evening when gunmen opened fire, Radio Vision 2000 reported. He died shortly afterward of gunshot wounds to the head. Lamy, who was a consultant to Haiti's national police force, had been expected to replace Robert Manuel as secretary of state for public security. Lavalas, a political party founded by former president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, held violent protests in April and May calling on Manuel to resign. Protesters said Manuel was not doing enough to stop rising crime in Haiti.

Illegal Immigrant Boat Sinks; 5 Dead

GUATEMALA CITY, Guatemala—A boat filled with illegal Chinese immigrants sank Saturday off the Guatemalan coast. Five were killed and 38 were rescued, authorities said.

The shipwreck occurred in the Pacific Ocean off Chiquimula, 70 miles south of Guatemala City. The boat sank during bad weather, Guatemalan immigration spokeswoman Sonia Ortiz said. It was believed the immigrants were headed to Mexico and planned to continue by land from there to the United States. Ortiz said the survivors would be deported.

AFRICA

Sudan's Speaker Gets New Powers

KHARTOUM, Sudan—Sudan's governing party gave the country's speaker of parliament sweeping powers over President Omer el-Bashir, party members said. After three days of deliberations, the National Congress reinstated Hassan Turabi as its secretary-general, the highest post in the party. It elected el-Bashir, who also is commander of the armed forces and prime minister, to the ceremonial post of chairman.

Killer of Apartheid Architect Buried

JOHANNESBURG—Three friends and a handful of his Greek countrymen gathered to bury Dimitri Tsafendas, the South African parliamentary messenger who stabbed Hendrik Verwoerd, an architect of South Africa's apartheid system, to death in 1966.

Tsafendas, who died of pneumonia at the age of 81, had said that he killed Verwoerd in the Cape Town parliament on instructions from a talking tapeworm in his belly. He was spared execution because of his mental condition.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Explosion Kills Suspected Bomb Maker

NABLUS, West Bank—An explosion in an apartment building killed a Palestinian man whom police suspect had been preparing a bomb. The man had ties to the militant Islamic Jihad group, which has carried out bombings in Israel in hopes of wrecking Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, said a Palestinian security officer.

In the past, militant groups have carried out bombings to mark anniversaries. Islamic Jihad's leader, Fathi Shehadeh, was killed on Oct. 26, 1995, in an operation attributed to Israel.

ASIA

Taiwan Urges China to Use Itself as Model

TAIPEI, Taiwan—China should push through democratic reforms using Taiwan as a model so the two can move closer to reunification, Taiwan's president said in the text of a National Day speech released on the eve of the holiday.

President Lee Teng-hui's comments about China were the strongest and most extensive since a devastating earthquake ripped open Taiwan last month, killing more than 2,200 people and demolishing thousands of homes.

Since the disaster, Lee has focused on rescue and rebuilding efforts, and has been reluctant to discuss Taiwan's most recent feud with Beijing in which Lee angered China by insisting that the two sides negotiate their differences as equal states, not as a local government in Taipei answering to a more powerful regime in Beijing.

Taliban Calls Explosion an Accident

KABUL, Afghanistan—An explosion in northern Afghanistan killed seven people and wounded 12 others, the Taliban-run Radio Shariat reported Saturday.

The explosion occurred outside the northern city of Mazar-e-Sharif as Taliban soldiers were loading explosives and weapons into a vehicle, according to the radio broadcast.

The Taliban, who rule 90 percent of Afghanistan, said the explosion was an accident and ruled out sabotage. The Taliban are battling their opponents in northern Afghanistan in an attempt to gain full control of the country.

QUOTE OF THE DAY

"We were jailed and beaten for him when he was the opposition leader, but now that he's in power he has forgotten all his promises. He has turned this into a one-family government."

— Chaudry Mohd. Iqbal Sarwar,
a deputy mayor of Lahore and a longtime disciple of Pakistani Prime Minister
Nawaz Sharif—Page A29

Compiled from news services

CLYDE HABERMAN/NYC

Another Ethnic Campaign Issue Lying in Wait for Mrs. Clinton

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON is visiting Warsaw today (the one in Poland, not the town that she surely knows from her acute listening is in upstate New York).

The First Lady is scheduled to speak at a conference on democracy in post-Communist Eastern Europe, but she also plans to stop by a Jewish school. Want to bet that by tomorrow someone will attack her for pandering to Jewish voters in her nascent campaign for United States Senator? And for all anyone knows, the accuser may be right.

It isn't as if Mrs. Clinton has been conspicuously adroit in navigating the shoals of New York ethnic politics. Witness her handling of the clemency that her husband extended to jailed Puerto Rican nationalists from the F.A.L.N. group that was responsible for terrorist acts two decades ago.

Lying ahead is another ethnic obstacle that may prove even more dangerous politically. Should she add her voice to the Democratic politicians and Jewish groups here demanding that the President free Jonathan Pollard, the American serving a life sentence for spying for Israel?

Mrs. Clinton's instinct is to keep her head down. "She understands the importance of the issue, but there's no statement at this time," said Howard Wolfson, her campaign spokes-

man.

But how long can she keep ducking? Given the emotions involved in the Pollard case, the F.A.L.N. clemency may yet look to her like a piece of cake.

Time was, going back to Mr. Pollard's arrest in 1985, that his main champions were

A case involving a spy for Israel could make the F.A.L.N. clemency look like a tea party.

Jews on the political right, not the sort likely to vote for Mrs. Clinton anyway. Some charged anti-Semitism. They argued that Mr. Pollard, a civilian intelligence analyst for the Navy, had merely passed along material that Washington should have given Israel in the first place.

His supporters prefer not to mention a few inconvenient facts, chief among them that military and intelligence officials call Mr. Pol-

lard one of the most damaging spies in recent American history. Among other things, they say, he jeopardized agents working inside the Soviet Union. And if keeping him in prison qualifies as an anti-Semitic plot, the conspiracy includes the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence, all of whom say it is still too dangerous to free him.

Nonetheless, the chorus calling for Mr. Pollard's release is growing. It now includes liberals and mainstream Jewish groups in New York that used to run from this case faster than you would from a mosquito carrying the West Nile virus. He has done enough time, they say, and freeing him is the humanitarian thing to do.

There is, too, Mrs. Clinton's likely Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who says that Mr. Pollard's life sentence is "disproportionate to other people who had served time for precisely the same crime."

The Mayor sees nothing inconsistent in supporting freedom for an archspy said to have greatly undermined national security while opposing clemency for the F.A.L.N. crew, who were not convicted of direct involvement in violence.

But that is separate from the question of how long Mrs. Clinton can bob and weave on this one. Certainly, she will continue beyond

this week, which will also find her visiting Iceland. That should be a refreshing stopover. Icelanders are one ethnic group New York politicians rarely need worry about.

M. R. GIULIANI was taken to task a week ago for using his WABC radio program last month to attack this columnist and others for criticizing the city's emergency control center, ridiculed by some as the bunker. The only problem was that no such criticism had ever appeared in this space. Off went a letter to the Mayor asking for a correction.

After he ignored the matter on his next program, his unwillingness to admit even tiny fallibility was noted here last Tuesday. But on Friday, he was on the air apologizing.

"If in fact he wasn't criticizing the bunker," Mr. Giuliani said of this columnist, "and I made a mistake about that, I'm very sorry."

It is tempting to note he wasn't quite Mayor Maxima Culpa with that conditional construction loved by politicians. You know, "If I've caused offense," and so on. But pointing that out would amount to a conditional acceptance of a rare gesture.

So let it be recorded without annotation. The Mayor apologized.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Dragon Lady Politics

The good news for Bill Clinton is that New Yorkers think he's less of a threat than the West Nile virus.

The bad news for Bill Clinton is that New Yorkers think he's more of a threat than the blasphemous elephant dung at the Brooklyn Museum.

In a Fox News poll about the Hillary Rodham Clinton-Rudolph Giuliani Senate race, voters here were asked "Which of the following is the biggest threat to New Yorkers' quality of life?" Sixty percent chose the West Nile virus; 8 percent chose the Brooklyn Museum's "Sensation" exhibit, and 20 percent were most alarmed by Bill Clinton's moving into the neighborhood.

A whopping 85 percent of those polled felt that Mrs. Clinton's bid would be more successful if the President did not campaign for her.

This conjured up an image of Hillary as Cate Blanchett in the movie "Elizabeth," when the vibrant young woman, feeling she must desexualize herself to rule, chops off her long hair, covers her skin with white pancake makeup and assumes the grim visage of the Virgin Queen.

As usual, Hillary Clinton finds herself on a seesaw. The worse her husband treats her, the more popular she is. The better he treats her, the worse she'll do.

Maybe he should do her the favor of being bad again.

The President is baggage. And Hillary doesn't need baggage. What she herself needs is what she herself has been: a lightning rod. Someone to stand beside her and absorb all the heat and hostility.

Mary Todd Lincoln played that role for Abe. Eleanor Roosevelt for Franklin. Nancy Reagan for Ronnie. Marilyn Quayle for Dan. And Hillary for Bill.

There was often a sense that it was the wives who wore the pants, and sometimes called the shots. These women were seen as being steeper, and sometimes smarter, than their charming, boyish husbands. They

were seen as steeper than their husbands — enforcers, goaders, disciplinarians, nannies.

Such strong-minded spouses make excellent scapegoats. It was easy to blame them when something went wrong. They could be neatly stereotyped as carping harpies who pushed their husbands into trouble. It let the men stroll blithely along as the women took the hits, sometimes deserved and sometimes not. The men were seen as henpecked or oblivious, while their wives were cast as dragon ladies, whispering and scheming.

Nancy Reagan was Marie Antoinette. Marilyn Quayle was Cruella De Vil. Eleanor Roosevelt was a Bolshevik. Hillary was Lady Macbeth in a headband.

Writing about his feud with Mrs. Reagan, Donald Regan, the brash businessman who was fired as President Reagan's chief of staff, compared Nancy to Livia, the "clever but ruthless woman who ruled the Roman Empire . . . through the manipulation of her much older husband, Augustus Caesar," and routinely poisoned rivals.

Hillary was cast as the Clinton who cared about money, and therefore was the force behind Whitewater, the Rose Law Firm billing scandal, the Castle Grande trailer-park fiasco and the commodities-trading imbroglio. Clinton foes saw her as the *mano morto* behind the travel office and F.B.I. files scandals.

So now that Hillary is out there in the open, running on her own, the lightning rod needs a lightning rod.

The role could go to Susan Thomases, who earned the impressive titles of "King Kong kibitzer" and "alleged kingpin of the Hillary network" during the 1992 campaign, when the New York lawyer spent a lot of time bullying people, including Al Gore, and making threats along the lines of "If you do this, I will kill you! I will ruin you!"

The New York Observer reports that Ms. Thomases is back, playing porcupine in the New York campaign. "Susan Thomases has effortlessly reverted to her 'Primary Colors' role of driving all levels of Clinton staff to the nearest broom closet for desperate swigs of Lestoll," wrote Tish Durkin.

But while she would surely make an excellent set of brass knuckles to make Hillary seem gentle by contrast, she might not be high-profile enough for the job.

Mrs. Clinton may have to follow in the pumps of Margaret Thatcher, who boldly absorbed her own lightning when she took the strict-nanny thing and just went with it.

After all, Mayor Giuliani has proved that New Yorkers like discipline — up to a point. □

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Why Hillary needs a Hillary.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Hillary gets a lesson in the Gotham game

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who thinks it might be cool to be a senator from New York, got a lesson this week in how the game is played in Rudy Giuliani's precincts.

Mr. Giuliani has taken on the holiest of Manhattan holies, the art world, in behalf of the sensibilities of the devout tax-paying Christians who comprise the city's most put-upon minority, and won. When he threatened to withhold municipal subsidies the Brooklyn Museum agreed to throw out a piece of trash art that mocks the Virgin Mary with elephant dung and pornographic cut-outs of female genitalia splattered across her image. Then the museum changed its mind and said it would keep the exhibit. This will keep the issue alive and boiling, cooked to the mayor's recipe.

He taught Hillary that a straddle is the most un-ladylike of all positions. When Mr. Giuliani told the museum to mind its manners, or else, Hillary weighed in with a bit of clintonspeak that clearly shows her husband's authorship.

"It's not appropriate to penalize and punish an institution such as the Brooklyn Museum," she said, standing tall for principle, integrity and nobility of artistic purpose. But wait: "I share the feeling that I know many New Yorkers have that there are parts of this exhibit that would be deeply offensive. I would not go to this exhibit."

Of course she wouldn't. She stands tall for taste, sensitivity and the nobility of religious faith. But when you stand tall while straddling a pothole you only make yourself look ridiculous. When the mayor heard Mrs. Clinton's rebuke of his taking money away from the museum, he said, hiding a Cheshire grin, "Well, then, she agrees with using public funds to attack and bash the Catholic religion."

The Clintons are learning that Rudy Giuliani is not the half-hearted opponent they knew in Arkansas and certainly not the cave-in Republican they have known in Washington. He does not run to hide under the front porch when a Democrat says boo, and in fact, on the very day the frightened Republican rabbits in the House were caving on school vouchers in Washington, Mr. Giuliani was raising the ante in New York, watching his outclassed antagonists wiggle and squirm like a passel of mangy hounds with fleas and worms.



Rudy Giuliani

Washington
Times

His Honor chose his antagonists well. There's the usual squawk from the arts bureaucrats and gassy rhetoric of the lawyers trying to make a First Amendment case out of it, though Mr. Giuliani has not tried to stop the artist from making his art. He only wants to withdraw taxpayer sponsorship of it. The Constitution does not guarantee every artist a museum show. Not yet.

The offensive art at the center of the controversy is certainly derivative enough: the artist and the museum took note of what offended in the past, and painted and curated accordingly. If a crucifix suspended in an artist's urine offends, let's throw elephant dung at the Virgin Mary. The exhibit includes, in addition to the vulgar depiction of the mother of Christ, a topless woman seated in His place at the Last Supper; a series of Siamese twins with sex organs in the place of mouths and noses, and a work consisting of two halves of a pig, sliced from snout to tail, suspended in formaldehyde. This kind of stuff wows every sophomore on campus, so you can understand why the art mavens swoon.

Even among his friends, Arnold Lehman, the director of the museum, is not the hero of the story. He's more P.T. Barnum wannabe than a curator of art. The catalog of the show promises that art patrons will be "shocked" and want to "vomit." Says Jeffrey Hogrefe of the New York Observer: "They wanted to get some publicity and they got it. I think it was pretty calculated."

Michael Kimmelman, writing in the New York Times, observed: "In the end, there can be no underestimating the genuine pain that works like [these] can cause people, most particularly Christians who may find the art world's refined justifications . . . inadequate, if not callous. Roman Catholics, Italian-Americans and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, among others, sometimes argue that they are treated by artists as acceptable targets while certain other groups are taboo. And it is a fair question: would the defenders of art react the same way if the offending image were of Rosa Parks rather than the Virgin Mary?"

An odd analogy, but he makes a point. Mr. Lehman knows he would never display images of Jewish corpses arrayed in the death chamber at Auschwitz, titled "Ain't life a gas!" Or a retrospective of Amos 'n' Andy called "Watermelon Memories." Such assaults on sensibilities might occur to certain cretins with paint brushes, but they would know better than to expect a gallery or a museum to put it on exhibition.

Score one for the mayor.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of The Times.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

8A • FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1999 • USA TODAY

WASHINGTON

Clintons get new loan for \$1.7 million house

President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, criticized for buying a house in Chappaqua, N.Y., with a loan guarantee from a Democratic fund-raiser, announced Thursday that they have secured new financing for the \$1.7 million home. The new \$1.36 million loan will be a 30-year, adjustable rate mortgage made by PNC Mortgage Corp. of America and will have an initial annual interest rate of 7.5% locked in for the first three years. The Clintons will put down 28% of the purchase price, or \$340,000, for the five-bedroom house outside New York City. They are scheduled to close on the house Nov. 1.

Owning the home will allow the first lady to meet the residency requirement for her expected bid for a U.S. Senate seat from New York. The original financing deal, which generated controversy, involved a loan guarantee from fund-raiser and Clinton pal Terry McAuliffe. — Mimi Hall

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

2D - WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1999 - USA TODAY

SPORTS NUTS: Possible Senate candidate **Hillary Rodham Clinton's** name popped up on Tuesday's *Sports Night* on ABC. Young sports anchor **Dan Rydell** (**Josh Charles**) meets the first lady at a fundraising breakfast and is chagrined when he misuses the word "secular." He fears she'll think he is a religious fanatic. Clinton's staff was sent a tape of the show by producer **Aaron Sorkin**, but Clinton

spokesman **Howard Wolfson** said Tuesday he had yet to view it. He did say it's true the first lady/Yankees fan has no plans to be at any upcoming games. "This isn't a race to see who the biggest sports fan of New York is," he said, obviously with Mayor **Rudy Giuliani's** comments about fandom in mind. Tonight, the first lady attends a *Good Housekeeping* reception about breast cancer, with **Linda McCartney** photos. But as usual, access to her by the New York media will be limited to non-existent.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Urges End to Vieques Bomb Range as Panel Backs Phaseout

Associated Press

KINGSTON, N.Y., Oct. 18—Hillary Rodham Clinton called today for an immediate and permanent end to the use of a Puerto Rican island as a Navy target range.

The first lady's comments came after a presidential panel recommended that the Navy resume bombing on the island of Vieques but gradually close down the facility over five years.

"I am disappointed that this panel has recommended that the Navy resume its bombing on Vieques. Live ordnance training should not take place on a small, inhabited island," Clinton, who is planning to seek a U.S. Senate seat from New York, said in a statement. "There should be an immediate and permanent end to the bombing."

The first lady added, however, that "military readiness is critical to the security of the United

States" and that she hopes the Navy will quickly find a replacement target range.

Sentiment against the Navy's use of Vieques has been growing in Puerto Rico since stray shells killed a civilian security guard in April. Protesters have occupied the firing range, forcing a temporary halt to bombing.

New York has a large Puerto Rican population, and Clinton had strained relations with some leaders of the community in An-

gust when she criticized her husband's offer of clemency for 16 imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists.

The Navy contends that there is no facility that can easily substitute for Vieques, the only site near the East Coast where it is able to practice amphibious landings along with live-fire bombing from ships and planes.

About two-thirds of the 20-mile-long island is owned by the Navy and has been used for gun-

nery practice and mock beach assaults for more than 50 years. But 9,300 civilians also live on the island, and many of them feel that the bombing has stifled tourism, caused environmental damage and endangered lives.

In a day filled with campaign-like activities, Clinton also had kind words for former senator Bill Bradley, who is battling Vice President Gore for the Democratic presidential nomination. Polls show Bradley running

stronger in New York than Gore.

Asked about Bradley, Clinton reiterated that she is "very committed" to Gore's candidacy. Nonetheless, she also said she has "a lot of respect and admiration for Senator Bradley."

"I'm very pleased that both of them have come forward with important ideas and positions for this campaign. . . . It's an important debate that I think the two of them will have in the weeks ahead," she said.

Two on the isle: Rudy stakes claim on Hill issue



GETTING A FEW POINTERS: Developer Fred Harris gives Hillary Clinton a tour of a New Rochelle building site yesterday. AP

By BRIAN BLOWQUIST

in Washington

and GREGG BIRNBAUM

and DAVID SEIFMAN in New York

Mayor Giuliani yesterday called for an end to American military bombing practice on Vieques Island off Puerto Rico, staking out the same politically safe ground as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Giuliani urged President Clinton to reject a Pentagon panel's recommendation that shelling be allowed for another five years until an alternate site is found.

"The president should hand it back to the Navy, say, 'This is unacceptable. Find an alternative in two weeks,'" Giuliani said in his first comment on the issue.

"That's what I do all the time. That's known as taking over the responsibility of something and getting it done."

Giuliani shored up his backing in the Hispanic community as a new poll showed him widening his lead over Mrs. Clinton in a potential Senate race next year.

Meanwhile, a new poll showed a major erosion in Mrs. Clinton's support. The survey of 700 likely voters last week by Zogby International revealed Giuliani with an sizable 11-point advantage over the first lady, 51.1 percent to 40.3 percent.

Giuliani's double-digit lead — which jumped 7 points since last month — is outside of the

poll's plus or minus 3.8 percentage-point margin of error. Politically powerful Puerto Rican leaders in New York want the Navy out of Vieques, and for either Giuliani or Mrs. Clinton to do anything but demand a quick end to the live firing would be to risk their Senate dreams.

Hours after the release of the presidential panel's recommendation Monday, the first lady issued a statement seeking a halt to the bombing on the island of 9,000, about eight miles off Puerto Rico.

In Washington, Senate Armed Services Chairman John Warner (R-Va.) charged Mrs. Clinton had politicized the Puerto Rican issue, noting she hasn't spoken out against bombing ranges near residential communities in other parts of the United States.

"I wonder what the first lady would have to say about the rest of the portions of the United States of America that do accept this [bombing practice] as their contribution toward national security?" Warner said.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, responded, "He should ask the same question of Mayor Giuliani. The only one politicizing the issue is John Warner."

Since a bombing accident that killed a Puerto Rican in April, exercises on Vieques have been suspended until President Clinton makes a final decision on the island's future.

Giuliani leading

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has moved 11 points ahead of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in their all-but-declared race for the Senate, according to a new Zogby Poll.

The results of the poll of 700 likely New York voters showed 51 percent support for Mr. Giuliani statewide versus 40 percent for Mrs. Clinton, with 9 percent undecided.

As has been the pattern, Mr. Giuliani is supported by upstate and suburban voters, while Mrs. Clinton held a wide lead in New York City and among black and Hispanic voters, Reuters news agency reported.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Puerto Rico's NIMBY problem

Puerto Ricans on the island of Vieques are facing a rather uncommon "not-in-my-backyard" dispute. On April 19, a U.S. Navy pilot accidentally bombed an observation building during a training mission, killing David Sanes, a security guard, and injuring four other Navy employees. This bombing has set Puerto Rican nerves on edge, since the building that was bombed was about 8 miles away from the nearest town.

As a result, many Puerto Ricans want the Navy out of Vieques Island immediately. The backlash against the Navy training base is understandable, but decisions regarding the future of U.S. military readiness should never be made hastily.

The accident that killed Mr. Sanes was tragic, but it did, after all, occur within the Navy base. During the Navy's 50 years of range operations, not one person outside of the base has been harmed. Furthermore, no verifiable health problems have been linked to training activities on this weapons range or any of the other 56 ranges owned and operated by the Department of Defense throughout the United States, according to Naval official Vice Adm. Robert Natter, who wrote a letter to *The Washington Times* on this issue.

Furthermore, the Navy insists training in Vieques is crucial to its military readiness, since it is the only site on the East Coast where ships, marines and aircraft can conduct true-to-life war maneuvers without interfering with commercial air and sea traffic. For this reason, it would be unwise to follow the recommendations made by a Presidential panel earlier this week regarding the Vieques base. This study said the United States military should shut down its live firing exercises on the island in five years.

The study appears to have weighed hot-button political considerations more heavily than the country's security needs. Even a short-term shutting down

of firing exercises could have negative effects which could cost lives. Currently, protesters have occupied the firing range in Vieques, effectively shutting it down. *The Washington Times* reported on Thursday that, according to the Navy, aircraft carrier USS *Eisenhower* and its battle group are preparing to deploy in the Persian Gulf without having undergone live-fire training. The unfortunate consequence of this lack of training will be that three of the six warships in the battle group are not qualified to fire their guns in combat. Furthermore, some of the carrier's pilots have not practiced the kinds of bombing runs they will be expected to conduct over Iraq.

The real threat to U.S. lives, therefore, is shutting down the firing exercises. Although the accidental bombing naturally causes great concern, the real threat to Vieques residents appears to be negligible.

Puerto Rican Governor Pedro Rossello should keep these security concerns in mind next time he launches his demagogic attacks against the Naval base. Mr. Rossello demonstrated appalling callousness and lack of patriotism when he shrugged off the possibility that closing some vital exercises on Vieques could endanger U.S. lives due to lack of military training. "It's not too high a price to pay when you're looking at fundamental human rights of people," he said.

First Lady Hillary Clinton was similarly myopic when she said that "there should be a permanent end to the bombing" exercises in Vieques immediately. Mrs. Clinton added that "military readiness is critical to the security of the United States," but didn't specify how this could be achieved without the ability to engage in firing exercises in Vieques. Mrs. Clinton is likely aiming to get back in the good graces with the many Puerto Ricans living in New York. They too should be concerned about U.S. military readiness, however.

The Washington Times

PAGE A22 / MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999 *

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Victims of terrorism still waiting for justice

By Connie Mack

Not long ago, a stretch limousine pulled up in front of the federal courthouse in Jacksonville, Fla., where American families were seeking justice for their loved ones who had been murdered by the Cuban government. As a small crowd watched, U.S. State Department lawyers stepped out of the limo, entered the courthouse — and defended the Cuban government.

I know people must be thinking this cannot be true. It is true. In 1996, President Clinton signed a law that allows Americans harmed by terrorist acts to seek justice in U.S. federal courts against the responsible countries. The law, which Clinton signed with a great public display of enthusiasm, gives victims' families the ability to tap into the U.S. assets of countries, such as Cuba, that support international terrorism.

Legal response to Cuba's downing of plane

The law was a response to the Cuban Air Force's killing earlier that year of four men, three of them U.S. citizens, who were flying in unarmed airplanes over international waters. The men were on a humanitarian search for people stranded in rafts between Florida and Cuba. Clinton condemned the killings and encouraged the families to seek justice through the courts. He also asked Congress to pass legislation authorizing payment of compensation to the families of victims out of blocked Cuban accounts in New York.

So the Americans' families, using the law Clinton signed, went to court and were awarded \$187 million by a federal judge. But then the president broke faith with these families. He has thwarted their attempts to collect any of that money.



Alisa Flatow: Killed in Gaza Strip bombing in 1995.

That is not the only terrorism case in which the president promised justice, then helped block it. In 1995, Alisa Flatow of New Jersey, a college junior visiting Israel, was killed when her bus was rammed by a carload of explosives. The government of Iran backed the terrorist group that rammed her bus.

President and Mrs. Clinton called Alisa's father to express their sorrow and pledge their support for justice. Her father, Stephen Flatow, says the president encouraged him to file a lawsuit against Iran, calling it "brave and courageous."

In 1998, a U.S. court found the government of Iran responsible for the murder of Alisa Flatow and ordered her family paid \$247.5 million. But, when the families tried to reach Iranian assets frozen in this country, the president blocked it.

In both cases, the president has claimed a "national security" reason for keeping the families away from the frozen assets, saying they were needed as leverage in negotiations with terrorist regimes. But of what negotiating use are these assets if terrorists' countries know their victims' families can't get at them? The Clinton administration also claims that releasing the terrorist nations' assets would subject U.S. assets to erroneous claims overseas or interfere with the United States' ability to abide by its international obligations. No such interference exists. But even if it did, why the promises to the families and the request to Congress to pass the law in the first place?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Empty promises to victims' families

The president betrayed these American families. It is that simple. Words can be easily said; it is one's actions that matter.

There are more cases. Americans David Jacobsen, Joseph Cicippio and Terry Anderson all were taken hostage by Iran-funded terrorist groups in Lebanon during the 1980s. Jacobsen, held captive for 17 months, and Cicippio, a hostage for more than five years, haven't collected any of the Iranian millions a federal court awarded them. Anderson, held more than six years, seeks \$100 million from Iran; will he ever see it? And now that the families of the 1988 Pan Am Flight 103 murder victims have filed suit for billions against Libya, what will President Clinton do? Join forces with Moammar Gadhafi in court to defeat them?

This U.S. government's embarrassment could be over tomorrow. The president has the authority — indeed, the obligation — to respect the rule of law and the power of the courts. He made promises to the families, he pledged to fight terrorism, and he signed several laws that support the rights of victims to take terrorists to court.

By now, we all know the deplorable story of Clinton's decision to offer clemency to 16 Puerto Rican terrorists — even though, it appears, the terrorists themselves feel little, if any, remorse. What kind of message are we sending when the U.S. government protects terrorists from U.S. law — and denies justice to American citizens?

U.S. Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla., is a sponsor of legislation that would limit the president's ability to block monetary collections under the 1996 law.

USA TODAY • MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999 • 9A

N.Y. SENATE RACE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton isn't an official Senate candidate but she's already making the airwaves in New York.



Happy birthday: Hillary Clinton celebrates in Washington.

Pizza Hut raised eyebrows with an ad that uses a Hillary Clinton look-alike on the campaign trail to tout the company's "Big New Yorker" pizza.

Also using Clinton's bandwagon is the American Health Care Association (AHCA), which represents 12,000 nursing homes and long-term care providers. It ran an ad on Buffalo TV that says she's always advocated quality health care and then urges New Yorkers to ask her to support legislation to restore some Medicaid funding to nursing homes.

AHCA Vice President Linda Keegan said the ad, which might air in other markets, focuses on the first lady because of her influence over President Clinton's health care policies. "It's definitely not intended as a criticism and it's not intended as an endorsement," Keegan said. — Kathy Kleby

► The first lady, in her strongest statement about her intent to seek a Senate seat from New York, told supporters Saturday that she's "happy to be in this race" and "looking forward to this campaign." Clinton, who turns 52 Tuesday, has created a Senate exploratory committee and plans a formal announcement of her candidacy early next year. Polls show a tight race against the expected Republican candidate, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

HILL AND RUDY TRADE BARBS ON WAGE HIKE

By TOM TOFOUSIS
and GREGG BIRNBAUM

Mayor Giuliani yesterday said he will likely support a hike in the minimum wage — prompting charges of a political “flip-flop” from First Lady Hillary Clinton’s Senate campaign.

“I anticipate that I eventually will support an increase in the minimum wage, as I did last time,” Giuliani said, just hours after Clinton, at a Queens union hall, blasted anyone opposing a pay hike for the working poor.

Over the past month, the mayor has said he wouldn’t support a wage hike if it hurt the job market or undermined the city’s welfare programs. He’s requested two city studies on the effects of a hike.

During a speech in Washington

Sept. 29, the mayor said of a minimum-wage increase: “At this point I would not be in favor of it, until I saw it had no impact on reducing the number of jobs.”

But yesterday, before his studies had been completed, Giuliani predicted that he would back the wage boost.

“I don’t know what the studies are going to show. I have a sense of what one study shows, I have some sense of what the other will show. But I think at some point I probably will support it,” he said.

Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for Mrs. Clinton’s campaign, said the mayor doesn’t need to wait for more studies to make a

political about-face.

“The mayor has all the information he needs already. If he’s going to flip-flop, he should do it today,” said Wolfson.

Mrs. Clinton called for boosting the minimum wage by \$1 to \$6.15 over two years.

“It is rather unfortunate, I think, that there are those who don’t look at either the facts or the increasing poverty . . . it breaks faith with the working families of New York when any

New Yorker opposes an increase in the minimum wage,” she said.

Labor leader and Assemblyman Brian McLaughlin (D-Queens), who shared the stage with Mrs. Clinton, ripped Giuliani as she looked on.

Mrs. Clinton has been hammering Giuliani on the minimum wage for months and her advisers believed they had the mayor pinned down on the wrong side of the issue.

“There are those who have opposed an increase in the minimum wage, arguing that it will cost jobs. And there are some people who say we need still more studies. Well, they are wrong,” said Mrs. Clinton.

Giuliani, getting his own barbs in at the first lady, said his wait-and-see attitude on a raise in the minimum wage is the difference between “substantive politics” and “pandering politics.”

“It’s the difference between actually having responsibilities in government and then not having responsibilities in government,” said Giuliani.



HILLARY CLINTON
In Queens yesterday.

N.Y. Post Tamara Bockath

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady's Broadway Bash Raises Cash

By LYNN DUKER
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Oct. 25—Hillary Rodham Clinton used the opportunity of her 52nd birthday to bring in a possible \$1 million to her Senate campaign tonight, joining her husband at a star-studded "Broadway for Hillary" fund-raiser and birthday bash.

Clinton's public appearance at the event, Hillary Clinton's biggest fund-raiser so far, comes as he is stepping up his behind-the-scenes effort on behalf of his wife's 2000 ambitions. On Sunday afternoon, he golfed with B. Thomas Golisano—the Rochester businessman who heads New York's small but potentially influential Independence Fusion Party and who won 7 percent of the vote in last year's governor's race.

Democrats close to the exploratory campaign said Clinton is heavily invested in obtaining a Golisano endorsement for the first lady. Although the president had never met Golisano, he invited the New Yorker to Washington to talk politics and join a foursome that also in-

cluded Democratic fund-raiser Terence McAuliffe.

"It's a little early" to announce an endorsement, Golisano said yesterday. Both Hillary Clinton and her likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, have sought his support. Though neither candidate has officially announced, both are raising money aggressively for a Senate race that could be the most expensive ever. As of his last filing in July, Giuliani had raised \$3 million toward the \$20 million that his campaign manager, Bruce Teitelbaum, says will be required for the race. Clinton's campaign goal is about \$25 million. She has not yet been required to report her fund-raising numbers to the Federal Election Commission, but sources said it is well above the \$3 million figure being touted in the press.

"Broadway for Hillary" at the Ford Center for the Performing Arts was the brainchild of the theatrical community and was directed by Walter Bobbie, director of the smash hit "Chicago."

Comedienne Rosie O'Donnell played mistress of ceremonies, pep-

pering the evening with quips about a jealous Giuliani phoning in to register complaints. At one point, O'Donnell joked that Giuliani was writing a book entitled, "It Takes a Village Idiot."

The evening featured performances by such theater stars as singer-dancer Chita Rivera and actor Joel Grey. Actress Lauren Bacall also made an appearance.

Accompanied by a chorus of 12 men in Yankee baseball uniforms, Christine Pedi, from the cast of "Forbidden Broadway," played the first lady in the show's opening act. Wearing a blonde wig, business suit and practical pumps, Pedi sang, "I'll take Manhattan, the Bronx and Staten Island, too."

Chicago performers Bebe Neuwirth and Marcia Lewis also performed, as did actress Mia Farrow—mother of several adopted children—read a brief excerpt from Clinton's book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us."

The hit of the evening was the song "My Girl Bill" from "Carousel," rewritten as "My Girl Hill."

President Clinton introduced his

wife after the performances, touting his administration's successes in the economy. For her part, Hillary Clinton said, "As much progress as we've made, we still have unfinished business" and she pledged during what amounted to a routine stump speech to "be a voice for the children of New York."

Tonight's event is the second of a trio of birthday fund-raisers. A more modest birthday lunch for Clinton in Washington on Saturday raised more than \$300,000, according to a source familiar with her fund-raising. After spending Tuesday, her actual birthday, in Washington, Clinton will be in her home town of Chicago on Wednesday, and the source said she would raise some \$500,000 there.

An earlier money swing to Texas brought in more than \$400,000, and Clinton is also headed out to California and Las Vegas to raise money for both her campaign and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

In Vegas, where President Clinton went earlier this month for a \$300,000 DSCC fund-raiser, his wife's campaign will have a \$1,000-



Surrounded by Broadway stars, New York Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D) helps Hillary Rodham Clinton blow out the candles on her birthday cake.

a-person event at the home of his college friend, Las Vegas Sun Publisher Brian Greenspan. In December, Washington lawyer Robert A. Altman and his wife, actress Lynda Carter, will host a fund-raiser for Clinton at their house.

"All her events have been very successful," said one top Clinton adviser. But, another key strategist cautioned, not as successful as Mayor Giuliani's campaign would have

it: "The mayor would hope to persuade you that we're going to raise \$10 million by the end of this year. Our fund-raising is going reasonably well, but not nearly as well as the mayor would have you believe. It's this great expectations game."

Staff writers Susan B. Glasser and John F. Harris in Washington contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVED



THOSE FIRST LADY BLUES: Hillary Clinton, rapping with rock legend Bo Diddley (left) and Shirley Dixon-Nelson — daughter of blues great Willie Dixon — in Chicago yesterday, hasn't said whether she'll pay New York taxes. *Routings*

When will new 'New Yorker' Hill pay taxes?

ORIN from Page 8

The official said both Clintons can opt to pay New York state income taxes as a sign of good faith, regardless of how many days either one spends in the state.

"When someone files a return and pays taxes, we generally accept that as prima facie evidence that they owe it," the official said.

Now consider this wrinkle: If only Hillary becomes an Empire State taxpayer, the Clintons can dodge most New York taxes. That's because once the president leaves office, he'll likely be the family's chief wage earner, pulling in millions a year from book deals, speeches and corporate boards.

The Arkansas-born president bobbed and weaved when asked last June 22 if he'll shift his voting registration to New York to vote for his wife.

"Well, I might, because I think every vote counts and I'd certainly want her to win if she ran," Clinton quipped on CNN, carefully avoiding a real answer.

The Clintons now count themselves as residents of Arkansas, where they pay lower taxes than in New York. Both states have similar income tax rates — about 7 percent — but Arkansas allows more deductions, experts told *The Post* last summer.

Last year, the Clintons paid \$22,500 in Arkansas taxes on their \$509,345 income. In New York they'd have paid anywhere from \$1,100 to \$11,000 more, the experts estimated.

Of course the Clinton family income could easily be 10 times bigger post-White House — meaning they'd stand to gain a lot more by sheltering income from New York taxes and claiming Arkansas residency, at least for Bill Clinton.

And unless Mrs. Clinton starts paying New York income taxes this fall, voters may have to cast Senate ballots without knowing if she'll pay or stiff her adopted state. That's because 2000 tax returns aren't due until April 15, 2001, long after the election.

The Clinton family income could easily be 10 times bigger post-White House — meaning they'd stand to gain a lot more by sheltering income from New York taxes and claiming Arkansas residency, at least for Bill Clinton.

Will 'New Yorker' Hillary pay state taxes?

HILLARY CLINTON wants to be New York's woman in Washington, but her campaign refuses to say when — or if — the wannabe senator will pay a penny in income taxes to her newly adopted state.

"I have nothing for you on that," White House scandal spinner Jim Kennedy said after the first lady's campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, ducked the question and punted it to him.

Next Monday, the Clintons are



due to become New York homeowners when they close on a \$1.7 million Dutch colonial house in Chappaqua so the born-again Yankee fan can establish residency.

State Board of Elections spokesman Lee Daghlion said Mrs.

Clinton doesn't have to pay any New York state income taxes to run for the Senate. All she needs is a local address — someone's living-room sofa would do.

"Residence isn't defined in any specific way — it could be a second home," Daghlion said.

Politically, it sure seems that Hillary had better pay New York income taxes if she runs for retiring Daniel P. Moynihan's Senate seat.

If not, just imagine the killer

TV ads that rival Rudy Giuliani could run: "She claims she loves the Yankees and New York, but when it comes to taxes she's a real dodger."

Even if she pays taxes in New York, hubby Bill doesn't have to.

A New York State Tax Department official said the Clintons could file separate returns if he decides to pay state taxes in Arkansas (where he'd pay less) and maintain a residence there.

See ORIN on Page 24

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Latest Poll Shows Hillary Pulling Even With Rudy ...

■ WITH NEW YORK CITY MAYOR Rudolph Giuliani hurt by his battle with the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the gap between him and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in a possible matchup for next year's Senate race has narrowed, according to the latest statewide poll.

The survey by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found Giuliani favored by 46 percent of those polled, while 42 percent opted for Clinton — a statistical

dead heat given the poll's 4 point error margin.

In a poll out last month from Marist, Giuliani led the first lady, 49-40 percent, in the race to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

The new survey of 702 registered voters — conducted Sunday and Monday — found that 30 percent of respondents said their opinion of Giuliani has gotten worse since the flap over the Brooklyn Museum's controversial exhibit, while 21 percent said their opinion of him had improved.

The mayor has said he wants to cut off city funding for the museum because of the exhibit.

The survey was released as Clinton Thursday filed an official statement of candidacy with the FEC.

... As (A Diplomatic) Glickman Responds To First Lady

■ ASKED ABOUT STATEMENTS by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — an all-but-announced candidate for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. — that she supports the extension of the Northeast Dairy Compact and opposes implementation of the market-oriented milk marketing order plan developed by the USDA, Agriculture Secretary Glickman told CongressDaily Wednesday, "My theory is that political theory is often the rationalization of economic interests."

Interviewed after he dedicated the new George Washington Carver Center at the USDA agricultural research facility in Beltsville, Md., Glickman noted that other politicians in the Mid-Atlantic states also oppose the new milk marketing plan.

Glickman did add: "The [milk marketing order] rule we came up

with is fairer to all regions. All you can do is do your best. I would have been safer going for the status quo."

Glickman also said if Congress creates more dairy compacts, the compacts could have an effect on the milk supply in the country — and that Congress should give the USDA secretary the power to revoke them.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



CAMPAIGN 2000



Stars plan B'way b'day bash for Hillary

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday opened fire on Mayor Giuliani, as her celebrity supporters unveiled plans for a \$1 million, star-studded New York birthday bash to boost her Senate campaign.

The "Broadway for Hillary" birthday blowout is slated for Oct. 25, the day before Clinton turns 52. It will be co-hosted by Rosie

O'Donnell and Nathan Lane at the Ford Center for the Performing Arts on West 42nd Street.

Meanwhile, with Clinton in Europe on official White House business, her campaign threw the first punch on health care, charging that Giuliani has long ignored HMO abuses, one of the first lady's pet causes.

"Rudy Giuliani has never made health-care reform a priority," said Howard Wolfson, Clinton's campaign spokesman.

The first lady's taunt was the first in which she's jumped on the mayor without provocation.

The attack was timed to coincide with Congress' consideration of legislation to crack down on HMOs by giving patients the right to sue insurers who deny coverage.

"Rudy Giuliani clearly believes in a mayor's right to sue," Wolfson added, citing the mayor's lawsuit against the Brooklyn Museum of Art over its "Sensation" show.

"The question is whether he believes New Yorkers should have the unfettered right to take their HMOs to court... Does he fully support a patient's right to sue, or just his own?"

Giuliani brushed aside a reporter's question about Clinton's broadside, but spokeswoman Sunny Mindel said, "She's in Europe... We'll think about responding to her when she gets back on American soil."



HILLARY CLINTON
Rips Rudy on HMOs.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Female candidates face tougher challenges

By Robert Schlesinger

Elizabeth Dole's departure from the Republican presidential field last week not only ended the most serious female White House candidacy to date, it also marked the latest in a string of touted female candidates who prematurely ended their elective bids this year.

Dole joined New Jersey Gov. Christie Todd Whitman (R), Nevada Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa (D), Michigan Secretary of State Candice Miller (R) and Florida state Rep. Lori Edwards (D) as high-profile women who surprised their parties by ending their candidacies — many citing fundraising difficulties.

"It's something to be very concerned about, because women have always had a very difficult time raising money, particularly because women don't have the same business contacts [that men do] because they don't come out of the business arena," said Democratic consultant Jennifer Laszlo. "More importantly, they're very uncomfortable with special interest

groups. ... A lot of women want to represent their constituents before they want to represent any special interest groups. That's what makes them good candidates but makes them the least likely to raise the most money."

Female activists on both sides of the political spectrum disputed any notion that this is a trend.

"The decision indicates a total lack of leadership on Elizabeth Dole's part," said Amy Holmes of the conservative Independent Women's Forum. "If you are going to be president of the United States, are you going to be stopped by a lack of funds? I mean, come on, you are going to be dealing with Red China. We aren't giving the presidency away."

"None of it seems to be gender-related," said Ellen Malcolm, president of EMILY's List, which raises funds for pro-choice Democratic women candidates. "There are two reasons people give when they decide they're not going to run ... and one of them is not 'I think I'm going to lose.'"

Malcolm explained that the reasons

cited are typically fundraising or personal. "Those two reasons can cover the gamut of political analysis," she said.

"When you're looking at women in these major competitive races, they have no problem asking for money, and they are very successful raising it," she added.

But Laszlo argued that fundraising is tougher for women.

"Fundraising is a terrible chore; it's a demeaning task," she said. "Women culturally in America are taught that somehow asking for money is an inappropriate or tacky thing for women to be doing. A lot of women say, as a candidate they feel like they're prostituting themselves when

they ask for campaign contributions, and they have trouble achieving critical mass in terms of their campaign war chest."

Efforts like EMILY's List,

Laszlo argued, are insufficient.

"EMILY's List is too little, too late," she said. "There are too many good candidates for them to help everybody, so they're forced to pick and choose. It has its own political game where it's Ellen Malcolm's friends and the board's friends and not necessarily the most grassroots candidates."

Malcolm was taken aback by the harsh words.

"Are you kidding? I don't even know what to say to that," she said. "We've elected 49 women in the House since 1988. We're the biggest political funder

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

★★ CAMPAIGN 2000

HATCH'S CASH
Pres bid logging, but big donors still pour in.
Page 20

MONT. AT LARGE
Dem poll gives Keenan lead.
Page 20

PHOTOGRAPH PRESERVATION

No new trend seen among women hopefuls

■ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

in the country and it's all going to pro-choice women. ... We're not in the business of supporting whatever she means by grassroots candidates. We're in the business of supporting women who have a chance of winning. ... Between 1988 and 1998 there's been a 325 percent increase of Democratic women in the House. I would say that's a strategy that works."

She pointed out that a half-dozen female Democratic House challengers that EMILY's List supports reported having pulled in at least \$100,000 during the first six months of this election cycle. Those candidates include a pair who pulled in over \$250,000: California Assemblywoman Susan Davis, who is challenging Rep. Brian Bilbray (R) and Florida state Rep. Elaine Bloom, challenging Rep. Clay Shaw (R).

A pair of Michigan women have been successful in the money chase this year. Malcom also noted: Rep. Debbie Stabenow (D), who raised \$1 in her challenge to Sen. Spencer Abraham (R) and state Sen. Dianne Byrum (D), who posted \$1 in the first six months in her race to succeed Stabenow in the House.

Holmes of the Independent Women's Forum and Sheila Maloney of the conser-



Elizabeth Dole

FILE PHOTO

vative Eagle Forum also cited first lady Hillary Clinton, who is running to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

"Hillary Rodham Clinton is a vociferous [advocate] for her opinions and for her ambitions, whether it be abortion-on-demand or giving money to the [United Nations]," Maloney said. "She is a passionate activist for her side. Those are the

kind of candidates who draw money."

Even those who don't stay in can pave the way for others. "The more women run, the more women will see it's easier and easier to ask for money," said Jill Balderas, deputy editor of the Hotline's WomenConnect Politics Daily. "With Elizabeth Dole being the trailblazer, it's just going to be that much easier for the next woman."

Holmes was less kind, arguing that the candidates who have dropped out recently did so because of lack of leadership in the specific cases.

"Women are just as competitive as men," she said. "There are going to be women who are disappointments, just as there are men who are disappointments."

"You could say you have a lot of incumbent males who are not running," said Erica Henri of the Women's Campaign Fund, noting the small number of female members of Congress who are retiring next year. In addition to Stabenow, only Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-Idaho) has indicated that she will not run for reelection.

Both parties also still have challengers and open-seat candidates that they are touting.

In addition to Stabenow, Byrum and Clinton, for example, Democrats also

point to Nancy Keenan in Montana's open House seat, Linda Chapin in Rep. Bill McCollum's (R-Fla.) open seat, Maryellen O'Shaughnessy in Rep. John Kasich's (R-Ohio) open seat, Maryanne Connelly in Rep. Bob Franks' (R-N.J.) open seat, and 1998 nominee Marjorie McKeithen challenging Rep. Richard Baker (R-La.).

Democrats could also have female Senate candidates in Washington and Pennsylvania. In Washington, Insurance Commissioner Deborah Senn is likely to face ex-Rep. Mariah Cantwell in a primary. The crowded Pennsylvania primary field includes ex-Rep. Marjorie Margulies Mezvinsky and state Sen. Allyson Schwartz.

And, despite losing Whitman and Miller, GOPers believe they have winners in state Sen. Melissa Hart, seeking Rep. Ron Klink's (D-Pa.) open seat, and Shelly Moore Capito taking on Rep. Robert Wise (D-W.Va.).

"It just keeps getting better every year," said WomenConnect's Balderas. "Last election cycle it stayed the same as far as nine women in the Senate, but women gained some seats in the House. So if that trend keeps going, it obviously has nowhere to go but up."

Bryanna Hocking contributed to this article.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady stumps for Moseley-Braun

By MARK BROWN AND LYNN SWEET
STAFF REPORTERS

Before blowing out the 51 candles on a surprise birthday cake Thursday afternoon, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton surveyed the blaze and asked Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.) and others for assistance.

"I'm going to need all the help I can get," said Clinton, whose birthday is Monday.

The conventional wisdom in Illinois politics these days, however, is that it is Moseley-Braun who needs all the help she can get.

And who better to give it than the first lady.

Despite her husband's travails, or possibly because of them, Hillary Clinton remains an immensely popular figure in Illinois.

Public opinion polls show she's viewed more favorably than the president.

Democratic politicians are eager to embrace her, and she's been hitting the road for the party, pitching for money and votes at 63 political events across the country since the first of the year and more to come before Election Day.

On Thursday, Clinton returned to Chicago for her second campaign visit in a week to attend fund-raisers for Moseley-Braun and Cook County Board President John Stroger, two politicians who need her help in energizing female voters. Campaigning for a county-level candidate is highly unusual for the first lady.

She'll stump for Moseley-Braun at a series of events today. And she may be back again.

Clinton is particularly potent in Illinois because of her hometown ties, which she has maintained through the years. Her childhood buddies organized the early birthday party at Booby's Restaurant in north suburban Niles.

In an election where the turnout of Democrats and independents is key, Clinton's visits and the enormous free media attention she attracts is a factor.

"She's from here. She's handled herself with dignity and class throughout this entire year," said Barbara Guttman, former executive director of the Illinois State Democratic Party, referring to the Monica Lewinsky scandal and impeachment hearings facing the president.

"She brings out suburban and collar county voters who are more moderate on the issues, which benefits Stroger and Moseley-Braun."

The first lady's only campaign commercial was made for Moseley-Braun, and her appeal was demonstrated in a fund-raising letter she sent out on Moseley-Braun's behalf. She raised \$145,000 for the senator in 10 days, one of the most successful direct mail appeals of the campaign, said spokesman Michael Brigo.



Hillary Rodham Clinton and Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun pose Thursday with cashier Sally Freidman and manager Andreas Vinerstos at Booby's restaurant in Niles.

■ Our choice for Senate; editorial, Page 39.

■ Judicial reform wins support; Page 28.

■ County has 200,000 Hispanic voters; Page 28.

With four days of campaigning this year for Moseley-Braun, the TV spot and fund-raising, the first lady has done more for the Illinois senator than any other candidate except Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), whose daughter is married to Clinton's brother.

"When Carol won her Senate seat in 1992, I was extremely proud that the state in which I was born and raised finally elected its first woman senator," Clinton's letter said, asking for money because the senator is "in the fight of her political life."

MORNINGLINE

Can Hillary Rodham Clinton save Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun's campaign?

Yes: (847) 326-0933

No: (847) 326-0904

Phone lines open until 5:30 p.m. today. (A charge for a local call to the 847 area code applies.) Results in Monday's Sun-Times.

Does Moseley-Braun think Clinton's highly visible support will help her win back female voters, who may have been dissatisfied with her first term?

"I think women voters are going to vote their interests, and there should be no question but that my representation and advocacy for women should encourage them to support my re-election," Moseley-Braun said.

Stroger said Clinton can be a "lightning rod" who can energize women voters on behalf of him and the rest of the Democratic ticket.

But there's a limit to what Clinton can do. Take Netty Rigali, of Park Ridge, who had stopped by Booby's restaurant to pick up some sandwiches and stumbled onto the birthday party for Clinton.

Rigali said she's a big believer in Clinton and voted for Moseley-Braun six years ago. But she's backing Peter Fitzgerald this time, and the first lady won't sway her.

"Even if [Moseley-Braun] showed up with the pope, I wouldn't change my mind," Rigali said. "I think it was wonderful for females that she was able to be elected into the Senate, but she let some people down."



PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

First lady lends helping hand

As controversy swirls around her husband, Hillary Rodham Clinton remains an immensely popular figure in Illinois. And local politicians are using her favorable ratings to their advantage. The first lady spent much of the day campaigning for Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, but also found time to stop at Booby's Restaurant in Niles to celebrate her birthday. Page 8.



ELLEN DOMKE/SUN-TIMES

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Shelf Full of New Hillary Books

CLINTON, From C1

Buchanan and Steve Forbes.

According to the dust jacket blurb on "Hell to Pay," "Olson reveals the real Hillary Clinton—a woman whose lust for power surpasses even that of her husband."

The ad copy continues: "Far from being unstained by the Clinton scandals, Olson shows how 'in scandal after scandal all roads lead to Hillary' and how, with supreme irony, the most powerful woman in the world has won sympathy—after the Monica Lewinsky scandal—as the globe's premier 'victim.'"

"But perhaps more important than the scandals, and even Hillary's relentless drive for power, is the vision Hillary wants to impose on the country. It is a vision shaped by some of the most radical thinkers of our time, a vision that harkens back to social engineering on a grand scale, and that gives freedom a distant second place to government control."

Gail Sheehy's "Hillary's Choice" is now slated to be in bookstores in early December. Sheehy is the chronicler of the baby boomers' various "Passages." Her biography, says Sally Marvin of Random House, will be an expansion of Sheehy's much-buzz-creating psycho-exploration of Hillary Clinton in Vanity Fair magazine during the 1992 campaign. Among other things, the then-candidate's wife said that folks shouldn't pick on her husband because it was "apparently well known in Washington" that President Bush had had an extramarital affair. Hillary Clinton apologized for her remarks.

What took so long to expand a magazine piece? "Gail talked to 200 or so people," Marvin says. The book was postponed beyond its most recently scheduled September release because, Marvin says, Sheehy needed "extra time" to filter through her material.

"The Hillary Trap: Looking for Power in All the Right Places," by miniskirted-lawyer-turned-conservative-pundit Laura Ingraham, is slated to appear in the spring. "I'm in total crash mode trying to finish it," she says. The book is not a biography of the first lady but, Ingraham explains, a portrait of Hillary Clinton as "a symbol of where women are today, of the conflicts that animate women's lives on a professional and personal level."

Peggy Noonan, former speechwriter for Ronald Reagan and author of "Strictly Speaking," is writing "The Case Against Hillary Clinton" for publication by the Judith Regan imprint of HarperCollins sometime next year. The book is an expansion of Noonan's June 1999 Wall Street Journal piece "The Mad Boomer."

Of Hillary Clinton's nascent senatorial campaign in New York, Noonan wrote in the newspaper, "To say to this great state full of gifted people that you deserve to be its senator is an act of such mad boomer selfishness and narcissism that even from the Clintons—the Gimme and Getme of American politics—it is an act of utter and breathtaking gall."

"And of course she may well win."

"Modern people have a way of absorbing the brazen, factoring it in, in time discounting it. For some New Yorkers, gall isn't a flaw but a lifestyle choice, one of the seven habits of highly effective people."

Noonan's editor, Calvert Morgan, says he has not seen Noonan's finished manuscript, but expects it on his desk in the next few weeks. "It's not a biography or journalistic piece, per se," Morgan says. "She looks at the record and raises a lot of serious questions."

Meanwhile, at Alfred A. Knopf, senior editor Jonathan Segal says that Carl Bernstein's book about Hillary Clinton won't come out until after the first lady

leaves the White House. The book, which has no working title, was proposed by Bernstein to Segal and Knopf Editor in Chief Sonny Mehta.

"We talked a couple of hours about the subject and approach," Segal says. The editors agreed that a complete picture of Hillary Clinton would include her final days in the White House, "whether she gains the Senate or not," Segal adds.

"We don't want a quickie," Segal says. Bernstein's book will be a full-length portrait. "We don't want to rush it. I know there are other things in the works. That's okay."

Already there are more than two dozen books about Hillary Clinton in print. None has been a blockbuster. The first lady has not cooperated with any biographer, and in most cases her friends have not been particularly helpful.

One volume in the works is by the first lady herself. "An Invitation to the White House" is scheduled to be published by Simon & Schuster in the spring. The coffee-table tome is a behind-the-scenes look at entertaining at 1600 Pennsylvania and will include menus from state dinners and notes on decor.

Hillary Clinton has already penned two books while in the White House. "It Takes a Village," published in 1996, reflects the first lady's thoughts on children and children's issues, and sold well—with more than 600,000 in print. "Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets" was published in 1998 and hit the remainder tables faster than you can say kitty litter.

But will the first lady eventually write a take-names, kick-tail tell-all book about her tumultuous years in the White House? "She has indicated that she'd like to write another book," says White House spokeswoman Marsha Berry. Though Berry says she's not sure what the subject would be, it would be more substantive than "Dear Socks."

"Writing is time-consuming" and the first lady is extremely busy these days, Berry says, then adds, "She would be the best person to write a book about herself."

If Hillary Clinton does write a White House memoir, she wouldn't be the first first lady to do so. According to historian Carl Sierrazza Anthony, that honor belongs to Julia Grant, wife of 18th president Ulysses S. Grant—the first president to write his memoirs.

Julia Grant's sketches of her husband's Cabinet members, advisers and opponents "were so politically blunt in terms of her criticism," Anthony says, "the public thought there was something improper about this." As a result, the manuscript was not published until 1975. Julia Grant died in 1902.

Nearly every first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt has been the target of critical biographies. After the death of President Kennedy, there was an avalanche of books about Jackie Kennedy, "an average of two books a year for the rest of her life," Anthony says.

Lady Bird Johnson, Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush were all subjects of biographies. But Hillary Clinton, Anthony says, is a special case. "There are so many new aspects she's brought to the role of first lady. By shattering precedents, she has brought attention to herself," he says.

What nobody has uncovered, Anthony says, is the extent to which she has actually affected White House policy. "Everyone's missed the boat," Anthony says. "She has been the most accomplished first lady."

Of the host of Hillary Rodham Clinton biographies on the horizon, her lawyer—and agent—Bob Barnett says, "The only book about Mrs. Clinton that readers will buy in large numbers and that will be truly insightful will be her own."



Among the shelves of upcoming books dissecting the first lady: Barbara Olson's bruising bio.

Throwing The Books At Hillary Clinton

Coming Soon:
The Unauthorized Biographies

By LINTON WEEKS
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the coming months, a hard rain of new books about the first lady will fall on bookstore shelves. Some are by ideologues, others by big-name authors. But taken together, the books paint Hillary Rodham Clinton in the fullness of her contradictory glory—commanding, congenial, cutthroat, compassionate, complicated, concerned, conceited, convincing.

First out—early next month—will be "Hell to Pay: The Unfolding Story of Hillary Rodham Clinton" by Barbara Olson, a former federal prosecutor and on-camera Clinton critic. The book is being produced by Washington-based Regnery Publishing, the right-leaning publisher of recent works by presidential hopefuls Patrick J.