

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SUNDAY, Aug. 29, 1999 Dunkirk Observer
 **Clintons are off to a new round
of house-hunting in New York**

By ANNE GEARAN
Associated Press Writer

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. — The First Family ended their island vacation and stepped into a silver Suburban for another day of house hunting in Westchester County.

President Clinton brushed aside a question about whether he and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, were close to buying.

"Some place nice and airy that will make Hillary happy — that's what I want," he said today. Mrs. Clinton, standing a few yards behind her husband on Air Force One, laughed.

Later, the Clintons and their daughter, Chelsea, were continuing on to the Hamptons to raise political money this weekend.

The family spent a Sunday earlier this month visiting properties in the area, where Mrs. Clinton would like to settle to establish residency to run for an open Senate seat in 2000.

And Mrs. Clinton slipped off the island unnoticed last Saturday for another round of house hunting, administration officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said today.

Although Friday's golf game ended badly — a steady, drenching rain forced his party off the course at the 15th hole Friday — at least Clinton didn't lose Martha's Vineyard.

The president joined Britain's Prince Andrew, the duke of York, on the links at the Farm Neck Golf Club. He noted that in the 17th century the island off the Massachusetts coast was owned by Andrew's predecessor dukes of York.

"You know what the bet is? If he beats me, we have to give him back the island," Clinton said, stopping his golf cart near a gaggle of reporters and photographers.

After the game was rained out, the prince came splashing across the parking lot toward a black Land Rover.

Asked the game's outcome, Andrew pulled a crumpled wad of American bills from his pocket and replied: "I have still got a little money in my pocket."

Later, Clinton returned to the private home where he and his family have spent the past week. The family was to leave today for a fund-raising weekend at the Hamptons on Long Island, N.Y.

Some of the money will go toward Hillary Rodham Clinton's possible

Senate race in New York. Tonight in East Hampton the Clintons are hosts at the airport terminal to a buffet reception of the young Democrats' "Saxophone Club." At \$250 per person, some 800 people are expected to turn out for the Clintons and comedian Jon Stewart to net about \$200,000 for the Democratic National Committee.

From there, it's on to a \$1,000 per plate barbecue dinner at a private East Hampton residence. Singer Phoebe Snow will entertain the 300 people contributing jointly to the DNC, Mrs. Clinton's campaign and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

On Sunday, the Clintons star at a \$5,000-per-person lunch for 80 at a Southampton home. The first \$1,000 of every ticket price, a party official said, will go to Mrs. Clinton's race, and the remainder will be shared by the DNC and DSCC.

In the priciest of the galas, rocker Jon Bon Jovi provides the music at a Bridgehampton dinner on Sunday night solely benefiting the DNC. At \$25,000 per couple, the event is expected to bag \$900,000.

Republican presidential candidate Steve Forbes and Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, were starting a drive to cram the airwaves in upstate Skaneateles, N.Y., the Clintons' final stop on this half-recreational, half-political tour.

In a 30-second television commercial being shown in the Skaneateles market, Nicholson urged Clinton to "take a moment from your vacation to talk about real tax relief with Hillary and Al (Gore). You'll be glad you did when you're living in New York — or whatever state you decide to call home."

The Forbes campaign bought five days' worth of spots on three Syracuse-area radio stations — WSYR, WSEN and WNSS — to hammer at the president's opposition to a Republican tax-cut bill pending in Congress.

"Sign the tax cut, Mr. President," Forbes says in the ad. "I would."

Also, the American Conservative Union purchased television time in the upstate region to criticize Clinton's decision to offer conditional clemency to 16 imprisoned Puerto Rican militants. Those ads are scheduled to run next Monday through Friday.

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—Allen H. Neuhardt, Founder, Sept. 15, 1982

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Today's debate: East Timor

The Clintons' new house

To average homebuyers, the details of President Clinton's home purchase might be difficult to square with their own experiences.

Though more than \$5 million in debt, Clinton managed to nail a super-jumbo \$1.35 million loan with a low, low rate of 6.52%. All secured by a rich friend with enough cash on hand to guarantee the loan.

The White House has been quick to explain that it was all on the up and up. And that's right. Up to a point.

Clinton's tremendous earnings potential once he vacates the White House will make meeting those gigantic mortgage payments a snap. Just a few speeches at the going rate of about \$100,000 each would do. A couple of fat book advances could pay off the entire loan.

Nor is Clinton the first president to get help buying his post-presidential abode. Friends of Ronald Reagan chipped in \$2.5 million for a Bel Air retirement home. And the White House insists that the loan guarantee offered by friend and legendary campaign fund-raiser Terry McAuliffe wasn't technically a "gift." At least not the sort that triggers laws regarding gifts to high public officials.

But beyond legalisms lies a deeper issue.

McAuliffe clearly performed a big favor for Clinton, without which that Chappaqua, N.Y.,

home might have gone to another bidder. The real issue is Clinton's casual acceptance of the offer. At a time when the public wants to clean up the corrupting stench of money in politics, this deal emits all the wrong odors.

McAuliffe himself is something of a poster child on the need for campaign finance reform. He was, for instance, at the heart of Clinton's questionable re-election fund-raising, coming up with the now infamous White House coffees.

Nothing illegal has been alleged. Just the standard sort of grinding decadence allowed, if not encouraged, by the nation's flawed campaign finance laws.

Clinton may not feel compelled to reject money from a friend who has been so helpful. In fact, it would be naive to think such considerations would budge an ethical barometer that failed to register when perjury, abuse of office and other forms of misconduct were the issue.

But the nation is poorer for it. Until a future president leads the way to a higher standard, public officials will continue to heed only the letter of artfully written laws, leaving themselves beholden to anyone with ready cash.

As any real estate agent knows, appearances count. Maybe the next occupant of the White House will understand that.

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Drills and things

Where was the outcry from the White House press corps when President Clinton, helping to renovate a school in Tidewater Virginia Monday, expressed amazement with a cordless electric drill?

"I told [Hillary] now that I'm a homeowner, I'd better get one of these," an obviously impressed Mr. Clinton beamed. "I've never seen one."

Rewind to 1982, when President George Bush was battling Mr. Clinton for a second term. Visiting a supermarket, Mr. Bush slid a quart of milk, a light bulb and a bag of candy across the checkout scanner, watching as the name and price appeared on the screen.

"This is for checking out?" a wide-eyed Mr. Bush inquired.

Reporters rushed to their computers. Within minutes, the world was informed in no small print that Mr. Bush was so out of touch with technology that he considered a grocery store's bar-code scanner to be an innovation.

Even when the next White House Correspondents' Association dinner rolled around, comedian Paula Poundstone still had everybody laughing about the "grocery-store incident."

In reality, as every White House reporter knows, presidents don't dash to the grocery every time they need a quart of milk any more than they reach for a tool box when a screw is loose.

Gifts and such

The phone rang on Labor Day, when most people were on vaca-

tion.

On the line was Don Alexander, commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service under Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter. Terror shot through our body.

There's no way we could retrieve all those lunch receipts from Mr. Carter's last year of malaise, when car-loan interest rates were so high — 18 percent — we instructed H&R Block to write that off as a business expense, too.

Mr. Alexander, we knew, would be calling sooner or later.

"I think there's a substantial tax issue involved," he begins, "with the 'little' help the Clintons got from McAuliffe."

So it was President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and their extraordinary \$1.35 million home-loan guarantee from Clinton-Gore (and now Hillary) fund-raiser Terry McAuliffe, that Mr. Alexander was inquiring about.

"The tax angle that people have been ignoring in this wonderful thing McAuliffe is doing for Mr. and Mrs. Clinton," he says, "is that McAuliffe faces a gift-tax issue, and a serious one."

He explained in textbook-detail tax codes surrounding loan guarantees like Mr. McAuliffe's, paint-

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McGaslin



President Bush was satirized about his unfamiliarity with grocery bar-code scanners.

ing a far different impression than the one unveiled at the White House last week.

Pointing out it was under no obligation to discuss Mr. McAuliffe's role in the financial transaction, the White House saw fit anyway to explain that the 42-

year-old Democratic fund-raiser, real estate developer and golfing buddy of Mr. Clinton wasn't actually giving any money to the first family.

Instead, the White House explained, Mr. McAuliffe was merely depositing \$1.35 million with Bankers Trust Co. for a five-year term. And despite legal debts approaching \$5 million, the Clintons, the White House said, would pay \$350,000 toward their new \$1.7 million, 5,232-square-foot home (Mr. Clinton says his wife wanted someplace airy) in Westchester County, N.Y., at an adjustable-rate mortgage now at 5.50 percent.

Finally, the White House was assured by the Office of Government Ethics that Mr. McAuliffe's loan guarantee was not a "gift," which the Clintons would need to report on annual financial-disclosure forms. Rather, the guarantee was merely a promise for the future with no current cash benefit.

To the contrary, Mr. Alexander opines.

"The guarantee certainly has a cash benefit," he says, adding that the White House is "applying a set of rules that is unrealistic [and] that have little, if any, bear-

ing on how these transactions should be treated for tax purposes."

Says Mr. Alexander: "The issue is, assuming Mr. McAuliffe is doing this [purely] for generosity, which perhaps is doubtful, that he's made a gift to the Clintons equal to the value of the cost of getting the equivalent secured guarantee from a third party, like a commercial surety."

"And that would be pretty darn expensive," he says of the gift tax Mr. McAuliffe perhaps faces. "The rates start pretty high, 37 percent."

PHOTOCOPY
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Hillary aide cries foul on Arafat ad

Blames Giuliani, calls it 'an outrage'

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

A spokesman for Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate exploratory committee said yesterday he believes New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is behind a new political ad that shows Mrs. Clinton embracing the wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

The ad, sponsored by a group called the Republican Jewish Coalition, is slated to debut in New York today. The coalition will spend \$50,000 to air the spot, which was seen by a national audience yesterday on ABC's "This Week."

The ad shows Mrs. Clinton and Suha Arafat together during the first lady's recent trip to the Middle East. A narrator says:

"With Hillary Clinton at her side, Suha Arafat made the false

and disgraceful claim that Israel was poisoning Palestinian women and children with toxic gases. Instead of reacting with outrage, Hillary Clinton sat by silently. When Arafat was finished, Hillary gave her a hug and a kiss. It's sad. While Israel sacrifices for peace, Arafat spreads hatred and lies, and Hillary embraces her. Tell Hillary Clinton, 'Stand up for Israel. Stand up for truth.'"

"This ad is an outrage," Howard Wolfson, spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's committee, said on the ABC show yesterday. "New Yorkers are accustomed to the negative campaigning of Rudy Giuliani and his team, but this is really a very low blow."

Mr. Wolfson charged there "are clear connections between the mayor and this organization."

He said he's not implying any inappropriate coordination. "What I'm saying is that these are the mayor's ads in all but effect, and he ought to take them down."

The new ads are the latest in a series of setbacks for Mrs. Clinton's unofficial bid for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat.

On Saturday, New York City Councilwoman Ronnie Eldridge, a Democrat who represents the Upper West Side of Manhattan, called Mrs. Clinton the "weakest candidate" and urged her to stay out of the race.

Yesterday, a headline in the New York Post screamed, "Hillary, Don't Run." The newspaper reported a new poll that found that 53 percent of New Yorkers believe she shouldn't.

While many are growing impatient for Mrs. Clinton to declare her intentions, Mr. Wolfson yesterday refused to state categorically that she plans to run.

"I know that a lot of Republicans are hoping that she won't run because they know that she will be a very formidable candidate. I've got news for them. This campaign is moving full steam ahead," he said, adding:

"Hillary has spent the entire summer and the fall traveling around the state. She's gone to 35 counties — I suspect some places the mayor couldn't even find on a map — and she is committed to New York. She's committed to New Yorkers. And when she makes a commitment, she sticks to it."

Asked if that means Mrs. Clinton is definitely going to run, Mr. Wolfson said, "I'm not going to make any announcement for her. But I can tell you and reassure all New Yorkers that we are moving full steam ahead."

Mrs. Clinton's supporters point out that Republicans are also in the dark as to Mr. Giuliani's political intentions. Like Mrs. Clinton, he has not yet officially declared himself a U.S. Senate candidate.

On ABC, Mr. Wolfson was asked about reports that Mrs. Clinton has already named a campaign manager.

"Well, I expect we'll have some sort of official announcement within a week or so. Perhaps a couple of weeks. I know that there's been some talk about whether we should hire a manager, who our manager should be," he said.

The Wolfson interview was followed by observations of 12 persons who made up a focus group from Westchester County, a New York suburb where the Clintons have bought a home and which is known for swing voters.

"Divided between men and women, Democrats, Republicans and independents, these New Yorkers are classic ticket-splitters. A majority voted for both Bill Clinton in '96 and Republican Al D'Amato for Senate in '98. Looking ahead, four favor Rudy, four Hillary, four are undecided. All say they could change their minds. But their ambivalence is not apathy. It's rooted in intense feelings," said George Stephanopoulos, the former Clinton aide turned ABC News reporter who presented the segment.

Opinions of Mrs. Clinton included everything from "liar" and "sneaky" to "classy" and "courageous." Mr. Giuliani was described as "great," "tough," "effective," "pigheaded," and, in one case, "a slob."

Colombia surrenders suspected drug boss

By Jaime Acosta
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

BOGOTA, Colombia — The suspected head of a heroin smuggling mob was rushed aboard a U.S. plane in Bogota amid tight security yesterday to become the first Colombian extradited to stand trial in the United States in nine years, authorities said.

Jaime Orlando Lara, arrested in Bogota late last year, was whisked by helicopter from a police barracks in the south of the capital to the police airport early yesterday morning.

Colombia banned the extradition of its citizens in 1991 after Pablo Escobar, the kingpin of the notorious Medellin drug cartel, waged a bloody campaign of bombings, kidnappings and mur-

ders. The last Colombian was sent to the United States for trial in late 1990.

But Congress lifted the ban in December 1997 after intense U.S. pressure, which included blacklisting Colombia for failing to cooperate in the international fight against drug trafficking.

"The national government took the decision to authorize the extradition of Colombian citizen Jaime Orlando Lara Nausa." In accordance with that decision, we have today transferred that person to the United States," senior police commander Gen. Ismael Trujillo told reporters minutes after Mr. Lara's departure.

In Washington, national drug policy director Barry McCaffrey

issued a statement saying Colombian President Andres Pastrana "must be commended for his courage and dedication."

"Today's action will send a powerful and helpful signal," Mr. McCaffrey said. "Colombia faces a severe crisis, with coca cultivation doubling in three years and with the nation becoming a major heroin exporter to the U.S. The United States government is committed to supporting Colombia counter-narcotics effort."

Mr. Lara, head bowed and handcuffed, was led about 100 yards across the runway to a waiting Drug Enforcement Administration aircraft under the watchful gaze of more than 50 heavily armed Colombian police.

An armor-plated police truck escorted the plane a short distance as it began taxiing for takeoff. The aircraft was believed to be headed for Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

If convicted in a U.S. court, Mr. Lara faces a much stiffer sentence — including the possibility of multiple life terms — than in Colom-

bia, where penalties for drug trafficking are still relatively lenient.

A New York federal court requested Mr. Lara's extradition, shortly after his capture, on charges of trafficking heroin to the United States. U.S. authorities have so far requested the extradition of some 50 suspected Colombian drug smugglers since the end of the constitutional ban on the practice.

Colombia's highest court approved the request two weeks ago, and Mr. Pastrana and a handful of his Cabinet members met late Saturday to reject a final appeal by Mr. Lara's lawyers.

Colombian officials never said what quantity of heroin Mr. Lara is believed to have shipped to the United States.

Colombia is currently estimated to produce 6 tons of high-grade heroin a year, much of which is destined to cities on the U.S. east coast. The DEA also estimates Colombia is responsible for 80 percent of the world cocaine supply.

Gen. Trujillo declined to comment on the possible threat that the country's violent drug gangs could launch a wave of bomb attacks in retaliation for the resurrection of extradition.

Traffickers, led by Escobar, waged a virtual war against the state in the late 1980s and early 1990s in a successful bid to ban the practice under the slogan, "We prefer a tomb in Colombia than a jail cell in the United States."

Ten days ago, a powerful car bomb exploded in northern Bogota, killing seven persons and injuring dozens more. Police said drug traffickers or Marxist rebels may have been to blame for the blast.

WASHINGTON

McCain to use medical records to quell rumors

Republican presidential candidate John McCain said Sunday that he will release hundreds of pages of medical records this week to show that his more than five years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam did not leave him psychologically unfit to be president.

The move follows a reported whispering campaign by fellow Republicans who say he is unstable and does not have the temperament to lead the country.

"I'm sure the American people will view my passionate advocacy as simply that," the Arizona Senator told CBS News. "Sure, I get angry. I got angry at this last bill that we just passed, that really is such an outrageous waste of taxpayers' money," he said of the final budget bill Congress passed last week.

McCain has been running as an outsider who opposes many positions of the Republican congressional leadership, particularly on campaign finance issues and the budget.

N.Y. SENATE RACE: A slight majority of New Yorkers don't want first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for the state's Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, according to a Zogby poll

for the New York Post. It found that 53% of those surveyed said she should not run; 45% said she should.

Sentiment among the politically important independent group was 62%-37% against her running.

The likely Republican candidate, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has a 7-point lead over Clinton, 50%-43%. A month ago, his margin was 11 percentage points.

Clinton has been conducting a "listening tour" to familiarize herself with New York and the issues there. Her



In Italy: Hillary Rodham Clinton shopped Sunday in Florence.

campaign has hit some stumbles, particularly on ethnic and religious issues. Some prominent Democrats are questioning her candidacy or are themselves considering jumping into the race. Among them is the Rev. Al Sharpton, an African-American activist who said this weekend that if Clinton does not declare by January, he would likely announce his candidacy.

One of the latest Democrats to say Clinton should drop out is New York City Councilwoman Ronnie Eldridge. "She's the weakest candidate," Eldridge said. "She should reconsider her candidacy."

Clinton reportedly has decided on veteran New York political campaigner Bill de Blasio to run her campaign. An announcement is expected in a few weeks. De Blasio heads the New York office of the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

POLLS: Vice President Gore holds an 18-point lead over former senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey, 52%-34%, in a *Los Angeles Times* national poll of Democrats for the party's presidential nomination. Among Republicans, Texas Gov. George W. Bush had a 46-point advantage, 59%-13%, over his nearest rival, Sen. John McCain of Arizona.

► A *Newsweek* poll had similar results: Gore leading Bradley by 22 points, 49%-27%, and Bush ahead of McCain 62%-13%. In possible general election matchups, Bush led Gore 49%-43% and Bush was ahead of Bradley 49%-41%.

► California, whose 54 electoral votes make it the biggest prize in the presidential contest, is a tossup between Bush and Gore, according to a *San Francisco Examiner/KTVU* poll. The California survey also found that conservative commentator Pat Buchanan, who left the GOP to join the Reform Party, was disliked by 58%, more than any other candidate.

► New York developer Donald Trump has some building to do on his image among people in his state if he's to have any chance as a Reform Party presidential candidate. A Siena College Research Institute poll of New Yorkers found that 89% said they would not consider voting for Trump; 10% said they would consider backing him.

EARLY PRIMARIES: It is "fundamentally wrong" and unfair for Iowa and New Hampshire to lead off the presidential nominating process every four years, Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., told the Democratic Party rules committee Saturday. "Why should two states have this kind of impact?" he asked as the panel held the first of four hearings into possible changes in the political calendar for 2004. Proponents of having the two small states hold the first contests say it helps level the playing field for little-known and underfunded candidates. New Hampshire Gov. Jeanne Shaheen cited the 1976 race when Jimmy Carter, a relatively unknown governor from Georgia, sought the nomination. "Because he won New Hampshire, he was able to take his message to the rest of the nation," she said.

The Democratic Party allows only Iowa and New Hampshire to hold caucuses or primaries before March 7. The Republican Party does not impose such limits, and states have crowded the GOP calendar with many February elections or caucuses.

► Sixteen Democrats and 14 Republicans filed for a spot on the New Hampshire primary ballot by Friday's deadline. That's 15 fewer candidates than in 1996. Among the lesser-knowns is filmmaker Jim Taylor of St. Paul, Minn., who will go home with the makings of a documentary. "There is a whole circus element that most people are unaware of," he said of the nation's first primary of 2000.

STARR FUTURE: Former independent counsel Ken Starr would take a 60% pay cut if he decides to return to his old law firm, an indication that his former partners doubt his ability to recruit new clients, *The New Yorker* magazine says. It says the job offer at Kirkland & Ellis is about \$800,000 and includes a prohibition on giving speeches.



By Linda Spillers. AP

Shaheen: N.H. primary helps level playing field.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

Tax trusts might not be worthy

Shady shelters proliferating, IRS reports

By Tom Lowry
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — The come-on is often an invitation to a weekend seminar in a sun-splashed Caribbean locale or a patriotic pitch promising to make you a "free and sovereign individual."

But the real enticement is always the same: lowering your tax bill by moving assets into a trust.

Criminal investigators say buying into shady trust pitches could land taxpayers in jail.

The promotion and use of illegal trusts to avoid paying taxes is one of the fastest-growing crimes on the Internal Revenue Service's radar screen.

"These are the tax shelters of the late 1990s," says Rick Speier, a deputy assistant commissioner in the IRS' criminal division.

"Abusive trust schemes are the largest area of white-collar crime now under investigation."

And the trusts aren't just for the super-rich anymore.

Trust promoters, using hotel seminars, the Internet and ads in newspapers and airline magazines, are targeting regular wage earners and small-business owners flush from the robust economy and weary of fat tax bills.

Prosecutors say promoters use clients eager to share testimonials in an "Amway-like," multi-tiered marketing system to sell trusts to taxpayers.

The IRS' criminal division is declaring war on those trust promoters, who are often lawyers and accountants.

Such trusts also have been connected to the fringe, anti-government element with promotions on some militia Web sites.

Cottage industry

"There's an entire cottage industry that caters to the patriot and militia movements, selling them good-sounding, but unsound, financial packages, including trusts," says Irvine, Calif., asset protection lawyer Jay Addisson.

He is considered one of the most vocal watchdogs of illegal trusts and edits a Web site pointing out scams and "traps" — www.quatloos.com.

"These illegal trusts are proliferat-

ing faster than the IRS can go after them. Tens of thousands are set up a year," Addisson says.

Despite the IRS crackdown, some people who paid promoters thousands of dollars in fees to set up trusts still believe the promoters did nothing wrong.

Eight years ago, Vernon Eaton, a real estate agent and former dairy farmer from Askov, Minn., bought a trust from promoters Glenn Rois and Faye Reinke.

"This was a way for us to pass down our assets to others," Eaton says. "We heard about them through word-of-mouth here."

In August, Rois and Reinke were indicted on charges they conspired to defraud the IRS.

Prosecutors say that between 1988 and 1996, Rois and Reinke told clients that trusts were separate entities and allowed taxpayers to claim the trusts actually earned income, rather than an individual or business.

They also said clients could deduct all their living expenses, including food, clothing, lodging and vacations, because they were managing the trusts, the indictment says.

"Glenn never mentioned that the trusts were a tax advantage," Eaton says. "I still don't think anything they did was wrong or illegal."

Rois and Reinke have pleaded not guilty and are scheduled to go to trial in January.

No one who purchased the trusts from Rois and Reinke was charged.

"I have no faith in the IRS after seeing what they've done to Glenn and Faye in this case," Eaton says.

Driven by greed

While there is no precise estimate of how much illegal trusts cost the government in lost tax revenue, Justice Department officials say the cases they've prosecuted show just how greedy people get about evading taxes.

"This isn't just people using trusts to reduce their tax bills by 10%. They're reducing their tax liability by 90%," says Paula Junghans, deputy assistant attorney general, who oversees Justice Department tax lawyers investigating illegal trusts.

"To avoid detection, we find people being told to put trusts in their child's name or even their dog's name."

The IRS says there is no income tax advantage to trusts, even with legitimate trusts that are set up for estate planning.

"There's absolutely no legal basis to save on your taxes using a trust," says John Buchanan, the IRS' national trust coordinator.

"The average Joe on the street might not know that. And that's scary to us."

"Trust promoters are targeting average Joes now."

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USA TODAY - TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1999 - 9A

WASHINGTON

CIA budget does not have to be disclosed

The federal government does not have to disclose what it spends on intelligence activities, a federal judge ruled Monday in dismissing a lawsuit.

The Federation of American Scientists sought the information, noting that President Clinton supported disclosure in 1997 and 1998, when the spending was \$26.6 billion and \$26.7 billion. Judge Thomas Hogan, however, said the president can keep the data secret.

CIA Director George Tenet cited national security in refusing to publicize the total. He argued that releasing a third consecutive year of numbers would disclose too much information that U.S. adversaries could analyze to determine budget trends and possible changes in intelligence programs. The intelligence budget, sometimes called "black" spending, is scattered through dozens of departments and programs in the federal budget to hide it from public scrutiny.

MILLENNIUM BUG: Some federal agencies still have work remaining to ensure that their computers don't fall victim to the Year 2000 computer glitch known as Y2K, the chairman of a House technology panel said. Rep. Stephen Horn, R-Calif., said that of 24 major federal agencies he has tracked, 12 have completed preparations and eight have fixed their computers but still lack testing. He said the departments of Defense, Justice, Treasury and Health and Human Services need to convert some crucial systems.



Horn: Trying to avert a Y2K crisis

The report also found that of 43 major federal programs, doubts remain about 18, including child nutrition, food safety, food stamps, low-income energy assistance, Medicaid, public housing and air traffic control. Many are run by state or local governments.

Y2K refers to problems that could arise because some older computers and software recognize only two digits in dates and could mistake 00 for 1900 instead of 2000.

GOOD TIMES: The fiscal 1999 federal budget surplus was larger than previously estimated. The Treasury Department said the surplus hit \$123.6 billion, or \$907 million higher than reported last month. The change was attributed to less spending than anticipated. And the first month of fiscal 2000, which began Oct. 1, resulted in a \$27 billion budget deficit, 17% smaller than a year ago. The Clinton administration is predicting a \$142.5 billion surplus for all of 2000.

SMOKING LAWSUIT: Ukraine is the first European country to sue U.S. tobacco companies. Its lawsuit filed Friday in U.S. District Court in Washington argues that it was deceived about the dangers of smoking. Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Thailand and Bolivia filed similar suits last year. They want to recover money spent on smoking-related illnesses. The U.S. government filed a multibillion-dollar suit last month. "These are legal companies engaged in legal commerce of a legal product," industry spokesman Scott Williams says.

—Wendy Koch

Liberian wins Kennedy award



By Stephen Jaffe, Agence France-Presse

Winning ways: Liberian human rights activist Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis receives the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award from Ethel Kennedy. The award is given to those who stand up to oppression.

APACHE COPTERS: The Army is hastening replacement of motor bearings on its Apache attack helicopters in order to return the fleet to service by early summer. It had expected as many as half of the 743 Boeing-built AH-64 helicopters to be grounded for up to a year. Dozens of the copters have been returned to service since the Army said on Nov. 5 that many had bad tail rotor bearings. A crash in January at Fort Rucker, Ala., that killed two crewmen was blamed on bad bearings.

HACKER SENTENCED: A 19-year-old computer hacker, who altered the White House's Web site last May, was sentenced Friday in U.S. District Court to 15 months in prison and three years probation. Eric Burns, who used the hacker name "Zyklon," also won't be allowed to touch a computer for three years after his release. Burns initially was indicted on charges of breaking into U.S. Information Agency computers.

NAME GAME: Congress is continuing its practice of naming federal buildings after living people, including members of Congress. Recent legislation would name a new space intelligence center at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama for Senate Intelligence Chairman Richard Shelby, R-Ala., and a new federal courthouse in Phoenix would be named for Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, a longtime Arizona resident.

N.Y. SENATE RACE: The Republican Jewish Coalition is running a TV ad that criticizes Hillary Rodham Clinton, the likely Democratic Senate candidate from New York, for embracing the wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat after she accused Israelis of using poison gas on Palestinians.

The ad says that during Clinton's trip to the Middle East, she "sat by silently" during Arafat's speech. "When Arafat was finished, Hillary gave her a hug and a kiss," the ad says. "Arafat spreads hatred and lies, and Hillary embraces her."

Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson blamed the ad on New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate for Senate. But Bruce Teitelbaum, a Giuliani adviser, said they had nothing to do with it. The coalition's Matthew Brooks said the group has not talked to Giuliani's people about the ad.

Republicans, meanwhile, said state Sen. Carl Kruger, a Jewish Democratic lawmaker from Brooklyn, was so upset over the Clinton-Arafat encounter that he plans to endorse Giuliani today.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports



FILE PHOTO/REUTERS



BY DIANA WALKER



FILE PHOTO



FILE PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS



FILE PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Will she or won't she? Should or shouldn't? Views from, from left, Mario Cuomo, Mickey Kaus, Ed Koch, Donald Trump and George Stephanopoulos.

The Source's Exciting Hillary Panel

Is she running—or just listening? And if she's listening, does **Hillary Rodham Clinton** hear that giant kvetching sound? The still-unannounced candidate, who once was supposed to glide into a Senate seat over New York Mayor **Rudolph Giuliani**'s prostrate body, has been taking some knocks lately from fellow Democrats and plummeting poll numbers. Which makes us wonder: Is she really in the race, or is she trifling with the voters? Why hasn't she announced? Is it too late to change her mind? The Source consulted some world-class kibitzers: cyber-pundit **Mickey Kaus**, presidential sort-of contender **Donald Trump**, former New York governor **Mario Cuomo**, talking head and ex-Clinton aide **George Stephanopoulos** and former New York City mayor **Ed Koch**.

■ **Kaus**: "She's done more than put her toe in the water—she's taken the full mud bath, and she can't get out without losing a lot of face. Once she was perceived as a great candidate. Now it seems clear that she's humorless and has a political deaf ear. By not announcing, she seems to be trying to reserve all her options. That's what's so annoying about her. She never says anything that's not absolutely



FILE PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

necessary for her to say. Her words are always overcalculated and embalmed in strategy and euphemism."

■ **Trump**: "I think she may feel a little differently than she felt four months ago. New York is a tough place, and Rudy has been the best mayor New York City has ever had. If she

gets out now, she'll take a hit for one day and then a week later everybody will forget about it. It would be a lot better than running and losing. By the way, she's a fine woman—a *very fine* woman. . . . What I mean is, she's a fine person."

■ **Stephanopoulos**: "It's been a dismal fall—but better *this* November than next November. Is there anybody who thinks she's *not* running? Whether she decides not to run now or she formally withdraws, it's a distinction without a difference. Either way, it beats losing."

■ **Cuomo**: "My gut tells me she's running. I can't think of a rationale that would make the case for her not to run at this point. She has never said anything or done anything to indicate she wouldn't run. But she has not yet made the case for running—and that case is very important." What about Housing and Urban Development Secretary **Andrew Cuomo** running instead? "Now you're talking about something I can sink my teeth into!"

■ **Koch**: "I believe she *must* run. Otherwise, she will look silly." Okay, put your money where your mouth is and bet us \$5 that she'll run! "Well, I'm not one for betting, but, sure, I'll bet you five bucks. Better yet, let's bet dinner. I say she runs, you say she doesn't." It's a deal.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

Thomas B. Edsall

No Room for Log Cabin in Bush's Big Tent?

By refusing to meet with the Log Cabin Republicans, Texas Gov. **George W. Bush** is violating his claim to support inclusive approaches to politics and governing, leaders of the gay group charged yesterday.

"Bush is not living up to the image of an inclusive candidate that his campaign has been pushing," said **Rich Tafel**, the club's executive director. "He meets with scores of groups, including the Christian Coalition, and lectures the Republican Party on the importance of reaching out to minority groups like Latinos and African Americans, and now says he won't meet with gays because we are a 'group.'"

The dispute grows out of Bush's Sunday appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press." When asked if he would meet with the Log Cabin group, the Republican presidential front-runner said "probably not," adding, "I am someone who is a uniter, not a divider. I don't believe in group thought, pitting one group against another. And all that does is create kind of a huge political, you know, nightmare for people."

Tafel said that when Bush argued a meeting would create "a political nightmare for people," he could only "be referring to . . . those on the far right that his campaign is busy claiming Bush is not captive to. This raises the most difficult questions for moderate Republican elected officials who have endorsed Bush."

Arizona Sen. **John McCain** has met with the Log Cabin Republicans, and **Kevin Ivers**, the organization's director of public affairs, said Steve Forbes has agreed to a meeting.

Clinton Camp Blames Giuliani for Jewish Group's Attack Ad

Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign is holding New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** responsible for a television ad that attacks—some might say, mocks—the first lady for sitting silently as **Suha Arafat**, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, charged that Israel had poisoned Palestinian women and children with toxic gas.

The ad, which began airing yesterday in New York and Washington, is paid for by the Republican Jewish Coalition.

"These ads make it clear that the mayor and his allies are going to run the same kind of campaign they always have—negative and nasty," said **Howard Wolfson**, spokesman for Clinton's Senate exploratory committee. He demanded that Giuliani "take them off the air immediately," claiming the mayor was associated with the coalition.

Bruce Teitelbaum, an adviser to the Republican mayor, told the Associated Press that Giuliani and his team "have nothing whatsoever to do with the ad that's currently running." But he added: "They have to realize there are a lot of people around the country upset with Mrs. Clinton's reaction or lack of reaction to Mrs. Arafat's comments. And, they have to accept that there are people who are going to respond and do ads like this."

The executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition, **Matthew Brooks**, said yesterday that "we have not communicated, discussed, coordinated or in any way talked to the Giuliani campaign about this ad."

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

PHOTOGRAPH

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1999

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Does Hillary Agree with Suha?

Has anyone considered the possibility that Hillary Clinton actually agrees with Suha Arafat?

We ask this question in light of the way Hillary Clinton's campaign mouthpiece sputtered indignantly on Sunday about a new television commercial that criticizes the first lady's recent West Bank debacle.

"An outrage," Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson called it. But why? It's entirely accurate. Here's what the Republican Jewish Coalition ad says: "With Hillary Clinton at her side, Suha Arafat made the false and disgraceful claim that Israel was poisoning Palestinian women and children with toxic gases. Instead of reacting with outrage, Hillary Clinton sat by silently. When Arafat was finished, Hillary gave her a hug and a kiss."

That's exactly what happened. And the commercial doesn't even note that to this moment Mrs. Clinton has not specifically contradicted the monstrous lies uttered by Yasser Arafat's wife. In her broadly worded reaction hours later, Hillary merely called on all sides to refrain from "inflammatory rhetoric and baseless accusations" — including Israel, whose leaders have made no such accusations.

Why won't Mrs. Clinton specifically denounce Suha Arafat's language? Maybe Wolfson is angry because he knows Mrs. Clinton is vulnerable on this score. And maybe she's vulnerable because some of the people she trusts on the matter of Israeli-Palestinian relations endorse Mrs. Arafat's charges.

Indeed, many Israelis and Americans who opposed the previous Israeli government led by Benjamin Netanyahu accused it of near-genocidal conduct toward the Palestinians. Thus, hearing Mrs. Arafat charge Israel with intentionally seeking to poison Palestinian women and children might not even have been anything all that new for Hillary, whose ties to the peace-at-any-price movement are longstanding.

Indeed, in the wake of last week's incident the Village Voice ran a story repeating many of those same charges under the headline, "Suha Arafat Was Right."

No, she wasn't. She was just continuing a pattern of libelous accusation by Palestinians against Israel. Over the past few years, according to a list compiled by the Zionist Organization of America, the Palestinian Authority has formally accused Israel of: injecting 300 Palestinian children with AIDS; "distributing food containing material that causes cancer and hormones that harm male virility"; smuggling into Palestinian areas chocolate "infected with mad-cow disease"; flooding the PA with food products "unfit for human consumption" in order to "spread disease, debility and slow death in the Palestinian body," and using the Palestinians "and their lands for their [chemical] experiments."

These lies have been largely ignored by the news media and by Hillary's pro-Palestinian allies on the Left. It's time for her to denounce them. Until she does, New Yorkers should take Mrs. Clinton's silence as a quiet assent.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1999

B'klyn Dem: I'm backing Rudy

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and DAVID SEIFMAN

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton today returns to the campaign trail after a two-week absence — and faces rebellion within Democratic ranks as a state lawmaker is set to jump on Mayor Giuliani's bandwagon.

State Sen. Carl Kruger (D-Brooklyn) has scheduled a news conference at City Hall, where he will announce he is crossing party lines to endorse Giuliani for the U.S. Senate, Kruger's spokesman confirmed.

Representing a heavily Jewish district, Kruger was said to be disgusted by Clinton's handling of Yasser Arafat's wife who, in front of the first lady, accused Israel of gassing Palestinians, sources said.

"That's the kicker to this — not only is it very early in the race for endorsements, but Kruger is doing this because of what Hillary Clinton did in

the Middle East," said a Republican source.

Kruger, who previously endorsed Giuliani, a Republican, during his run for mayor, could not be reached for comment.

While not well known outside his district, Kruger is the first Democrat to officially back Giuliani, who, like Clinton, hasn't yet announced his candidacy. Kruger is not expected to be the last.

Giuliani and the Republicans are keeping up a drumbeat of attacks on Clinton over her flub with Suha Arafat nearly two weeks ago, trying to whittle away the first lady's already-trepid support in the Jewish community.

A Post poll Sunday showed Clinton leading Giuliani among Jews, 48 percent to 42 percent, but experts said the first lady needs at least two-thirds of the Jewish vote to win next year.

Hitting the campaign trail again,

Clinton will appear before a friendly crowd — the United Federation of Teachers, which supports her. She also will hold a news conference.

The first lady, who has been traveling in the Middle East and Europe for much of the last two weeks, has not stumped in New York since Nov. 7.

While she was gone, top Democratic leaders, including state party Chairwoman Judith Hope and state Comptroller Carl McCall, called on Clinton to declare her candidacy soon, move in to her Westchester County home and launch a full-scale campaign effort.

Some Democratic officials have said privately that they are fearful Clinton may pull out of the race, dashing Democrats' hopes of beating Giuliani and leaving the party in a shambles.

Does Hill agree with Suha? / Editorial: Page 38

POLITICS

Thomas B. Edsall

Reform Party's Odd Couple: Fulani and Buchanan

Lenora Fulani, whose roots run deep in radical, left-wing politics, yesterday endorsed the Reform Party candidacy of conservative **Patrick J. Buchanan** in one of the most bizarre political marriages in recent memory.

"In traditional political terms, Pat Buchanan stands for all the things that black progressives such as myself revile," Fulani told a packed Washington news conference.

Fulani, who has been aligned with **Louis Farrakhan**, said she has formed an alliance with Buchanan "because we have a common interest in overthrowing the traditional political terms. Like Pat, I am a controversial figure in American politics. We both like a good fight."

Buchanan called Fulani's support "a giant step toward the nomination" and described her as "a tremendous force in the Reform Party." She will also co-chair his campaign, and her supporters could be a big help in garnering the signatures required to get Buchanan on the ballot in the 30 states that do not give the Reform Party a ballot line.

Fulani and Buchanan disagree on almost all substantive issues, including abortion, gay rights, affirmative action and defense policy. Though Fulani said "Pat Buchanan couldn't be more politically incorrect," she added that he "is not a racist or a fascist or a bigot. He is not a hater."

Referring to Buchanan's portrayal of his supporters as a pitchfork-carrying peasant

army, Fulani said, "We're going to integrate that peasant army of his. We're going to bring black folks and Latino folks and gay folks and liberal folks into that army."

Giuliani on the Clintons' 'Art Form'

New York City Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** took his first swipe at the financing of a Democratic Party ad promoting the candidacy of his expected Senate rival next year, first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**.

"The use of soft money has been turned into an art form by Clintons," he told reporters, referring not only to the new pro-Hillary spot but also to President Clinton's role in launching a multimillion-dollar ad campaign that promoted his 1996 reelection using unlimited "soft money" contributions.

"Very often, the finger is pointed at Republicans," he said, "but there's nothing like what was done in the last Clinton presidential campaign—money from China, money from elsewhere, money raised on telephones in the White House."

The New York contest between two celebrity candidates has become the site of the first air war of the 2000 Senate elections. Giuliani started it a week ago, but he's paying for his ads with his campaign funds, while the pro-Clinton spot that started this week is being funded by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Yesterday, Giuliani unveiled a second ad

promoting his "compassion"—an echo of GOP front-runner **George W. Bush's** "compassionate conservatism." While the hard-nosed mayor hasn't been known for his softer side, the ad extols the city's welfare-to-work program as an example of "the compassion that leads to freedom."

Forbes to Go National With Ads

For months, rival GOP campaigns have been wondering when **Steve Forbes** would start spending some of his personal fortune on a sustained advertising blitz, and whether such ads would be negative. The answers: Next week, and sort of.

The publisher will launch a series of issue-oriented spots, not just in Iowa and New Hampshire but nationally on cable news networks. Forbes aides stress that the commercials will not be the type of negative ads he used in 1996 to rough up **Robert J. Dole**. But in the first such salvo of the 2000 campaign, some of the ads will criticize Bush for alleged vagueness on various issues.

"The ads will clearly define in detail where Steve Forbes is on the issues and draw a question as to where Mr. Bush stands, or whether he's taken a position," said Forbes spokesman **Greg Mueller**. "Once we go up on the air next week, we are not coming down."

Staff writers Susan B. Glasser and Howard Kurtz contributed to this report.

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1999

PHOTOGRAPHY
RESERVE

First lady's 'day job' may become liability, N.Y. Democrat says

By Marc Humbert
The Associated Press

ALBANY, N.Y. — Reacting to the political fallout from Hillary Rodham Clinton's Middle East trip, the head of the New York Democratic Party said Monday that "maybe she has to give up her day job" to concentrate more on her Senate race.

Clinton has been raising money and campaigning across New York for months in anticipation of next year's U.S. Senate race, which is expected to pit her against New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. She and President Clinton have bought a house in Chappaqua, in suburban Westchester County, to meet New York's residency requirement.

State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope said, however, that there is "increasing awareness that there is an incompatibility" between being first lady and running a Senate campaign.



Hope: State party chief cites 'incompatibility' of two roles.

"I think many of the challenges are borne of this problem of trying to wear two hats," the state party leader said. "Increasingly, it's obvious that that is very problematic and needs to be addressed."

"Of course, you can't just quit" as first lady, "but somehow, some kind of mechanism needs to be found to enable her to be a candidate," Hope said.

"Maybe she needs to put a cot in that house in Chappaqua and move in," Hope said, adding with a laugh, "She may have to give her all for New York. We're a demanding group."

During a visit last week to the West Bank of the Jordan River, Clinton got into hot water for sitting silently as Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's wife, Suha, accused Israeli forces of using "poison gas . . . which has led to an increase of cancer cases among Palestinian women and children." Clinton subsequently embraced Suha Arafat.

With New York's substantial Jewish vote, the controversy left Republicans smiling and the Clinton camp talking about the different demands on a first lady and on a Senate candidate.

"She is making the transition from full-time first lady to Senate candidate, and I expect that next year, she will devote the vast majority of her time, resources and energy to running for Senate," Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

The first lady isn't expected to formally declare her candidacy until next year. Giuliani also hasn't declared, but has been campaigning for months. Recent polls have shown Clinton's early lead over Giuliani vanishing. A Quinnipiac College Poll out last week had the mayor ahead for the first time, 47% to 42%. The survey's margin of error was +/- 3 percentage points.

Members Worrying a Bit About First Lady's Bid

By Rachel Van Dongen

Several House Democrats from the Empire State last week joined two prominent New York Democrats in calling for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) to immediately move to New York and formally toss her hat into the Senate ring.

After a week of bad press and slipping poll numbers, some New York Democrats expressed growing fear that the first lady will not follow through on her plans to mount a Senate campaign.

"Unfortunately, there is no campaign and I guess that's more than anything else what concerns Democrats," said Rep. Charlie Rangel (D-N.Y.), an early booster of a Clinton Senate candidacy. "It can be said many ways, but

sooner or later she has to devote herself to her candidacy and not being first lady."

Rep. Jose Serrano (D-N.Y.), who withdrew support for Clinton after she opposed a deal to grant clemency to 16 Puerto Rican nationalists, described an "air of despair" among Democrats over the state of the first lady's campaign.

"It's not a matter of people saying she should not run, it's a matter of people saying that she might not run," Serrano said. "It's beginning to become an issue. We would have to scramble quickly to find a candidate."

Echoed Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y.), "I think the time has really come to do this. I'm confident that she's going to run, but there are some

Continued on page 10



Photo by Ian Wägreich

First lady Hillary Clinton doesn't plan to announce until January or February.

PHOTOCOPY
SERVATION

Democrats Share Concerns About Clinton's Senate Bid

Continued from page 9

people that are not and I think that's hurtful." Serrano explained that colleagues had begun to jokingly approach Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), the Westchester Congresswoman who spent months stocking her war chest in preparation for a Senate bid in the event that Clinton did not run.

"Everyone on the House floor is always kidding her, saying, 'You've got to get ready to run,'" Serrano said.

But Lowey denied she was reconsidering running for Senate, and said the first lady would be the Democratic nominee in the race to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

"She will run. She's committed to running," the Congresswoman said. "And I'm going to continue to work to make [House Minority Leader] Dick Gephardt [D-Mo.] the Speaker."

New York Democratic Party Chairwoman Judith Hope and state Comptroller Carl McCall (D) last week began urging Clinton to establish New York residency as soon as possible and officially announce that she will be a candidate.

But despite the escalating media war, neither Clinton nor her likely rival, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R), are announced Senate candidates. The mayor last week began airing a new round of tailored television commercials in three upstate markets: Syracuse, Buffalo and Rochester.

The ads echo the same theme of earlier commercials touting Giuliani's success in turning around New York City, but feature footage of local landmarks and scenery.

The New York Democratic Party also purchased additional ad time to run spots, funded again by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, that spotlight the first lady's upstate "listening tour." The same "issue advertisement" is running for one week in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Albany.



File Photo by Rebecca Roth

"The New York State Democratic Committee is very confident that Mrs. Clinton will make this race and we wholeheartedly support her," New York Democratic Party spokesman Matthew Hiltzik said.

But a Siena College survey taken of 563 adults from Nov. 8 to 11 showed the mayor with a 12-point lead, taking 48 percent of respondents' support to Clinton's 36 percent.

An earlier Quinnipiac College poll showed Giuliani leading, 47 to 42 percent, with the mayor substantially ahead in the crucial New York City suburbs, 56 to 33 percent.

Although the first lady is busy fundraising and traveling to New York, she has not hired a campaign manager or media consultant and won't formally announce her political intentions until January or February.

But Bill DiBlasio, the regional representative for the Housing and Urban Development Department and the 1996 director of the co-

There's nothing for me to get involved in with exploratory committees at all. When I have a candidate, she will have 100 percent of my support.

Rep. Charlie Rangel

ordinated Clinton-Gore campaign in New York, is likely to be brought on board as campaign manager within a month.

Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson last week said Clinton was not going to be "scared away by a couple of bad headlines."

"This campaign is moving full steam ahead. Hillary Clinton is committed to fighting for New York and fighting for New Yorkers, and when she makes a commitment, she keeps it," Wolfson said Friday.

Over the Congressional recess, the first lady plans to shore up support among her Democratic base with at least one fundraiser for a House Member. She has already held several others for New York Democrats, including Reps. Carolyn McCarthy, Maurice Hinchey and John LaFalce.

The first lady will host an event at the Plaza Hotel in Manhattan on Nov. 29 for freshman Rep. Joseph Crowley (D-N.Y.), who represents Queens and could face a competitive primary next year.

Crowley said his supporters were "excited" about the fundraiser, and added that Clinton would make the party's strongest Senate nominee. "I think she's the best hope for the Democratic Party in the election. If anybody else committed to be in this race, they should have been in long ago," Crowley said.

"Polls go up and down all the time. I think

she'll be back up again. Right now, I'm not concerned about it," Crowley added.

Democratic worry has mainly grown out of what many view as Clinton's conflicting roles as first lady and a potential Senate candidate.

That worry was underscored after the first lady's recent trip to Israel, when she drew protest for remaining silent while Suha Arafat, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, made a speech accusing Israelis of poisoning Palestinians.

Although the first lady later condemned Arafat's statement, some Jewish leaders questioned whether the first lady should have visited the West Bank in the first place. "I think this last trip was a reinforcement to everyone that there is a conflict," Slaughter said. "Trying to serve two masters is very difficult."

Of course, Clinton cannot renounce her status as first lady even after she officially becomes a Senate candidate. But some Members privately suggested that she should scale back her duties as wife of the President, perhaps by not taking trips overseas.

"She can simply decide that she's not going to do a lot of ceremonial things," said one Member. "You can define [being first lady] however you want."

But Rangel suggested that the political fallout from the first lady's behavior in Israel was overblown. "Who the hell gives a damn what she did over there?" he asked.

Rangel said the first lady's problems were more serious at home, where she needs to get a campaign up and running. Before then, he said, he is not lending the first lady his advice and support.

"I don't understand the thinking about why she and Giuliani are not announced candidates," he said. "There's nothing for me to get involved in with exploratory committees at all. When I have a candidate, she will have 100 percent of my support."

L. BRENT BOZELL III

Hush-a-bye on the hustings

The usual first complaint about campaign news coverage is the constant fixation with the horse race and the absolute dominance of the polls. And yet, can there be a time for complaining polls aren't reported enough? If you're following the only Senate race in America — in the eyes of the press — the answer is yes.

Reporters virtually threw word-processed flower petals in Hillary Clinton's path when she decided to emerge as an unprecedented First Lady non-candidate for the Senate in New York. They touted her intimidating popularity. First-blush polls showed the first lady crushing potential rival Rudy Giuliani. "Once a political lightning rod, today she is political lightning," murmured Dan Rather.

It looks now that lightning's fizzling fast, which might explain why you're no longer hearing much about polls. On Nov. 1, the New York Times placed its latest joint poll with CBS News on the front page, but look what it found to be news. "Poll Finds Few Undecided," the ho-hum headline read. Voter certainty in this early stage of the race may be interesting, but was it the poll's most newsworthy finding?

Check out the poll results submerged down in paragraphs 5 and 10. Since the last New York Times-CBS poll in March, Hillary went from a 9-point lead among likely voters (50 to 41 percent) to a 5-point disadvantage (44 percent to 49 percent). That's a 14-point slide, and if most voters consider themselves decided on this race, those numbers are dramatic.

The buried shockers didn't end there, though. In paragraph 21, the Times revealed that Hillary's approval rating had dropped from 52 percent to 37, and her disapproval numbers jumped from 22 percent to 38 percent. In other words, she has regressed from a 30-point chasm between lovers and haters, where more than half of the polling sample approved, to where more voters now disapprove of her than approve. That's not good news, especially — again — if the voters are decided on the matter. (Mr. Giuliani's favorables and unfavorables both increased slightly.)

So where were the TV anchors



furrowing their brows and wondering out loud what went wrong? CBS News may have created and paid for the poll, but they weren't reporting the results, and neither was hardly anyone else. Dan Rather must have been straining for another hurricane to cover.

Maybe that poll's a fluke. But the latest poll from Quinnipiac College also came with dark clouds for Democrats. Earlier this year, Hillary led Rudy in this poll by 54 to 36 percent; now Mr. Giuliani is ahead, 47-42. That's a swing of 23 points. When some of the media's political specialists examined the X-rays, they tried to downplay the hemorrhage without getting painfully specific. On CNN's "Inside Politics," anchor Judy Woodruff simply referred to "a major change from February" when she was ahead. On CNN's "Late Edition," host Wolf Blitzer put Hillary's best face forward with his spin: "It's been going back and forth. It's a pretty close race right now."

Certainly, no one can suggest the polling drop was caused by negative media coverage. Much like the polling bashfulness, reporters are trying to soften the blow of any Hillary campaign gaffes.

Look no further than the first lady's Nov. 11 kissy-kissy in the Middle East with Mrs. Yasser Arafat, who stood at a lectern by Mrs. Clinton in Ramallah and declared the Israelis used poison gas to kill Palestinian women and children. In the face of this baseless slander, Mrs. Clinton hugged and kissed Mrs.

Arafat, then waited 12 hours to say anything critical of her poison-gas tirade. The press corps that breathed fire over Ronald Reagan's Bitburg cemetery itinerary surely should have suggested at least a flaming faux pas in Hillary Clinton's solicitous silence.

Instead, it was time for the spin machine to come out.

Newspaper headlines pussy-footed gingerly on this toxic terrain. "Mideast web entangles first lady," claimed a vanilla story in The Washington Post. "Challenged in the West Bank," whispered a vague USA Today. The next day wasn't any better. "First lady criticized after Palestinian's remarks," wrote The Post. USA Today returned to horse-race analysis: "Clinton finds playing dual role a stretch: Goals of first lady, candidate can conflict." The New York Times front page read simply "First lady's new campaign worries." But my favorite headline came from the Boston Globe, with Orwellian overtones: "In Mideast, Mrs. Clinton shies from controversy."

How many reporters would have leaped to their laptops with savage headlines if Mrs. Arafat had received a hug and a kiss from Nancy Reagan? Maybe the press is silent because they've seen Hillary's latest polls, and are desperately seeking to prevent making a bad political situation even worse.

L. Brent Bozell III is chairman of the Media Research Center.

Democrats could gain if Hillary quits race

First lady might give party millions

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Democratic Party could reap a multimillion-dollar windfall if Hillary Rodham Clinton abandons a run for a New York Senate seat.

And even if she decides to run for office, the first lady will save money flying around New York on Air Force jets, which could leave her "excess" funds after the Nov. 2 election — money she can decide how to use.

Whatever she does with that money — the millions she has raised — the account has been fattened by her using taxpayer-subsidized campaigning," said

Mike Collins, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee.

"She uses White House staff to do her Web site. She flies around in military aircraft. . . . You can't buy that at any price."

Federal campaign-finance laws allow candidates to donate an "unlimited" amount of cash to their parties or a number of other causes. If she drops out, she can hand over her money to the party or keep it for a future campaign.

The first lady, who plans to return to New York today following a two-day stopover here after her trip abroad, has a number of other options on how she could spend any leftover money. They include:

- Donating it to a charity.

"She uses White House staff to do her Web site. She flies around in military aircraft. . . . You can't buy that at any price."

— Mike Collins, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee

- Forming her own political action committee.
- Saving it to mount a future run.
- Creating a foundation.
- Refunding some of the money to her contributors.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said if Mrs. Clinton does run, he does not expect the first lady to have any leftover funds even if she reaches her \$20 million fund-raising goal.

see HILLARY, page A10

HILLARY

From page A1

"This race is going to be very expensive, unfortunately," he said. "All of the resources will be used in the race."

Mr. Wolfson repeatedly has declined to say how much Mrs. Clinton has raised and spent until she is required to disclose the information to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) Jan. 31.

White House officials also repeatedly have refused to release records showing how much they are billing her exploratory campaign for the trips.

An analysis by the RNC estimates that each trip to New York costs taxpayers roughly \$20,000 — a figure one nonpartisan campaign-finance expert said was low. The C-9A military jet Mrs. Clinton favors costs \$2,179 an hour to operate.

Federal election laws only require Mrs. Clinton to reimburse the government for a fraction of those costs.

While the first lady could charter a jet or travel on a corporate airplane, Secret Service officials say it is too risky for her to fly on commercial planes.

The election laws allow candidates to spend their excess funds on campaign-related expenses, but not on "personal" expenses — generally any expense that "would exist even in the absence of the candidacy."

But what constitutes a "personal" expense is not always clear. In one FEC advisory opinion,

the commissioners allowed a candidate to use campaign funds to pay for a baby sitter so he and his wife could attend campaign events together, FEC spokesman Ian Sturton said. In another case, the FEC allowed a candidate to use his "excess" funds to have his portrait painted.

When the commissioners rewrote their regulations in 1995 to clarify what "personal" means, they also left some other unanswered questions.

For example, they did not agree on whether candidates should be allowed to pay themselves a salary with campaign funds.

The new rules also gave the commissioners discretion to "address payments for legal services, meals, travel, vehicles and mixed-use expenses on a case-by-case basis."

While it is unlikely Mrs. Clinton would ask the FEC if she could use her contributions to pay the \$1.35 million mortgage on a house she and President Clinton bought to establish New York residency, she could ask for their permission to use the money to pay legal bills associated with the purchase. She is incurring legal costs to defend a complaint to the FEC.

Although those actions were filed by conservative groups, conservatives are not the only ones clamoring for the first lady to entangle herself from the race.

On Saturday, New York City Council member Ronnie Eldridge, who represents the city's liberal Upper West Side, said Mrs. Clinton "should reconsider her candidacy" because "she is the weakest candidate."

The Washington Times



By Roberto Marzulli, AP

Clinton: Says she intends to run. Giuliani says he has his own timetable.

Giuliani feeling the heat in New York

Conservative Party chief losing patience

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

Now that Hillary Rodham Clinton is publicly committed to running in the New York Senate race, pressure is building on her all-but-announced Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

On Monday, Mike Long, the leader of New York's Conservative Party, threatened to run another candidate for Senate if Giuliani doesn't express serious interest in obtaining his party's endorsement soon.

Giuliani was in Texas on Monday raising money for the Senate race but still refused to say he's a candidate. "Look — I've run in a lot of races, tough ones," he said. "You've got to do it on your own timetable."

Nonetheless, he got an endorsement from his party's presidential front-runner, Texas Gov. George W. Bush. "He's got my help if he wants it," Bush said.

Long, a Brooklyn liquor store owner who could become a kingmaker in the New York Senate race, wasn't so generous. He said he discussed the Senate race with Giuliani in March but hasn't heard from him since.

"From March until November is a very long time," Long said. "One can lose patience."

Long's Conservative Party is capable of delivering more than 300,000 votes. In a close Senate race, that could make a difference for Giuliani if the votes go to him, but against him if they don't.

New York is one of the few states where minor parties count, and Giuliani is caught between two of them. Ray Harding, the head of the Liberal Party, is a close adviser. But Long says Giuliani will have to renounce the Liberal Party endorsement if he wants the more valuable Conservative line.

Long also wants Giuliani to take a public stand against the controversial late-term abortion procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortion. Giuliani has generally opposed restrictions on abortion.

"No comment," was all Giuliani's spokesman, Bruce Teitelbaum, had to say about Long's remarks.

The Clinton camp pounced on Giuliani's dilemma. "New Yorkers know that Hillary Clinton is the only pro-choice candidate in the Senate race," said the first lady's campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

Asked why Clinton headlined a fundraiser Monday for abortion opponent Joseph Crowley, a Democratic congressman from Queens, Wolfson said: "She agreed to help each and every member of the (state Democratic congressional) delegation because she thinks it's important for the Democrats to win the House."

Underscoring the national interest in the New York race, both Giuliani and Clinton are raising money outside the state this week.

Giuliani is holding at least four events in Texas; Clinton will attend fundraisers in Cincinnati, Boston and Washington.

Clinton will slip back into her first lady role for high-profile events later this week: On Wednesday, she will give a World AIDS Day speech at the United Nations; Thursday, she'll accept delivery of a Christmas tree at the White House; and Friday evening, she and President Clinton will light the national Hanukkah menorah on the Ellipse, south of the White House.

Contributing: Martha T. Moore and The Associated Press

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1999

Gala for pro-lifer is a Hill-raiser

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton last night stepped into the crossfire of a bitter Democratic civil war when she hosted a gala fund-raiser for an anti-abortion Queens congressman.



HILLARY CLINTON
Has pro-choicers mad.

Mrs. Clinton ticked off abortion rights supporters by serving as the star attraction at The Plaza hotel event for Democratic Rep. Joseph Crowley, who is expected to face a strong primary challenge.

Some Democrats said it was foolish for Mrs. Clinton to get in the middle of a battle among heavy-weight Queens pols — especially on the side of a congressman against abortion.

"Hopefully, this was ignorance on her part," said Councilman John Sabini (D-Queens), who is considering challenging Crowley

in next year's primary.

"I hope this doesn't reflect her desire to keep someone in Congress who doesn't support a woman's right to chose."

Sabini, Councilman Walter McCaffrey (D-Queens) and Assemblywoman Catherine Nolan (D-Queens) plan to strike a deal soon on which one of them will oppose Crowley.

"Let's put it this way: It's certainly something that she didn't need," McCaffrey said of Mrs. Clinton's hosting the fund-raiser.

"Some folks may cast it as another sign of a campaign that is not firmly wed in New York."

Nolan said it is traditional for powerful state Democratic figures to stay neutral in primaries.

"Maybe since she's not from New York, she didn't know that," said Nolan, who calls herself a Clinton supporter.

The local National Abortion Rights Action League frowned upon Mrs. Clinton's appearance on behalf of Crowley, who has been targeted for defeat next year by the pro-choice group.

Mrs. Clinton is close with Crowley, having stayed overnight at his home during a recent trip to the city. A former state Assemblyman, Crowley is a union leader in the city.

Hillary and the Democrats / Editorial: Page 46

Hillary's woes

"By running for the Senate seat in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton has done to herself what Republicans never could: The first lady has changed her reputation from that of a smart, loyal, injured spouse to that of an overly ambitious politician with poor political instincts," political analyst Stuart Rothenberg writes in Roll Call.

"Her candidacy inevitably would entail great risk to her public image, which she rebuilt after the disaster of the Clinton health care plan. But if you want to be president, I guess you have to take some risks. That's the only way to rationalize Clinton's decision to run in New York in 2000," Mr. Rothenberg said.

Mr. Rothenberg did not rule out a victory for the first lady, but called her "one of the weakest New York Senate nominees with whom the Democrats could be saddled."

"Clinton begins a race with so many problems that it's hard to know where to start. She's not from New York. She's an unproven candidate. Her roles as first lady and Senate candidate conflict (and that conflict won't go away merely by spending more time in New York). Her poll numbers are down while her negatives are up. She's not doing well with Jewish voters, and she has problems with independents and older women."

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1999 • USA TODAY

Hillary candidacy helps conservatives

Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the U.S. Senate? Conservatives should be shouting victory already. No one has done a better job in energizing the conservative base than Hillary Rodham Clinton ("First lady tells N.Y.: 'I intend to run,'" News, Wednesday).

Just think: Would we have had a Republican Congress in 1994 if George Bush had been president? Or if Hillary were not put in charge of health care? I highly doubt it.

She was given one thing to do, nationalize health care, and it was one of the biggest debacles in recent memory. It was such a disaster that one wonders why the liberals would even consider her for another task. After all, she almost cost her husband a second term, had it not been for his appropriating Republican ideas.

I truly believe that a Hillary campaign in New York for the Senate seat will again energize the conservative base, and we will see the Republicans capture both houses and the presidency—whether she wins or not.

There is something about radical lib-



By Peter Morgan, Reuters

'Run, Hillary, run': Hillary Rodham Clinton announces bid for U.S. Senate seat.

erals. Every time they seek to advance their agenda, it wakes up the closet conservative voters.

Run, Hillary, run! We conservatives need you.

Michael Krall
Sayreville, N.J.

Will she or won't she?

Will Monica Lewinsky, New Yorker, be voting for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate next year?

"I think that, uh, voting preferences should be kept private," Miss Lewinsky said in an interview with ABC's Barbara Walters to be broadcast tonight.

Miss Lewinsky, who had an Oval Office affair with President Clinton, will likely be forced to choose between her former paramour's wife and New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani if she votes for a U.S. Senate candidate next year.

Miss Lewinsky also said she's been dating, but is not in love. Her qualifications for a romantic partner: someone who's "single, straight, emotionally available."

• Greg Pierce can be reached at 202/636-3285 or by e-mail at pierce@twtnmail.com.



Tipper Gore signs a copy of "The Way Home." Below, one of her photos.

Tipper's Photo Finish

Being the vice president's wife does have its perks. Not only does shutterbug **Tipper Gore** get to be in a Corcoran Gallery of Art show with the likes of **Annie Leibovitz** and **Diana Walker**, her photographs are featured in the accompanying coffee-table book.

"It feels like a dream," Gore told us yesterday, in the midst of a publicity blitz for "The Way Home: Ending Homelessness in America," which opens Saturday and runs through Jan. 31. "These are photographers I have admired and revered for years, and they are role models for me."

The 150 or so photos on display offer a window on the often poignant and sometimes hopeful lives of the homeless. "You can talk about statistics, but I thought it would be important to use photography to communicate the problem to the people at large," said Tipper, who has been concerned with homelessness since her days in the early '70s shooting pictures for the Nashville Tennessean,

where husband **Al** was a reporter. "Then, I had total freedom," she said, putting a high contrast on the difference between being a relatively

anonymous photo-journalist and being the spouse of a presidential candidate. Yet earlier this year, "I was able to spend three days on an off-the-record trip to Miami—not incognito, but quietly—and I visited homeless shelters. If



BY TIPPER GORE

someone asked me who I was, I told them the truth."

Gore resisted our attempts to get her reaction to **Hillary Rodham Clinton's** quasi-official Senate candidacy declaration. "Oh please," she said, when we asked if she hopes to stump for Hillary. "She's been a terrific first lady, a great spokesman for families, women and children—and right now my husband is in a battle for the nomination. So I don't see beyond that. I'm serious."

With Beth Berselli

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1999 ★

Hillary stumps for pro-life Democrat

NEW YORK (AP) — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton angered some pro-choice activists by appearing last night at a fund-raiser for a Queens congressman who is pro-life and faces a re-election primary challenge.

Mrs. Clinton, who says she intends to run for Senate from New York, said she looked forward to serving with Joseph Crowley, but she did not go as far as to endorse him for re-election.

She said the freshman congressman "has quickly become a leader

in the House."

The issue of abortion did not come up at the \$150,000 fund-raiser, held at the Plaza Hotel.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the first lady's appearance was fulfilling her commitment to help raise money for all New York's congressional Democrats.

"Hillary agreed to help each of the Democratic members of the New York delegation because she believes it is critical to help bring back Democratic control of the

Congress," Mr. Wolfson said.

One of three Queens Democrats — City Council members Walter McCaffrey and John Sabini, and state Assemblywoman Catherine Nolan — is likely to run against Mr. Crowley, backed by the others.

"It's a mistake for Mrs. Clinton to support a candidate, in what may be a very competitive primary, who has been consistently [against abortion]," said Robert Jaffe, deputy director of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League of New York.

NO SIR, YASSER FOR HILL

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will duck Yasser Arafat on her Mideast trip next week — dodging a political minefield that could hurt her with Jewish voters, officials said yesterday.

Clinton, who came under fire from some Jewish leaders for meeting with the PLO leader in the Gaza Strip last year, isn't scheduled to see him this time around, said her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry.

"That's the difference between First Lady Hillary Clinton and candidate for Senate Hillary Clinton," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion.

"Now she's running in New York, and she's not looking to push the envelope. It would have become a distraction."

James Zogby, who heads the Arab American Institute and has supported both Clintons, said: "It's insulting and it's not going to help her."

"I know Mrs. Clinton has a personal relationship with Mrs. Arafat. I know they have spoken quite often. If she's going as first lady, not to go to visit Mrs. Arafat sends the wrong message."

Zogby also suggested the snub may have been designed as "insulting" in hopes of appealing to Jewish voters, a tactic he said won't work.

The first lady's cold should-

der for the Palestinians comes as she is trying to build more political support among Jews in New York, a crucial voting group.

Shortly after her "listening tour" began last summer, she backed Jerusalem as Israel's capital and it was revealed her step-grandfather was Jewish.

Critics called it a transparent and clumsy effort to win over Jews and say her trip to Israel is more of the same.

A recent poll found Clinton with 56 percent support among Jews and Mayor Giuliani, her likely Senate opponent, with 35 percent.

When Clinton visited the Gaza Strip in 1998, she attended a Palestinian National Council gathering and was introduced by Arafat. She hailed the "leadership" of Chairman Arafat.

Clinton also toured a refugee camp with Arafat's wife, Suha. She later spent time with then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's wife, Sara.

Clinton's backing among the Jewish community was severely eroded last year when she endorsed a Palestinian state — a position that continues to dog her in the Jewish community.

The first lady's upcoming trip to Israel is an official White House jaunt. Her Senate exploratory committee isn't involved, and her political staff will not accompany her.

N.Y. too taxing for Bill? / Page 16

Richard Cohen

Hillary's Friends—and George W.'s

Every once in a while, a major newspaper does a long article on George W. Bush and his career as a businessman. I have read these pieces now in *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times*. They all say about the same thing, and they all have—in my vivid imagination—the same headline: "Eat Your Heart Out, Hillary."

I am referring, of course, to Mrs. Clinton. This is the very same Hillary Clinton who was pilloried—not too strong a word, I think—when it was disclosed that back in the late 1970s she played the futures market. She apparently put up \$1,000 and made about \$100,000—no real bargain, as it turned out. She's been paying for it every since.

How did she make that kind of money? The phrase that kept coming up in news accounts was "preferential treatment." The *Post* used it, the *Times* used it and so, I suppose, did nearly everyone else. There's a reason for that. It appears to be true.

Mrs. Clinton's account—32 trades in all—was supervised by a close friend, James B. Blair, and handled, in turn, by a friend of his, a broker by the name of Robert Bone. Blair was then the general counsel of Tyson Foods, a major Arkansas business, and Bill Clinton was the state's attorney general. When Hillary Clinton opened her trading account, her husband was only three weeks away from being elected governor. Even in Arkansas, you will be shocked to learn, businessmen do favors for politicians.

But now look at Bush's business history. It mostly consists of one rich guy after another doing favors for the son of one of Texas's most influential figures, George Bush. The father occupied one high office after another—congressman, Republican national chairman, CIA director, ambassador to China, vice president and, last, president. It turns out that if you can't get by with a little help from your friends, your father's will do just fine.

Consider how George W. got to buy the Texas Rangers. The seller, Eddie Chiles, was an old friend of President Bush and he wanted to sell to George W. The deal itself was partially brokered by baseball commissioner Peter V. Ueberroth, who asked Richard Rainwater, a Fort Worth investor, to put up the real money—"out of respect" for President Bush, the papers reported. Rainwater complied. In the end, Bush invested \$606,000 and left with \$14.9 million. Yet no one alleged that Rainwater was seeking a favor or that Bush ever granted him one.

On the other hand, plenty of people have alleged that Bill Clinton must have done a favor for someone in order for Hillary to make so much money in cattle futures. No proof has ever surfaced, even though the Clintons have been investigated by everyone except the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Not that it matters. When it comes to the Clintons, no proof is ever needed. They are guilty by virtue of appearances or something. In this case, I've been told by Clinton haters that Hillary was

just plain bribed. Maybe, I reply, but if the \$100,000 was the quid, where is the quo? I get a funny look. How naive can I be?

Well, plenty naive on occasion. But until a crime is proved—or even alleged—I have to wonder why Hillary Clinton's preferential treatment is such a scandal and George W.'s is not. Is it because of Whitewater, a mess about something no one can keep straight? Regardless, Whitewater sure has sullied the Clintons.

Is it because Hillary was sort of gambling while George W. was doing business? Could be, although speculators are hardly scorned in our society. Is it because Bill Clinton was a major political figure at the time? Maybe. But by then George Bush's papa was already an important national figure with considerable clout in his home state.

So what's the rule? Does it have to do with wealth and social class? Is it okay for the rich to use their connections to get richer but just plain stinky when others do the same? Does it have to do with gender—George W. doing what men have always done, Hillary playing a man's game or, worse, being a pawn of more powerful and clever men? Could be.

All I know is that if it weren't for "preferential treatment," George W. Bush's only way of becoming seriously rich would have been if he won the lottery—or played the futures market. As it happened, he didn't have to. He hit his number at birth. Eat your heart out, Hillary.

Hill can't say whether Bill will be a New Yorker, too

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she didn't know if her husband will become a New Yorker after he leaves the White House in 2001.

Mrs. Clinton, who is expected to run for the Senate, said she will soon make New York her primary legal residence, but wasn't sure the president will do likewise.

"That's a good question," she

told reporters.

"I haven't really talked to him about that. I will be declaring [New York] my primary residence. I will have to talk to him about that."

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said he didn't know President Clinton's plans either.

Mrs. Clinton addressed the couple's residency at a news conference after speaking to a charity group in Rye Brook, not far from

the \$1.7 million home she and the president bought in Chappaqua.

Mrs. Clinton, who is registered to vote in Arkansas, said she would soon register in New York.

Visiting the house for the first time since closing on it Monday, the first lady said she didn't know when she would be moving in.

"There's a lot of security work that has to be done," she said.

"I have to move all my stuff and get it organized. I don't want to



PRESIDENT CLINTON
Plans are uncertain.

put a timetable on it. We're going to move as quickly as we can, given the work that has to be done by the [Secret] Service for security reasons."

Mrs. Clinton must establish residency in New York by Election Day next year to be eligible to serve in the Senate.

She probably does not have to live in the home full-time to become a legal New Yorker and she did not answer directly when asked if she would definitely move in before Election Day, 2000.

Whether President Clinton makes New York his legal residence or not has significant tax implications, since he will be the major wage earner in the family, probably raking in several million dollars a year.

Asked if she would pay New York income tax, the first lady hedged: "We'll do whatever our accountant tells us to do. I don't know those rules. I haven't looked at them."

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1999

Hillary Clinton: "Our butlers buy me lottery tickets every week. If we strike it rich, the butlers and I plan to retire."

Hillary and Sharpton

Harold Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff, huddled Tuesday with the Rev. Al Sharpton, apparently attempting to patch things up between the notorious race monger and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mr. Sharpton has accused Mrs. Clinton of showing a lack of respect, unlike Democratic presidential candidates Bill Bradley and Al Gore, who already have paid their respects to Mr. Sharpton. In fact, Mr. Sharpton threatened to run against Mrs. Clinton in the party's Senate primary unless she starts paying attention to him.

Mr. Ickes is often described as Mrs. Clinton's unofficial campaign manager in her unofficial campaign for a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

Although neither Mr. Ickes nor Mr. Sharpton would comment about their meeting, the New York Post speculated that "Ickes' visit may have been intended to pave the way for the first lady to meet with Sharpton at some point."

Hillary takes tour

Hillary Rodham Clinton strolled through her new house for two hours yesterday, trying to figure out how to accommodate herself and President Clinton.

"There's got to be some space for both of us to work at home," she said, "and there has to be some space for his music and exercise equipment."

Standing outside the home's gravel driveway, Mrs. Clinton said she took notes about what she may do and "just generally took it all in, now that it's ours."

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1999

ADWATCH

TITLE: "Free Again"
RUNNING TIME: 30 seconds
WHERE SHOWN:

Upstate only, for at least a week
PRODUCED BY: Adam Goodman

TEXT:

Announcer: "This is a New York story. About a leader who gave people a reason to believe again."

Giuliani: "We were told to pack it up, that our best days were behind us."

Announcer: "So Rudy Giuliani got to work, creating a record 341,000 new jobs, cutting taxes over \$2 billion, leading people off welfare and requiring those on it to work. Rudy has made New York the safest large city in America."

Giuliani: "Made people believe again. Feel free again."

Announcer: "Rudy — ready to do even more for all of us."

VISUALS: Opens with city skyline, the Empire State Building and the Statue of Liberty. Switches to Giuliani in his office, wearing a shirt and tie, speaking to the camera. Shows cheering crowds, a hard-hatted Giuliani on a construction site, a couple smiling, a woman crossing a street with kids. Ends with a beaming Giuliani giving two thumbs up.

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE: Welfare rolls, crime and some taxes have declined while jobs are up, although to what extent that's due to the mayor's policies can be debated.

ANALYSIS: Giuliani is introducing himself to voters upstate — where he is not nearly as well known as in the city or suburbs — by touting "the New York City miracle."

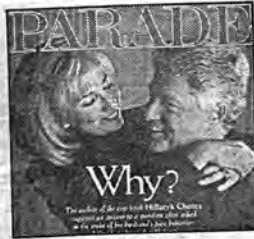
The mayor's record in turning around the city

is considered by his advisors to be his greatest political strength — especially when contrasted with what they say is Hillary Rodham Clinton's lack of accomplishments. The spot, which resembles Giuliani's re-election ads for mayor in 1997, shows him as a dynamic, hands-on figure.

Still, more than a year away from the election, the early-bird ad — the first of the race — doesn't mention what office the mayor's running for or even if he's running for one.

HILLARY CLINTON'S RESPONSE: "Rudy's 'New York story' is missing important chapters. Why doesn't he tell the people of upstate that he opposes a real patient's bill of rights, supports a federal budget that doesn't protect Medicare and Social Security, and that he cut money for schools" — spokesman Howard Wolfson.



**BILL & HILL**

Hillary bio featured in Parade.

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton dumped her first real love — a broodingly handsome, dark Irishman named David Rupert — because he wasn't ambitious enough, a new Hillary book reveals.

"I never stated a burning desire to be president of the United States. I believe that was a need for her in a partner," Rupert, who lives in Westport, Conn., told writer Gail Sheehy for her new book, "Hillary's Choice."

The "tempestuous" and "somewhat secretive" three-year affair took place while Hillary was in law school at Yale, and Rupert was a government major at Georgetown according to the book, which also tells why Hillary stuck with her cheating husband.

Bill Clinton also was a student at Georgetown, but it would be three years later

— about the time the Rupert-Hillary fling was fizzling — that Clinton would sweep Hillary off her feet with his unabashed vow that he was going to be governor of Arkansas.

Hillary and Rupert had an "intense love affair" while it lasted, the book says.

She often drove 150 miles in her junk car named "Alphonse" so the two of them could spend weekends together in a two-room shack in the corner of a Vermont

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

barn, which they affectionately dubbed the "chicken coop."

Hillary fell for the brooding, dark-haired Rupert who was, at 5 feet 8 inches, an inch taller than she, but was also "150 pounds of pulsing hormones." The book says Hillary was drawn to him, although her head told her "No."

"Unthinking emotion is

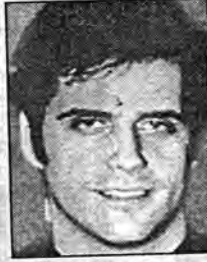
**HILLARY CLINTON**

Wanted ambitious mate.

... pitiful to me," Hillary wrote to a pen pal from high school, according to Sheehy's book, which is excerpted in the upcoming issue of Parade magazine.

The book also says:

■ Ten years ago, Hillary insisted that her husband conquer his weakness for sexual hunting and he promised to do it — but didn't.

**DAVID RUPERT**

Trysts in a barn.

■ Hillary's father, the late Hugh Rodham, didn't even show up to see her give her commencement speech at Wellesley College and, according to Hillary pal Peach Pietrefesa, "her father was a deeply narcissistic man who saw her as competition and always tried to undermine her sexuality."

After college, Rupert

avoided Vietnam as a "conscientious objector." Bill ducked the draft and went to Oxford University as a Rhodes scholar.

Rupert performed alternative service with Head Start in Bennington, Vt., where Hillary often came to see him, the book recounts.

Rupert says Hillary — who wants to be a New York senator — never spoke about wanting to hold elected office.

"Or if she did, it was masked," he says. "She didn't know how to be comfortable pursuing political ambitions for herself."

"I thought she was attractive. I wasn't knocked over by her, like, 'There's a knockout,' but that's not what makes me go anyway," Rupert told Sheehy.

"She did have those big ugly glasses. The hair was pulled back. But what I found attractive was the mix of her character, her intellect and physical at-

traction. And we laughed."

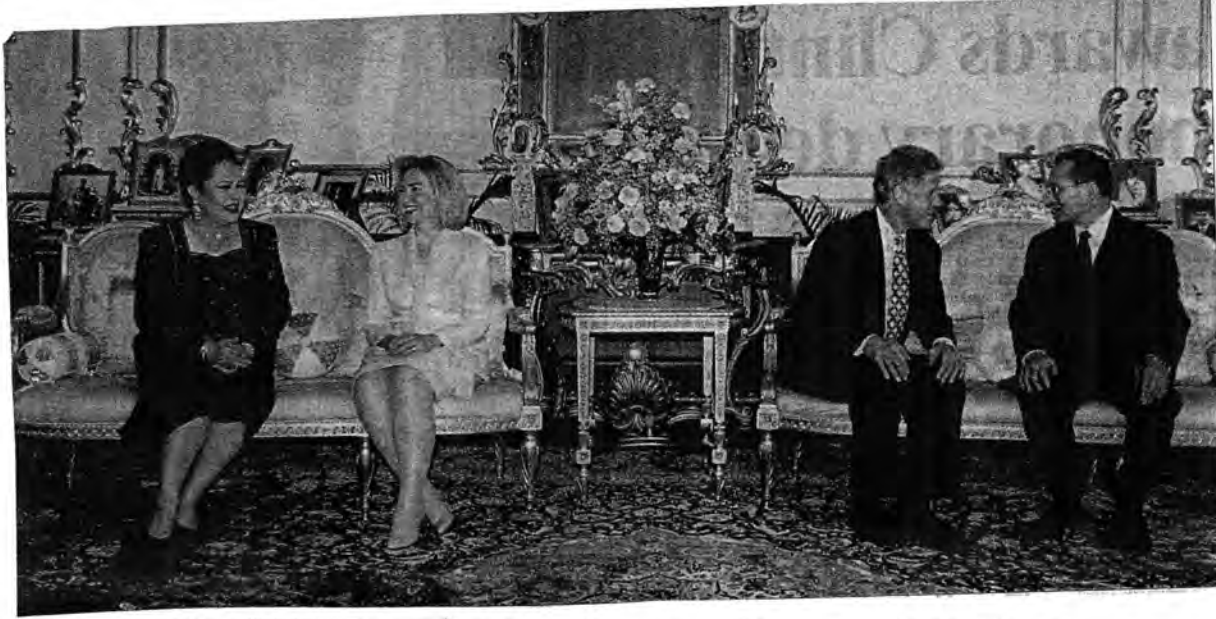
Rupert, described as having "dark eyes that he used to his advantage," said he met Hillary in the summer of 1968 when both were interns in Washington. They would drink beer, go to Georgetown night spots and argue politics.

Hillary seemed to want Rupert to make more of himself and get involved in big-time politics.

"I think my lack of desire to be in a political role — having done that in Washington and then having gone to Head Start — was something of a disappointment to her," Rupert said.

■ **Gore gag / Inside Washington: Page 20**
■ **Hill can't say if Bill will be NYer / Page 24**

BOOK: HILL DITCHED NON-POLITICAL LOVE



Wednesday, November 27, 1996

— THE NATION —

First couple of America a big hit

The Nation

US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, were a big hit during their brief 30-hour state visit to Thailand, the third by a US chief executive in the history of Thai-US relations.

The couple were kept busy from early yesterday morning until late last night when they flew back to the US for Thanksgiving.

Apart from meetings with both outgoing and incoming Thai prime ministers, the Clintons also had brief contact with the Thai people who waited patiently for them at Chulalongkorn University.

Waving small Thai and US flags,

crowds of students, academics and the general public cheerfully greeted the president as he headed for the university's auditorium to be presented with an honorary doctorate.

While Clinton held official talks in the morning with outgoing Prime Minister Banharn Silapa-archa, he later met new premier designate Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyudh.

Banharn delivered an aide-memoire to Clinton in which the Thai government addressed bilateral economic issues that could not be raised during the 40-minute meeting because of time constraints.

The two leaders also witnessed the signing of an agreement on the avoidance

of double taxation by Foreign Minister Amnuay Viravan and US Ambassador William Itoh.

The Clintons toured the Temple of the Emerald Buddha yesterday afternoon and later attended a state banquet hosted by Their Majesties the King and Queen in honour of the two American guests.

The state visit attracted strong public interest and everywhere they went they were followed by local and foreign media.

Competition was particularly intense between the Thai television stations as they fought to broadcast the events live to their audiences.

Jewish G.O.P. Group Unveils Ad Assailing First Lady on Mideast

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

A group of Jewish Republicans has produced a television commercial attacking Hillary Rodham Clinton for remaining silent at an event two weeks ago where the wife of Yasir Arafat accused Israel of poisoning Palestinian women and children with toxic gases.

The group, the Jewish Republican Coalition, based in Washington, said it would spend about \$50,000 to broadcast the commercial for one week, starting Tuesday, in Washington and in New York, mostly on cable television. The commercial offers an example of how Mrs. Clinton's political opponents will try to appeal to Jewish voters by painting her as inconsistent on Middle East issues.

A spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory campaign for the United States Senate in New York sought to link the commercial to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton's likely Republican opponent in next year's Senate race, but an adviser to the mayor denied any connection.

While visiting Israel earlier this month, Mrs. Clinton attended an event in Ramallah on the West Bank for the announcement of an American-sponsored maternal health care program. It was at that event that Suha Arafat, whose husband is the Palestinian Authority president, said that the Israeli military had used carcinogenic crowd-control gases in Gaza and the West Bank.

Mrs. Clinton listened with obvious discomfort but left politely, giving Mrs. Arafat a kiss. Mrs. Arafat's remarks were later denounced by Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel and in New York, Mrs. Clinton was criticized in newspaper editorials and by several groups for not speaking out.

The new television commercial was screened Sunday on the ABC program "This Week," while Howard Wolfson, the spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory Senate campaign committee, was a guest on the program. With ominous music playing in the background, the commercial shows Mrs. Clinton with Mrs. Arafat while a narrator says: "With Hillary Clinton at her side, Suha Arafat made the false and disgraceful claim that Israel was poisoning Palestinian women and children with toxic gases. Instead of reacting with outrage, Hillary Clinton sat by silently. When Arafat was finished, Hillary gave her a hug and a kiss."

The narrator adds: "It's sad. While Israel sacrifices for peace, Arafat spreads hatred and lies. And Hillary embraces her. Tell Hillary Clinton. Stand up for Israel. Stand up for truth."

On the news program, Mr. Wolfson denounced the advertisement. "This ad is an outrage," he said. "New Yorkers are accustomed to the negative campaigning of Rudy Giuliani and his team, but this is really a very low blow. There are clear connections between the mayor and this organization."

Bruce Teitelbaum, the director of Mr. Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee, said the mayor had "no connection whatsoever to the ad," but, referring to the Jewish Republican Coalition, he said, "It is certainly appropriate, and it's their right to run any ad they see fit."

Matthew Brooks, the executive director of the Jewish Republican Coalition, said the group had produced the advertisement on its own as a response to Mrs. Clinton's Middle East trip. "While she was representing us internationally as first lady, she did not conduct herself in a manner that was appropriate," Mr. Brooks said. "Her actions and her silence in the face of these outrageous comments by Mrs. Arafat did not only send the wrong message here at home but also have significant repercussions internationally."

Bush Explains Abortion Stance in Interview

By FRANK BRUNI

WASHINGTON -- Gov. George W. Bush of Texas made clear his strong opposition to most abortions on Sunday and implied that while he would not, if elected president, make that viewpoint the principal consideration in appointing Supreme Court justices, he might not dismiss it, either.

"I want to know how a judge feels about a lot of issues," Bush said in a live, hourlong interview with a television journalist, Tim Russert, on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Bush also said he would probably not accept any invitation to meet with the Log Cabin Republicans, an organization of Republican homosexuals with whom Bush's chief rival for the Republican presidential nomination, Sen. John McCain of Arizona, recently met.

"All that does is create a huge political, you know, nightmare for people," Bush said. He added that he opposed not only gay marriage but also adoption by gay partners.

"I believe that society ought to aim for the ideal," Bush said. "And the ideal is for a man and woman to adopt children."

This was Bush's first appearance during his presidential campaign on a Sunday morning talk show, and it underscored many of his socially conservative views, including his faith in abstinence as an antidote to teen-age pregnancy.

Still, Bush was careful, as he has been in the past, to suggest that he is more interested in extolling his views through the bully pulpit than in imposing them through law.

On abortion, for example, Bush said, "I would support a constitutional amendment with the exceptions of life, incest and rape. I want to tell you something, though. The country is not ready for a constitutional amendment.

"There is no chance, at this moment, that there be a two-thirds vote out of the House and Senate," Bush continued, referring to the votes needed to pass an amendment, as opposed to the simple majority required for passage of a bill. "What I will do is promote life as president of the United States."

Because Bush had not done a live television interview of this length since he announced his candidacy in June, the appearance was widely anticipated as a chance to see how nimbly he could negotiate an array of policy questions.

Bush responded with a calm, confident performance throughout the interview, which was broadcast from the governor's mansion in Austin, Texas.

Although Bush had just given a foreign policy speech on Friday and had previously drawn criticism for several gaffes when talking about international affairs, Russert did not dwell long on global matters.

When Russert delved into the turmoil in Russia, Bush seemed to sidestep a few specifics. Russert noted that Bush had said previously that change in Russia would come from new leaders. Russert asked Bush who those leaders were.

"Nobody in specific," Bush said. "Our country shouldn't pick winners on the Russian political scene."

Russert also asked Bush if he had any opinion of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, a possible successor to President Boris

Yeltsin.

"I really don't," Bush said. "I will if I'm the president."

Russert revisited the question of whether Bush had ever used illegal drugs, and Bush again declined to answer. He said that adults should not be making confessions that give children any justification for self-destructive behavior.

Bush said that to keep Social Security solvent, he might consider raising the age of eligibility as members of the populous baby-boom generation retire.

Distinguishing himself from many Republicans on Capitol Hill, Bush said he would favor federal legislation to allow Americans to sue health maintenance organizations, but only if those organizations had made treatment decisions that ignored the recommendations of independent review panels.

Bush grew particularly animated after Russert read from a book written by Naomi Wolf, an adviser to the presidential campaign of Vice President Al Gore, that recommended teaching young people to masturbate rather than engage in sexual intercourse.

"It's pathetic," Bush said, later adding that "the federal government ought to spend at least as much on abstinence as it does on other attempts to reduce teen-age pregnancies."

"I mean, the folks that are saying condom distribution is the best way to reduce teen-age pregnancies obviously haven't looked at the statistics," Bush said.

Bush said he believes that life begins at conception. Russert asked Bush, who has said he would not use a judge's position on abortion as a litmus test, if he would nonetheless want to know a Supreme Court nominee's views on the subject.

"I'd like to know: Are we compatible from a philosophical perspective on a wide range of issues?" Bush said. "But the most important view I want to know is: 'Are you a strict constructionist, Jurist? Will you strictly interpret the Constitution?'"

Bush went on to praise Justice Antonin Scalia in particular.

Russert noted, "He is someone who wants to overturn *Roe vs. Wade*."

"There's a lot of reasons why I like Judge Scalia," Bush said.

END

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Beyond the City

B'klyn Dem Blasts Hil On Suha Arafat Flap

DAILY NEWS STAFF

Hillary Rodham Clinton returns to New York today for the first time since her controversial appearance with Yasser Arafat's wife and will be greeted with a blistering letter from a state Democratic senator.

State Sen. Carl Kruger (D-Brooklyn) is expected to release the letter at a news conference where he also will endorse Clinton's likely Senate rival, Republican Rudy Giuliani, a source close to Kruger said.

The letter reportedly rips into the First Lady for not immediately reacting to Suha Arafat when she accused Israel of using poison gas on Palestinian women and children.

Kruger represents a heavily Jewish district that includes Midwood, Sheepshead Bay and Mill Basin. "His constituents are furious," the source said. Kruger could not be reached yesterday.

When Clinton talks to the United Federation of Teachers today it will be the first time she addresses a New York audience since the Nov. 11 incident with Arafat.

Clinton later sharply criticized the Palestinian first lady for making inflammatory and unfounded charges, and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak this weekend praised Clinton's Mideast visit.

Clinton's lack of immediate critical reaction and the kiss that followed Arafat's speech has provided ammunition for her critics. Clinton's campaign is still steaming over an ad launched by the Republican Jewish Coalition replaying the kiss and demanding that Clinton "stand up for Israel."

Howard Wolfson, spokesman for Clinton's exploratory Senate campaign, noted that Kruger had endorsed Giuliani for mayor in 1997.

"The fact is that Democrats like [Sen.] Chuck Schumer and [Rep.] Jerry Nadler and [Rep.] Anthony Weiner are strongly

supporting Hillary Clinton because they know she is a strong supporter of a safe and secure Israel," Wolfson said.

Original Publication Date: 11/23/1999

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Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A little equal time for the lady gobblers

This is the week of the turkey, and we've had a demonstration of gobble-gobble from two of our best-performing hens.

One of the manifold blessings of the Politically Correct era we live in is that we no longer suffer only tom turkeys. Ladies can be turkeys, too.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, for our prime example, has been in a swivet if not a panic for a fortnight, as her sagging poll numbers sent her Democratic handlers and supporters fleeing in search of a place to hide. She wasn't ready to say that she's a candidate for the U.S. Senate, but she knew she had to say something that others would interpret as "definitely."

This doesn't fool those of us who know the Clintons best, but it was the pacifier for the pundits and pols who have invested so much air and ink into getting her into the race of the century (if not the race of the millennium).

"The word 'definitely' is not in the dictionary of clintonspeak, which Hillary now uses as skillfully as Bill does," writes John Robert Starr of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette, who has watched Miss Hillary longer than anyone else. "Clintonspeak is a word coined by Paul Greenberg to describe Clinton's particular way of lying. One would think by now the mainstream media would have become familiar with clintonspeak."

"What I heard Hillary say in the snippet provided by the TV networks was, 'I intend to run.' That's clintonspeak. If she later decides not to run, she can say, 'I intended to run at the time, and now I don't intend to.'"

Dick Morris, the campaign consultant that Hillary employed to save ol' Bill when he was about to crash and burn in Arkansas two decades ago, describes how Miss Hillary's "intentions" are likely to be adjusted.

"Until now, and for another month or two, Bill will be incredibly supportive. He'll prop her up. He'll tell her to stay in. He'll tell her to run. He'll tell her, 'It's going OK. Don't worry about the criticism,' because in a real sense, he's making a record with her. It's sort of for their own purposes and their own relationship. He's kind of saying, 'When it finally was your turn, I was there for you after all these years you've been

there for me.' And he's kind of, in a sense, going through that and he sincerely means it. But... I think that in February or March, before she un-announces, he's going to sit down with her. And he's going to be the only one that's going to tell her the truth, which is, 'You can pull out now, and nobody will think that it's that Hillary can't get elected to the Senate.



Gobble, gobble

They'll think she can't get elected to the Senate in a state she's never lived in. And if you pull out now with the New York Democrats wanting you to pull out' — which increasingly they will — 'You can live to tell about it. And you'll be \$10 million richer for your next campaign.'"

The president set the stage for this with his remarks about the difficulties he expects to have running the White House without a first lady. (No smirking, please, about his assertion that he will have to "make accommodations.") The White House will soon plant stories about how awkward it is without a first lady in residence, and then the first lady will say, with sighs of disappointment and whispers of regret, that she understands that her first obligation, undertaken eight years ago, is to the nation and that her own ambitions must be put aside. "Others," after all, is the Clinton family motto, as anyone in Arkansas will tell you.

This will be a breathtakingly callous way to treat New York Democrats, of course, but if the Clinton years have taught America anything it's that you have to be seriously into masochism to be a Friend of Bill (or Hillary). Why waste tears on anyone slow enough to be fooled now?

Speaking of turkeys, a smear campaign of the ugliest sort is now coursing through the contest for the presidency in 2000. Using the code word "whisper," a group of pundits working to derail the Bush express, led by Elizabeth Drew, are spreading the word that some out-riders of the George W. Bush campaign are "whispering about John McCain." They have let it be known that they won't come forward and say these things openly, out of deference to George W. How thoughtful of them. (This will of course be met with denials.)

These gallant and courageous pundits chose Miss Drew to make the charge because, as one of them says (though he will deny it), "Elizabeth will be happy for the opportunity to let everyone know that she is still not dead." As soon as Miss Drew drew her bead on George W., the media pack rose to the bait and soon the shouted whispering about John McCain was loud enough to drown out Jerry Springer, or at least John McLaughlin. Miss Drew's smear worked. Not all of the week's stuffing was in the Thanksgiving turkey.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of The Times.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

POLITICS/WASHINGTON

In N.Y. race, whom do you dislike the least?

NEW YORK — The fundraising letter from Mayor Rudy Giuliani is usually explicit, shunning any high-minded appeals about issues or leadership. "If you don't want to see Hillary Rodham Clinton in the United States Senate," it begins, "I need your immediate support."

That opening sentence, followed by four separate uses of the phrase "fighting" as an anti-Hillary epithet, captures the underlying tenor of a Senate race as subtle as a street-corner mugging.



HYPE & GLORY
By Walter Shapiro

The message emanating from both candidates is simple: Vote for me because my opponent is far worse.

The first lady has made a few unflattering claims in the run-up to her formal declaration of candidacy — conceding that she has always been a closet Yankee fan, pretending that she and her husband will spend the rest of their post-White House lives in a house in Chappaqua. But nothing catches her truth-stretching comments Tuesday as she sought to quiet any doubts about her determination to run.

"Ultimately, this election is not going to be about me or Rudy Giuliani," she declared during a choreographed question-and-answer session. "It's going to be about the issues that concern the people of New York."

A campaign about issues? You gotta be kidding. If *Issues!* were on Broadway, it would close Saturday night. This election is all venom and triol. It's a Hobson's choice between carpetbagging Democratic first lady and a law-and-order Republican with a mean streak.

Both candidates have started running campaign ads a year before the election.

The first lady, employing the same unregulated, soft-money Democratic party funds that fueled Bill Clinton's anything-for-a-buck 1996 re-election campaign, has spent more than 100,000 on spots heralding her "listening tour" of the unknown byways of upstate New York.

The Giuliani exploratory committee — "exploratory" is an apt word for both candidates, who could barely navigate around upstate with a geostationing satellite — has been running soft-focus commercials showing mostly white faces hailing the rebirth of New York City. Scrutinizing TV time buys, Democrats calculate (and the Giuliani committee refuses to confirm) that the mayor will have spent \$700,000 by the end of next week.

Before this overpriced grudge match is finished, New Yorkers will see from their TV sets in horror at the sight of a campaign ad. The first lady talks of snaring \$25 million for her midlife career change. Giuliani, in his campaign solicitation letter, received this week, declares, "I must raise at least \$15 to \$20 million to beat Hillary Rodham Clinton in the Senate race of the decade."

But with both candidates earning disapproval ratings over 40% in most statewide polls, and with the percentage of undecided voters reckoned in the single digits, the protracted cam-

paign may sway few allegiances.

"These candidates are so well known that it's a real question what this \$50 million in TV ads will buy," says pollster Lee Mirinoff of Marist College. "Maybe they could build a few libraries with the money."

The mystery buried in the muck of this mud bath is why both parties — presumably run by rational people who would like to win the Senate seat — are so determined to nominate candidates reviled by large segments of the elec-

torate.

There was nothing preordained about this dispiriting choice between Hillary and Blizzoner. Westchester Rep. Nita Lowey was poised to seek the nomination before she was rudely elbowed aside by state Democratic leaders pleading with the first lady to run. In an even more heavy-handed move, Gov. George Pataki in August bludgeoned Rep. Rick Lazio into submission on the eve of the Long Island congressman's planned announcement that he would challenge Giuliani for the GOP nod.

It is impossible to test the compar-

ative electability of Lowey and Lazio in the polls, since both these legislators, who boast strong records in Washington, are largely unknown statewide (which may be a virtue in running against the first lady or the mayor). But, most likely, both House members would have proved to be far more appealing than the current contenders. "You would have seen Rick Lazio shoot up in the polls right after he declared," independent pollster John Zogby theorizes. "He would have become the un-Hillary."

Lazio, who admitted in a phone interview Wednesday that he had weeks of "sleepless nights" after being pressured into putting his campaign on hiatus, remains eager to enter the fray. Pointing out that Giuliani, unlike the first lady, has not even set a date for a formal declaration of candidacy, Lazio said about the mayor's indecision: "It sends a bad message about leadership. Leaders make commitments. People have a right to know who are going to be the candidates."

Barring a change of heart by either the mayor or the first lady before the state nominating conventions next spring, voters know all too well the identities of the Senate candidates. And if they lament the you-must-eat-your-porridge choice they have been

handed, they should blame the fiscal geniuses running both state parties.

Walter Shapiro's column appears Wednesdays and Fridays. Contact him at wshapiro@usatoday.com

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Is N.Y. Senate race nip and tuck?

Some think they're using plastic surgeons, not spin doctors

By Barbara J. Salter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Forget tax credits, crime rates and dairy compacts.

The real buzz in the New York Senate race is whether the celebritylike candidates have surgically enhanced their images.

Although first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton denies having surgery, the Park Avenue doctor who has been reported in New York and British newspapers to have

nipped, tucked and liposuctioned her said in a telephone interview this week that photographs taken before her July listening tour speak for themselves.

Dr. Carroll "Cap" Lesesne, a board-certified plastic surgeon, also said her likely opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, "has probably had a lot" of cosmetic surgery himself.

Mr. Giuliani appears to have had porcelain veneers applied to his teeth, according to a Park Avenue

dentist who specializes in the \$1,000 to \$1,600 per-tooth procedure and to an article in a British newspaper.

When asked if Mr. Giuliani, 52, had his teeth fixed or had cosmetic surgery, his spokesman, Sunny Mindell, said, "Are you on crack? She promised to call back with an answer Tuesday but never did."

Mrs. Clinton, 52, answered questions about plastic surgery

see HILLARY, page A16

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

om page A1

herself this summer, spokesman Marsha Berry said with a slight shrug. "She has not had it."

When asked if the first lady had surgery after she answered the question, Miss Berry said, "She has not had any plastic surgery."

Although some would surely argue that cosmetic surgery is irrelevant to a political contest, presidential candidates routinely are asked to disclose their medical records, and sometimes the way a candidate or his spokesman responds to questions can provide insight.

It is not uncommon for politicians to have a nip or tuck or two to improve the way they come across under a TV camera's ever-present glare, some experts say.

"I think the public has got to accept that our politicians are part of our culture, and they are going to do the things that make them look better and feel better," Dr. Lesesne said. "I don't think anyone is going to forget the looks of Richard Nixon in the Kennedy-Nixon debates. . . . He looked terrible."

Although the doctor said he has treated at least two U.S. senators and "heads of state" from Europe,

the Middle East, Asia and Canada, professional confidentiality bars him from disclosing their names or saying whether Mrs. Clinton was his patient.

He did say that the White House's insurance policy would not have covered the \$12,000 to \$15,000 bill for the trio of procedures Mrs. Clinton is reported to have undergone.

Mrs. Clinton's biographer, Gail Sheehy, says she heard "second-hand" from a number of people close to Mrs. Clinton that she had a chin lift, eye tucks, and liposuction on her thighs and derriere.

But the author did not include the information in her book, "Hillary's Choice," which Random House is releasing today, because she did not find firsthand sources among the 400 people she interviewed for the book since 1992.

When asked if Mrs. Clinton appears to have had surgery, the well-known author of "Passages" simply said: "I think most people just looking at her with a naked eye feel that she looks perkier and slimmer."

One woman who has known Mrs. Clinton for 30 years insists she has not had surgery.

"I would bet one of my cocker spaniels she had nothing done," said Mary Louise Oates, a novelist who used to write about the "rich

and famous" for the Los Angeles Times and is married to a Democratic consultant.

"I have seen her up close within the past six weeks," she added. "There is no difference."

Mrs. Clinton said in Albany, N.Y., on Sept. 14 that she "never talked to anybody about plastic surgery," although the New York Post article in which she was quoted the next day said an unnamed "eyewitness" saw her enter a plastic surgeon's office.

Having the surgical procedures she is said to have undergone would only keep her out of the public's eye for about "seven to 10 days," and they could be accomplished in one office visit, Dr. Lesesne said.

"You can have a pretty quick recovery," said the 44-year-old doctor, who specializes in face lifts and admits undergoing liposuction himself.

Although he never treated Mr. Giuliani, Dr. Lesesne said that based on his experience the mayor "probably had a lot" of cosmetic surgery.

Mr. Giuliani's office would not discuss the matter, nor would his spokesman say whether he had porcelain veneers, which a specialist said he is "pretty sure" is the case.

"It just seems to me from years

ago his teeth appear much more aesthetic," said Dr. Jan Linhart, Manhattan dentist who specializes in laser-whitening, veneers and other state-of-the-art cosmetic dentistry for his American and European clients.

A March 24 story in the Evening Standard of London also said Mr. Giuliani had the veneers.

"Porcelain veneer is a very thin porcelain covering that is bonded on the visible part of the front teeth. It changes the shape and the color of the teeth," Dr. Linhart said. "We do a lot of it in my practice."

While the plastic surgery rumors float about in the feisty Senate race, Ms. Sheehy wants to put some rumors to rest.

In a telephone interview yesterday, she said her book reports that Mrs. Clinton "urged" President Clinton "to bomb in Kosovo," but the first lady "certainly didn't order it," as Matt Drudge reports on his Web site Wednesday.

Ms. Sheehy also said the Clintons "will probably live parallel lives," but her book does not say they will divorce, as at least one British newspaper has reported.

"I don't know that [Mr. Clinton] has changed," Ms. Sheehy said. "He still needs her desperately but I'm pretty certain she has forgiven him."



Rudolph W. Giuliani

PHOTOCO
PRESERV

Abortion Emerges as Pivotal in Senate Race

Continued From Page A1

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Abortion has emerged as a pivotal issue in the United States Senate race in New York, even though the two presumed candidates, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Hillary Rodham Clinton, have identical positions.

Mayor Giuliani is coming under increasing pressure from the state Conservative Party to change his position and from opposing a ban on a form of late-term abortion. At the same time, the leader of New York's most powerful abortion rights group said this week that the mayor's strong support for their position would make it hard for the group to endorse Mrs. Clinton.

Although both candidates have something to lose — it would be seen as a setback for Mrs. Clinton if the abortion rights group remained neutral — both Democrats and Republicans said this week that it was Mr. Giuliani who seemed backed into a corner.

Kelli Conlin, the executive director of the New York State affiliate of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, known as Naral, said she was "personally very torn" between "two people who I know and like." She added that while Mrs. Clinton "has been a motivating force behind the most pro-choice residency in our history," Mr. Giuliani "has really been there for us" and that "it's really important for us, he stands by us, to support candidates like that, because they are a minority in their party."

Ms. Conlin said that the New York State affiliate of Naral would likely stay neutral as long as Mr. Giuliani con-

tinued to oppose a ban on the late-term abortion procedure, which is sometimes called partial-birth abortion by its opponents.

Kate Michelman, president of the national organization in Washington, said her group might not take the same course. Ms. Michelman went out of her way this week to praise Mrs. Clinton as deserving of special consideration because of her long-standing and steadfast support of abortion rights. "Her strong advocacy might set her apart a little, even though both of them are pro-choice," Ms. Michelman said.

Michael R. Long, the chairman of the state Conservative Party, continues to insist that Mr. Giuliani must change his position on late-term abortion before the mayor can receive the party's Senate endorsement. Mr. Long said his party would run someone else on its ticket if his members do not endorse the mayor.

The endorsement is crucial — no Republican since Senator Jacob K. Javits in 1974 has won statewide office in New York without it — and carries with it an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 votes. Those votes could be the margin of victory in a race as close as the one between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani is expected to be.

Ms. Conlin, who served on Mr. Giuliani's transition team after his 1993 election as mayor, met last month with Mrs. Clinton and then later with Bruce Teitelbaum, the director of the mayor's Senate exploratory committee. Mrs. Clinton asked for the abortion rights group's support. Ms. Conlin said Ms. Conlin told Mrs. Clinton that "no one has declared at this point, a lot is going to shake out eventually, and right now we're going to have to wait."

In her meeting with Mr. Teitelbaum, Ms. Conlin said that she tried to "clarify" the issue and shore up the mayor's support. "I have no indication whatsoever that the mayor is wavering," Mr. Conlin said. "I just know the pressure he is under."

For now, the mayor's position appears firm. Earlier this month, Mr. Giuliani told The Albany Times Union that he would not support a ban on late-term abortions and that he supports the state's abortion law. "New York shouldn't be ashamed of the law," Mr. Giuliani said. "That law, I think, is a fair one and works to create the necessary scope of freedom and prohibition."

At a news conference this week, Mr. Giuliani brushed off a question about late-term abortion, saying that

"my position on abortion is precisely the same today as it was yesterday. I haven't changed overnight."

If the mayor holds to his position, he risks hundreds of thousands of conservative votes. And members of both parties say it is unlikely that he could make them up with women voters attracted to his abortion rights position or people who might admire him for sticking to principle.

If the mayor changes his position, he risks relentless bulletins from Mrs. Clinton's campaign of flip-flopping and accusations that he yielded in a cynical display of political expediency. "He's got to evaluate if he does change his position what negative fallout there would be," said Guy V. Molinari, the Staten Island borough president, who is a close friend and Republican ally of the mayor.

Mr. Long first announced his en-

dorsement in a Senate race because a senator controls relatively few jobs.

Mr. Long has also said he is not afraid of being blamed by Republicans for a Giuliani defeat.

"Look, I survived Bobby Kennedy," Mr. Long said last summer. "I survived John Lindsay. I survived Lyndon Johnson. Did the world change? Did we go out of business?"

He said this week he is operating on principle. "In my belief, it's about saving a partially born baby," Mr. Long said.

Medically, the abortion procedure at issue is called intact dilation and evacuation, because the feet of the fetus are extracted first and the skull is broken before being suctioned through the birth canal.

The United States Senate has voted twice to ban partial-birth abortion, but both measures were vetoed by President Clinton. As of last month, 30 states had enacted their own bans, although 17 of the bans have been blocked or overturned by federal courts as unconstitutional. Opponents of such bans say they are part of a conservative strategy to limit abortion rights in general, and that the language of the bans is written so broadly as to outlaw most abortion procedures after the first trimester of pregnancy.

Mr. Giuliani's position on the issue is in fact more liberal than some other Republicans and Democrats who support abortion rights. Those politicians who favor abortion rights and also a ban on late-term abortion include Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who is leaving the seat expected to be sought by Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani; Edward I. Koch, the former Democratic mayor of New York City; and Susan Molinari, the former Republican congresswoman from Staten Island.

Although Mr. Giuliani, a Roman Catholic, once advocated that the Supreme Court overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion, he changed his position in his first race for mayor in 1989. His opponents said it was merely an exercise to get votes in a Democratic city, but Fran Reiter, who was at the time an adviser to Mr. Giuliani and the chairwoman of the Liberal Party in New York City, disagreed. "I guess in a very cynical way you could look at it that way, which is this is New York City, you have to be pro-choice," she said. "But he's got way beyond being pro-choice."

It is in fact Ms. Reiter and Mr. Conlin who say they helped Mr. Giuliani formulate his public position on abortion in 1989. Ms. Reiter, who became a deputy mayor under Mr. Giuliani, also says that she helped Mr. Giuliani arrive at his position around 1997, on late-term abortion. "He took a look at what the law currently was in the state," Ms. Reiter said. "He was perfectly comfortable" with that.

Giuliani's stand could cost him and Mrs. Clinton.

dorsement conditions for the mayor last summer, and almost immediately Mr. Giuliani called asking if he was willing to discuss the issue. Mr. Long said yes. But that was in early August, and since then, as Mr. Long has repeated his position on television and to reporters, the mayor has responded with silence. Mr. Long now sounds increasingly impatient.

"The party is still open, we're willing to discuss the issue, but quite frankly, the clock is starting to tick," Mr. Long said. He added that his party's convention to decide on an endorsement is in May, and that if the mayor should decide in, say, April, to change his position, that would be too late.

Mr. Long also said that he was not overly impressed with recent actions by Mr. Giuliani that theoretically might have pleased him: cutting off financing for the Brooklyn Museum of Art for an exhibit that the mayor deemed pornographic, a speech at the Reagan Library lauding the former president and endorsements of upstate Republican candidates.

"We're not exactly talking about a movement conservative," he said. "That's the problem. All of the sudden it's campaign time and he starts doing a few little things on the edges, and people start saying, 'Gee, he's moving onto Republican things.' But I've watched him for a long time."

Although the Conservative Party has something to lose by not endorsing Mr. Giuliani — its members have been awarded jobs in the administrations of Republicans, like Gov. George E. Pataki, whom they endorsed — patronage is less impor-



CAMPAIGNING

By Stuart Rothenberg

First Lady Finds She's In Too Deep to Quit New York Race Now

By running for the Senate seat in New York, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (D) has done to herself what Republicans never could: The first lady has changed her reputation from that of a smart, loyal, injured spouse to that of an overly ambitious politician with poor political instincts.



Her candidacy inevitably would entail great risk to her public image, which she rebuilt slowly after the disaster of the Clinton health care plan.

But if you want to be president, I guess you have to take some risks. That's the only way to rationalize Clinton's decision to run in New York in 2000.

With her poll numbers dipping, her performance in the Middle East a bust and every campaign move examined under a microscope, what's next for the first lady?

Democratic mutterings about Clinton's weak early campaign have given rise to whispers that she may not be all that strong a candidate against New York Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R) and that, maybe, she shouldn't run. These kinds of stirrings always accompany a campaign in trouble, and they aren't a good sign if they continue or grow. After a while, the odor of defeat gets too strong and the candidate is forced to get out of the race.

This cycle, we heard similar rumblings in Nevada shortly before state Attorney General **Frankie Sue Del Papa** (D) pulled the plug on her Senate effort.



Photo by Ian Wagreich

Hillary Clinton: Too late to quit now?

For the moment, Clinton has tried to quell speculation that she'll pull out of the contest by reaffirming her intention to run for retiring Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**'s (D) open seat. But she still hasn't officially announced, and the weaker she looks, the more speculation there will be.

If Clinton were to cut and run now, however, she'd be tagged as a loser and a fraud with nothing to show for her six months of campaigning. And each time she reiterates her intention to run, it makes it harder for her to change her mind next year.

Of course, if she did exit the Senate race, the happiest people would be Clinton bashers, who would rightly be able to revel in her embarrassment and pseudo-defeat, and Vice President **Al Gore**, who would have at least one albatross cut away from his neck.

If the first lady stays in the race, she could

have another awful year, ultimately ending up with an embarrassing defeat and a concession speech. Or, she could take the fight to Giuliani, enlisting the help of New York City unions and community activists who might be able to embarrass the mayor.

Allies of the mayor acknowledge that every day presents a new potential powder keg for Giuliani, whether it's snow removal after a big storm or charges of police racism. Given the nature of city government, the mayor's opponents can always find ways to cause trouble and to blame the mayor.

While Giuliani is making it clear to associates that he plans on running for the Senate, insiders are divided about whether he'd drop out of the Senate contest if Clinton were ultimately to forgo the race and New York Democrats were to turn to a relative no-name to fill her shoes. (One Republican reminded me recently that the mayor's office has become a "dead-end job," and that Giuliani would be making history by moving to the Senate, a fact that could entice the mayor to run no matter the opponent.)

But taking on Clinton is a challenge that the mayor can't pass up, and if he defeats her, Giuliani would become a giant killer, the one Republican who finally brought down a Clinton. It would make him a national celebrity, even to conservatives who disagree with him on most social issues.

Where does this leave New York voters? The ball is in Clinton's court, and the only way she can emerge as a winner is to stay, play the match out against Giuliani and beat him. Any other outcome is a loss for her.

But is Clinton really prepared for another year of campaigning and political second-guessing, especially when her prospects look so much dimmer than they did a year ago?

I don't know. If she has any doubts, she ought to get out now.

Clinton begins a race with so many problems that it's hard to know where to start. She's not from New York. She's an unproven candidate. Her roles as first lady and Senate candidate conflict (and that conflict won't go away merely by spending more time in New York). Her poll numbers are down while her

Is Hillary Clinton really prepared for another year of campaigning and political second-guessing, especially when her prospects look so much dimmer than they did a year ago?

negatives are up. She's not doing well with Jewish voters, and she has problems with independents and older women.

But so far, the New York Senate race is all about Clinton's warts. If and when she runs, she'll need to make the election about Rudy Giuliani. If she can do that, she can win the race. And she could get some help from the top of the ticket in a state that is still quite Democratic.

While the outcome of the New York Senate race is still far from certain, there is little doubt in my own mind that the Democrats would be far better off if they had **Bobby Kennedy Jr.** or **Rep. Nita Lowey** as their Senate nominee.

Her admirers may have a hard time admitting it, but Hillary Clinton really is one of the weakest New York Senate nominees with whom the Democrats could be saddled.

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Public Interests

GAIL COLLINS

Hillary's Rootlessness

New Yorkers regard themselves as the most interesting topic in the universe. Therefore, we were gratified to learn that the much-discussed U.S. Senate campaign here is actually going to be all about us, us, us.

"I do not believe this election will be about me or my opponent," said Hillary Clinton, the best-known woman on the planet. "Instead, it will be about the people of the state." She added that she would be asking New Yorkers "to vote for themselves."

Well, that's a trip to the polling place one could truly enjoy for a change. So far, however, this particular race has not been about us at all. It's been about foreign affairs.

Mrs. Clinton recently got into hot water for failing to respond promptly when Yasir Arafat's wife made an anti-Israeli speech in her presence. The first lady's reaction wasn't all that surprising when you think of how much training she's had in sitting through unpleasant addresses with a tight smile on her face. But the Arafat imbroglio did highlight one of her weaknesses as a candidate. Mrs. Clinton has attempted to become more like New Yorkers, rooting for the Yankees and buying a ridiculously expensive residence that she really can't afford. But she does not seem to have acquired any ethnicity. ("Protestant?" guessed one supporter at a recent teachers' union rally.) Her campaign spokesman admits he has no idea where Mrs. Clinton's roots lie.

This is not the way we do business here. A New Yorker whose ancestors left Bavaria in 1840 and intermarried with Belgians will still get nostalgic about the Steuben Day Parade, and demand to know what the next U.S. senator is going to do about the Walloon situation. Mrs. Clinton took one small step forward when she discovered that her maternal grandmother's second husband was Jewish, but more probing is certainly needed.

All New York mayors regard themselves as ambassadors to everywhere. ("It's me! I'm here!" Mayor Ed Koch called to the Germans from across the Berlin Wall.) Rudy Giuliani is particularly interested in Israel, whose government he seems to identify with his own administration. The Palestinians are stuck in the role of one of those troublesome sets of New Yorkers who require a firm hand, like jaywalkers or homeless people who want a bed in a city shelter. When visiting Israel for the second time in his life in 1996, the mayor advised

Prime Minister Shimon Peres not to "go romanticizing" Mr. Arafat. "Don't forget who he is," the Mayor said in an unsolicited pep talk.

Mr. Giuliani was, of course, critical of Mrs. Clinton's handling of the Israeli situation. He demonstrated his own approach in 1995, when he had Mr. Arafat ejected from a New York Philharmonic concert in honor of the United Nations Nobel Peace Prize winner or not. Mr. Giuliani said, the Palestinian leader was still a terrorist to him. "I don't forget," the mayor added, expressing an attitude that has always proved useful in international trouble spots.

State Senator Carl Kruger, a Brooklyn Democrat, made the network news this week when he announced that Mrs. Clinton's behavior had convinced him to endorse Mr. Giuliani. (Democratic state senators in New York, who have all the power and prestige of thumbtacks, normally get on TV only if they stand on Rockefeller Plaza and wave at Katie Couric.) The Clinton camp volleyed back a statement from that well-

International begins with 'I.'

known expert on American foreign policy, Ed Koch, who said Mr. Kruger should be ashamed of himself.

Any questions?

The mayor attempts to avoid mentioning Mrs. Clinton in public — except for those not infrequent moments when she's made an embarrassing error. But his fund-raising literature isn't so shy. "Dear Friend," a recent mass-mailing begins. "If you don't want to see Hillary Rodham Clinton in the United States Senate, I need your immediate support." The letter, which includes 10 references to "Clinton" and 5 to "left-wing" or "left-wing elite," was sent to one of those exclusive lists that politicians purchase — say, all Americans with indoor plumbing. The one I'm looking at was mailed to his friend The New York Times Reference Library. The computer added a personal note, asking Reference Lib if she "would like to be invited to meet with Rudy when he travels to the New York, NY area?"

No. But maybe in Tel Aviv, or Bangkok. □

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Political Memo

Clinton's 2 Star Students Remember Their Lessons, but Shun School Ties

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 — The two most famous students of the Bill Clinton political school — Hillary Rodham Clinton and Al Gore — have finally graduated. But now that they are out on their own, they seem to be sticking to the same textbook.

That they are approaching their races in like-minded ways should come as no surprise: they both are smart, ambitious and determined — and saddled with demanding day jobs. Yet they can be a bit tone deaf politically.

So why wouldn't they sneak up the wisdom of their mentor, a world-class instinctive politician and tactician?

Mr. Clinton's advisers said he spent more time talking with his wife about her race for Senate from New York than he did with Mr. Gore about his bid for president. But they said he did not hesitate to pick up the telephone with tips for the Gore high command as well.

"He's more involved in her campaign than Al's," one Clinton adviser said. "It's his wife — he spends more time with her."

In fact, Mr. Clinton said he had advised Mrs. Clinton to declare her intention to run this week, rather than waiting until January, to quiet speculation that she would quit the race.

"I always think if there's any doubt and you can resolve it, you ought to do it," Mr. Clinton told reporters here on Wednesday.

No matter how much Mr. Gore and Mrs. Clinton are talking to Mr. Clinton — or heeding his advice — the similarities between the two candidates' approaches became obvious when Mrs. Clinton announced on Tuesday that she would, indeed, run for the Senate and that she planned to move to Chappaqua as soon as she could. In saying that she would not give up her duties as first lady entirely, Mrs. Clinton sounded like Mr. Gore, who in late September announced he was shifting his campaign headquarters to Nashville, while not totally forfeiting his duties as vice president.

"You have two really high profile people and two really high profile races — and they're both having to come to grips with a problem that every politician has had to face: they have one job and want another one," said James Carville, the architect of Mr. Clinton's victory in 1992.

So far, it has not been easy for Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gore, both of whom have ditched the preliminary stages of their campaigns. Things got so bad for Mr. Gore that he had to move up the date he announced his candidacy and reinvent his entire operation. Mrs. Clinton also moved up her unofficial announcement — to this week — to tamp down rumors that things were going so feebly that she was ready to quit. Now, both contend-

ers hope to follow this playbook that will put them on a road to victory:

Bill who?

Mr. Gore would not dare quit his day job, just as Mrs. Clinton has always stood by her man. But both are trying to establish their own identities by rarely mentioning their mentor.

"It's hard to shine when you're standing next to the sun," said David Axelrod, a Democratic strategist in Chicago. "And they both need some distance to get away from the luminescence of the president, which kind of diminishes everything around him."

It is not just Mr. Clinton's luminescence that some worry about. There is also the concern that the scandals of his administration will stain his wife and the vice president.

Seeking, perhaps, to convey the notion that she was running her own show, Mrs. Clinton said she had not even alerted her husband and daugh-

Al Gore and Hillary Clinton strike out on their own, sort of.

ter, Chelsea, who were traveling overseas, of her announcement on Tuesday. "They're in Kosovo, and they don't know about this," she said, although her remarks did not square with her husband's the following day.

There are differences in approaches between Mr. Gore and Mrs. Clinton. While Mr. Gore has repeatedly and publicly upbraided Mr. Clinton for the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Mrs. Clinton has said nothing negative about her husband. She said she would "absolutely" welcome his campaigning for her; Mr. Gore said he was not so sure.

"She is not in any way distancing herself from the president; that would be absurd," said Mandy Grunwald, a strategist for Mrs. Clinton. "He's married to her. She loves him."

And, of course, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gore are also driven by different political imperatives. One reason Mrs. Clinton wants her husband to stump for her in New York is that the president is popular in the state. But Mr. Gore has to win over voters elsewhere, including states where voters are furious at the president.

Take credit for the good things.

While they are reluctant to cite Mr. Clinton, Mr. Gore and Mrs. Clinton are happy to tout what they say are the achievements of his administration. Had Mr. Clinton not vetoed the Republican budget plan, Mrs. Clinton said on Tuesday, it "would have been

the beginning of a U-turn back to where we came from in the 1980's: of fiscal irresponsibility, of the failure to invest in our children and our future."

Mr. Gore also cited a U-turn when he announced he was moving his campaign to Nashville.

"Part of the challenge that we face in the 21st century," he said, "is to keep that prosperity going and prevent those who are trying to take us on a right-wing U-turn back to the old supply-side approach from being able to do that."

Just the same, both candidates are staying clear of White House issues that would complicate their campaigns. Mrs. Clinton, for instance, has said little publicly about how much federal money should go to hospitals in New York, while Mr. Gore has tried not to get mired in the debate over trade with China.

Repeat a mantra about children and families.

Mr. Gore and Mrs. Clinton sound many of the same themes. Perhaps it is not a surprise, given that they have shared a pollster, Mark Penn, although Mr. Penn no longer works for the vice president. Everywhere they go, the candidates talk about education, health care, protecting Social Security. And always, they bring up children and families.

Campaigning in western Iowa on Tuesday, Mr. Gore said: "I'd like people to say after a Gore presidency, he was honest and he fought his heart out for what was right for families in this country." That same day, at a news conference in New York, Mrs. Clinton said the election was "going to be about the issues that concern the people of New York, and particularly the children and families of New York."

Remember those White House perks.

Mr. Gore and Mrs. Clinton are trying to use their day jobs to best advantage. Mr. Gore is seeking to embark on more vice-presidential trips in order to save his campaign money. And Mrs. Clinton has also made full use of her official entourage and infrastructure.

While both candidates have been criticized by their opponents as skirting campaign finance laws, neither has apologized for their large motorcades and security.

"Part of what I have to do is listen to the Secret Service and follow their direction," Mrs. Clinton said. "It would be irresponsible for me to do otherwise."

As the campaigns heat up, even if Mr. Clinton's protégés call for advice, the White House may become a bit lonely, if not awkward, for him. Already, his weekly lunches with Mr. Gore have been put on hold because of the vice president's travel schedule. As for life upstairs without his wife, Mr. Clinton remarked, "We'll have to make accommodations."



Al Gore and Hillary Clinton at a Washington dinner on Wednesday. They are waging similar campaigns

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NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

She Said 'Yes' — or Did She?

Well, Hillary Clinton made it sort of, kind of official, more or less.

Or did she? When asked point blank if she is a Senate candidate, Mrs. Clinton said "Yes" — but followed that up with "I intend to run."

Despite the headlines, Hillary is still not a declared candidate for the Moynihan Senate seat. And therein lies some anxiety, even now, for Democrats. If we were talking about anybody else, it would be only fair to extend the benefit of the doubt. But Hillary Rodham became Hillary Rodham Clinton 10 those many years ago, and that last name means "liar." She could still back out.

But if she does run, and we expect she will, Mrs. Clinton's words on Wednesday demonstrate why it is critically important that she be defeated come November 2000.

Speaking of her husband and his role in her campaign, Mrs. Clinton reported that "he would say — and I agree with this, and I will be talking about it in the campaign — we have unfinished business."

Unfinished business. May God help us all.

Exactly what kind of "unfinished business" should we expect? Does Mrs. Clinton plan on demeaning the Senate in the same way that her husband has degraded the White House? Or will she come up with her own unique variation?

Does Mrs. Clinton perhaps plan on transporting missing subpoenaed documents — like the Rose Law Firm records — up here so they can mysteriously reappear in her new Chappaqua home?

"Unfinished business?" New Yorkers have already been exposed to the kind of business that comes with the Clintons: FALN pardons, shady mortgage deals and a deaf ear turned in the face of a Palestinian blood libel against Israeli Jews.

Bill Clinton leaves the White House in January 2001, and everyone who believes in simple decency and truth will breathe a sigh of relief at his departure from elective politics. Now Mrs. Clinton, it appears, has given New Yorkers a historic opportunity — an opportunity to finish the Clinton family business off once and for all.

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There's no wrong answer to our quiz on Hillary

WITH apologies to Regis Philbin, here is a multiple-choice question regarding a certain exasperating, and still officially undeclared, Senate candidate.

You won't win a million bucks for answering correctly. But you might help New Yorkers solve a perplexing riddle concerning the perpetual tease who this week made the bold announcement that she intends, one day, to announce something.

Here's the question. Hillary Clinton is:

- A) A terrorist's best friend.
- B) Smarter than the average Bill Clinton love interest.

ANDREA PEYSER



- C) One Brady short of a punch.
 - D) Dumber than dung.
- "Out of all those, I'd pick A," says a colleague, who believes

Hillary showed her true colors when she embraced Suha Arafat on the West Bank.

Adam Geller, vice president of Jamestown Associates, the media consulting firm that produced the Hillary-loves-Mrs. Arafat ad for the Republican Jewish Coalition, said, "Without resorting to a life-line, I think Hillary Clinton is very smart."

So your final answer is B?

"Well," said Geller, I think we're learning that she's very politically naive."

Casey Burton, a Brooklyn mother of two, is more direct.

"I'd say dumber than a brick," Casey said in her characteristically demure style.

"She can't pull her head out of you-know-where. I'd say D."

Only one person of my acquaintance picked the correct answer.

"I'd say all of the above," said my friend Phil.

But that's not playing by the rules!

"Exactly," he said. "We're talking about Hillary."

Fresh from starring in her very own Mideast crisis, Hillary Clinton blasted off into the holiday season in her usual style: Painfully scripted, woefully incoherent, and completely devoid of meaningful content.

The media broadcast the pre-Thanksgiving news as if Hillary had actually *done* something new. She stood up before adoring fans at United Federation of Teachers headquarters, and said she intends to run for Senate.

Even The New York Times, in a laughably pro-Hillary editorial, seized on their candidate's ability to screw up a "spontaneous" announcement that her staff had clearly spent many feverish hours choreographing.

Sounding more like a campaign adviser than a newspaper, the Times — which on many occasions has awarded sympathetic platforms to terrorists — seemed to be talking to Hillary alone.

"Actually, she should probably have avoided the word 'intend,' since her spinner had to explain that the word was not meant as an escape hatch from her expected Senate race," the paper wrote paternally.

Well, *someone* has to protect Hillary from herself.

Says media consultant Geller: "Intends" to make an announce-



HILLARY CLINTON
She's "all of the above."

ment doesn't mean making an announcement. We learned that from Bill Clinton: It depends on what the definition of 'is' is."

Hillary's motives behind the freakish speech were completely transparent. She had to change the subject from her embrace of Suha Arafat's blood libel against Israel by offering the media something that could pass as news.

And, she had to convince potential Democratic donors that they won't be tossing away their money if they invest in her.

Mrs. Clinton, as we've learned from her pointless, unfocused, vanity-driven non-campaign, does not possess the brilliant mind we once took for granted.

A decade ago, she chaired a foundation that gave money to PLO terrorists. A few months ago, she supported a Palestinian state — then flip-flopped. Now, Mrs. Arafat. Nuff said.

The answer, then, is A.

But it is also B. Don't underestimate her shrewdness when it comes to destroying her enemies.

And C. She is ditzy enough to believe her own hype.

And D. She is stupid enough to think New York will fall for her.

Hillary Clinton has not performed one useful function in her adult life, and she shows no signs of changing.

She is all of the above. And then some.

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E. J. Dionne Jr.

Hillary's Hat in the Center Ring

"So the answer is yes."

It's a relief, especially to New York Democrats, that the endless, pointless speculation over whether Hillary Rodham Clinton would run for the United States Senate is over. We're about to see whether the most improbable political leap in our history—from First Ladyhood to membership in the Greatest Deliberative Body in the World—is actually possible.

To assess her chances, begin by junking some pieces of conventional wisdom.

You can already hear the moaning: Oh, what will we do without a First Lady? We'll do just fine. The Constitution says nothing about a First Lady. She has no official functions. You needn't worry how President Clinton will fare at state dinners on nights Mrs. Clinton finds herself in Cobble, Rockaway or Big Flats. Anyway, Chelsea will be a fine stand-in.

Mrs. Clinton, it's said, just isn't the campaigner her husband is. Well, *nobody* is the campaigner her husband is. My survey of smart New York politicians finds a lot of tough and skeptical professionals impressed with Hillary on the trail.

"She's extraordinarily engaging," says Assemblyman Pete Grannis, a Manhattan Democrat. "She's a lot warmer, more personally engaging, than her TV image is," says Martin Connor, the Democratic minority leader in the state Senate. "She really connected with people," says Democratic Assemblywoman RoAnn Destito, who hosted Mrs. Clinton in her upstate district centered on Utica and Rome. Democrat Michael Bragman, the Assembly majority leader, refers to her "star power."

A bunch of Democrats in the tank for Hillary? Not exactly. Democrats are worried sick about her chances. She was forced to announce she was getting in because so many Democrats, wearied of the messes she was creating by not getting in.

State Comptroller Carl McCall, a leading Democratic vote-getter, practically pushed her into Tuesday's announcement with public statements pronouncing her phantom candidacy a disaster. "It was very frustrating," a relieved McCall said hours after Mrs. Clinton said yes. "I think she's a very good candidate, and I think she's going to win. But the question you always ran into was: Is she going to run?"

"It hasn't been helpful," said Connor, "to have this speculation these last few weeks about: Will she or won't she?"

The last straw, of course, was Mrs. Clinton's public tete-a-tete in Ramallah with Suha Arafat, the Palestinian leader's wife. Mrs. Arafat fulminated against Israel, alleging it used poison gas against Palestinians, a groundless charge. Mrs. Clinton not only stayed silent during their joint appearance but also gave Israel's accuser a hug. Yes, yes, Mrs. Clinton's defenders could say the translation of Mrs. Arafat's comments was faulty and that the first lady didn't want to muck up the Middle East peace talks. She owes a lifelong debt to Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak for defending her on these grounds.

But as Connor says, you don't need to be a high-priced consultant to know that "nobody who was running for the United States Senate in the state of New York would have been on a platform with Mrs. Arafat." Excuse me, but: Duh. Abandoning First Ladyhood means never having to go to the West Bank again, except perhaps to celebrate a peace treaty that might win some votes.

Is Mrs. Clinton in trouble? You bet. "I think Rudy has the upper hand," says Grannis. "She has to redefine her reasons for running, take care of the carpetbagging issue and develop a clear message for why people upstate should support her. . . . I think people are still trying to figure out if this is just someone looking for something to do after the White House."

"What's the longest amount of time she's spent in New York?" asks a gleeful John Ravitz, the Republican minority whip in the state Assembly. "She can't be putting on any Yankee hats any time too soon."

But because she is running against the mayor of New York City, Mrs. Clinton's one greatly undervalued asset is that she's a Midwesterner. Yes, you read that right.

Bragman thinks that since Mrs. Clinton will do well in New York City (on a wave of minority votes) and well enough in its suburbs, the election will be decided in upstate New York. As it happens, upstate more resembles her native Illinois than it does Giuliani's Gotham.

Destito of Rome and Utica summarizes the situation nicely by annexing a classic Illinois burg into her part of New York state. "Joliet," she says, "is an upstate city." The betting now is that Mrs. Clinton could lose because she's a carpetbagger. But in what will be a very strange race, that is precisely why she can win.

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Beyond the City

Hil Reveals Finances; Rudy Silence Ripped

By TRACEY TULLY and THOMAS M. DeFRANK
Daily News Staff Writers

WASHINGTON
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton filed her financial disclosure form right on time yesterday — and her partisans gleefully hammered her likely Senate rival Mayor Giuliani for being nearly seven months late and counting.

"He's not even a candidate yet, and he's already in trouble with the Senate Ethics Committee," needled Jim Jordan, political director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.



Naso NEWS
Hillary Rodham Clinton

"We have complied scrupulously with all the requirements of the Federal Election Commission," replied Bruce Teitelbaum, head of Giuliani's political organization.

Though neither Clinton nor Giuliani officially has announced an intention to run, both have filed statements of candidacy with the secretary of the Senate. After filing, candidates have 30 days to disclose their personal finances. Clinton filed her statement of candidacy Oct. 7. Giuliani's was signed April 12.

The mayor could be tagged with a \$200 penalty for filing late.

The First Lady's disclosure statement listed personal assets of between \$1 million and \$5 million. Her holdings previously were revealed in May on President Clinton's annual financial disclosure statement.

Meanwhile, Democrats planned to launch an upstate TV ad today boosting the First Lady five days after Giuliani began running ads on the same stations.

The Clinton ad shows her talking to New Yorkers during her summer-long listening tour and ends with an announcer saying: "Call Hillary. Tell her to keep fighting for children, for families, for our future."

The state and national Democratic parties picked up the tab, so the ad cannot urge a vote for her. But the intent is clear. She's the only Democratic official seen, appearing in seven scenes in the 30-second spot.

State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope acknowledged she consulted with the Clinton camp on the ad. "It helps her. It helps us. It's designed to help the party," she said.

With Joel Siegel

PHOTOCOPIED
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Soft money rolls in for Hillary

A couple of weeks ago, Hillary Rodham Clinton took a tour of her new digs in Chappaqua, N.Y., taking notes about things she'd like to do to turn the five-bedroom Colonial house into a new-millennium home.

Earlier that day, she'd raised some eyebrows when she said the house would be her primary residence. In a statement, she is to seek the U.S. Senate seat to be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but didn't know whether it would be Bill's. "I haven't really talked to him about it," she said.

Later, however, she allowed as to how there's got to be some space for both of us to work at home, and there has to be some space for his music and exercise equipment.

Not to worry, Chappaqua is just a way station anyway. Hillary has bigger dreams, which may or not be focused on becoming the junior senator from New York.

If that's the plan, however, she's made a good start of it. Through mid-September, she led Republican Rudolph Giuliani in raising campaign money from special-interest groups—mostly unions—and political action committees.

Federal Election Commission reports—those filed by PACs and other political committees, not the first lady of the United States or the mayor of New York City—show that she had collected \$76,500 from 23 groups.

Giuliani had collected only \$64,500, although his total was derived from contributions from 36 PACs and other political committees.

That's not a great indicator of how the two undeclared Senate candidates are doing, since Hillary has yet to file her first FEC general report, which will reveal in-

Meredith Oakley



dividual contributors. That report is not due until next year.

Giuliani, who formed a political committee before Hillary did and had to begin filing sooner, has reported collecting almost \$3 million from individuals and political committees.

Observers don't necessarily expect Hillary to become the New York Democrats' answer to George W. Bush in the fund-raising sweeps, but she should have no trouble exceeding the estimated \$25 million her unofficial campaign expects to raise. Giuliani is shooting for \$20 million.

The race, we're told, has the potential to become the most expensive U.S. Senate contest in history, something the Clintons know a great deal about.

In case you're interested, so far Hillary has picked up donations in \$5,000 blocks from the AFL-CIO, the Amalgamated Transit Union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Communications Workers of America, the Ernst & Young accounting firm, the International Association of Firefighters, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Ironworkers Union, KIDSPAC, the Laborers International Union, the Service Employees International Union and the Sheet Metal Workers International Association.

Giuliani only did as well with three PACs: Bell Atlantic, Cablevision Systems and the Young Jewish Leadership Political Action Committee.

No wonder the mayor's been running a political ad criticizing his prospective foe for relying on "soft money." She's rolling in it. He can hardly wet his beak with his.

Still, recent statewide polls give the mayor a modest lead over the first lady. Speaking of political ads, both Rudy and Hillary have hit the New York airwaves with political ads.

The Friends of Giuliani campaign committee is financing his. The national Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is financing most of hers, a stratagem that drew sharp criticism from the venerable *New York Times*. "The ads recall one of the worst fund-raising abuses practiced by President Clinton in his own 1996 re-election campaign," the *Times* editorialist huffed. "Mrs. Clinton should withdraw them or pay for them entirely with money raised under the federal election law ceilings, as... Giuliani has done with his first ads."

Initially, New York Republicans were making sounds as though they would file a formal complaint with the FEC over the production of the pro-Hillary ads, but they backed off.

Seems that they're considering hitting up the national Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee for some similar help.

Well, let's put that another way: When pressed by reporters, Giuliani's political spokesman refused to rule it out.

Do you care? Personally, I find the notion of Hillary Rodham Clinton going up against Rudolph Giuliani awe-inspiring. Whatever the outcome, neither one's gonna know what hit him (her).

Associate Editor Meredith Oakley's column appears every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.

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Culture, et cetera

Virtue deficit

"The first lady . . . has been described in the New York Times Magazine as a proponent of the 'politics of virtue.' Compassion is the virtue to which the Times author refers, and while in ordinary life it means that A gives of his own to help B, in Mrs. Clinton's style of activism it means that A takes from C to make B dependent. Apparently, what the 'politics of virtue' means to the author is a high-tax welfare state.

"Political theory uses an almost identical expression, the 'politics of virtues,' for something quite different: an approach to statecraft that gives first place to considerations of excellence of character. To be sure, the proponent *cares* about the other things, but he begins by thinking of the virtues. Before all else, he wants to know how wise, how just, how temperate, and how courageous the citizens are, and whether they are becoming better people or worse. The principal reason is simple. As de Maistre put it, every country gets the government it deserves: one cannot expect



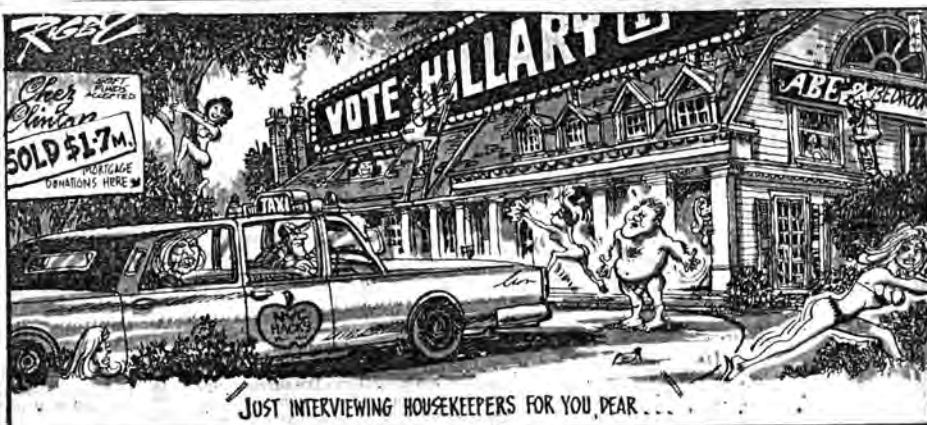
Hillary Rodham Clinton

liberty, justice, or concern for the common good where knaves rule a rabble. So much we should have learned by now.

"Yet we are a broken race in a fallen world. For denying The Atonement a man may be faithless, but for denying its need he is insane. We are all caught in the wreck. Hence the single greatest problem of politics is simply this: How can we make government promote the common good when there is so little virtue to be found?"

—J. Budziszewski, from his new book, *The Revenge of Conscience: Politics and the Fall of Man*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Hillary aide visits Rev. Al in attempt to end rift

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1999

By GREGG BIRNBAUM in N.Y.
and BRIAN BLOMQUIST in D.C.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's top political aide met yesterday with the Rev. Al Sharpton — as Clinton tries to court the controversial black leader without alienating white voters.

Sharpton last week had slammed Clinton for avoiding him — and hinted he might take her on in next year's Democratic primary for Senate if she didn't pay attention to him.

Neither Sharpton nor Clinton aide Harold Ickes would comment on their unannounced closed-door session, which was confirmed afterward by Clinton's spokesman.

Ickes' visit may have been intended to pave the way for the first lady to meet with Sharpton at some point.

Vice President Al Gore met privately with Sharpton on Monday, and his Democratic presidential rival, Bill Bradley, had earlier visited Sharpton at his Harlem headquarters.

Meanwhile, Ickes on Monday belatedly filed financial-disclosure forms for his lucrative on-the-side lobbying business — just a day after The Post revealed he'd been flouting lobbying laws for more than a year by failing to disclose who his clients are and how much they are paying him.

Ickes, who has been described as the first lady's "de facto campaign manager," didn't explain why he was late with his financial forms, which by law are supposed to be filed every six months.

The forms show Ickes received about \$40,000 from the American Crop Protection Association last year, \$20,000 from the Greater New York Hospital Association, less than \$10,000 from the City Council this year and last, and \$20,000 from the 4 C Foods Corp. of Brooklyn this year.

Hillary can't win for losing

Poor Hillary Clinton. My grandmother would have said of her that she can't win for losing.

The undeclared Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York has a problem with the Jewish vote in New York because she once said that Palestinians should have their own state.

That's a condition on which everyone non-Jewish might agree, and Palestinians and Israelis are negotiating toward that end. However, for the wife of the most powerful person in the world to make such a comment is as offensive to New York Jews as the "n" word is to blacks.

Political observers agree that without a strong Jewish vote in New York City, Hillary cannot overcome the strong Republican vote in upstate New York. Hence, her need to mend this fence.

Hillary has to get back in good with New York Jews without appearing to have flip-flopped on the issue. That's not an easy job. Nobody but a Clinton could pull it off, because nobody but a Clinton would try it.

Hillary dressed up real pretty, put on her best diplomatic face and hid herself over to Israel to schmooze with Israelis great and small to demonstrate that her heart is with Israel even if her mouth doesn't know it.

Again, as my grandmother would have said, the road to Hell is paved with good intentions. Instead of smoothing over her problem with Jews, she put it back on the front pages by putting herself into the presence of Mrs. Yassir Arafat, who proceeded to dress her down for backing off from her pro-Palestinian remark.

Meanwhile, back at home, New York Democrats started spending some of that bad old "soft" money to promote Hillary in upstate New York.

Under the law, soft money can't be spent to promote candidates, but the Hillaryites argue that these ads don't promote her as a candidate because, in fact, she isn't a candidate.

John R. Starr



The ads show Hillary meeting with upstate New Yorkers during one of her get-acquainted trips to the Empire State. They also encourage viewers to "Call Hillary" if they have a problem, but they stop short of urging that viewers vote for her.

Both Hillary and her husband oppose use of soft money in campaigns, but Bill's position is that Democrats shouldn't stop using it until Republicans quit using it, too.

Once more, as my grandmother would have said, "Do as I say, not as I do."

Fate of a tyrant

It's hard to write in advance about an ongoing event. When I wrote this on Sunday night to meet a Monday morning deadline, Nick Wilson was still an Arkansas state senator.

By the time you read this on Tuesday, there may have been additional developments.

Nick may become the first senator since Mutt Jones to be tossed out of the Senate by his colleagues. That will be his eventual fate unless he has the good sense to resign.

Willness, not good sense, is Nick's strong suit.

In the last year, his Nickness has learned the inevitable fate of a tyrant who stumbles. He is quickly nibbled to death by pissants, many of whom were once his friends and strongest supporters.

A senator who does not vote for expelling Nick puts his own seat on the line when next he is up for election. In fact, those who do not sign the petition to oust him may get in trouble.

In any event, when Nick leaves the Senate, it will be the brightest day in Arkansas politics since convicted felon Jim Guy Tucker was forced from the governor's office.

Dirty work

The United Nations rule against ethnic cleansing now reads: If you are a big and powerful country, you may slaughter with impunity the residents of any province or states that try to break away. If you are a small, weak country, we will destroy your country and kill your people until you agree to grant independence to those who want to break away. This paragraph does not apply unless the United States does the dirty work.

Move over

Edited version of a Clinton joke relayed by the Colorado daughter-in-law from the Internet:

Bill and Hillary Clinton and Al Gore were killed in a plane crash. When they got to Heaven, they were brought before the Lord, who sat on a huge golden throne.

"Tell me why you should be admitted to Heaven," said the Lord.

Bill Clinton said, "I tried to help the poor. It's not my fault that the rich benefited more from my time in public office."

"Come and sit by my right side," said the Lord.

"I tried to save the environment," said Gore. "I'm sorry that I had to lie to accomplish anything."

"Come and sit by my left side," said the Lord.

Hillary Clinton stood, glaring at the Lord. After an uncomfortable moment, the Lord said, "And you, young lady, what do you have to say?"

"You're sitting in my chair," said Hillary.

John R. Starr is the former managing editor of the Democrat-Gazette.

NOV 16 '99 08:51 FR SKIP RUTHERFORD

TO MARSHA BERRY

P.05/05

Easy money for Hillary's lobbyist pal

ICKES from Page 4

ous calls" to Vallone's chief of staff.

Two single lines were provided to explain the work product in September, 1998: "Review information concerning federal agenda items" and "various calls with Mike Keogh," a Vallone aide.

Many political consultants work on monthly retainers — but they're paid out of campaign funds. Government-paid consultants generally provide detailed explanations for their bills.

Ickes, who was deputy White House chief of staff in the Clinton administration and is now Mrs. Clinton's top political strategist, defended his deal.

"The invoices speak for them-

selves," he said. "We don't put down every item, we do . . . We work on different projects and do what we're asked to do. I think they've [the City Council] been satisfied with the work."

He specifically pointed to efforts to secure federal funds for school construction.

Mike Clendenin, a Vallone spokesman, said Ickes and Enright have done "an excellent job" keeping the council informed about federal issues involving workfare, education and transportation.

"It's important for us to have our own link to Washington since so much that goes on there filters down to the state and city," Clendenin added.

Mayor Giuliani maintains his own lobbying operation in

Washington, as does Gov. Pataki, the state Assembly and the state Senate.

No one questions Ickes' credentials or connections.

"There is no more effective lobbyist in Washington than Harold," said one fellow lobbyist. "He knows all the players."

But some council members, in private, wonder whether taxpayers are getting their money's worth.

"I've never seen him," said one council member. "What does he do for us?"

One thing Ickes does is enhance the political stature of Vallone, a candidate for mayor in 2001. In February, for example, Ickes arranged for Vallone, a Democrat, to meet with Vice President Al Gore.

Easy money for her adviser as lobbyist for City Council

By DAVID SEIFMAN

City Hall Bureau Chief

Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief political adviser has collected \$188,000 since 1997 as a taxpayer-funded consultant to the City Council — with scant documentation to show what he's done for the money.

Monthly invoices submitted by the Ickes & Enright Group, Clinton adviser Harold Ickes' Washington-based lobbying firm, have never exceeded a single page.

In some months, Ickes & Enright's bills didn't even fill that space.

In September 1997, when it won a \$7,000-a-

month contract to act as the council's eyes and ears in Washington, the firm reported earning its fee by:

Conducting "research about and consultation with Speaker's staff regarding Presidential veto of the New York State health providers tax" and making "various calls" to the chief of staff of Council Speaker Peter Vallone.

The following month, the firm's work for the council consisted of "consultation with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services regarding the New York State health providers tax," as well as additional "vari-

See ICKES on Page 24



HAROLD ICKES
Advises Hillary and Vallone.

PHOTOGRAPH
RESERVED

First Lady Says She's Definitely In Senate Race

WED - NOV 24, 1999
By LYNN DUKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Nov. 23—Hillary Rodham Clinton announced today that she definitely will be a Senate candidate in New York and that she intends to scale back her duties as first lady so she can move to the state and campaign "as vigorously as possible."

Clinton acted to put to rest mounting speculation that she would decide against running, after a series of missteps that wounded her candidacy and polls that show her facing an increasingly competitive race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate. "I intend to run," she told supporters here. Clinton said she would make her formal announcement early next year.

Clinton said she would be taking up residence in the house in Chappaqua that she and President Clinton recently purchased. "I'm going to be moving into my house as soon as the Secret Service tells me that it's ready and available to be moved into. Obviously, I will still be in Washington from time to time. I have to be. There are many things that I will still have to tend to. But I will be living in Westchester and I'll be traveling around the state and campaigning."

Clinton's announcement, which came during a campaign event before the United Federation of Teachers, seemed intended to reassure the party faithful, not to mention contributors, that she was not going to back out.

In what appeared to be an orchestrated question, the union's president, Randi Weingarten, asked: "Is it yes or is it no?"

Clinton took the long road to her short answer. "You know, Randi, in



"I intend to run," Hillary Clinton told a New York teachers group, adding she will move into new house soon.

the past months I have been—at last count—in at least 35 counties all over this state, and everywhere I've gone people talk to me about issues like what we've discussed today. And that's very exciting to me. And that's very exciting to me because I believe that if we work together we really can make a difference for the children and families of New York. So, the answer is: Yes. I intend to run."

The audience of educators burst into cheers as the downtown union meeting room became the unexpected backdrop for an unprecedented but troubled campaign's attempt to buoy itself.

The announcement comes after the rockiest period of Clinton's campaign, when key Democrats

See NEW YORK, A4, Col. 5

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1999 THE WASHINGTON POST

'I Intend to Run,' Says Clinton of Senate Race

NEW YORK, From A1

here publicly questioned whether she is up to the task of running against the New York mayor, and several even suggested she not run. Critics have decried, among other things, the campaign's lack of a full-time manager. But sources close to Clinton said last week that she has selected a campaign manager, Bill de Blasio, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's top official in New York, though she has not publicly announced it.

In the latest campaign misstep, Clinton appeared to have damaged her support among a core Democratic constituency—New York Jews—many of whom questioned her handling of Middle East issues. And some Democratic officials who have been shepherds of her campaign began publicly prodding her to roll up her sleeves, stop acting like a first lady, and get more focused on this pivotal and expensive Senate campaign. State Democratic Party Chairman Judith Hope recently told the first lady to "give up her day job."

Recent polls show Clinton slightly behind Giuliani or at best in a statistical dead heat. That is a far cry from her early leads last spring, when her exploratory campaign glowed with the patina of political celebrity.

A spokesman for Giuliani's campaign, Bruce Teitelbaum, called Clinton's comments today "a non-announcement."

"What happened today was an announcement about a press conference to announce that Mrs. Clinton intends to announce next year," Teitelbaum said.

Although neither candidate has officially announced, both have been running television commercials. In addition, an ad paid for by a Republican group began airing this week criticizing Clinton for silently sitting by while Suha Arafat, wife of the Palestinian leader, used the first lady's Nov. 11 visit to the West Bank as the occasion to deliver a tirade against Israel, including the unsubstantiated claim that Israel uses "poison gas" that causes high cancer rates among Palestinians.

Clinton explained today, as she has before, that she made no immediate comment on Arafat's remarks because she believed it was improper to potentially upset the delicate peace talks between the Israelis and Palestinians. "I know that there are some here in New York



Hillary Clinton listens to a question at a New York news conference after her campaign announcement.

who wish that I had created some sort of international incident while I was abroad," she said. "But that would not be useful for the peace process."

But as if to acknowledge that this flap arose because of the untenability of her dual roles as first lady and candidate for public office, she said she will make changes. Starting with the new year, she said, she will scale back her duties as first lady "so that I would be free to campaign as vigorously as possible, which I intend to do."

She said she had not told her husband and daughter, who are in Kosovo, of today's announcement, adding, "But they're getting home tonight and I don't think my husband or my daughter will be surprised."

Underscoring her new level of engagement in the Senate race, she was scheduled to give interviews to two local TV stations tonight. And for the first time in a public event, Clinton uttered Giuliani's name, departing from her vague past references to "my opponent" and "the other side." In response to a question, she said: "Ultimately, this election is not going to be about me or Rudy Giuliani. It's going to be about the issues that concern the people of New York."

She even said there would be some New York City issues that she would speak out on during the campaign. "This is going to be a very hard-fought campaign," she said. "I have absolutely no illusion about it. . . . I think a hard-fought campaign about the issues that concern the people of New York is what the people of New York deserve to have."

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

SENATE BATTLE HEATS UP

HILL: RUDY SHAKY ON CHOICE

By TOM TOPOUSIS

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's advisers yesterday questioned Mayor Giuliani's commitment to remain pro-choice on abortion now that he's seeking to navigate conservative political waters outside the city.

Democratic operative Harold Ickes, on CNN, said Giuliani adopted a pro-choice position only after surveying the "political landscape" before his first run for mayor in 1989.

"Now he's looking at the political landscape where he needs the endorsement and support of the Conservative Party," said Ickes.

Clinton political adviser Mandy Grunwald, speaking on NBC's "Meet the Press," accused Giuliani of having done "a 180-degree flip" a decade ago. "So on the question of abortion, I think

there's only one candidate in this race who women can trust to be there," she said.

The mayor's campaign chief, Bruce Teitelbaum, also speaking on "Meet the Press," was asked if Giuliani would consider changing his stand opposing a ban on late-term abortions.

"The mayor is a very principled person," said Teitelbaum. "Right now the mayor is pro-choice. He believes in a woman's right to choose. That's his position and that's his position, and it hasn't

changed and the mayor believes what he believes in."

Asked later to clarify his use of the words "right now," Teitelbaum would only say, "The mayor is pro-choice, he believes in a woman's right to choose."

Teitelbaum said the mayor's pro-choice position has been clear and is recognized by the state chapter of the National Abortion Rights League, which he said will likely stay neutral in the Senate race.

The mayor opposes a ban on the

late-term abortions, sometimes called partial-birth abortions, to the chagrin of Conservative Party boss Mike Long, who has made opposition to the procedure a condition for his endorsement.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, appearing on CNN, said he's confident that Giuliani and Long will work out their differences. "I don't think the Conservative Party would want to see Hillary Clinton elected senator for New York state," said Molinari.



HILLARY CLINTON
Aides slam Hizzoner.

POLITICS

Senate victory of '94 creates the challenge for 2000

Republicans have a tough task, in part because they did so well six years ago: Nine first-termers are coming up for re-election

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Next year's battle for control of the Senate, where Republicans now hold a commanding 55-45 majority, wasn't expected to be a nail-biter. But it's getting more interesting every day. Consider:

► In New York, where Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is retiring, the anticipated contest between first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani is attracting national and international attention.

► In Missouri, the campaign has been under way for more than a year and has already degenerated into race-baiting. Democratic Gov. Mel Carnahan announced his plans to take on Republican Sen. John Ashcroft the morning after Election Day 1998. Now each is insinuating that the other is a bigot.

► In Delaware, powerful Senate Finance Chairman Bill Roth is facing a challenge from Democratic Gov. Tom Carper that could put Roth out of Congress, where he has served since 1967. A recent poll showed that the popular Carper (he won his last election with 70% of the vote) 10 points ahead of Roth. Roth is denying rumors that he won't seek re-election.

Although Democrats acknowledge that they face an uphill fight to take control of the Senate, they're not discounting the possibility. The Republicans aren't, either.

If the election were held today, Democrats would end up controlling 48 to 51 seats, says Sen. Bob Torricelli, D-N.J., the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC).

His counterpart at the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., is warning his troops against complacency. Republicans have five more seats to defend than do Democrats, and McConnell acknowledges that it won't be

Thirty-three of the Senate's 100 seats are at stake in next year's election: 19 are now held by Republicans, 14 by Democrats. About half of the Senate races are rated as competitive. In most of those, the GOP is playing defense.

Republicans are vulnerable in the 2000 Senate races mainly because they were so successful in 1994, when they captured control of the Senate, its committees and

the legislative agenda.

The "Republican revolution" of six years ago swept nine freshman senators into office, many in states that usually elect Democrats. Now they must prove that their elections weren't flukes. Several are rated vulnerable by political analysts.

Among the endangered GOP first-termers: Ashcroft of Missouri, Spencer Abraham of Michigan and Rod Grams of Minnesota.

Because the Democrats did so poorly six years ago, they have no freshmen to defend. All of the Democratic senators running for re-election next year are more entrenched.

But the Democrats have their own problems.

► In Virginia, Sen. Chuck Robb might be the most at-risk incumbent in the nation, despite his 22 years as a statewide elected official. A recent Mason-Dixon Poll shows his Republican challenger, former governor George Allen, ahead by 12 points. Allen, who bears the same name as his father, the late coach of the Washington Redskins football team, also had a better than 2-to-1 lead in fundraising as of June 30.

► Giuliani, widely credited with bringing the nation's sometimes anarchic largest city into some semblance of control, is given at least an even chance of bringing a Democratic seat into the Republican column in the high-profile New York race.

► In Nevada, incumbent Sen. Richard Bryan's surprise decision not to seek re-election left Democrats with an open seat to defend in a politically fickle state. The Republican candidate, former U.S. representative John Ensign, came within 428 votes of winning the state's other Senate seat, two years ago. The Democrats' top pick, state Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa, dropped out. Now the Democratic candidate is Ed Bernstein, a trial lawyer who has his own TV show. This week, Ensign apologized for a GOP Senate campaign committee news

Republicans had high hopes of picking off another open Democratic seat in New Jersey, where Sen. Frank Lautenberg is retiring. But Republican Gov. Christie Whitman disappointed her party by deciding not to run, so Republicans are given longer odds of winning.

With both parties scrambling to target the other's weak spots and protect their own, the earliest election returns — the financial ones — underscore just how competitive the contest is.

Normally far outstripped by Republicans in fundraising, the DSCC has pulled almost even. As of Sept. 30, Democratic candidates had raised \$11.3 million in "hard-dollar" contributions from individuals and political action committees to Republicans' \$15.5 million. In the "soft-money" category — the unlimited political contributions that flow to the two major parties from corporations, labor unions and wealthy individuals — the Democrats raised \$8.5 million, the Republicans \$9.5 million.

"Bob Torricelli's done a good job," McConnell acknowledges. "I have to tip my hat to him."



Conservative Party sees role in N.Y. race

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

New York's powerful Conservative Party could be the deciding factor in the U.S. Senate race in that state, some political analysts say.

The importance of the Conservative Party in a potentially close Senate contest between Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rudolph W. Giuliani was a topic of much discussion on political talk shows yesterday. The party delivers 4 percent to 8 percent of the total vote in statewide elections.

"People need to remember these are not two-way races in New York. There's a conservative line, and there is a liberal line. This is a three-way race," Sen. Robert Torricelli, New Jersey Democrat, said yesterday on ABC's "This Week."

Columnist George Will, a regular on that show, noted that the last time a Republican won statewide office in New York without the Conservative Party's endorsement was 1974.

Pundits say it could be kingmaker

The Conservative Party has warned Mr. Giuliani, the New York mayor, it will not support him in his race against Mrs. Clinton unless he rejects the endorsement of the Liberal Party, which he has long enjoyed. The Liberal Party has only half the vote-getting strength of the Conservative Party.

The Conservative Party's chairman, Michael R. Long, has also demanded that Mr. Giuliani, who is pro-choice, abandon his support for partial-birth abortion if he wants to get the party's backing.

"Rudy Giuliani, having endorsed late-term abortions, is not going to get the Conservative Party line," Mr. Torricelli predicted on ABC.

But Guy Molinari, Staten Island borough president, interviewed on CNN's "Late Edition," said he believes the party will be more flexible than it now appears.

"I'm not quite sure at this point that the Conservative Party will not endorse him. I don't think the

Conservative Party would want to see Hillary Clinton elected a senator for New York state," he said.

Mr. Molinari stressed that he would not urge Mr. Giuliani to change his stand on partial-birth abortion. "The person himself has to make that decision," said Mr. Molinari.

"But I think there's a good chance that before this is over, the Conservative Party will be endorsing Rudy Giuliani," he said.

Mr. Molinari is the father of former Rep. Susan Molinari, a New York Republican.

Mr. Molinari said he certainly hopes Mr. Giuliani receives the Conservative Party's endorsement. "It is a very important endorsement in this state," he said.

Mr. Giuliani, a Roman Catholic, has not always favored abortion rights. Earlier in his career, he favored overturning Roe vs. Wade, the 1973 Supreme Court ruling that struck down state laws against abortion.

Mrs. Clinton, who is also pro-choice, currently trails Mr. Giuliani in the polls by 50 percent to 43 percent.

"She was even in August, now she's seven points down. We welcome her candidacy," Sen. Mitch McConnell, Kentucky Republican and the National Republican Senatorial Committee chairman, told ABC's "This Week."

A slew of the first lady's campaign aides and supporters converged on the Sunday talk shows to confirm that she is definitely running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Some critics believed she did not make that clear in an announcement she made last week.

On NBC's "Meet the Press," Bruce Teitelbaum, executive director of Mr. Giuliani's campaign, would not say whether Mr. Giuliani will definitely run for the Senate or whether, if elected, he would serve out his full six-year term. "He's looking very seriously at running for the U.S. Senate," he said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRES. CAMPAIGN

Hill gotta get moving: campaign pros



DIPLOMAT CHAT: Chelsea Clinton stops to talk with children who lost their homes in Turkey's August earthquake, during the first family's visit this week to the quake-ravaged nation.

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton needs a dramatic move — like spending Thanksgiving at her new house in Westchester County — to lift her Senate campaign off the mat, experts said yesterday.

If she's going to run, Clinton also should declare her candidacy next month — not next year — and speed up her timetable for a number of other key political steps, observers and Democratic insiders say.

A rising sense of urgency over Clinton's stumbling campaign has swept through Democrats since the first lady's bungled visit to the West Bank last Thursday.

"It really needs a jolt," said one Democratic operative of the campaign.

Another Democrat who has been involved in statewide races said, "Her campaign has urgent problems that need to be addressed."

In addition to carrying her turkey in Chappaqua, Clinton was offered a number of other suggestions if she is ready to get serious about taking on expected opponent Mayor Giuliani.

■ **JUMP IN.** The first lady should scrap her plan to announce next year and do it within a week or two, said pollster John Zogby.

"I would make an announcement at a news conference that I'm suspending all my duties as first lady to devote every breath to being a worthy Senate candidate," Zogby said. "I'm a believer in bold moves."

■ **SHOW WHOS IN CHARGE.** Clinton lacks a full-time campaign manager and it shows. Insiders expect Housing and Urban Development official Bill DeBlase to take over eventually. But why wait?

"She has to eliminate some of the chaff in the kitchen," said one knowledgeable source.

"She's getting way too much advice from a lot of people who clearly don't understand New York — and a campaign manager will not only show that she's serious about running, but it will put in place a person who can make decisions and protect her interests."

■ **GET A MEDIA GURU.** Clinton should hire a media adviser to develop the campaign's themes and spearhead a targeted television and radio advertising onslaught that should start soon, some experts said.

Short of that, the first lady could deliver a heavily hyped major policy speech, laying out a full agenda and vision for herself as senator, consultants said.

Clinton is traveling abroad until the weekend and it is unclear when she will resume campaigning, said spokesman Howard Wolfson, who added he didn't know where she was spending Thanksgiving.

Meanwhile, President Clinton said in Istanbul that a painting given to him by the Turkish-U.S. Business Council would look great in the Chappaqua house.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1999

Broadway catches Rudy 'Fever'

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

The Broadway musical "Saturday Night Fever" might be a flop with critics, but Mayor Giuliani last night was banking

on the show being a big hit for his Senate campaign.

About 600 Giuliani supporters ponied up at least \$500 to attend a performance of the disco-style musical, followed by a cocktail reception at the Marriott Marquis.

The feverish fund-raiser —

closed to the press — was chaired by Broadway big James Nederlander Jr., while Donald Trump served as a vice chair. Other sponsors included actor Ron Silver, former Rep. Susan Molinari and auto dealer Howard Koeppel.

The mayor's fund-raising continues tonight, when Giuliani campaign finance chairman John Gross sponsors a \$50,000 cocktail party with lawyers at the '21' club.

And tomorrow, the mayor will be taking off for Detroit for another of his out-of-town fund-raisers.

The mayor's Broadway fund-raiser followed last month's considerably more star-studded event by likely Democratic foe Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The \$1 million "Broadway for Hillary" revue was hosted by talk-show queen Rosie O'Donnell and featured actors including Lauren Bacall, Mia Farrow and Joel Grey. That event was open to reporters.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's TV ad

The New York State Democratic Committee has begun airing television ads for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in upstate New York, where her likely Republican opponent for a U.S. Senate seat, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, began airing ads of his own in recent weeks.

"In farm fields and union halls, living rooms and lunch counters, there's a conversation going on about the issues and concerns closest to our hearts — about our children and more teachers in classrooms; about our families

and the quality health care we need; about helping seniors pay prescription costs; and jobs, good jobs, for a secure future right here," an announcer says in the 30-second spot as viewers see scenes of farm and city — and Mrs. Clinton shaking hands, smiling and listening to voters.

"It's about leadership that's on our side," the announcer says. "Call Hillary. Tell her to keep fighting for children, for families, for our future."

Associated Press writer Marc Humbert offered this analysis:

"The ad seeks to portray Mrs. Clinton as someone who listens to New Yorkers' concerns and who is an approachable person. That fits with the Democratic strategy of portraying Giuliani as someone with a prickly personality who does not work well with others."

While countering the Giuliani ad blitz, the ads are being paid for by the Democratic Party. That allows Mrs. Clinton to husband her resources for the major campaign to come after the first of the year. It also allows her to maximize the size of her campaign bank account when she files her first report with federal election officials early next year."

Questions remain

President and Mrs. Clinton dropped their original plan to rely on a wealthy friend and political fund-raiser for help in securing the mortgage for the Chappaqua, N.Y., home. But critics and some mortgage experts believe the financing the Clintons settled on still raises questions of special treatment, the Associated Press reports.

The Clintons got favorable terms to buy the five-bedroom, three-story wood-frame house, with swimming pool and exercise room, where they say they will live after leaving the White

House in January 2001. They officially bought the house last week for \$1.7 million.

"The basic, factual issue involved here is fairly cut and dried: Did they get an extraordinarily good deal? No question," said Kenneth Harney, who studies the mortgage business and writes a syndicated column on real estate.

In short, Mr. Harney said, the Clintons are putting down less than most people who take out mortgages that size, and they did not have to make the usual choice between paying "points," or add-on fees, upfront, and getting a lower interest rate overall.

N.Y. Ad War Echoes 1996 Strategy of Other Clinton

by SUSAN B. GLASSER
Washington Post Staff Writer

Four years ago, President Clinton helped open the floodgates for a new form of political advertising, persuading the Democratic Party to spend millions of dollars on early TV spots boosting his reelection. This week, his wife became the first—and so far, only—Senate candidate of 2000 to benefit from such spending.

With an infusion of \$100,000 from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, New York state Democrats announced a new ad campaign urging voters in upstate New York to "call Hillary" and support "leadership that's on our side." The spots are meant to answer a preemptive television strike last week by Clinton's expected GOP rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

But while the mayor is funding his ads directly from his own campaign account, the first lady is getting a crucial assist paid for wholly by the party.

"We picked up the entire tab," said DSCC political director Jim Jordan. "The Democratic Party in

See NEW YORK, A10, C1, 1

Clinton Ads Revive Debate Over Campaign Involvement

NEW YORK, From A1

New York felt strongly that going on the air now would be helpful in the long run to Mrs. Clinton and they made a convincing case to us."

In an ironic reprise of a legal debate first raised by President Clinton's own involvement in the 1996 Democratic Party ads, Republicans in Hillary Clinton's adopted home state said yesterday they are considering filing a complaint with the Federal Election Com-

mission alleging that the state party improperly coordinated the ads with her campaign.

At the same time, the Senate campaign committee's decision to pay for the new round of ads touting the first lady has resurrected questions about whether her celebrity candidacy will draw party resources away from other Democratic Senate contenders. Democrats point out that she has also raised significant funds for the DSCC this year, but acknowledge that the party's spending allows

her to conserve more of her own campaign war chest for next year's contest.

Because they stop short of urging viewers to vote for Clinton, the ads can be paid for by the party in part with unlimited "soft money" contributions from wealthy individuals, corporations and labor unions. Yesterday, top Clinton strategists defended the use of the ads—and said it was perfectly appropriate for them to discuss the spots with the state party.

"It was done in '95, in '96, and it

will be done this year," said Harold M. Ickes, who as White House deputy chief of staff coordinated the president's 1996 reelection campaign with the Democratic National Committee and is now a top adviser to Hillary Clinton's Senate bid. "It's perfectly legal and kosher."

While Giuliani is paying for his spots with his campaign funds, Ickes said, "We're not dictated by what he does." He added that the Clinton team, which sources said has already raised several million

dollars, has no plans to use any of it soon on advertising. "We don't need to be spending money at this point."

Republicans have focused their complaints on the question of alleged coordination between Clinton aides and the state Democratic Party chair, Judith Hope. Hope told reporters on Tuesday that the ads were her idea, but she acknowledged that she discussed them with the first lady herself as well as her campaign advisers.

Ickes yesterday acknowledged

that he had spoken with Hope and had given what other Democrats characterized as "advice and counsel." David Axelrod, the media consultant who made the spot, said Hope called him about a week ago and asked him to make the ad. His media firm even paid the campaign for the footage of Hillary Clinton he used, Axelrod said, to make sure the state party was not improperly using campaign resources.

See NEW YORK, A10, C1, 1

THE WASHINGTON POST

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1999

N.Y. Air War Echoes Early-Spending Strategy of '96

NEW YORK, From A10

But the state GOP argues that the admitted consultation between Hope and the Clinton campaign may have crossed the legal line.

Benjamin L. Ginsberg, a GOP election lawyer advising the state Republicans, said a recent federal court decision in a case involving the Christian Coalition suggests that coordination with campaigns on such ads may not be appropriate.

But several other election law

experts said the GOP complaint was unlikely to succeed—in large part because of the example set by President Clinton in 1996—and ultimately followed by his GOP rival, Robert J. Dole.

"The FEC specifically declined to proceed further regarding the 1996 DNC ads. It was very clear that Bill Clinton had written the ads, but the whole idea was the FEC had never promulgated proper rules and regulations to govern this kind of advertising," said Republican election lawyer Cleta Mitchell.

Mitchell said the ads highlighted Democratic hypocrisy about soft money, rather than questionable legality. "Democrats say on the Senate floor that they want to get rid of soft money," she said. "Well, this is what soft money does—it buys ads. If they want to get rid of it, they're being very hypocritical to spend this money."

The early-starting New York air war is the first in any Senate race in the country. Stuart Roy, a spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said the GOP does not plan to

spend any money on issue ads boosting its candidates until "well into next year." Roy also argued that the Democratic ads are a sign of how distracting Clinton's candidacy will be to the party's other campaigns next year.

"She's going to siphon off attention and money that might otherwise go to other candidates," he said. "Instead, it's going to be spent in New York—and this is a pretty good example of it."

But Democratic officials insisted that the new ads were not a sign of favoritism to Clinton, cit-

ing her strong fund-raising on behalf of the party. "Make no mistake," the DSCC's Jordan said, "she is a net financial benefit to the Democratic Party, to this committee, and to other candidates."

While it is illegal for candidates to raise money for the party directly earmarked for their own campaigns, many Senate contenders solicit funds for the DSCC that ultimately help their races. "It's fair to say that more than \$100,000—the cost of the ads—has been raised by her efforts for the DSCC," Ickes said.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is focus of ads funded by Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton's first big mistake was picking New York as the place to get into politics. Any novice in Gotham knows you can't offend Jews and succeed in New York politics.

A candidate for office in New York might as well endorse the Ku Klux Klan as to say nice things about someone who accuses Israel of using poison gas on anyone. This is a lesson Mrs. Clinton will learn often if, as she says she "intends" to do, she runs for the U.S. Senate next year.

Letting Suha Arafat's blood libel of Israel go unrebutted was Mrs. Clinton's third "gaffe," if gaffe it actually was, on the subject of Israel. Such gaffes suggest muddled thinking at best, a genuine bias against Israel at worst. She had pre-

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears here Monday and Thursday.

Potholes in the promised land

Hillary Clinton faces New York realities

viously endorsed a Palestinian state on the West Bank and an "undivided" Israeli capital in Jerusalem. Both positions, by the way, set her at odds with her husband's policies.

The incident on the West Bank was the most serious of all, exposing a lack of spontaneous outrage and a lethargy of commitment to Israel. It immediately aroused suspicions that Hillary is not really a friend of Israel.

American Jews are predominantly liberal in their politics, and large majorities vote Democratic. But when I spoke to a synagogue congregation the other day in suburban Washington, all the facial expressions registered dismay at the mention of the first lady. It had struck a negative nerve for many

reasons.

Jews were particularly offended by the suggestion that Jews would use poison gas on anyone. European Jews were gassed in the Nazi concentration camps, and memories of the Holocaust evoked the international support that led to a homeland in Israel after World War II. Palestinians have tried to turn international public opinion against Israel by painting the Israelis as oppressors like the Nazis.

Passivity as a quality of experience is anathema to contemporary Jews, who revere the memories of the Holocaust. We are mindful that the world sat passively by as European anti-Semitism enabled the massacre of six million Jews. Since

World War II, Jews have learned how to react with rapid-fire responses to attacks on Jews, and to see that their Christian friends do, too.

Suha Arafat was hardly subtle in her mendacious vitriol. Even if we accept Hillary Clinton's excuse that she wasn't sure of the reliability of the spontaneous English translation of the speech, when the words were made clear the first lady should have offered more than a tepid reply calling on all sides engaged in the peace process to refrain from "inflammatory rhetoric and baseless accusations."

This was no occasion for moral equivalence. Nor were the accusations new. If Hillary is as diligent a student of "the peace process" as she

wants us to believe she is, she's aware of the history of vicious lies the Palestinians have made against Israel.

The Zionist Organization of America, which keeps track of such lies, finds Suha's remarks in keeping with specific conspiracy theories floated by the Palestinian Authority and its leaders. These include

"injecting 300 Palestinian children with the HIV virus," and "distributing food containing material that causes cancer and hormones that harm male virility." They accused Jews of purposely sending spoiled food products "in order to poison and harm the Palestinian population" and smuggling in chocolate candy made from milk infected with "mad cow disease."

Says an editorial in the Jerusalem Post: "Suha managed to combine a medieval-style blood libel, a Nazi-era reference to poison gas, and a

modernist concern for the environment all in the same repulsive brew."

New York State Sen. Carl Kruger, who represents a large Jewish constituency in Brooklyn, rebuked the first lady's lack of response to Mrs. Arafat's "surreal charges against Israel." Even as

Hillary was announcing her intentions to announce for office next year, Mr. Kruger announced his support for Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the likely Republican nominee.

Hillary will need 66 percent of New York's Jewish vote to have a chance. Recent polls show her with 46 percent. Hillary can't afford to make any more mistakes.

A man at the synagogue where I spoke offered a pessimistic Jewish proverb for Mrs. Clinton: "If things don't get better, wait," he said. "they'll get worse."



Suzanne Fields

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESERVATION

POLITICS



ical: This ad went on TV last week after Hillary Rodham Clinton's measured response to anti-Israeli comments made in her presence during a Mideast trip.

Issue ads crowd airwaves before 2000 election

Groups registered as political non-profits can spend unlimited amounts on such messages

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

By Jim Drinkard
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The 2000 election season is shaping up as a noisy one, when more voices than ever will crowd the advertising airwaves — and with more secrecy about whose money is behind the messages.

Already, at least four dozen groups have been on the air trying to influence next year's voting, according to the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. That's twice as many as there were in all of the last presidential campaign.

"We are getting to the point where we will have year-round ads to promote or denigrate people in public office," says Greg Colvin, a San Francisco lawyer who represents non-profits. On issues from health care to gun control, education and the environment, "wherever you find a fault line where the candidates differ, you are going to see issue ads," he says.

Already on the air:

► The Republican Leadership Council, formed in 1997 to moderate the party's image, spent \$100,000 on TV ads in Iowa and New Hampshire criticizing GOP presidential candidate Steve Forbes for his ads in 1996 that attacked GOP candidate Bob Dole. Forbes has filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). It accuses the group of illegal coordination with GOP front-runner George W. Bush. The group and campaign deny the charge.

► The Sierra Club environmental group began advertising in February and plans to continue through next year. Most of the group's TV ads focus on the club's legislative goals in key House districts, but spokesman Daniel Weiss says they also are aimed at the elections — including, for the first time, the presidential race.

► Americans for Economic Growth, a group with ties to House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, has aired radio spots about Social Security in the districts of four vulnerable freshman House Democrats. Despite a reporter's repeated requests, the tax-exempt organization has failed to disclose information about its leadership and financing that by law must be made public.

► The Republican Jewish Coalition went on TV last week in New York with spots attacking Hillary Rodham Clinton's measured response when anti-Israeli comments were made in her presence during a trip to the Middle East. Officials in her New York Senate exploratory committee accused the group of collusion with her all-but-declared GOP opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. His spokesman denies it.

Incentives for activism

That kind of advertising, called issue advertising, is different from ads run by candidates. While so-called issue ads can praise or criticize political figures by name, they must avoid direct appeals to vote for or against a candidate and must be produced independently of any campaign.

Issue ads aren't new, but they are in a growth spurt that began in 1996. In that campaign, the Annenberg Center estimated, up to \$150 million was spent on issue advertising. The figure grew to \$260 million for the 1998 congressional elections.

There are several reasons. Donating money to a candidate or party, or forming a political action committee to pool money for the same purpose, subjects a person or group to FEC regulation. The group must register, disclose where its mon-

take no money from corporations, unions or foreign sources.

Recent rulings by courts and regulators have provided a roadmap to avoiding all that. If a group registers as a political non-profit organization it is free to spend unlimited sums on issue advocacy. The group can accept money from anyone, anywhere in any amount, and it does not have to disclose anything.

Such arrangements become more attractive as the cost of political advertising rises and as inflation whittles away the buying power of campaign contributions, whose limits were set in 1974.

"It has become increasingly difficult for people who want to influence the process to do it directly, by contributing to candidates, so they look for other avenues," says James Bopp, a lawyer for the anti-abortion National Right to Life Committee.

Relaxed regulation has made it easier for groups to work with candidates, says the Sierra Club's Weiss. While outright coordination is

barred, a group can legally inform a campaign of its plans to air issue ads, he says.

"In the old days, you had to have a fence between a campaign and issue advocacy groups," he says. "Now all you have to have is a chalk line."

Bopp also represents the Republican Majority Issues Committee, a new organization DeLay set up to raise \$25 million in contributions as large as \$1 million or more. The money will pay for issue ads and voter mobilization for his party's most endangered House members.

Another GOP effort has been set up by people with ties to House Republican Conference Chairman J.C. Watts of Oklahoma. Citizens for the Republican Congress aims to raise \$30 million to counter unions' work for Democrats and tout the GOP's accomplishments since it captured the House in 1994, says Cletis Mitchell, an attorney advising the group.

Din grows louder

Trade associations representing real estate and insurance industries, doctors and other business interests are expected to join the issue-advertising fray next year. What that means, experts say, is that the voices of citizens groups will grow proportionately louder in the din of election debate, and candidates will have more difficulty channeling public discourse to their preferred issues.

"The new organizations are a campaign-finance vehicle now ready for mass production," Frances Hill, an expert on non-profits at the University of Miami, wrote in a tax journal article this month. Such groups are suited to large donors who want to remain anonymous, she says.

"It is really hard to know what the source of the money is," Hill says. "If we know who is speaking, we can adjust our perception. But if they are anonymous, we have no idea of their goals, their interests. They are asking us to take spin at face value."

The Annenberg Center's director, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, says the airwaves might become so crowded next year that interest groups will be driven to air their messages earlier to avoid being shut out.

"There is a finite amount of air time available for sale," she says. She notes that the law gives candidates first priority to buy broadcast ad slots. GOP candidates Bush and Forbes are free from spending caps because they opted not to take public funds, she notes.

"Will they crowd out issue ad-



Jamieson: There is a finite amount of air time.

POLITICS

Clinton to devote herself to N.Y. run

White House role will take lower priority

By Kathy Kiely
and Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

When Bill Clinton was running for president in 1992, he used his lawyer wife as a campaign asset. He told audiences that by voting for him, "you get two for the price of one."

Not anymore. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton gave notice Tuesday. After the coming round of holiday parties, she is reducing her role as White House hostess to set up housekeeping in suburban New York and devote herself to her Senate campaign.

Clinton will return to the nation's capital when her duties as the president's spouse demand her presence. "It's not as though she's being kicked out of the White House," said Harold Ickes, one of her chief political advisers.

Even before the first lady's unequivocal declaration of her candidacy Tuesday, she had told friends and advisers that she was in the process of winding up this chapter of her career in order to start a new one.



By Alan Hirsch, Agency France-Press

Dedicated to candidacy: Hillary Rodham Clinton gets a hug from Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields Tuesday in New York.

Although she won't officially announce her campaign for at least another month, Ickes said Clinton will be "cutting back substantially" on her role at the White House.

She unveiled her plans for a commuter marriage while her husband was on a trans-Atlantic flight to Washington from Kosovo. She told reporters that neither he nor their daughter Chelsea knew about her announcement ahead of time.

"I don't think they will be surprised," she added.

Clinton said she hopes her husband will campaign for her.

Absentee first ladies are not unprecedented, according to historian Carl Stierazza Antho-

ny, who has studied the role of presidents' wives. Jackie Kennedy and Eleanor Roosevelt had their own getaway homes (Kennedy's was a house in Virginia's horse country, Roosevelt's a Manhattan apartment). In pre-air-conditioning days, first ladies regularly abandoned steamy Washington from May to October.

Still, Clinton's decision to legally establish a residence apart from her husband raises a number of questions.

Can the president handle all the social obligations of the White House without an official hostess? Will Chelsea return during college breaks to bail her dad out? How will the first

lady adapt to life outside the cocoon of valets, cooks and butlers in which she has lived for nearly 18 years at the Arkansas governor's mansion and the White House? Will she pour her own bowl of cereal in Chappaqua? Do her own laundry?

In deciding to make the leap from first lady to candidate, Clinton has finally satisfied New York backers who have been loudly complaining that her coyness was sabotaging her campaign. "It's like being half-pregnant," quipped Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y.

Now, a formal campaign apparatus is likely to fall into place quickly. An appointment of a campaign manager — almost certainly Bill DeBlasio, a veteran of New York Democratic campaigns — is expected before Christmas.

A campaign kickoff tour is likely in late January or early February. Clinton's advisers are trying to find a date that doesn't conflict with other headline-grabbing events, such as the president's State of the Union address or the early presidential primaries.

The pressure will be on New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Clinton's expected Republican opponent in the Senate race also has not formally declared his intention to run, even though party officials have cleared the field of GOP rivals.

Former Republican National Committee chairman Rich Bond, who is working for an anti-Hillary Clinton group, says Giuliani should announce before Christmas.

"I think it's time," he says. "If it's good enough for her, it's got to be good enough for him."

Clinton's announcement came after more than a week of speculation that she might be about to decide against the Senate race in the wake of a Middle East trip that even some of her backers privately considered a debacle.

There was a firestorm of criticism in New York after she visited the Palestinian-controlled town of Ramallah and failed to instantly rebuke Suha Arafat, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, when she accused Israelis of deploying cancer-causing toxic gas.

Clinton is moving to mend fences with New York's Jewish community.

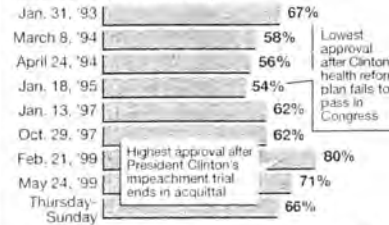
In interviews with New York City TV stations Tuesday, she repeated earlier statements that she was "outraged" by Suha Arafat's "falsehoods."

On Dec. 14, she'll speak to about 100 members of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations.

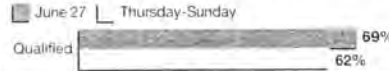
At her request, the first lady will be escorted by Sen. Joseph Lieberman, R-Conn. Lieberman, an acquaintance of the

Poll on first lady's candidacy

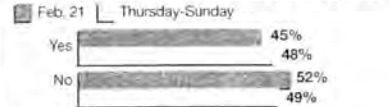
Do you approve of the way Hillary Rodham Clinton is handling her job as first lady?



Do you think she is qualified to run for the Senate from New York?



Is it appropriate for her to run while she is first lady?



Source: USA TODAY. (24/25/99) Poll of 1,015 adults Thursday-Sunday. Margin of error: ± 3 percentage points.

By Kathy Kiely and Martha T. Moore, USA TODAY

Clintons from their Yale Law School days, is an Orthodox Jew and a friend of Mandell Ganchrow, the president of the Orthodox union.

Her backers are making much of an "endorsement" by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud

Barak. While in New York last weekend, he went out of the way to praise Clinton and pronounce her trip to the Middle East a "success."

Contributing: Mimi Hall
► Moving to New York, 1A

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

And She's Off!

We knew she was running when she showed up in earth tones.

Like Al Gore, Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped onto the stage in New York all toasty-looking in a brown suit. "So the answer is yes," she said with a huge smile, like a blushing fiancée.

Reporters raced to the back of the room to call their offices with the news flash, like those old courtroom dramas when the jury comes back and the press guys in porkpie hats run for the telephone booths.

The icon became a pol yesterday. No longer protected by the mantle of royalty, she will now be subject to all the rough-and-tumble treatment accorded pols. She offered herself up as candidate First, Lady second.

"Well, you know, I had always intended to scale back my duties as first lady, and that is what I'm doing," she said.

Mrs. Clinton was reminiscent of Mr. Gore in more than autumnal color and moving to a different state. The exploratory part of her candidacy has been as bumptious and disaster-prone as Phase One of the vice president's bid. She has had more flapdoodles already than many candidates get in a whole campaign. The Puerto Rican clemency mess. The Chappaqua house mortgage mess. The kiss of doom with Mrs. Arafat.

But like the vice president, the more the First Lady tries to fix, the more bollixed up things get. Both keep trying to change the subject to issues, but the subject keeps getting

Clinton unfinished business.

dragged back to their personalities — are they authentic or merely entitled? Do their dizzying changes of look and image signal that, at core, they don't know who they really are?

Both Al and Hillary will have endless headaches juggling their dual roles at the White House and on the trail, straining to get out of Bill's shadow while straining to take advantage of his continuing popularity.

Mr. Gore has hedged a bit on how much he wants the president to campaign for him. But Mrs. Clinton was less equivocal. Although it was her husband's connubial betrayal that sent her numbers soaring and catapulted her into the Senate race, she said she wanted his help in New York

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

"Would I want my husband to campaign for me? Absolutely," she said. "I think he has been a great president for New York and for the country. And the progress that we have made in the last seven years is progress that I think has been good for the people of New York. And he would say — and I agree with this, and I will be talking about it in the campaign — we have unfinished business."

Unfinished business?

One would think that eight years running the country is a pretty good shot at getting your business done. But there's something so rootless and chaotic about the Clintons. They seem like a virus or alien that needs a host body to survive. They've invaded our national psyche and we're going to have to keep living with their weird marital problems and tangled ambitions forever and ever. Their business will never be finished.

They are never going to go away because they have no place else to go. They will get some worthy things done, but they will also be in our faces, exhausting us with their "We want to do good so we can break the rules when we need to" ethos.

Hillary's news conference was fascinating because she mirrored all of Bill's good habits and bad habits.

Good habits: She was articulate. She was charming. She called reporters by their first names. She laughed a lot. She said she would come up with real answers for real people.

Bad habits: She told gratuitous little stretchers. She pretended her decision to announce was spontaneous, in response to a question from the head of the teachers' union, when it was orchestrated. She said she wanted campaign finance reform, but then offered an ends-justify-the-means excuse for using Democratic soft money. She tried to have it both ways. She rearranged her schedule in the Middle East to accommodate her political needs in New York. But then when the trip blew up, she used the excuse that it was a diplomatic mission so she had been constrained from speaking out boldly on political matters.

In 1992 and 1996, Bill Clinton won by arguing that what he stood for was more important than who he is. His character flaws did not matter, he told voters, his issues mattered.

"Ultimately," Mrs. Clinton said yesterday, "this election is not going to be about me or Rudy Giuliani. It's going to be about the issues that concern the people of New York."

One Clinton is banking that the formula of the other Clinton will work one more time. □

Mrs. Clinton's Intentions

Hillary Rodham Clinton did the smart thing, and not a moment too soon. "The answer is yes," she said at a campaign appearance yesterday. "I intend to run." Actually she should probably have avoided the word "intend," since her spinners had to explain that the word was not meant as an escape hatch from her expected Senate race against New York City's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani. But the main message got through. After a series of gaffes, the first lady is committed, at least unofficially, to running in one of the nation's most unforgiving political environments for a rookie candidate. The early reviews have been rough because both friends and enemies expected, probably unrealistically, for her to be as effective in the spotlight as she was behind the scenes.

Quietly and not so quietly, New York's Democrats have been grumbling that Mrs. Clinton might not run, that she has been frightened off by the criticism of her trip to Israel and by her slippage in the polls against Mr. Giuliani. But New York politics is not conducted by sporting rules, a concept that must have lost its abstraction this week when the first lady saw a Republican television advertisement questioning her support of Israel. The spot shows her kissing the wife of the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, after Mrs. Arafat charged that Israel had used toxic gas on Palestinians. The commercial, paid for by the Washington-based Republican Jewish Coalition, makes no allowances for problems that Mrs. Clinton's supporters said occurred in the translation or for her rejection 12 hours later of the statements by Mrs. Arafat.

Whatever its impact on voters, the ad punctuated

ed the need for Mrs. Clinton to act decisively to prevent erosion of her base. The defection of the Democratic State Senator Carl Kruger of Brooklyn and the criticism by another Democrat, City Councilwoman Ronnie Eldridge, are not devastating events. But they are signals that Mrs. Clinton's core constituencies are ready for a candidate who runs full time and seems ready for prime time.

Her decisions to live mostly in Westchester County and cut back her tasks as first lady are necessary steps in a contest where Mr. Giuliani is constantly on the move and on the attack. What we will see now is how she responds to the daily accidents, surprises and insults of New York campaigning. She has learned that the cynicism of her new neighbors makes tricks like putting on a Yankees cap into something other than a bonding experience. Last Sunday's poll in The New York Post, with questions carefully worded to make her look bad, is surely a harbinger of hostile gestures to come from that quarter. She certainly has to avoid another major flip-flop on the order of the one in which she first endorsed and then opposed her husband's pardon of 16 Puerto Rican nationalists.

But Mrs. Clinton says she has no illusions about what kind of campaign it will be. The fact that she is still in the race after this last week certainly suggests a tough resolve. Now if she proves to be a brawler as ferocious as Mr. Giuliani and a master of the rapid-response trick of fixing mistakes within the same news cycle, Mrs. Clinton may be completing her initiation period just as she becomes a full-time resident of the state she proposes to represent in the Senate.

WED-THU NOVEMBER 24-25, 1999

First lady tells N.Y.: 'I intend to run'

By Martha T. Moore
and Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton finally said "yes" to a run for the Senate.

"The answer is yes," Clinton said Tuesday to a teachers group. "I intend to run."

She said she'll move to the Clintons' newly purchased home in suburban Westchester, N.Y., as soon as the Secret Service says it is secure.

That raises the prospect of the Clintons living separately at least part of the time next year as the president continues at the White House.

Hillary Clinton's announcement launches the first election campaign by a first lady in what will be an expensive, high-profile Senate race between Clinton and her all-but-declared opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

"It's time to get moving and get started," Clinton said.

Giuliani has not announced that he is running, but both have been acting like candidates: They have set up exploratory committees and are raising money. Giuliani has begun running television ads in upstate New York; the state Democratic Party is running ads featuring the first lady.

Clinton said she will cut back on her duties as first lady after the first of the year.

"I will be more and more focused on the campaign and becoming a candidate," Clinton said. "I'll be living in Westchester and traveling around the state and campaigning."

In a new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll, 62% said Clinton should end her duties as first lady and move to New York to run full time; 66% approved of the job she was doing, down from 71% in May. The poll Thursday through Sunday of 1,010 adults has a margin of error of +/-3 percentage points.

Clinton's announcement countered speculation by some Democrats that she would decide against the Senate race. Clinton's political instincts have been criticized since she failed to immediately object to comments by Suha Arafat, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, that Israel used "toxic gas" against Palestinians.

Clinton says she was "offended" but it would have been inappropriate for her to "create an international incident."

THE NATION

First Lady Says She'll Run for U.S. Senate Seat

■ **Politics:** Comment ends months of speculation. She says she'll move into her N.Y. home 'as soon as the Secret Service tells me it's ready.'

From Times Wire Services

NEW YORK—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Tuesday that she will run for the U.S. Senate from New York, ending months of speculation on whether she would become the first wife of a president to seek federal elective office.

"The answer is yes, I intend to run," Hillary Clinton told United Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten, who had asked, "Is it yes or is it no?" concerning her possible run for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

Clinton said she will be moving to the house that she and President Clinton purchased in suburban Chappaqua, N.Y., before the president leaves the White House, meaning the couple will live apart for a time.

"I'm going to be moving into my house as soon as the Secret Service tells me it's ready," she said at a news conference after her brief remarks to the teachers' union. "I'll be living in Westchester [County] and campaigning around the state." She added that she is scaling back her duties as first lady but will make frequent trips to Washington.

Hillary Clinton also said she would make a formal announcement after the first of the year.

Clinton said she would "absolutely" welcome campaigning by the president on her behalf. "I think he has been a great president for the people of New York," she told reporters.



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton hugs Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields after announcing she will make historic political run.

Hillary Clinton denied that the timing of the unexpected announcement was connected to criticism from some quarters over her recent trip to the Middle East, where Suha Arafat, the wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, accused Israel of using "poison gas" in Palestinian lands.

Some U.S. Jewish officials were angered when Mrs. Clinton sat silently during Suha Arafat's speech. Later, Mrs. Clinton issued a statement calling the remarks "inflammatory and baseless."

"I was offended by her comments," Hillary Clinton said, explaining that she was "on an official trip" as first lady and that, while "there were people who thought I should have caused an

international incident . . . I did what I thought was the right thing to do."

But Tuesday's statement came as her campaign was under pressure from defections by a few local Democratic officials and a weak showing in recent polls against her probable Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Hillary Clinton dismissed the polls, including one within the last week that said 53% of New Yorkers do not want her even to run, saying, "I don't pay attention to those polls."

Clinton said she was braced for a tough campaign against the combative mayor.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESS

First lady takes a new step, says 'I intend to run'

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Wed Nov 24 '99
Hillary Rodham Clinton, seeking to quell rumors she will abort her Senate run amid sagging poll numbers and growing Democratic skepticism that she is a strong candidate, told a group of supporters yesterday that she intends to run.

"The answer is 'yes.' I intend to run," she said. Mrs. Clinton made the comment to a teachers union in New York when a supporter asked her: "So, is it 'yes,' or is it 'no?'"

"It's time to get moving and get started," the first lady said. "I'll be traveling around the state and campaigning."

But Mrs. Clinton did not give the unequivocal assurance that many in her party wanted. She said she would delay her formal announcement, which she has already delayed several times, until "after the first of the year."

A spokesman for New York state's Democratic Party said Mrs. Clinton's remarks amount to "typical Clinton doublespeak" and do not answer the question of whether she is an ironclad candidate.



Hillary Rodham Clinton

"That is a question everybody is still asking now," Dan Allen said.

But a spokesman for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose use of the language is precise and to the point, said Mrs. Clinton's assurance was good enough. "She said in very plain English she is running," said Mr. Moynihan's chief of staff, Tony Bullock. "She wants to have some kind of more formal event in January or February of next year that is going to take an amount of planning."

Mrs. Clinton said she is "going to be moving" into the Clintons' new Chappaqua, N.Y., home as

see HILLARY, page A9

PHOTO
PRESS

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

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soon as the Secret Service tells her it is ready for occupancy. Her spokeswoman Marsha Berry said there is no "time frame" on when Mrs. Clinton will move.

"I'll be living in Westchester and traveling around the state and campaigning," she said, returning to Washington only "from time to time."

At yesterday's event at the United Federation of Teachers' Manhattan headquarters, the first lady also took several questions from reporters, including one who asked about former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

"I'm not going back," she replied. "I'm going forward."

The first lady said President Clinton and daughter Chelsea, who were returning from Kosovo, Yugoslavia, yesterday, were unaware of her announcement, but she didn't "think they will be surprised."

Mrs. Clinton said she did not "pay attention" to a recent poll that shows 53 percent of New York voters oppose her candidacy. The Zogby International Poll, conducted for the New York Post last week, shows her trailing New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani — her likely Republican opponent — by 7 percentage points. The mar-

gin of error is plus or minus 3.3 points.

While Mrs. Clinton was speaking to the teachers group, Mr. Giuliani was accepting an endorsement from a Democratic politician angered over her recent missteps in Israel.

New York state Sen. Carl Kruger, who represents a heavily Jewish district in Brooklyn, said he will support Mr. Giuliani because "he is a feisty spokesman that manifests all of the qualities I would want to see in a U.S. senator" and that Mrs. Clinton fits New York like "a square peg in a round hole."

Earlier this month, he wrote to Mrs. Clinton, rebuking her for "idly" listening to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's wife "as she made disturbing, surreal charges against Israel." Suha Arafat accused Israeli security forces of using "poison gas" on women and children to break up demonstrations on the West Bank.

At yesterday's question-and-answer session, Mrs. Clinton avoided responding to a query about Palestinian statehood. Earlier this year, she angered some Jewish voters by appearing to side with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Mrs. Clinton also said she favors an "undivided" Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Mr. Giuliani's campaign spokesman dismissed Mrs. Clinton's remarks yesterday as a "non-announcement."

"What happened was an announcement about a press conference to announce that she intends to announce next year," said Bruce Teitelbaum. "Sounds like more political double talk to me."

Stuart Roy, spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, likened Mrs. Clinton's news conference "to drinking a six-pack of 'near-beer.' It looks like the real thing, but the key ingredient seems to be missing. With beer, it's the alcohol. With this, it's the candidate."

Nevertheless, Mr. Roy acknowledged that his committee is "operating on the assumption that she will, in fact, run."

And some Republicans in New York say they will be relieved if she actually runs, because they're afraid Mr. Giuliani won't if she gets out of the race. Mr. Giuliani has not yet announced, either. "In his past runs for mayor, he has never made a formal announcement, he has just run," Mr. Roy said.

Mrs. Clinton's own "exploratory" mode and dual roles as first lady and prospective Senate candidate have upset Democrats in recent weeks as her poll numbers sagged. New York state Democratic Party Chairman Judith Hope said the first lady "should quit her day job" and devote more time to the race.

State Assemblyman Dov Hikind, a New York City Democrat,



With Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields applauding, Hillary Rodham Clinton say she's running.

called on her to "get out" of the race earlier this month. On Saturday, two other Democrats, New

York City Council member Ronnie Eldridge and former Senate candidate the Rev. Al Sharpton, joined

the chorus.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1999

No Yankee Parade for the First Lady

• What a glorious day for the Yankees, the city of New York and all of its residents. Great weather, no crime, everybody simply having a good time celebrating the World Series champions.

By the way, not that anybody would have noticed or cared, but the world's greatest living Yankee fan, Hillary Clinton, was nowhere to be seen during the festivities.

I don't know where she was, but I'll bet anything she was in some high-power meeting of the minds with her crony, Rosie O'Donnell, trying to concoct a few more barbs against the man who turned this city around — our mayor (and we should hope soon to be the next Senator for the state of New York), Rudy Giuliani.

Rodrigo Sáenz
Elmhurst (via e-mail)

Waiting for Rudy

• Dick Morris theorizes ad nauseum about why Mrs. Clinton has not yet formally announced her plans to run for the Senate, but doesn't offer one word about Rudy Giuliani's reasons for stalling.

Well, let's look at why Giuliani hasn't officially declared yet. Is

he waiting to see if his misguided and costly battle with the Brooklyn Museum of Art gets him the Conservative Party nomination, or waiting to see if Hillary Clinton decides to run? Morris questions Clinton's commitment, but what about Rudy's? Why hasn't he officially declared yet?

Joe Chiplock
Manhattan (via e-mail)

Hillary Clinton vs. Giuliani: Poll Finds Few Undecided

By ADAM NAGOURNEY with MARJORIE CONNELLY

One year before the election for United States Senate, a remarkably small number of New Yorkers say they are undecided in a contest between Rudolph W. Giuliani and Hillary Rodham Clinton, suggesting the advertisements, speeches and assaults that are being readied will be aimed at a scant few hundred thousand voters, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The poll found that the level of voter interest at this time is already equal to what it was a single month before Election Day in last year's Senate race. That finding reflects an electorate that is both highly informed and opinionated about the race to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring in 2001.

In one bit of good news for Mrs.

Clinton, New Yorkers list health care and education as their two most important concerns, and say they overwhelmingly believe that Mrs. Clinton would do a better job handling those issues than Mr. Giuliani. But that is offset by a clear drop in what the public says is its opinion of Mrs. Clinton over the six months her potential candidacy has received sustained attention. By contrast, Mr. Giuliani is now viewed more favorably, in some important ways, than he was last spring. And a majority of voters statewide, according to the poll, believe the Mayor cares more about the needs and problems of New York City residents and those in the surrounding suburbs.

The Times/CBS News Poll, conducted from Oct. 23 through Oct. 28, found that Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton (neither has officially announced candidacy) are in a statistical dead heat. If elections were held today, Mr. Giuliani would have the support of 46 percent of voters, compared with 42 percent for Mrs. Clinton, with 8 percent of voters saying they have no preference at this time.

But when those 8 percent of voters are asked which way they are leaning, the number of undecided voters shrinks to just 3 percent, with Mr. Giuliani receiving 49 percent and Mrs. Clinton 44 percent.

And while there are voters in both camps who say they might still change their minds, the Times/CBS News Poll strongly

Early Appraisals

What is your opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton?

FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	UNDECIDED
37%	38%	24%

Of Rudolph Giuliani?

FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	UNDECIDED
39%	34%	27%

The New York Times/CBS News Poll

The New York Times

Continued on Page A23

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suggests that a key to this election is likely to be which campaign is successful in first identifying and then appealing to the distinct class of New Yorkers who have yet to take sides in a Giuliani-Clinton contest, while at the same time reinforcing the support of voters who are with them today.

The extent to which New Yorkers have formed opinions, and seem fairly set in them, also suggests that the flood of television advertising, media coverage and the views of so-called opinion leaders — newspaper and Internet columnists, television commentators and editorial boards — that have already washed over this contest may have less sway on voters in a more conventional political season.

But the poll respondents clearly indicated that they are not necessarily delighted with either of these likely choices. Each candidate is viewed unfavorably by one-third, and more than 4 in 10 of the New Yorkers who were polled expressed a desire for other candidates to consider.

The Times/CBS News telephone poll was conducted with 1,315 residents of New York State, of whom 1,026 said they were registered to vote. It has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points. That means there would have to be a difference of more than six percentage points in order to say that one candidate clearly leads the other in the poll.

In the last Times/CBS News Poll, in March, Mrs. Clinton led Mr. Giuliani by 9 percentage points, 48 percent to 39 percent. At the time, the impeachment scandal had just ended with President Clinton's acquittal by the Senate. Mrs. Clinton may have benefited then from her husband's extremely high popularity in New York State, and from a wave of sympathy among voters who viewed her as the wronged but loyal wife. Conversely, Mr. Giuliani at the time was being buffeted in the midst of a furor over the police shooting of Amadou Diallo.

Mrs. Clinton's pollster, Mark Penn, said he was not surprised by poll results showing so few undecided voters. "This is consistent with our belief that this is a very, very close race, starting off within the margin of error," Mr. Penn said. "And that's excellent, considering that she's just making a transition into the state, and that over time the race will be more about what she stands for."

Bruce J. Teitelbaum, the director of Mr. Giuliani's political action campaign, said he was not surprised to hear that Mrs. Clinton's unfavorable rating was beginning to inch up. "When a campaign goes negative, especially this early, the candidate's negatives go up and their approval rating falls," Mr. Teitelbaum said, referring to incidents in which Democrats close to Mrs. Clinton have attacked Mr. Giuliani in recent days. "Mayor Giuliani focuses on the issues and his record, and that accounts for his strong poll numbers."

The poll raises flags of hope and caution for both likely candidates as they prepare for the year ahead.

For Mr. Giuliani, the Times/CBS News poll also showed an increase since March in the number of people who believed that he "cares about

Early Appraisals of the Candidates

Who would do a better job at ...	CLINTON	GIULIANI
working to reform the health care system?	63%	22%
working to improve education?	60	27
getting along with other Senators?	53	32
representing your interests in the Senate?	46	39
working to reduce crime?	15	75

Who cares more about the needs and problems ...		
of people living in New York City?	21%	69%
of people living in the suburbs around N.Y.C.?	33	50
of people living in the rest of New York State?	37	38

		MARCH	OCT.
What is your opinion of Rudolph Giuliani?	Favorable	34%	39%
	Unfavorable	28	34
	Undecided	38	27

What is your opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton?	Favorable	52	37
	Unfavorable	22	38
	Undecided	25	24

Does Giuliani care about the needs and problems of people like you?	Yes	42	50
	No	39	37

Does Clinton care about the needs and problems of people like you?	Yes	63	54
	No	25	32

Does Giuliani have the right kind of experience?	Yes	56	67
	No	29	23

Does Clinton have the right kind of experience?	Yes	50	44
	No	41	47

Would Giuliani be good at getting things done for New York?	Yes	54	69
	No	29	21

Would Clinton be good at getting things done for New York?	Yes	61	59
	No	26	29

Based on telephone polls conducted by The Times and CBS News across New York State March 8 to 14 with 1,469 registered voters and Oct. 23 to 28 with 1,026 registered voters. Those who had no answer are not shown.

The New York Times

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted Oct. 23 to Oct. 28 with 1,026 adults throughout the state. Of those, 1,026 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges across the state. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were turned by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and the number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region of the state, race, Hispanic origin, sex, age and education.

In addition, the question about voting preference if the year 2000 election for United States Senate were being held today is based on "usual voters." Usual voters are those who say they are registered and voted in 1996 or 1998, further weighted so that those who live in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups, the potential sampling error is larger.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for instance, can lead to somewhat varying results.

said he opposed raising the minimum wage unless he saw studies that showed it would not result in a decline in job growth; he has since switched and says he now expects to support it.

There are clear signs that Mrs. Clinton is having some difficulty in establishing herself with the New York electorate. The number of voters who expressed a favorable opinion of her dropped to 37 percent from 52 percent since March, while her unfavorable rating jumped to 38 percent from 22 percent. By contrast, Mr. Giuliani's favorable rating increased to 39 from 34, while his unfavorable rating moved to 34 from 28.

While a solid majority of New Yorkers do not believe the scandals that have marked Mr. Clinton seven years in Washington were fair issues to raise against Mrs. Clinton, they are evenly divided on the question of whether Mrs. Clinton's "involvement in various investigations" is a legitimate issue. Mr. Giuliani, a former Federal prosecutor, has yet to say to what extent, or whether, he might raise such issues against Mrs. Clinton, who has been at the center of Whitewater and other longtime investigations.

She also continues to be burdened by questions about her nonresidency. Notwithstanding her almost weekly visits to New York, 4 out of 10 New Yorkers say they do not believe she could effectively represent the state — about the same number as last March.

needs and problems of people like you," as well as the percentage who believed he had the experience to be a Senator. There was a slight decline in the number of people who offered similar opinions about Mrs. Clinton over the same period.

There was also an increase among respondents who said they believed that Mr. Giuliani would be "good at getting things done for New York." And by overwhelming numbers, voters said they believed Mr. Giuliani would do a better job at working to reduce crime.

The most encouraging result for Mrs. Clinton appears to be the emerging shape of the campaign when it comes to issues. The respondents listed health care as the single most important problem facing the next president and Congress, with education a close second. Indeed, 89 percent of respondents said the health care system needed fundamental changes, or should be completely rebuilt.

Two of three said that Mrs. Clinton would do a better job than Mr. Giuliani at dealing with the health care

system, a notable finding considering Mrs. Clinton's involvement with her husband's failed attempt to revise the nation's health care system in 1994.

And a similar percentage said Mrs. Clinton would do a better job with education. In this regard, it appears that Mr. Giuliani is being dragged down by the New York City public school system: barely one-third of the respondents said they approved of the job he had done with the city schools, one of the few areas in city governance in which Mr. Giuliani does not get high marks.

Two-thirds of New Yorkers would also prefer to see any budget surplus go to shoring up Social Security and Medicare rather than promoting a tax cut. Congressional Republicans, with Mr. Giuliani's support, have pushed the tax cut, while Democrats, including Mr. Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, have pushed for allocating the money to those domestic programs.

New Yorkers also overwhelmingly support an increase in the minimum wage, which has also been promoted by Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Giuliani initially

TOP RACES IN YOUR STATE, 4-5A

ROAD TO 2000

The next election could be the costliest — financially and politically

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

The race for the White House is getting the headlines. But at every level of government, the 2000 elections are shaping up to be among the most competitive in history.

Tuesday's off-year elections were a draw — Democrats won key mayoral races, Republicans took control of the Virginia legislature. But far more contests will be held next year. They're on track to be the costliest in history. And the stakes could not be higher.

COVER STORY

A shift of five seats could change control of the U.S. Senate. The House is more evenly balanced than it's been in 44 years. Seven of next year's 11 governors' races are toss-ups. In 22 state houses or senates, a shift of three or fewer seats could alter political control.

Repercussions will be felt up and down the political ladder. The next president will influence the races for Congress, statehouses and city halls for at least four years. The folks elected in state capitals will redraw congressional and legislative district lines for the first decade of the 21st century.

Thanks in part to Tuesday's elections, from the once Democratic South to the formerly Republican West, battle lines are tightening. Only a handful of places remain one-party strongholds. Republicans ended a Democratic dynasty Tuesday by winning control of the Virginia General Assembly for the first time. Democrats ended three decades of GOP dominance in Indianapolis and Columbus, Ohio.

"They're going to be fighting this out in the trenches," says Thomas Mann, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution think tank.

The results of Tuesday's mostly local voting suggest

Please see COVER STORY next page ►



By Will Weidinger, AP

Tough race: Hillary Clinton vs. Rudy Giuliani for N.Y. Senate seat? Florence Falcone makes her choice.



By Ron Edmonds, AP

Dianne Feinstein: California senator is considered a strong incumbent for 2000.

COVER STORY

One-party strongholds becoming thing of past

Continued from 1A

that voters are tired of partisan attack politics. Instead, they want candidates to stress pragmatic, centrist solutions to nagging problems such as suburban sprawl and school safety. And they're willing to cross party lines in search of those solutions.

Neither major party dominated the ballot Tuesday. Republicans and Democrats each had satisfying victories and disappointing defeats.

"I won't pretend that there is any clear partisan message to be drawn from the results," says Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The gubernatorial race in Mississippi between Democratic Lt. Gov. Ronnie Musgrove and former GOP congressman Mike Parker was still too close to call Wednesday. The winner may be decided by the Democrat-controlled state House, because neither candidate got 50%.

Party parity also appeared in Philadelphia, where former Democratic city councilman John Street won the mayor's race by 1 percentage point over Republican Sam Katz. Democrats have held City Hall for 52 years.

Big spenders

This week's elections contained another harbinger of next year's contests. In Philadelphia, the two candidates spent a combined \$20 million on their campaigns, making it one of the most expensive mayoral contests ever. In Indianapolis, two mayoral contenders spent \$5 million, a record for that city. The candidates in the cliffhanger governor's race in Mississippi spent \$7 million.

It looked like a warm-up for 2000. GOP favorite George W. Bush has obliterated fund-raising records for a presidential campaign. He has raised \$57 million through the first nine months of this year. He is the money leader in a field that has pulled in nearly \$150 million for both parties.

It's just the beginning. With control of the House up for grabs, and expensive and competitive Senate races ahead in New York, Missouri, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Virginia, congressional fund-raising is expected to be near record levels as well. Already, contributions are up sharply from the 1998 election; Democrats, usually the poorer party, are close to breaking even. In all, political analysts say, spending on politics

in 2000 could hit \$3 billion.

Perhaps the hottest contest next year will be for control of the House. Democrats, who lost the edge to Republicans in 1994 for the first time in four decades, could recapture control with a net gain of six seats. Currently, the House has 222 Republicans, 211 Democrats, one vacancy and one independent, Vermont's Bernie Sanders, who usually votes with the Democrats.

A key factor could be the large number of seats left by retiring House members. Republicans will have to defend at least 17, while Democrats so far have only six to protect. That's the biggest open-seat advantage for Democrats since 1958.

Because incumbents are generally tough to beat, both parties are concentrating on the open seats — about half of which are considered competitive — and on districts in which incumbents won by less than 5 points in 1998. In the end, the battle for control of the House is expected to come down to about 20 of those key races.

The Senate is considered less likely to change hands, but a Democratic takeover is possible. Down 55-45, Democrats have attracted strong contenders such as first lady Hillary Clinton, the likely candidate against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for an open seat in New York. The outgoing governors of Delaware and Missouri are challenging vulnerable GOP incumbents.

Democrats have only 14 seats to defend, compared to 19 for Republicans. They have several strong incumbents, including California Sen. Dianne Feinstein and Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Expect 'tough, close races'

"It's pretty dicey out there," says Sen. Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. "We expect a bunch of tough, close races."

Close races are expected, too, for most governors' offices in 2000. Democrats are retiring in North Carolina, Missouri and Delaware; Republicans in Montana and North Dakota. All five races will be competitive. So will the re-election efforts of West Virginia Republican Cecil Underwood and Indiana Democrat Frank O'Bannon.

Currently, Republicans hold 31 governor's mansions to 17 for the Democrats; a Musgrove victory in Mississippi would make it 30-18.

Tight races

Republicans and Democrats are closely matched going into the 2000 elections. The current breakdown:

■ Republican □ Democrat

Senate
 ■ 55
 □ 45

House
 ■ 222
 □ 211
 1-Independent; 1-Vacant

Governor
 ■ 31
 □ 17
 1-Independent; 1-Reform

State legislature
 ■ 18
 □ 19
 12 split
 1-Nonpartisan

Source: USA TODAY research

By Alexander Gorenzow, USA TODAY

(Minnesota's Jesse Ventura belongs to the Reform Party; Maine's Angus King is an Independent.) Democrats can't win back a majority next year, but they could cut the GOP lead.

For now, voters are showing no preferences. "The waters are very calm, and there's just not much wind at anybody's back," says Clinton Key of the Republican Governors Association.

Further down the political ladder, races for state legislature seats in 2000 may have the most far-reaching impact. Lawmakers in 45 states will draw new congressional district lines after the 2000 Census; in 39 states, they also will redraw their own district lines. Other states give the tasks to independent boards.

Democrats now control 19 legislatures. Virginia's pickup gives Republicans 18.

But after next year's elections, a whole new power structure is possible: 22 legislative chambers could change hands if just three seats or fewer shift to the minority party. Republicans' 103-100 majority in the Pennsylvania House could disappear with the election of two more Democrats. One vote could change control of the Texas and Wisconsin senates and the Washington House.

"The notion of a one-party state, although not completely dead, is on life support," says Tim Storey of the National Conference of State Legislatures. "There just aren't many one-party states anymore."

Contributing: Richard Benedetto, Jim Drinkard, Mimi Hall, Kathy Kieley and Wendy Koch

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1999 • USA TODAY



Giuliani: Mayor cheers Troy mayoral candidate Carmella Mantello, second from left, with state Sen. Joseph Bruno, right, and Assemblyman Pat Casale, far left.

Giuliani hits the airwaves with expensive, early ad

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — A day after this year's election and more than one year before the next, Mayor Rudy Giuliani is on the airwaves in aid of his probable Senate candidacy.

A television ad promoting Giuliani's record in New York City began running Wednesday in Rochester, Syracuse and Albany. It is to begin airing in Buffalo next week.

The ad calls Giuliani "a leader who gave people a reason to believe again." It credits Giuliani, first elected mayor in 1993, with cutting crime, creating 341,000 jobs and cutting taxes \$2.4 billion.

The city has cut crime and taxes, although Giuliani's critics might argue that job growth was driven not by the mayor but by Wall Street, where the stock market has been soaring since 1991.

Giuliani's likely opponent, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, isn't mentioned, nor are there any allusions to Giuliani's most frequent criticism of her: that she has not lived in the state. (Clinton visited her new house in Chappaqua on Wednesday to get an idea, she said, of what furnishings she needs.)

Giuliani's ads are "one part of an ongoing process of getting better known around the state," Bruce Tel-

telbaum, head of Giuliani's exploratory committee, said Wednesday. "We're still in an introductory phase, and this effort is consistent with the other activities of the mayor's exploratory committee." Those include Giuliani's recent travels to raise money and make appearances with local Republican candidates.

Although the ad appears to be running remarkably early in the 2000 Senate race, since neither Giuliani nor Clinton has officially become a candidate, its timing is not unprecedented. Both candidates in the state's 1998 Senate race, Republican Alfonse D'Amato and Democrat Charles Schumer, ran ads nearly a year before that election.

The timing is costly to Giuliani, however. This early, TV stations are not in a "political window," the period before an election during which election law says candidates can buy air time for the lowest available rate. The Giuliani camp would not say how much was spent on airtime, but Democrats estimated the cost at \$175,000 for a week.

Clinton has not run TV ads or even officially selected a media adviser. Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson wouldn't say when she might do either. He criticized Giuliani's ad for "missing some important chapters," including Giuliani's support of congressional Republicans' budget.

Hill to host gala for pro-Palestinian group

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is hosting a fund-raiser next month for a group pushing to establish a Palestinian state with part of Jerusalem as its capital, officials said yesterday.

On the heels of her botched Middle East trip, Clinton's lead-

ing role in the \$500-a-person gala for "Americans for Peace Now" on Dec. 6 in Manhattan is likely to further complicate her efforts to broaden her support among New York's Jewish voters, observers say.

Clinton has been under fire for not speaking up when Yasser

Arafat's wife last week accused Israel of poisoning Palestinian women and children.

Founded 20 years ago in Israel and viewed as a left-wing fringe organization by many Israelis, Peace Now is well-known for its campaign for an independent Palestinian state.

The group also supports two capitals in Jerusalem, backing a plan under which the city's boundaries would be expanded so Palestine would have its capital in an Arab part and Israel would have its capital in the Jewish sections, with religious sites open to all.

Clinton set off an uproar last

year when she backed establishment of a Palestinian state, while official U.S. policy did not.

Since her Senate campaign started this past summer, the first lady has declined to repeat her endorsement of a Palestinian state and has taken the position that Jerusalem should be the undivided capital of Israel.

Supporting Hillary

One day after New York State Democratic Party Chairman Judith Hope suggested that Hillary Clinton "needs to put a cot in that house in Chappaqua and move in there," Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson yesterday sent the first lady an

actual cot.

"For once, I agree with the New York State Democratic Chair, who says Hillary Clinton ought to . . . spend a little time in New York," Mr. Nicholson gives as the reason behind his kind gesture.

POLITICS

Lynne Duke

Senate Campaign Flicks On in Upstate N.Y.

A year before New York's Senate election, the television advertising battle for the hearts and minds of upstate New York voters has begun. State Democratic leaders yesterday unveiled an ad to begin airing today that touts first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and the "conversation" she has started in New York about the issues "closest to our hearts."

The 30-second spot will run for about a week in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Albany. Clinton's likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani**, began airing an ad of his own in the same cities last week. Giuliani's ad touts his accomplishments in New York City and ends with the line: "Rudy, ready to do even more, for all of us." Neither of the ads explicitly mentions the Senate race.

That both campaigns are focusing on upstate New York reflects just how competitive the region is.

The Clinton ad, which also will run in several other cities upstate, picks up the themes of the "listening tour" that Clinton conducted last summer and that have emerged as her campaign issues: families, education, health care, jobs.

The ad's images are of a farm, a main street, a lemonade stand and smiling children, of course with Clinton in there talking and listening to people and being cheered by an approving crowd. Says the announcer: "It's about leadership that's on our side. Call Hillary. Tell her to keep fighting for children, for families, for our future." The ad invites callers to the state Democratic Party.

Giuliani's ads are being paid for by his campaign committee, but the ad boosting Hillary Clinton is being financed by the Democratic National Committee and New York's State Democratic Committee at a cost of more than \$100,000—most of it coming from the DNC.

In Monte With GOP Gays



Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rudolph W. Giuliani are both launching TV ads outside New York City.

THE WASHINGTON POST

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1999

Hill seeks gold in Golden State

HILLARY. Singing "New York, New York" but last week also humming "California, Here I Come." Our First Lady-cum-Senator took L.A. like a swarm of locusts. Vacuumed up every checkwriter in the area. Three events. Raised over \$1 mil in two days.

For instance, a tea. For 60 top power ladies. Hostess, **Cheryl Saban**, wife of the gent who created the Power Rangers. The mansion's in the mountains high atop Mulholland. It's the hugely wealthy gated Beverly Park community. Home of such as **Sly** and **Denzel**.

The Candidate wore her usual Senatorial fund-raiser uniform — pants suit, pearl earrings. Said she's for gun control and would fight the opposition. Said, yes, she's running to rep New York, but if she wins she'd ultimately have impact on national issues. Her talk, as tailored as her outfit, was national not regional.

The tea was \$1,000 per person. A lot of money for: hot water, scones and clotted cream.

And, listen, it's still a year for her to sit in everybody's kitchen everywhere.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, a friend asked the temporary President how's he feeling? Exact quote: "Not bad for an old man." This was followed by a faint smile and a peek into his so far inconclusive future. After

noting how great his wife was doing, he added: "I still don't know what to do with myself."