

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Nora C. Bulnes

Maisha,

Enclosed please find a copy
of the magazine which featured
Mrs. Clinton's Senate race in
Miami.

I would appreciate for this
message to be delivered to
Mrs. Clinton. Best Regards,

—
Nora Bulnes —

1717 NORTH BAYSHORE DRIVE, SUITE 113, MIAMI, FLORIDA 33132

Marsha Berry

MARZO 2000 \$3.00

Selección

Tenis

GUÍA DEL
ERICSSON OPEN 2000

Fiesta Anual
de Selección
17º ANIVERSARIO

ENRIQUE IGLESIAS
AHORA "ENRIQUE"
PARA TODO EL MUNDO

HILLARY CLINTON
VISITA MIAMI

EDICION
DE LA SALUD
ENTRE LA BELLEZA,
LA DIETA
Y LA MEDITACION

LA VOZ DE
UNA NUEVA ERA

jaci
velásquez

ENGLISH
TRANSLATIONS





Irene Korge y Chris Korge



La llegada de la Prima Dama a la residencia de los Seres. Puopolo



La Primera Dama, Hillary Clinton y la representante Elaine Bloom

LA PRIMERA DAMA VISITA MIAMI.
FUE OBJETO DE DOS AGASAJOS EN SU HONOR

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON



Sonia Puopolo, Alfonso Fanjul, Nora Bulnes, presidenta y publisher de Selecta Magazine y Hillary Rodham Clinton



Momentos en cual Sonia Puopolo recibe aplausos por una noche inolvidable



El pianista Francisco Paz

Su visita tuvo como propósito el recaudar fondos para su causa



Jennifer Infante y Gary Nader



Sonia Puopolo con Sanford y Dolores Ziff



Jennifer y Richard Postrel



Carrol y Godfrey del Rio



Manuel M. H. Scott

Dominic y Sonia Puopolo, Hillary Clinton,
Tita Puopolo y J. Gregory Payne, Ph.D.



Tita Puopolo,
coordinadora de la
cena de recaudación
y Hillary Clinton



Sonia y Dominic Puopolo,
fueron los que llevaron a cabo
todos los eventos de esa noche



Hillary Clinton, Alfredo Durán y Chelin Cremata



Lourdes Gutiérrez
y Alfonso Fanjul

Siempre con ese estilo y elegancia que la han convertido en una figura de relevancia internacional, la primera dama de Estados Unidos, Hillary Rodham Clinton, realizó una visita a nuestra ciudad donde recibió el "Most Distinguished Woman of Vision-Award", concedido por el Weizmann Institute of Science, dedicado en Israel a investigaciones médicas.

La señora Clinton fue agasada con una cena organizada por la señorita Tita Puopolo, que está haciendo su maestría en Harvard University y preparando su tesis en política y gobierno y los efectos del Internet en el sistema democrático. Tita expresó a Selecta que veía en Hillary Clinton un ejemplo de la mujer que con su voluntad de servicio a la comunidad inspira a las jóvenes de América a realizarse y ser también líderes en sus respectivos campos de actuación.

Tita y sus padres, Dominic y Sonia Puopolo, ofrecieron después de la cena una elegante recepción de postres y champaña a la primera dama, evento que compartió un grupo de personas que la apoyan en su aspiración de ser la primera mujer senador del estado de Nueva York en el Congreso de los Estados Unidos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS 6/24



Anna Lucia Santos



Maria Gazale



Janice Revitz, Mark Revitz y Honey Revitz



Nora Bulnes y Hillary Clinton



Tita Puopolo, Alfonso Fanjul y Hillary Clinton

pañña Senador por el Estado de Nueva York

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who lags 7-10 points in the polls behind New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani no matter how often she announces her Senate candidacy (or talks up the joys of grocery shopping), has finally found her issue: racial division. It's neither pretty, nor uplifting, nor productive of anything beside crippling antagonisms. But given the odd conditions of Mayor Giuliani's New York City, it could prove effective.

Outside New York City, it's hard to sense the smarting friction that exists in this boom town, whose safe streets, courtesy of Mr. Giuliani and the NYPD, serve as a daily rebuttal to an outmoded liberal doctrine still favored by the city establishment. When undercover police killed a man last week, not long after the sensational trials of New York policemen for the torture of Abner Louima (guilty) and the death of Amadou Diallo (innocent), Mrs. Clinton, supported by the city

Diana West is an editorial writer for The Washington Times.

Hillary demagogues New York

Police shootings become favored issue

establishment, found her voice. So what if it sounded just like Al Sharpton's? No longer will she be regarded as a novice bumping along the campaign trail. Having successfully exploited the shooting death of Patrick Dorismond, the first lady has proven herself a demagogue in her own right.

Harsh words, yes. But there are few others that do as well to describe Mrs. Clinton's outrageous rhetoric during a week in which she repeatedly accused Mr. Giuliani of "dividing the city" for leading "the rush to judgment" about the Dorismond shooting. "For the sake of our police officers," she said. "For the sake of our children" (children — you know she's really trying to hit one out of the park), "for the sake of all New Yorkers,

the mayor must stop dividing this city."

What did the mayor do to put the quaver in Mrs. Clinton's voice? What he learned to do after watching riots erupt in 1992 when a shooting victim's record was withheld by the administration of his predecessor, David Dinkins, and the dead man was depicted as a martyred innocent. Describing Mr. Dorismond as no "altar boy," Mr. Giuliani released his rap sheet showing a history of violent incidents. He later released the disciplinary record of the policeman involved.

Mrs. Clinton's melodramatic appeal seems calculated not to unite the city — whatever that means — but to divide it for herself, to roil race relations not only to boost minority turnout on Election Day, but also, more deviously, to

create a climate in which the Justice Department, currently investigating the NYPD, would recommend its federal takeover. Meanwhile, there is no "racial" aspect to the Dorismond shooting. As Mr. Giuliani pointed out when asked whether he would "reach out to the black community," all involved were minority members. Mr. Dorismond was black; the three undercover policemen are Hispanic. That didn't stop Mrs. Clinton from pouncing on Mr. Giuliani's sensible refusal to treat the shooting as a racial incident. She attacked his "utter failure in leadership," declaring he had "written off entire communities."

Whether Mrs. Clinton has done herself actual political good is unclear, but her demagoguery has spun a tornado's worth of controversy. In a city once ungovernable, in a city he practically remade, Mr. Giuliani stands under siege, depicted as the head of a trigger-happy NYPD that kills bystanders for kicks. As thrilling as this fantasy is to Mr. Giuliani's opponents, it's time to consider the facts.



Diana West

The biggest secret about the NYPD is its stellar record for restraint — that is, for holding fire. In 1993, Mayor Dinkins' last year, there were 23 police shooting fatalities; in 1999, there were 11, the lowest number on New York's record books — a rate of .28 fatalities per 1,000 officers that trumps five large urban departments, including Miami, which posted 3 fatalities per 1,000 officers (10 times New York's rate), and Washington, DC, which posted 1.14. And there's more. In 1993, there were 212 intentional police shootings in New York; in 1999, there

were 71. Since the NYPD has grown by 38 percent, the intentional shooting rate has declined an amazing 77 percent. No wonder that in 1993 police fired 965 bullets, compared to 417 in 1999.

Despite these gigantic reductions, the Clinton Justice Department continues contemplating a federal takeover of the NYPD. This isn't good government; this is punitive politicking. "I didn't see the Justice Department in 1993, when there were 212 intentional shootings, [investigating] the NYPD during an election year for David Dinkins," said Mr. Giuliani in a radio interview. "Or giving me and [Police Commissioner] Howard Safir and the police a commendation for having reduced that horrendous [intentional shooting] record by 77 percent. The NYPD has a better record for restraint than they do for crime reduction," he said. "And the Justice Department should be giving them an award, not an investigation."

He's right. But so long as the Al Sharptons and the Hillary Clintons go unchallenged, who will know?

March 24, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton's Travel Costs Questioned

WASHINGTON, March 23 (AP) — House Republicans released documents today showing that Hillary Rodham Clinton reimbursed the federal government for a fraction of her campaign traveling, with the rest paid by the taxpayers. Democrats contended that the Republicans' action was intended only to embarrass the first lady.

Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign paid back about a fifth of the costs of the trips she took to New York on government jets, according to figures compiled by Republicans from White House documents. The 26 trips that Mrs. Clinton took between June 9 and Dec. 14, 1999, cost \$182,471. She reimbursed taxpayers \$32,878, the documents showed.

Mrs. Clinton flies on government aircraft on the advice of the Secret Service and reimburses the government the same way that presidential candidates do: at the rate of a first-class commercial ticket.

The practice, though legal, has been criticized by her Republican opponent in the Senate race, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City, who has said Mrs. Clinton should reimburse all the money.

"It's amazing that Mrs. Clinton has only reimbursed the taxpayers a little over \$30,000," said Kim Serafin, a Giuliani campaign spokeswoman. "Something is clearly wrong."

A White House spokesman, Jim Kennedy, said policies regarding the first lady's travel on military planes dated to the 1980's. He handed out memorandums signed by two former Republican chiefs of staff, James A. Baker III and John H. Sununu, endorsing the policy.

At a hearing held by the House subcommittee that oversees the White House budget, Republicans said the laws governing White House travel were never intended to cover a political campaign by a first lady.

"We're in new waters and charting new territory here today," said Representative Jim Kolbe, an Arizona Republican who is the subcommittee chairman. "It is unprecedented for a first lady to use government aircraft for her own political purposes."

Democrats assailed the hearing as an extension of the Giuliani campaign. "This is a political hearing, make no mistake about it," said Representative Steny H. Hoyer, a Maryland Democrat.

As evidence, they pointed out that the hearing was announced on Wednesday by the Republican National Committee, which had said Mrs. Clinton's taxpayer-financed travel expenses topped \$900,000. Committee staff members stood by the higher figure today. They said

the subcommittee had not been given all the pertinent data by the White House. During the hearing, Republican National Committee officials distributed their own tally, which included trips taken on Air Force One with the president.

While the White House supplied information on the travel dates and who was on the flights, it did not provide costs. Republicans estimated those based on the \$3,705 an hour that the Air Force says it costs to fly a C-20. Republicans noted that this aircraft was less expensive to fly than the C-9, which Mrs. Clinton is believed to use on occasion.

Representative John Peterson, Republican of Pennsylvania, urged the White House to release Mrs. Clin-

ton's travel costs and reimbursements on a monthly basis.

Michael Lyle, the White House director of office administration, said that was unnecessary because Mrs. Clinton had followed all laws and regulations involving travel.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, asserted that the hearing was an attempt by Republicans to deflect attention from Mr. Giuliani's response to the fatal shooting last week of an unarmed black man by the police in New York.

Mr. Giuliani, who has stood by the officers involved, ordered the release of the dead man's police record, showing a juvenile charge that later was dropped and sealed and two guilty pleas to disorderly conduct.



FRIDAY
MARCH 24, 2000

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Tax Dollars at Work in N.Y. Senate Race

By NICK ANDERSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—This just in: The total taxpayer cost of Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign travel to New York is . . . \$145,786.08.

But that's only if you count the first lady's "official" and/or "political" trips to and from New York state from June 9 to Dec. 14, 1999.

And only if you accept the numbers that the White House supplied to congressional Republicans, who retabulated the figures and then added in their own cost estimates for Clinton's use of military aircraft. That calculation was made public Thursday.

And that's apart from the Republican Party's own, apparently separate, reckoning of Senate candidate Clinton's taxpayer tab of \$905,406 for trips in and around New York throughout 1999. That figure was made public Wednesday.

Got all that? If you're confused, you're not alone.

What's clear is that Clinton, who otherwise appears to relish blazing trails, so far has been reluctant to address directly the question of how much the taxpayers should pay for her unprecedented campaign. Her campaign press release Thursday provided no such totals. Nor did Hillary 2000 spokeswoman Karen Finney when asked.

So Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.), chairman of a normally obscure Appropriations subcommittee that oversees White House, Treasury and postal spending, went fishing for answers in a hearing Thursday on Capitol Hill.

"Since the first lady first announced her intention of running for the U.S. Senate, the phones in our subcommittee certainly have been ringing off the hook with concerned citizens calling to inquire about how the first lady's travel is paid for," Kolbe said, with White House aides and Republican operatives hovering in a camera-studded room.

But Kolbe insisted: "This is not an investigation. It's information gathering."

Rep. Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland, the subcommittee's top Democrat, heaped scorn on a proceeding he claimed was orchestrated for New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Clinton's expected Republican opponent. Hoyer said Clinton and her entourage had no choice but to fly in Air Force planes as a security measure strongly recommended by the Secret Service.

"The problem she has is that

she is the first lady and can't 'un-become' the first lady," Hoyer said.

The Democratic line on an issue that Republicans are hoping to exploit is that Clinton is only following precedent for political travel and reimbursement set by, among others, former Republican first ladies Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush. A White House spokesman, Jim Kennedy, handed out memos from the Reagan and Bush administrations to back up that assertion.

When reminded that Clinton, unlike her two predecessors, is seeking public office herself, Kennedy said: "Right, but [Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush] were on the campaign trail for their husbands and others."

For all the finger-pointing on both sides, the truth is that campaign travel is a major expense, and any candidate who can travel with a plane not chartered by his or her campaign has a major edge in mobility and cost. That's because federal campaign rules only require candidates to reimburse the provider of the plane—in Clinton's case, the government—with the estimate of a comparable first-class fare for trips that are designated as political. In some instances, when politicians are campaigning for others, they are only required to reimburse at coach rate. Either way, those rates are far lower than the cost of flying the plane itself.

For example, Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) drew notice during his presidential campaigns for flying frequently on corporate jets put at his disposal by companies he deals with on the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee. Vice President Al Gore, likewise, is required to reimburse the government for political use of Air Force Two.

Texas Gov. George W. Bush, Gore's presumed Republican opponent in the presidential election, flies in a chartered jet paid for by the campaign and the journalists who travel with him.

But security for Bush is another story. The Texas Department of Public Safety is required to protect the governor under all circumstances. In a normal year, such as 1998, so-called "executive security" for the governor and his family cost Texas taxpayers \$285,873.95.

Bush began campaigning actively in June, traveling throughout the country. As a result, security costs rose to \$2.65 million for 1999 and this year's total is \$1.3 million through March 20, said Tela Mange, spokeswoman for the Texas DPS.



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton is typically flown in an Air Force C-20.

Since the U.S. Secret Service took over the lead responsibility for protecting Bush on March 15, the bulk of the costs will be shared by all taxpayers in America.

When Clinton flies, her plane is dubbed Executive Foxtrot One. Frequently, it is an Air Force C-20 jet, which, according to Kolbe's staff, costs \$3,705 per hour to operate.

A typical trip documented by the subcommittee staff was Clinton's July 12 to 15 excursion to New York destinations New Rochelle, Rye, Valhalla, Jones Beach, New York City, Garden City, Rockville Center, Holbrook and Great Neck. This trip, deemed political, included two "official passengers" flying on the government tab (most likely a White House trip coordinator and photographer) and three "political" passengers, including the first lady herself.

The flight time was 1 hour and 35 minutes, generating an estimated cost of \$5,866.25 if the plane was a C-20. The government was reimbursed \$1,946 for the political passengers—on Dec. 30, more than five months later. The taxpayers paid an estimated \$3,920.25. The figures don't count traveling Secret Service agents, whose numbers are classified.

Using that methodology and adding a dash of subjectivity for trips that were deemed official or quasi-official—a call made by the White House—26 Clinton trips to New York state from June 9 to Dec. 14 cost the government \$182,471.25. As of March 1, Clinton's campaign had reimbursed \$36,685.17, yielding a total taxpayer expense of \$145,786.08.

Rep. John E. Peterson (R-Pa.), on Kolbe's panel, urged the White House to quell critics and make public a full accounting of Clinton's travel records on a regular basis.

"Don't make anybody dig and scratch and look for it," he told White House aide Michael J. Lyle. "Just put it out there."

Times staff writer Maria L. La Ganga and researcher Massie Ritsch contributed to this story.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 2000

GOP Report Raps 'Air Hillary' Costs

Clinton's Travel Bill Tops \$182,000

By GEORGE LARDNER JR.
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Republicans said yesterday that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's trips to New York on military aircraft last year for her Senate campaign cost more than \$182,000—with taxpayers footing 80 percent of the bills.

The arithmetic, based on records supplied by the White House, covered a seven-month period starting last June 9. The topic was explored at a House Appropriations subcommittee hearing that Democrats deplored as an "extension" of New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's rival campaign.

The Republican National Committee, in a separate study that counted dozens of additional trips over a longer period, said flights by "Mrs. Clinton and her entourage" into and around New York cost much more—\$905,000—with taxpayers getting back only about 3 cents on the dollar. The RNC report included \$630,000 for highly expensive trips aboard Air Force One with President Clinton that the House analysis did not cover.

The controversy over what the Republicans call "Air Hillary" has been bubbling for months in light of the first lady's unprecedented political campaign.

The White House insists that it has been rigorously following rules dating back to travel by Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, but Republicans contend that the rules weren't written for a situation such as this and that reimbursements from the Clinton campaign should be much higher.

"I am well aware that first ladies have traveled on government aircraft for political purposes in the past," said Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.), the subcommittee chairman. "The difference today is that it is unprecedented for a first lady to use a government aircraft for

her own political purposes. . . . She is wearing a hat that we have never seen before."

Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (Md.), the panel's ranking Democrat, charged that the hearing was part of "a coordinated effort" with the RNC to tar Hillary Clinton for a practice followed by every presidential family since 1981.

Under these rules, the first lady and some of her entourage reimburse the Air Force for political travel at a rate equal to a first-class fare, while the Air Force pays for official travel. The White House decides which portion of a trip is official and which is political.

Kolbe complained that the White House was as much as six months late in billing the Clinton campaign for some trips. He said it cost the Air Force \$3,705 an hour for the least expensive aircraft that was used.

By the White House's own accounting for the seven-month period, he said, the first lady made 26 trips to New York, including 14 that were purely political and another six that had "some political component."

Kolbe said the 50 hours of flying time involved cost the Air Force at least \$182,471, but the Clinton campaign had as of March 1 paid only \$36,685 for the trips. White House spokesman Jim Kennedy said another \$3,807 was paid since then.

Michael J. Lyle, who spoke for the White House at the hearing as head of its office of administration, defended the practice of using military aircraft, which is strongly recommended by the Secret Service for the first lady's protection. "The first lady of the United States is the first lady 24 hours a day, seven days a week," he said.

Kolbe said he was still perplexed by the fact that Hillary Clinton has used chartered aircraft for a book tour, but not for a political campaign.

PHOTOCOPY
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BY WIN McNAMBLE FOR THE POST

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks at a White House event on Monday with Surgeon General David Satcher.

FLYING INTO A STORM



SISTERHOOD: Jane Fonda wows her young audience yesterday at the launch here of Girls Inc., a national campaign for girls' rights.

N.Y. Post: Don Halasy

Aging sex kitten Fonda purrs in praise of 'inspirational' first lady

By BRIDGET HARRISON

Former sex kitten Jane Fonda hailed Hillary Rodham Clinton as a "hero" yesterday, calling her an inspiration to women's rights.

The Oscar-winning film star would not say whether she supported the first lady's bid for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate, but congratulated Clinton for influencing her husband's approach to women's issues.

"I think it's wonderful to have a first lady who understands why it is important to empower women all over the world," said the actress-activist at the launch of Girls Inc., a national campaign for girls' rights.

Addressing schoolgirls and

campaigners at the New York Hilton, Fonda — who first shot to film fame when she stripped to the bare essentials in "Barbarella" — said it had taken her until her 60s to kick the "disease" of trying to please men.

The newly separated Mrs. Ted Turner, 62, also warned of the danger of being a woman "who does not feel quite right unless she is in a relationship with a man."

When asked about divorce, the actress said that having been married three times put her in the perfect position to give advice.

"Don't get married until you really understand who you are and

what you expect in a relationship. Lay things out right at the start," she said.

"You want to be seen and heard as a real human being. You want to feel safe and respected. Unless you feel the person you are with can provide you with that kind of feeling, don't do it," she said.

The Girls Inc. campaign, which features a "Girls' Bill of Rights," aims to stamp out the gender stereotyping that stops girls from achieving their goals.

Fonda is no stranger to causes. She was infamously dubbed "Hanoi Jane" for embracing the enemy Viet Cong during the Vietnam War, and is well-known for her anti-nuclear stance.

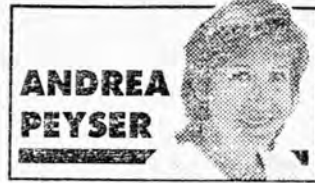
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hanoi Jane's hero. A ruthless sister in arms

JANE FONDA and Hillary Clinton. Hanoi Jane. Sticky-fingers Hill.

Two women, separated by geography and bank balance, by breast augmentation and preferred shade of peroxide. However improbable, these far-flung phonies have turned out as identical as two trailers in a park.

Spiritual twinsies. Yesterday, Jane Fonda, a former career wife and retired sex kitten who once made headlines as a sympathizer to America's foes, appeared in Manhattan.



The 60-something '60s icon, whose major achievement is a body that's a miracle of modern medicine, was here to lecture impressionable young girls on how to be "strong, smart and bold."

Jane also let it be known that her all-time hero is Hillary.

Hill and Jane.

It wasn't immediately clear whether Hillary Clinton was aware of this dubious endorsement. Because yesterday, Congress was busy discussing whether this "strong, smart, bold" Senate candidate formerly known as First Lady was ripping off taxpayers to meet travel expenses for her campaign.

Hillary and Jane. Until yesterday, the common threads were never so pronounced.

These are two radical feminists who tossed away

their ideals and independence in exchange for marriage licenses to powerful men.

They are two wives of a certain age, separated from their husbands, who are trying to regain relevance in mid-life by trading on the their men's reputations.

Years ago, Jane famously posed aboard a tank while on a friendly visit with enemy troops in North Vietnam.

Yesterday, the three-time loser in marriage, who hung up her activism and

"Barbarella" bikini to wed Ted Turner, held herself out as an expert on the subject of matrimony.

"Try to find a man that will wash the dishes," Jane advised, somehow forgetting that most of her husbands, including billionaire Ted, frequently own dishwashers.

Would Jane settle for a lowly sponge?

For Hillary, the proposition of setting out on her own after having hitched her future to the Clinton wagon seems tricky at best.

Yesterday, when Con-

gress wasn't talking about the cost of Air Hillary, the subject on the table was yet another probe into the Clinton administration's alleged obstruction of justice.

The White House stands accused of intentionally glitching its computers, so as to avoid handing over thousands of e-mails to law-enforcement and congressional probers.

So where was Hillary when the computers went down?

Unknown.

See PEYSER on Page 23

Hanoi Jane's ruthless hero

PEYSER from Page 7

Depending on the day of the week, Hillary either claims to be a powerful influence over her husband's administration, or a ditzy little wife who don't know nuthin' 'bout no e-mails.

She's either a strong, smart, bold champion for women's and children's issues, responsible in her own right for Irish peace. Or she's an innocent who just can't understand how that tiny little investment in cattle futures suddenly sprang all those zeroes.

She's also learned that when under scrutiny, the best plan of action is to change the subject. When asked about the campaign's spending of taxpayer money, Hillary's spokesman ridiculously blamed Republicans for the mess, saying they were trying to deflect attention from Rudy Giuliani's troubles with the police.

Shades of the "vast, right-wing conspiracy?"

Perhaps these women should have simply stuck to their original plans. Hillary as an anti-establishment lawyer. Jane as sexy enemy of the state.

But this pair would never be happy like that.

Hillary craved power, and married to get it.

Jane craved a rich guy, and did what it took to snag him.

Strong, smart and bold?

Try dependent, cunning and ruthless.

Hill and Jane.

American heroes.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY MARCH 24, 2000

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 2000

YOU PAID 80% OF JET-SETTER HILL'S FARES FOR N.Y. TRIPS

By VINCENT MORRIS
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Taxpayers picked up nearly 80 percent of the cost of flying Senate candidate Hillary Clinton to and around New York last year, White House records show.

"It is unprecedented for a first lady to use government aircraft for her own political purposes," said Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.) during a hearing yesterday.

Kolbe released a report based on records showing that between last June and December, Clinton's travel costs were \$182,471, while she repaid taxpayers about \$36,685 for 26 trips in that time.

But Republican Party officials griped that the report is only the tip of the iceberg, since it doesn't include spending for January and February of this year, nor does it count trips outside New York. It also excludes Air Force One travel, when Hillary was with President Clinton.

"This report is BS," said Mike Collins, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee.

Michael Lyle, the White House staff member in charge of travel, promised during the hearing to turn over the remaining travel records.

The first lady did not attend the hearing. But Hillary supporter Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-Manhattan) defended the travel costs.

"Republicans are playing politics with the first lady's security," she said.

By law, the Clinton campaign reimburses the Treasury the cost of a single first-class ticket for each of her political staffers, even though that amount doesn't come close to paying actual flying costs.

While Secret Service rules permit the first lady to take a much cheaper commercial flight, they discourage for safety reasons.



HILLARY CLINTON
GOP airs gripes.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson says allies of Hillary rival Mayor Giuliani are using the travel issue to deflect attention from the mayor's response to last week's fatal shooting of an unarmed black man by the NYPD.

Giuliani, who derides Clinton's plane as "Air Hillary," has hammered her often on the issue, and spokeswoman Kim Serafin yesterday said: "It's incredible that she's only reimbursed \$36,000. Something is very wrong."

The reimbursement policy has been in place in 1982 and covered former First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, although staffers note that Clinton is the first sitting president's wife to run for U.S. Senate.

Culture, et cetera

Darwinian dilemma

"You always knew that evolutionists had ambitions of being more than scientists — of being prophets of a total evolutionary worldview. The latest evidence of such intellectual imperialism comes from a new book, 'A Natural History of Rape,' which claims that natural selection explains all human behavior — even the crime of rape. . . .

"The rise of evolutionary psychology is forcing people to grapple with Darwinism's profoundly nihilistic moral implications. In the words of sociobiology's founder, E.O. Wilson, 'the basis of ethics does not lie in God's will'; instead, ethics 'is an illusion fobbed off on us by our genes' because of its survival value. Those who accept Darwinian evolution, yet raise moral objections to 'A Natural History of Rape,' are being inconsistent to their own foundational assumptions. . . .

"In short, Darwinism and its unpalatable moral implications are a package deal; protest, and you invite a return to the theistic worldview.

"It's an agonizing dilemma for evolutionists: Either they can be logically consistent to their starting assumptions, but end up with an inhumane worldview — or they can be true to their God-given sense of morality, at the cost of being inconsistent."

— Nancy Pearcey, writing on "Darwin's dirty secret," in the March 25 issue of *World*

'Who is she really?'

"Recently I watched a television biography of Hillary Clinton and found myself startled, as I always am, by the number of times she has radically changed her look. It's not just her hair (during the first year of the Clinton administration I lost count after 11 styles), it's her whole persona. In the space of that first year, she went from the hair-banded, suit-wearing tough campaigner of 1992 to the frumpy, polka-dot-dress-wearing June Cleaver of her health-care crusade. In the blink of an eye, she's Madison Avenue Barbie, stretched out across the cover of *Vogue*. Now,



Hillary Rodham Clinton

back in campaign mode, she has adopted the look of a New York local-news anchor: 'Hillary Clinton: She's On Your Side.'

"These changes are so dizzyingly frequent that even the

most nonpartisan observer is left to wonder: What is she up to? Who is she really? And what does she want?"

— Danielle Crittenden, writing on "All About Hillary," in the April 3 issue of *National Review*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HOMEFRONT



A child peers into the Red Room of the White House in Miniature, to be on display at the National Building Museum. PHOTO COURTESY JOHN ZWEIFEL

The White House, Little by Little

From the columns of the famous Pennsylvania Avenue facade to hand-blown chandeliers in the East Room, telephones ringing in the Oval Office and—for the time being—Buddy's wagging tail, nearly every conceivable feature has been included in "The White House in Miniature," on view at the National Building Museum starting Wednesday.

The 60-foot-long, 10-ton model, painstakingly detailed in 1:12-scale, is the result of one man's obsession, started in 1956 when miniaturist John Zweifel, then 20, first visited the White House—or at least the five rooms then open for public tour. Fascinated by what he calls "the people's house," he began replicating the mansion over the next few years, limited to details he could commit to memory because note-taking during tours was banned for security reasons. Beginning with the Ford administration, however, Zweifel has enjoyed uncommon access; now he visits about every two months to record any and all changes in what the unabashed patriot considers "the strongest symbol we have in America."

Through the effort of Zweifel, his wife, Jan, their six children and "thousands" of volunteers, every decoration and remodeling detail in the current White House is reflected in the mini White House—down to the model 1992 inauguration tour bus President Clinton keeps on his Oval Office desk.

"It's always being decorated a little differently," Zweifel says, "but we try to keep it day-to-day," adding pumpkins for Halloween or setting the State Dining Room to reflect various historic events. "I want people to feel so close to it that they can walk through the halls and stay in the Lincoln Bedroom," adds Zweifel, who has shown the model in all 50 states plus England, Holland and Japan. Because he eschews commercializing the display—he prefers not to charge admission and welcomes cameras—he relies on "promises and prayers" to line up funding for its travel and upkeep. Last seen in Washington eight years ago, the model is also shown at presidential libraries, state fairs and shopping malls; when not on tour it is at the House of Presidents in Clermont, Fla.

This exhibit was funded by The White House Historical Association and other private support to celebrate the White House Bicentennial. It includes Zweifel's representation of the building's initial construction site in the late 1790s, plus historical photographs, architectural drawings and essays chronicling the mansion since second president John Adams first took up residence in 1800.

J.J. McCoy

401 F St. NW. Open through Sept. 17 on Mondays through Saturdays 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., Sundays noon to 4 p.m. Free. 202-272-2448. Web site: www.nbm.org.

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||| The Washington Post |||

Style

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 2000

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India Strains For a Glimpse Of Chelsea

First Daughter Draws Crowds
Without Even Showing Up

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

AGRA, India, March 22

Chelsea Clinton held her father's hand today and slowly strolled toward the Taj Mahal. "Chelsea, a little to the left," the photographers called, trying to frame her and the president perfectly against the magnificent 17th-century marble mausoleum. She took a step closer to the edge of the elevated pool where they stood.

"What, do you want me to fall in the water?" she asked with a disarming smile. It was a coy little statement, but it was remarkable: It may be her only public comment during a week-long visit to a country that has caught Chelsea Fever.

Indian journalists and ordinary residents have



BY PAUL J. RICHARDS—AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

President Clinton and the elusive Chelsea are camera fodder on a tour of the Taj Mahal.

overrun a shopping center in New Delhi, swarmed to a festival in Jodhpur and flocked to any other place where the Stanford University junior was rumored to be. Sometimes they were rewarded with a shy wave and smile; sometimes they wasted their day on a false alarm.

See CHELSEA, C2. Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

No Hillary? No Problem. In India, They're Clamoring for Chelsea

CHELSEA, From C1

But never, it seems, were they blessed with a conversation. Chelsea Clinton is as silent as the Taj Mahal, and to many Indians, apparently just as enchanting and alluring. Thus she is the perfect companion for her father on trips like this, when Hillary Rodham Clinton stays home to campaign for the Senate in New York.

Tall, poised and 20, she has matured enough to look the part of a presidential hostess. But as a daughter, not a wife, she carries none of the baggage—no controversial statements about staying home and baking cookies, no known political ambitions, and certainly no awkward questions about having to deal with a wayward husband.

White House officials are quick to say that Chelsea is a private citizen who is not trying to assume any of the first lady's roles while her mom campaigns. Thus when she's photographed—as she was endlessly this week—taking her father's arm departing from Air Force One, at Ma-



BY RAVEENDRAN—AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

As her father looks on, Chelsea Clinton sprinkles petals at Mahatma Gandhi's memorial.

hatma Gandhi's memorial, at the Taj Mahal, she can play the part of a loving female companion without stirring any further talk of Hillary Clin-

ton's decampment to Westchester County.

The president's mother-in-law, Dorothy Rodham, is also on the India

trip, but she's practically invisible. Today, when Chelsea and her dad posed for countless pictures by the massed press corps at the Taj Mahal, her grandmother magically appeared from a distant walkway just as the photographers were being shoed away.

Here in India, as in virtually every country she visits, Chelsea is a magnet for journalists and well-wishers. But because the White House refuses to publicize her schedule, she triggers a guessing game everywhere she goes.

On Tuesday in New Delhi, word got out that she would shop at the Santushti retail complex. An Indian air force band rushed in to play marches, jeweler Balbir Singh prepared a \$500 bracelet as a gift, and reporters thronged. But when an attractive young blonde stepped out of the luxury sedan, it turned out to be . . . well, not Chelsea.

"Young, blonde beautiful, but . . ."

read the front-page headline in today's The Hindu newspaper, describing the disappointment of hundreds at Santushti. Chelsea instead had spent the afternoon, undetected, at the Pragati Maidan exhibit of culture from all of India's states.

Chelsea had been more adventurous Monday, when she traveled to Jodhpur for the Hindu festival Holi while her father was in sweltering Bangladesh. Even there, however, she was protected by her own reticence and a vanguard of powerful companions, including presidential adviser Bruce Lindsey, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and India's foreign minister, Jaswant Singh. She allowed the traditional red dot, or *tilak*, to be placed on her forehead, but she steered clear of Holi's more raucous—and sometimes randy—tradition of painting one another's faces and other body parts.

When she commented on the proceedings at Jodhpur's Mehrangarh Fort, it was in a formal voice—and

not her own. "I am impressed. We do not have forts like this back home," she said, according to "senior officials of the Rajasthan Government," The Hindu reported.

Even at a rollicking festival, Chelsea is officially silent.

And where will she be Thursday, when her father visits the Navla village, the Amber Fort and the Ranthambore Tiger Reserve, all near Jaipur? Who knows? Certainly not the scores of U.S., Indian and foreign reporters covering the trip and eager for a Chelsea sound bite.

"It's just a matter of trying to preserve her privacy as much as possible," says Lissa Muscatine, the first lady's press secretary.

There's one family member who needs no such protection, however. Over at Santushti on Tuesday, when the hordes were waiting for Chelsea, Dorothy Rodham strolled into the Basil and Thyme Restaurant for lunch. Not until she left did anyone realize who she was.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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Washington Post
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March 23, 2000

Dividing the City

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 2000

When undercover drug police shot and killed a man in the grimy neighborhood near the city's Port Authority bus terminal last week, the Reverend Al Sharpton quickly and predictably arose threatening "to close the subways, the airports, the bridges" with what he called a "spring offensive." Mr. Sharpton was last seen greeting Hillary Clinton on Martin Luther King Day; on the eve of a trial in which police were acquitted by a racially mixed jury, she proclaimed their actions a "tragic murder." This week she stood before microphones inside a church in Harlem to announce that in the latest incident demagogued by Mr. Sharpton, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani "has taken sides and further divided this city."

Burdened by the carpet-bagger label in her Senate race against Mayor Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton proved she's a perfect fit for New York's famed political milieu in at least one respect—utter cynicism. Trailing poorly in practically every poll and among all groups but African-Americans, Hillary Clinton faces the brutal political reality that she can't possibly win in November unless she and Al Sharpton figure out a way to "divide this city."



Hillary Clinton
Cops cynicism

The demagoguing of Patrick Dorismond's shooting is the latest effort to this end. And if the script plays as written, it will end with federal monitors from Janet Reno's Justice Department seizing control of Mayor Giuliani's police department. New Yorkers, who three years ago gave the Mayor a resounding re-election primarily on his success in reducing crime, have about eight months to decide whether they want to buy into the Clinton-Sharpton coup.

After threatening to close the subways and bridges, the Reverend Sharpton traveled from Harlem over to Brooklyn to commune with Loretta Lynch, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District. He asked her to assert federal control of the NYPD because of a pattern or practice of excessive force as well as not disciplining appropriately. A pattern or practices investigation has been under way under Ms. Lynch's predecessor Zachary Carter and Mary Jo White, U.S. Attorney for the Southern District, and presided over by Bill Linn Lee, the acting but unconfirmed Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. Recently, even before the latest controversy, NBC's New York affiliate reported that Justice officials have determined the NYPD is guilty, which the political cognoscenti understand augurs a federal takeover of the city's police department.

The facts may not matter, but somewhere it should be recorded that the pattern and practices of Mr. Giuliani's police force have not only reduced crime but police violence. Despite the police brutality cases Mr. Sharpton has made famous, in 1999 there were only 11 fatal police shootings in New York;

this is the lowest incidence for as long as the records have been kept. Compared with five other large urban areas last year, New York's rate of fatal shootings per 1,000 police officers was the lowest, 0.28, or a tenth the 3.0 level recorded in Miami. Overall, police officers in New York intentionally discharged their weapons 66% fewer times in 1999 than they did back in 1993, the year in which Mr. Giuliani replaced Mayor David Dinkins. Over this same period, NYPD computer statistics show major crimes down 54%.

The sharp reduction in crime and the professionalism of the police force is one of the Mayor's biggest accomplishments. Mrs. Clinton and others are complaining that he released Mr. Dorismond's rap sheet, showing a history of violent incidents. In fact, this became part of Mr. Giuliani's method of dealing with such incidents after observing Mayor Dinkins's handling of the 1992 police killing of one Jose "Kiko" Garcia—who was lionized as an innocent until riots broke out in Washington Heights, but was later proven to have been a drug dealer. While Mr. Giuliani can be faulted for leaving it to Mr. Sharpton to dwell on the disciplinary record of the police officer in the Dorismond case, prompt release of the truth can only be helpful.

In political terms, of course, Justice's pattern and practices threat is a dagger aimed at Mr. Giuliani's heart. Action by the federal government would strike a severe blow at the Mayor's anti-crime achievements, eroding the legitimacy of his record. The ensuing battle over police practices not only would put the Mayor on the defensive, it would drive up African-American turnout on election day. Asked on the "McLaughlin Show: One on One," whether the First Lady could win the election without him, Mr. Sharpton replied, "I think she can turn out that vote. But she's going to need people like me involved."

In this effort, if the record means anything, the First Lady will have the full cooperation of her husband's Administration. Our Micah Morrison reported at length on this page on February 7 about the extraordinary confluence of federal action against New York City and the partisan efforts of Mrs. Clinton's Senate bid. That story, along with recent revelations surrounding the La Bella campaign finance report talk about the "double standards" the Justice Department has used when dealing with the First Couple, underscores a worrying institutional transformation: the morphing of the Department of Justice into a politicized arm of the Clinton White House.

Mr. Giuliani, a former Justice official, can of course take care of himself. At a press conference a week ago, he observed, "I don't think that any administration has politicized the Justice Department more than the Clinton administration." He added, "If they proceed against the NYPD, it would be clear to everyone in the country that this was a political move." Well, we may not hope for understanding by everyone in the country, but at least by the voters of New York.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Giuliani Asserts Mrs. Clinton Is the One Polarizing the City

By ELISABETH BUMILLER
and ADAM NAGOURNEY

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said yesterday that Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has accused the mayor of racially polarizing New York City, was projecting her own feelings onto him. The mayor's assertion came as the police shooting death of Patrick Dorismond reverberated through City Hall and the State Legislature and into the United States Senate campaign.

"There's a process called projection in psychology," Mr. Giuliani said at a City Hall news briefing. "It means accusing someone of what you're doing. That is precisely what Mrs. Clinton is doing."

The mayor said that Mrs. Clinton's remarks criticizing him at the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Harlem on Monday night were "tantamount to a speech at a political convention" and that she was "reading from a script provided by Al Sharpton."

He added that he felt no responsibility to reach out to the black com-

Sturkey, 22, said Mr. Dorismond "was a good father."

Mrs. Clinton responded yesterday to the mayor's remarks with scorn, declaring after a town hall meeting on Long Island that Mr. Giuliani had acted unethically in releasing Mr. Dorismond's juvenile arrest record, an action that has enraged Democrats and the Republican mayor's critics, who say the action was in fact illegal.

Mrs. Clinton also drew a distinction between her earlier statement about the "murder" of Amadou Diallo, the unarmed black man who was fatally shot by four undercover police officers last year in the Bronx, and the mayor's present behavior.

"I made a misstatement and I apologized," Mrs. Clinton said. "One of the differences between the mayor and me is that I actually admit that I'm a human being who occasionally makes mistakes."

Mrs. Clinton said Mr. Giuliani's actions were "part of a pattern of hunkering down, of getting angry, of lashing out, of dividing people."

"And to me," she said, "it represents the kind of leadership style that is not effective these days."

The exchange came as both candidates declared that the Senate race was not a factor in their very-high-profile statements over Mr. Dorismond's death in the last five days. But aides to both candidates were privately measuring the political fallout.

Mrs. Clinton's advisers said the incident underlined her continuing attempt to portray Mr. Giuliani as erratic, divisive and temperamentally unsuited for a collegial body like the Senate.

The mayor's political aides said they hoped that it would reinforce Mr. Giuliani's image as a strong law enforcer but acknowledged that they could not control him and that his statements were not something that they had advised him to make.

Mr. Dorismond's death was also a focus yesterday in Albany, where the Assembly speaker, Sheldon Silver, called the mayor's actions "egregious" and "reprehensible" at a news conference with 40 other Assembly Democrats, most of them from New York City. Mr. Silver said that the mayor had violated state law by authorizing the release of Mr. Dorismond's juvenile record and that two Assembly committees, judiciary and codes, would begin an investigation into the matter.

Mr. Giuliani said at his news conference that releasing the court records was legal because Mr. Dorismond is dead. "Privacy interests and rights expire with you," he said, a statement that was supported later in the day at a hastily called news conference in a corridor of City Hall by Mr. Hess; Deputy Mayor Joseph J. Lhota; the first deputy police commissioner, Patrick E. Kelleher; and the mayor's criminal justice coordinator, Steven M. Fishner.

But Stephen Gillers, a law professor at New York University's Law



Don Hogan Charles/The New York Times

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani at his news conference yesterday.

The mayor turns to psychology to attack his opponent.

munity because "the three officers were Hispanic" and "there's no indication that this had anything to do with race."

The mayor also angrily stepped up his attacks on Mr. Dorismond, the man killed during an altercation with the police on Thursday night, by further suggesting that Mr. Dorismond's previous behavior — including a fight with his girlfriend this month — may have been a factor in his death.

"How he died is ultimately the thing that matters," said Mr. Giuliani, who is running against Mrs. Clinton for the Senate and at times sounded like the prosecutor he once was. "Was he the cause of it, or was the police officer the cause of it? Did he lunge at the police officer? Did he start the altercation? Did he act in the way in which he acted on three or four other occasions? Was he acting similar to the way he acted on March 7, when he punched his girlfriend in the face, even though she had his 1-year-old in her arms?"

At one point in his news conference, Mr. Giuliani held up for the cameras the police complaint that Mr. Dorismond's girlfriend, Karen Sturkey, had filed against him on March 8. Ms. Sturkey contended that Mr. Dorismond had struck her head and cursed at her during an argument about their 1-year-old daughter, Destiny. The city's corporation counsel, Michael D. Hess, has said the police took no action in the case, which was closed. Last week, Ms.

School, called the statements of Mr. Giuliani and his aides "ridiculous" and said the Family Court Act, passed by the State Legislature in 1982, stated clearly that only a judge could decide if juvenile court records might be released. "It passed the law with no exception and the mayor has no power to create one for his own purposes," Mr. Gillers said.

Mr. Giuliani's aides held the news conference in response to Mr. Silver, who they said was acting to further the political interests of Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Lhota, who is Mr. Giuliani's second in command and oversees the day-to-day operations of the city, rarely speaks out about politics, but yesterday he said Mr. Silver "wants to be the marionette of someone like the Rev. Al Sharpton."

By this time, Mr. Giuliani had left City Hall for a fund-raiser in Rhode Island for his Senate campaign.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

N.Y. SENATE

All politics is local, but not fundraising

By John Kruger

"All politics is local," former House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill once said. But in the bitter New York Senate battle, all fundraising is not.

The campaigns of Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) and Rudy Giuliani (R), in a race already promising to be one of the most expensive in history, are drawing contributions almost equally from New Yorkers and non-residents.

Hillary Clinton drew slightly less than half — 48 percent — of her \$6.6 million in contributions (as of the end of 1999) from non-New Yorkers, according to Public Disclosure Inc. New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani raised 45 percent of his \$11.4 million out of the Empire State.

"This is not simply a Senate race," said Utica, N.Y.-based pollster John Zogby. "This is a cultural event. You have to go back to Alexander Hamilton versus Aaron Burr to get a nonpresidential race of this importance. It's the first lady versus the Mayor of the World."

Other high-profile contests include the Michigan, Missouri, and Virginia races. But, while those states have tight races, the candidates are relying primarily on citizens of their states. Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.), for example, has drawn 61 percent of his money from Missourians; his opponent, Gov. Mel Carnahan (D), 77 percent.

In Michigan, the numbers are even starker. Three-quarters of Rep. Debbie Stabenow's (D) cash has come from Michigan. More than 80 percent of incumbent Sen. Spencer Abraham's (R) money is from inside the state.

"It's fundamentally different," said David DiMartino, spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC). "Hillary Clinton has an extremely high profile, which draws attention to the race. People are reading about it every day."

DiMartino said, however, that the DSCC is not using Clinton's bid to raise money from other parts of the country.

The attention to the race has thus far been about the negativity of the campaign. In a fundraising letter sent out last week, Clinton Campaign Manager Bill de Blasio wrote, "I'm writing to ask you to help our campaign counter the most intensive national effort ever mounted to defeat a Senate candidate."

De Blasio's letter took aim at Giuliani's hiring Republican fundraiser Richard Viguerie, who has worked for the National Rifle Association, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan, all popular Democratic targets.

"It makes sense for Giuliani to go national," said Peter Bynum, a New York consultant. "Hillary Clinton can draw on resources from across the country."

But Bynum questions Giuliani's going with Viguerie instead of other less controversial fundraisers.

The Hill
March 22, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Hill, March 22, 2000

Anti-Hillary items on Web auction are nixed by Red Cross

By John Kruger

No good deed goes unpunished, at least according to political activist Lisa Stripp.

Stripp, who heads a group called "Stop Hillary Now," planned to protest Hillary Clinton's New York Senate candidacy at the St. Patrick's Day parade last week with



FILE PHOTO

Hillary Clinton

banners reading, "Go Home Hillary."

In a charitable mood, Stripp set up an account on eBay, the Internet trading site, to auction off the banners following the parade. The proceeds, according to the listing on the website, would go to the American Red Cross of Greater New York.

That's where the plan hit a snag.

Federal law prohibits Stripp and her group from mentioning the Red Cross on the auction listing without first getting the charitable organization's approval.

"We need to make sure that people are not misrepresenting themselves, and that all proceeds actually do go to the Red Cross," said Tracy Gary, a Red Cross spokeswoman.

Stripp said the whole idea began innocently.

"We were looking for some publicity," Stripp said. "We couldn't figure out what charity to give to. We went to the city's website and saw that March is Red Cross Month. That's how we decided."

Stripp said she posted the listing last Tuesday on eBay along with a counter. The next day she noticed the listing had received many hits, including several from the Justice Department. Soon after, she received the letter from the Red Cross as well as one from eBay alerting her that the listing was being removed from the site.

When the Red Cross discovered that it was to receive proceeds from the auction item, its lawyers contacted eBay and asked them to remove the items from the virtual auction block.

In a letter to Stripp, with copies to the New York Attorney General's Office and the Justice Department's Criminal Division, Donna Petrucelli advised Stripp that unauthorized use of the Red Cross's name or emblem could result in a fine, imprisonment or both.

"Lest there be any misunderstanding," the letter read, "you are hereby notified to immediately cease using the name of the American Red Cross, including any of its chapters ... in any manner whatsoever to solicit bids for the auction of the 'Go Home Hillary' banner at the eBay website."

Jason Hughes, an eBay customer-support representative, said the listing was taken down at the Red Cross's request. He said the decision had nothing to do with the political content of the auction item.

The Red Cross, however, in a statement did take notice of the political activity.

"The Red Cross has recently learned of the unauthorized use of its name by a partisan political group," the organization wrote in a statement. "The Red Cross is a nonpolitical, neutral organization."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GOP Catholics urge Gore and Hillary to rebut bias charges

By Melanie Fonder

Some 20 Catholic Republican members of Congress will ask Vice President Al Gore and first lady Hillary Clinton today to repudiate charges that the GOP is guilty of anti-Catholic bias.

The charges were prompted by the recent visit of Texas Gov. George W. Bush (R) to Bob Jones University and the continuing controversy over the selection of a new House chaplain, now in its fourth month.

The Republican National Committee (RNC) recently formed a Catholic Task Force, which will release a letter to Gore and Clinton signed by about 20 GOP Catholic House and Senate members, as well as RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson and former Ambassador to the Vatican Thomas Melady, the chairman of the task force.

The RNC is also spearheading a campaign to turn the tables against

Democrats by pointing to organizations with Democratic ties that they say espouse anti-Catholic beliefs.

One such organization is the Women Leaders Online (WLO), which is dedicated to promoting women's empowerment in media and politics. The group also supports changing the Vatican's status in the United Nations.

"Basically our position is that the Vatican should be treated like every other religious group," Jeanne Clark, WLO executive director, said. "They should not have the same status as a government, rather they should be a non-government organization. Now they have a heightened position, and they use it to impede women's progress."

But the RNC views the attempt to oust the Vatican as a "very unholy war," according to a copy of the letter obtained by The Hill.

"It's one thing to stand on the wrong

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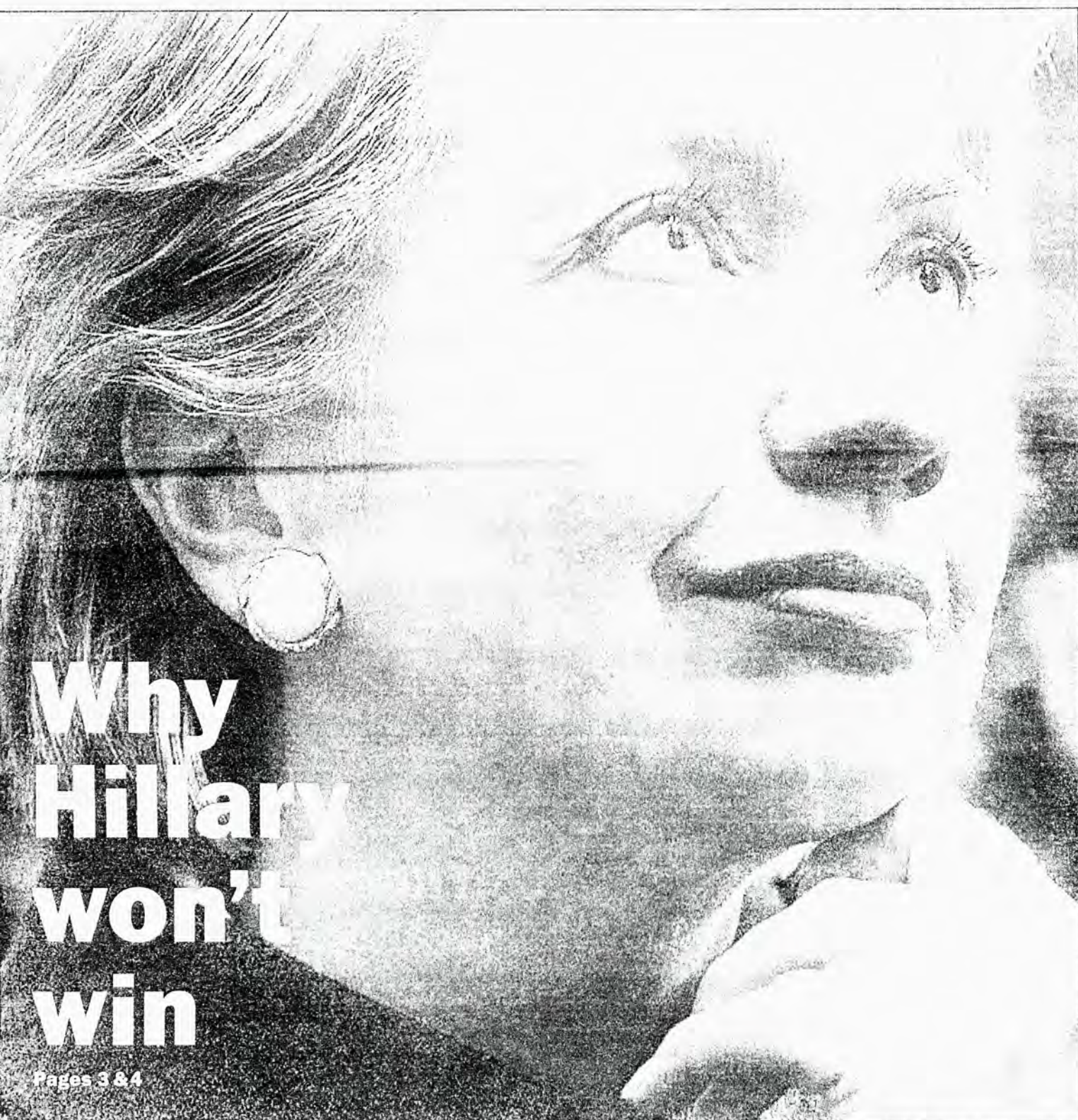
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TIMES

Tuesday March 21 2000



Why Hillary won't win

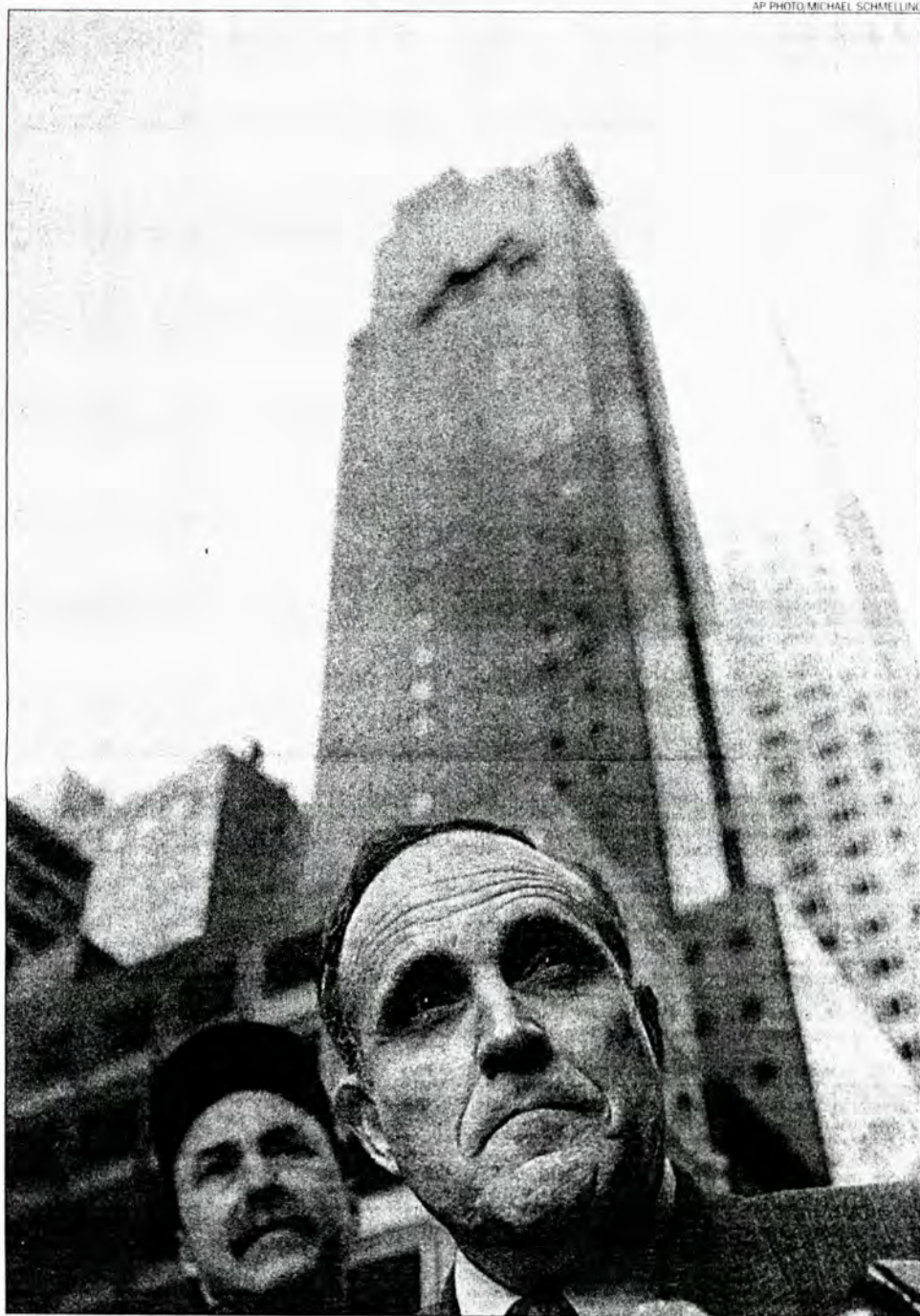
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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary gets it wrong

AP PHOTO MICHAEL SCHMELING



New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani: he remained oddly unlikeable until Hillary turned up to stand against him

She is perceived as arrogant and complacent, and despite being First Lady, is proving inept at politics, New York style. Even Democrats say they will vote for her Republican rival in September.
Joanna Coles reports

On the morning of February 13, Tricia Trupo fired up her old Chevy Corsica, dropped her son Joshua off at school and headed for her job as a waitress at the Village House diner, in the small town of Albion, upstate New York. It seemed the most normal of days and Trupo was unaware that she was about to become a public pawn in the forthcoming election for the New York Senate.

At about 10am, two men in suits appeared, asking to talk to the manager. It turned out they were Secret Service agents wanting to know if Hillary Clinton could pop in for breakfast. "She had scrambled eggs, home fries and rye toast," says Trupo, who served the First Lady as she chatted with diners trying to pick up votes in her run for the Senate this November.

Though her party comprised 20 supporters, Hillary and a female colleague were the only two eating and the bill was \$6. When the time came to pay, the manager waved the bill away, insisting the food was on the house. There was just one problem: as Hillary left to talk to reporters outside, she failed to leave a tip.

"Server Gets Nil From Hill: Chintzy First Lady stifles single mom waitress" ran the headline on page three of the *New York Post*, which promptly set the tone for the avalanche of national press that followed.

While Hillary's aides dismissed the incident as trivial, it spread faster than a fungus in a locker room. "Hillary's No Miss Manners," sniggered *The Daily Oklahoman*. Fox TV's popular *O'Reilly Factor* broadcast a segment entitled "Why Didn't Hillary Tip?" The *Dallas Morning News* discovered that Hillary's rival in the senatorial race, Mayor Rudy Giuliani, had once been a waiter and always left tips.

"I wasn't permitted to pay,"

Hillary immediately protested. "I was told I was their guest." Big mistake. So too was her decision not to revisit the diner immediately and order humble pie.

So-called experts on tipping etiquette weighed in. "When an owner picks up the tab I always leave an extra large tip," exclaimed Sue Fox, president of a group called Etiquette Survival.

The media's feeding frenzy was further stoked by the discovery that Trupo earned only \$2.90 an hour and relied on tips to support her son. Indignant letters to editors filled the press. "I am sorely tempted to move to New

York simply to vote against Hillary Clinton," wrote one resident from Milwaukee.

In Florida, a couple set up a website encouraging people to donate \$1 to the Trupo Tip Fund. Trupo herself was inundated with letters and a range of dollar bills, totalling more than \$1,000. "People were so nice," she says. "Half were from Hillary supporters saying she didn't mean to forget and the rest were from supporters of the mayor."

Back in Manhattan, Mayor Giuliani was salivating at her gaffe. To ram the point home he promptly took two party officials

out for a \$35 lunch. Handing the waitress three \$20 bills he made sure the press heard when he told her to "keep the change".

Five days after her visit to the Village House diner, Hillary gave in and sent Trupo a \$100 savings certificate for her son. "Hillary Eats Crow," taunted the *New York Post*. For a supposedly seasoned operator, the wannabe senator had handled it about as badly as she could. Just ten days after her declaration that she was officially up and running, her timing was terrible. Welcome to politics New York-style, though no one is pretending the

race between Hillary and Rudy is an ordinary election. "This will be the most watched, written-about, talked-about, closely analysed Senate race in the history of this country," says John Podhoretz, a political columnist and Hillary biter-in-chief.

The polls are neck and neck. If she assumed a walkover in this state where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans three to two, boy, was she mistaken. Her enemies are more vocal than they have ever been and the odd thing is many of them are Democrats. The only thing guaranteed about this race

now is bare-knuckle tactics with a white-knuckle finish.

Like many serious political decisions, Hillary's run for the Senate appeared to start in jest. When the rumour first did the rounds even those who knew her didn't believe it. "Do I think she's going to stand?" George Stephanopoulos, the Clintons' former campaign manager, laughed over a breakfast interview last March. "I think the idea started out as a joke. Then she gave it some serious thought, but no," he predicted confidently. "I don't think she's really going to go through with it."

Even to those in the loop, the notion seemed absurd. And why, even if she did have her own political ambitions to fulfil, would she stand in New York where neither she nor the President has any roots? But Stephanopoulos, together with many commentators including Dick Morris, another former Clinton aide, was wrong. They had underestimated her ambition. She no longer wanted to go down in history as the First Lady of an impeached President. It was time to unhitch her star from his wagon.

"Everyone is getting so worked up about it," says Michael Tomasky, a political commentator for *New York Magazine*. "It feels like a great historical event, yet I wonder how relevant is it to the political process?"

The truth, of course, is not very. But then few are pretending this is anything more important than a clash of gigantic egos — Goliath versus Goliath. As a spectacle, however, it is simply glorious. In a cynical city, where few have time for anything other than themselves, the race has also brought politics back to the dinner table. This is a race everyone understands and wants to talk about. No supper party is complete without an informal poll — whom would you vote for?

Over a flourless Roquefort
Continued on page 4

'The idea of voting for her depresses me'



Hillary Clinton: as a speaker she has none of her husband's charisma. And for someone who has spent the past eight years in the White House, she has been embarrassingly accident-prone

Continued from page 3

souffle on the Upper West Side last Saturday night, eight of the ten professionals around our table claimed to be Democrats, yet only one person admitted that they'd vote for Hillary. Everyone else supported Giuliani — albeit reluctantly. "I feel like Rudy has done such a good job for the city that he deserves a chance at the Senate," said one writer.

"I made my first political donation today," added our host, another writer. "I'm a registered Democrat but I just got this letter from Rudy asking if I wanted Hillary Clinton to represent me in the Senate. I suddenly thought 'Oh my God, no I don't'. So I sent him a cheque for \$100."

It's tricky. New York Democrats dislike Giuliani. He may have reduced crime, he may work unfathomably hard. But he has remained oddly unlikeable. Until, that is, Hillary turned up to stand against him.

"She has managed that most incredible thing," says the feminist academic Camille Paglia, "she's actually managed to make the mayor sympathetic." For the real question facing New Yorkers is not how much they like Hillary Clinton, but how much they hate her.

In Britain, it's natural for MPs to go after any seat they can win. In the United States, the two senators chosen to represent each state are expected to have local links. In Hillary's case it's hard to ignore the cries of carpet-bagger. Arkansas, where her husband was Governor, would have made sense, or Illinois, where she grew up.

"I grew up in upstate New York and I really resent this use of New York as a platform," cries Paglia. "It's an unbelievable arrogance. It's like 'Oh I can just pick a state'. At least Giuliani is a native New Yorker, who worked his way up the ranks of the Republican Party."

Few seem convinced by Hillary's recent purchase of a house in suburban Chappaqua, 40 minutes north of the city, dismissing it as political expediency. They also rail against her parachuting in at the expense of a strong local candidate, Nita Lowey.

"The whole Hillary campaign is an affront," spits Walter

Shapiro, a former speechwriter for the President Carter, and now a political columnist for *USA Today*. "Does she really expect us to believe this fantasy of the dream cottage in Chappaqua? She's a carpetbagger."

"It is bizarre that she's running in a state where she's never lived," agrees Jeffrey Toobin, author of *A Vast Conspiracy: the Real Story of the Sex Scandal that Nearly Brought Down a President*, and one of the few commentators who believes that Hillary could win.

"I just feel like what is she doing here? What has she ever done for us?" adds a prominent woman writer, who refuses to be named because she is considered a Hillary supporter among the Clinton camp. "I'm a kneecracker Democrat, but the notion of voting for her depresses me. I voted for Giuliani for once, and I dare say that makes it easier to do again. And you know the weird thing? She has always been very nice to me in person, yet I still feel this strange animosity towards her."

"Ah, why do people hate the Clintons so much. It's one of the great untold stories," laughs Toobin, adding that the intense hatred felt by the right wing cannot come from the Clintons' moderate policies. Instead, he believes the couple inspire such a passionate reaction because they symbolise what went wrong in America during the Sixties. "Draft dod-

ing, promiscuity, inauthenticity. They're sleazing by, they're never honest about anything."

Paglia agrees. "I was an early fan," she admits. "I voted for them twice! Now I'm an anti-Clintonite. Like many white, middle-class professional women I've abandoned her."

While Hillary shrugs off such wrath, she may face her own worst enemy in the mirror. For someone who has spent the past eight years in the White House, she has been embarrassingly accident-prone. The tipping incident was one of a string of gaffes that have astonished seasoned observers.

"She has no political instincts," says Shapiro. "This is the woman who has spent the past two years in denial. She told her aides she didn't read the newspapers for eight months during 1998 — what a great preparation for Senator. If she's not in denial then she's surrounded by sycophants. I think she was flattered by the suggestion that she should run."

"I think people see her as an opportunist," says Elizabeth Kol-

'The vacuity of Hillary's announcement speech makes George W. look like Pericles'

bert, covering the election for *The New Yorker*. Certainly Hillary's sudden claim to support the New York Yankees was greeted with snorts of derision — she's renowned to be a long-time Chicago Cubs fan. Then there was her U-turn on clemency for a group of Puerto Rican terrorists. What has become painfully clear is that first spouse is not an adequate training ground for senatorial politics.

In New York, the real political skill comes in juggling a diversity of often querulous interest groups — trying simultaneously to stay on the right side of Jews, Italians, Roman Catholics,

Blacks, Asians and Hispanics. Of these, the Jewish vote is crucial, yet Hillary displayed a breathtaking insensitivity last November by kissing Suha Arafat, the wife of the Palestinian leader, after she had just delivered a speech claiming that Israel had poisoned Palestinian children. As the entire New York Jewish community exploded, Hillary quickly claimed her translation had been misleading. And that she was trying to be diplomatic as First Lady. But she conceded later: "It was an outrageous incident that never should have happened."

As a speaker, she has none of her husband's charisma. When I went to see her at Riverside Church recently before a mainly black congregation she chose to address police brutality, reading for 18 minutes from a prepared script with eye-glazing results. Two black youths in front of me did, in fact, doze off. Yet it should have been a rousing speech. The subject is much on New York minds after the shooting of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed black man, by four white officers, who

were acquitted of murder.

But even this case, a supposed safe bet for a Democrat, had already embarrassed her. In an effort to curry favour with black voters in January, she referred to the police officers as murderers — before her trial had even opened. It was a foolish comment and once again she was forced to apologise. "I mis-spoke," she later told the veteran interviewer Gabe Pressman on NBC. "That was just a mis-statement on my part."

"And you're sorry?" persisted Pressman. "Absolutely, yes," she grimaced.

Then, after one of the longest periods of political foreplay that anyone can remember there was the actual announcement of her candidacy, on February 6, part of which she ill-advisedly attempted to do in a fake New York accent. "No one said it would be easy," she joked, "but hey, this is Noo Yawk!"

"Stupid," squirms *The New Yorker's* Kolbert. "Someone should have read that and said 'Take it out of your speech'. It wasn't even pandering, it just reminded people she wasn't from here. I remember thinking 'God, that's really not going to go down well'."

"The vacuity of her announcement speech makes George W look like Pericles," snorts Shapiro. "She's running to the right of Gore! She's pro-death penalty, she's pro-timid social programmes."

"She's a limousine liberal," fumes Paglia. "She's pretending to speak for the poor but she's insulated. And she's so strident, so sanctimonious. I despise the way she's so removed from common people yet she uses them as pawns, it's not real leftistism, and her policies are incoherent."

But this is not a race about policies, it's about personalities, and there remains the issue of Hillary's fame. "She's glamorous and she's a celebrity," says Toobin. "New Yorkers like that."

Contrary to the received wisdom, this is not the first time Hillary has stood for office. Back in 1964 she ran for class president of the student council — the first girl to run for the office. She lost to the captain of the football team.

ALISDAIR Pugh and Way



PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Newsweek
Magazine

Giuliani Fires From The Lip, Clinton Says *She Urges Full Probe Of Police Shooting*

Associated Press

NEW YORK, March 21—Hillary Rodham Clinton criticized Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani over his handling of a fatal police shooting, saying he had "hunkered down, taken sides and further divided this city."

Clinton said she was still waiting for a "full and fair investigation" of the killing Thursday of Patrick Dorismond, 26, during an attempted drug sting outside a midtown Manhattan bar. Dorismond, who was black, was unarmed.

At the mayor's direction, police released the dead man's police record, showing a juvenile charge that was later dropped and two guilty pleas in the mid-1990s to disorderly conduct.

"Unfortunately, the mayor has not [waited] and that is just wrong," the first lady said Monday evening, drawing applause from about 1,000 people at the



Democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigns for the U.S. Senate at Roslyn High School in New York. Her Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, gave out details of the police record of a 26-year-old man who was shot dead by police Thursday during an attempted drug sting. Clinton accused Giuliani of a "rush to judgment" in the controversy.

BY BEBETO MATHEWS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bethel AME Church in Harlem. "He has led the rush to judgment. That is not real leadership."

Giuliani today denied Clinton's charges and gave reporters new details about Dorismond's brushes with the law, including a March 7 incident in which Dorismond allegedly punched his girlfriend in the head while she was holding the couple's 1-year-old child. She had filed a report with police, but no charges were placed.

"I am giving you facts that you resist printing," Giuliani said. "That Mr. Dorismond spent a good deal of his adult life punching people is a fact."

The mayor also said there "was no indication" that the Dorismond shooting "had anything to do with race."

The Dorismond shooting occurred weeks after four police officers were acquitted of all charges in the killing of Amadou Diallo in February 1999. The officers, mistakenly thinking Diallo was armed, fired 41 shots, striking him 19 times.

In the wake of Dorismond's shooting, community leaders and politicians have stepped up demands for federal oversight of the police department. Police and the attorney for the Hispanic officer involved in the shooting have said Dorismond, an off-

duty security guard, became angry and tried to grab the undercover officer's gun after the officer asked him if he knew where to buy marijuana.

Clinton said it was wrong of the mayor to attack Dorismond's character by releasing his juvenile record, just as it would be wrong to try to taint the reputations of the police officers involved by dredging up stains in their past before the facts were in.

Giuliani said her comments were an attempt to score political points off a tragedy, "just like she did when she rushed to judgment and called the police officers involved in the Diallo case murderers."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILL: RUDY

Hillary Rodham Clinton last night thrust herself into the maelstrom over the police shooting of Patrick Dorismond — skewering Senate rival Mayor Giuliani for “dividing the city” by taking sides in the case.

The Democratic Senate candidate got a standing ovation at a Harlem town hall meeting when she blasted her likely GOP rival, who has defended the cops and attacked Dorismond’s character.

“I am still waiting for a full and fair investigation. Unfortunately, the mayor is not — and that’s just wrong,” Clinton said in her most blistering attack on Giuliani since the campaign began.

Reported by Gregg Birnbaum, Larry Celona, Maggie Haberman, Robert Hardt Jr., Ikimulisa Sockwell-Mason and Tracy Connor. Written by Connor.

She launched the salvo at historic Bethel AME Church, where a supportive crowd of more than 800 included Rep. Charles Rangel

Says Hizzoner polarizes city in police slay

(D-Manhattan) and Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields.

“He has chosen divisiveness,” she said of the mayor. “Where a real leader would wait for the results of a full and fair investigation, he has led the rush to judgment. That is not leadership . . .

“For the sake of our police officers, for the sake of our children, for the sake of all New Yorkers, the mayor must stop dividing this city.”

Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum hit back by recalling Clinton’s appearance with the Rev. Al Sharpton on Martin Luther King Jr. Day, when she called the cop shooting of Amadou Diallo a “murder” — a statement she later retracted.

“Once again, Mrs. Clinton is shamelessly trying to exploit this for political purposes, just like she did when she rushed to judgment and labeled the police officers in the Diallo case as murderers during the visit with her pal Al Sharpton,” Teitelbaum said.

The war of words broke out amid mounting criticism of Giuliani for releasing Dorismond’s sealed juvenile arrest record.

Fields demanded the state’s chief administrative judge probe how the 1987 arrest record became public, and Sharpton said Giuliani should lose his law license for green-lighting the release.

The mayor had used the robbery-and-assault arrest to bolster his claim that Dorismond — who was shot dead in a struggle with undercover cops — had a “propensity” for violence.

Corporation Counsel Michael Hess insisted no laws were broken because the purpose of sealing juvenile records is to give a youngster privacy while he rehabilitates himself.

“Once he dies, the confidentiality of those records is eliminated and the city has the right to release them,” Hess said.

City officials also offered up a new detail from Dorismond’s record: days before he was killed, an ex-girlfriend accused him of assaulting her.

Sources said Karen Sturkey, mother of Dorismond’s

New York Post
March 21, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



FILE PHOTO/REUTERS

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani raised \$7 million in the first quarter.

Fund-Raising in N.Y. Sets Record Pace

By MIKE ALLEN
Washington Post Staff Writer

"Dear Republican friend," a New Yorker writes. "Does Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton sound good to you?"

Apparently not. A blizzard of letters like that helped New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani raise \$7 million for his Senate race in the first quarter of this year, while the first lady pulled in \$4 million.

Clinton's figure would have set a record for first-quarter fund-raising by a Senate candidate if it had not been eclipsed by Giuliani. The first-quarter totals bring him to \$19 million and her to \$12 million for the race so far.

Giuliani's campaign said his goal for the first quarter had been \$4.3 million. With the election seven months away, the New York mayor has already raised more than the \$17 million that Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) spent during his entire Senate campaign in 1998.

Yesterday's announcements by the campaigns left fund-raising experts agog and dismayed New York watchdog groups, which argue that the tidal wave of advertising that is likely to be bought with such sums is certain to confuse—not enlighten—voters.

"Hillary and Rudy are already in the paper every day," said Neal S. Rosenstein of the New York Public Interest Research Group. "This race would be close and exciting even if they spent half as much. It's just going to cloud the issues and make it impossible to sort out the charges and countercharges."

Larry Makinson, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, said the race will "unquestionably be the most expensive non-presidential race in American history."

He said the record for money raised for a Senate campaign is \$27 million by then-Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) for his unsuccessful reelection race against Schumer in 1998. Makinson said the record for amount spent is \$30 million by Republican Senate candidate Michael Huffington in California in 1994. Huffington, who paid for his campaign himself, also lost.

Clinton's campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, attributed Giuliani's tally to "extremely negative, misleading fund-raising letters" sent by "the mayor's right-wing fund-raising machine."

"We're going to have the money we need," Wolfson said. "I don't think money's going to be an issue in this race."

Giuliani's campaign manager, Bruce Teitel-

baum, issued a statement complaining that "the infamous Clinton fund-raising machine is working overtime," but vowing to "continue to work hard every day to stay competitive."

Giuliani's campaign said he has received contributions from 135,000 donors, 65 percent of whom gave less than \$100.

Giuliani's letters warn of his opponent's "left-wing agenda," portray him as battling "left-wingers and Clinton cronies," and promise that a victory by the mayor would "put an end to the Clinton era once and for all."

Ester Fuchs, a specialist in New York politics at Columbia University, called the treasuries on both sides "horrifying." And she found irony in Giuliani's success with mailing lists of conservatives. "He has quite a liberal record on the issues they care about," she said. "But they have such hatred for Hillary Clinton that he's able to raise all this money from people who shouldn't be giving him the time of day."

The figures released yesterday are for the candidates' campaign accounts, which can accept contributions no greater than \$1,000 from individuals. Leaving nothing to chance, Clinton and Giuliani are also raising money for party-administered accounts that can accept unlimited donations.



FILE PHOTO/REUTERS

Hillary Rodham Clinton's \$4 million tally would have been a record.



HILLARY CLINTON
\$4 million in 2000.



MAYOR GIULIANI
\$7 million this year.

Rudy holds hefty lead over Hill in the \$enate race

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Mayor Giuliani raised an astonishing \$7 million during the first three months of this year while Hillary Rodham Clinton raked in \$4 million, campaign aides said yesterday.

The mayor has raised \$19 million, while the first lady has brought \$8 million into her campaign coffers — virtually guaranteeing they will shatter all spending records for a Senate race.

The record was the \$44 million spent in the 1994 California race between Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein and GOP challenger Michael Huffington.

Iran-Contra figure Oliver North had held the record for raising the most in the first quarter of an election year — \$2.9 million — in his 1994 Virginia Senate race.

One campaign-finance reform advocate said she was stunned by the latest figures for Giuliani and Clinton.

"It's a mind-boggling amount of money and it's hard to imagine that either candidate is doing anything else besides fund-raising," said Ellen Miller, the executive director of Public Campaign.

Noting that the mayor has outraised Clinton, Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum said the first lady might not reach her fund-raising goals.

"I think what's instructive is that they're not raising nearly as much money as they thought they would," Teitelbaum said.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson downplayed the fund-raising gap.

"The press knows and New Yorkers know that financial resources are not going to be an issue for either candidate in this race," said Wolfson, who added that the campaign was "on target" with its fund-raising goals.

Neither Teitelbaum nor Wolfson would say how much money they have spent or how much money was left in their campaign accounts.

As of Jan. 1, Clinton had \$4.7 million on hand while Giuliani had \$7.4 million left.

Teitelbaum acknowledged that some of the campaign's success in direct-mail fund-raising was from people who strongly dislike Clinton.

"Sure, there is an element out there where people really dislike Mrs. Clinton ... but the level of support you see for the mayor is based on the fact that people believe in him and believe in what he's done," he said.

Bill's revved up over Hillary's poll position / Page 22

Gov. boosting mayor's 'foes'

ALBANY — Gov. Pataki — who says he backs Mayor Giuliani for the U.S. Senate — is raising funds that could help defeat Giuliani in November, it was learned yesterday.

Pataki, in a just-sent fund-raising letter, seeks contributions for the state's small but influential Conservative Party "so they can fight Hillary Clinton's \$25 million campaign machine."

But the Conservative Party is widely expected to run its own candidate in the November election — splitting the anti-Clinton vote — because of the mayor's refusal to back a ban on "partial birth"

abortions.

Pataki's relations with Giuliani have long been strained, and many in state GOP circles believe the governor is giving at least covert support to Conservative Party Chairman Michael Long's effort to derail the mayor's campaign.

Pataki spokesman Michael McKeon insisted the letter was "designed [only] to help the Conservative Party, which has helped the governor."

A Giuliani campaign spokeswoman, Kim Serafin, refused to comment on the Pataki letter.

Fredric U. Dicker

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Bill's revved up over Hillary's poll position

THE Post's Senate poll on Sunday, by Zogby International, grabbed the attention of Hillary Rodham Clinton's top political adviser — President Clinton.

At a White House ceremony earlier this week, an upbeat president was overheard remarking to one of his guests, "I hope that Zogby poll is right!"

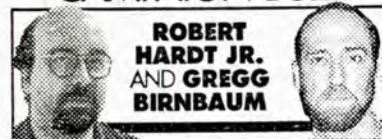
The stunning survey showed that Mrs. Clinton has gained 10 points on Mayor Giuliani in less than a month and now leads him by 3 percent.

That must have heartened the president, an avid poll reader, whom Mrs. Clinton has said offers her campaign advice on a 24-hour basis.

In a private talk to Republicans, Giuliani sketched his game plan for wooing the potentially election-deciding Independence, Conservative and Liberal parties, according to people at the Monday meeting in Albany.

The mayor said he is chasing hard after the Independence Party's endorsement; hasn't yet thrown in the towel on the Conservatives, although he refuses to budge on partial-birth abor-

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



tion; and left the impression he will seek and win the Liberal Party's backing if things don't work out with the Conservatives.

Giuliani's approach appears for now to reject a much-discussed anti-Hillary scenario — having the Liberal Party, controlled by Giuliani ally Ray Harding, run a liberal woman to siphon votes away from Clinton.

The first lady already has picked up the Working Families Party spot on the ballot, and also is courting the Independence Party.

City Councilman Walter McCaffrey grew so concerned over Hillary Clinton's close ties to his primary rival, Rep. Joe Crowley (D-Queens), that he recently asked the first lady if she had chosen sides in the Democratic Party battle.

"I asked her straightforwardly

if she would be neutral," McCaffrey said.

"She told me: That was her policy, and on that basis, she would stay of it."

Crowley, whose brother-in-law, Ramon Martinez, is a top campaign aide to the first lady, said he "couldn't be closer" to Mrs. Clinton, who has even slept over at his house.

"We haven't asked for a formal endorsement — but I'm not so sure we need it," Crowley said.

A political reporter in Providence, R.I., scooped the entire New York City press corps by snagging the first sit-down interview with Giuliani about his Senate campaign.

Providence Journal reporter M. Charles Bakst devoted his Sunday column to a 15-minute interview that Giuliani granted last week before holding a campaign fund-raiser with Rhode Island Gov. Lincoln Almond.

Bakst was shocked when informed Giuliani has yet to agree to any one-on-one interviews with New York media.

"He's bright, funny and personable, and has an answer for everything," Bakst said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE NATION

Many children have easy access to guns, study says

By Marilyn Elias
USA TODAY

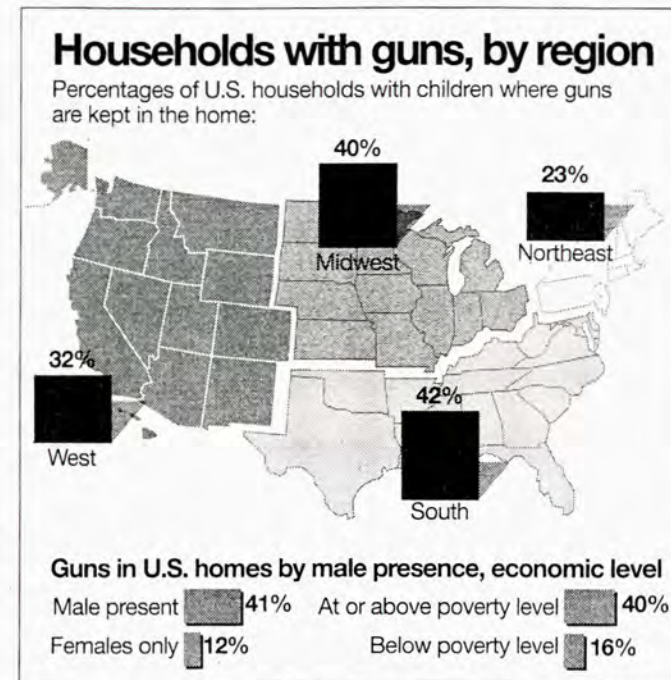
More than 22 million U.S. children live in homes with firearms, and the guns aren't locked up or fitted with trigger locks in 43% of these homes, shows a national survey out Thursday.

"A surprisingly large number of kids are in homes where guns are loaded and ready to be shot. The numbers are very concerning from a public health standpoint," says Mark Schuster, a UCLA pediatrician and researcher with the RAND think tank in Santa Monica, Calif.

He analyzed the federal survey on gun storage practices in 6,990 households with children, a representative national sample. Believed to be the largest study ever done on how Americans store firearms, it's reported in the *American Journal of Public Health*.

The study found that 9% of homes keep firearms unlocked and loaded — homes with 1.7 million children. Another 4% of the homes have guns that are unlocked with ammunition nearby.

That means homes with about 2.6 million children had



Source: American Journal of Public Health, 1994 statistics

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

firearms stored in a manner most accessible to children, the report says.

Many parents know guns should be locked up, "but our polling shows there's a disconnect between talk and action," says David Bernstein of the Center to Prevent Handgun

Violence in Washington, D.C. "They think the top shelf of a closet or a sock drawer or under the mattress is secure. But kids are curious and go snooping around."

Accidental shootings are down nationally, despite an increase in private gun owner-

Backlash aimed at gunmaker

The gun industry is retaliating against Smith & Wesson for its agreement to put safety locks on handguns, Connecticut Attorney General Richard Blumenthal said.

Blumenthal said a multi-state antitrust investigation is under way into allegations that gun distributors and wholesalers are boycotting Smith & Wesson products.

Smith & Wesson, based in Springfield, Mass., has received reports of attempts to pressure gun publications into refusing to accept its ads, said Ken Jorgensen, a company spokesman.

Robert Delfay, president

of the National Shooting Sports Foundation, denied allegations of a conspiracy.

"I could not be more confident that these are just independent actions by businessmen," Delfay told *The New York Times*.

In the agreement with the Clinton administration, Smith & Wesson said it would include safety locks with all handguns and pistols within two years.

In exchange, several cities, states and the federal government agreed to drop threatened lawsuits over gun violence.

Reuters

ship. Gun groups say the numbers show that gun ownership is not as dangerous as portrayed, but critics say the statistics are not reliable and miss many cases.

The National Rifle Association advocates safety classes, such as its Eddie Eagle Gun-Safe education program, which has taught 12 million elemen-

tary school kids to avoid gun accidents. The NRA also provides safe storage tips in its adult training. "Education is the only answer," NRA chief lobbyist James Baker says.

Bernstein says parents should not only look at their own firearm storage but ask about weapons at their kids' friends' homes.

Giuliani Funds Far Outpacing Mrs. Clinton's

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani raised nearly twice as much money as Hillary Rodham Clinton during the first three months of this year and has now collected a total of \$19 million for his Senate campaign, according to figures provided by both candidates yesterday. The latest numbers leave little doubt that Mr. Giuliani will significantly outraise and outspend the first lady in the race in New York.

"She's got a lot of people out there who don't like her," Bruce J. Teitelbaum, Mr. Giuliani's campaign manager, asserted, grinning broadly as he released the Republican mayor's side of what turned out by day's end to be a fairly lopsided fund-raising picture.

Mr. Teitelbaum said that more than half of Mr. Giuliani's total contributions came from out of state, though he contended that the strong showing — news of which clearly unsettled some of Mrs. Clinton's supporters — was as much a tribute to Mr. Giuliani as a testament to Mrs. Clinton's unpopularity.

He said Mr. Giuliani had raised \$7 million in the reporting period required under federal law, from Jan. 1 to March 31, for a total of \$19 million for his campaign. Mrs. Clinton's campaign aides said she had raised about \$4 million in the period, bringing her total to about \$12 million. The figures do not count millions in additional so-called soft money contributions, which are largely unregulated, that the two candidates have been energetically soliciting.

The report by Mr. Giuliani was

Continued on Page A27

Giuliani Is Far Outpacing Mrs. Clinton in Fund Totals

Continued From Page A1

startling, not only because of its size — the mayor has already raised more money than Charles E. Schumer collected for his entire Senate contest in 1998 — but also because the figures appeared to undercut what had once been a widespread assumption of the contest: that Mrs. Clinton would raise more money than Mr. Giuliani. Earlier this year, Mrs. Clinton's advisers said they were confident that she would raise \$25 million for her campaign; she has yet to reach the halfway point toward that.

Last night, Mrs. Clinton's campaign manager, Bill de Blasio, said he was now certain that Mr. Giuliani would raise "at least several million more dollars" than Mrs. Clinton. "We think they will have a significant amount more than we have," Mr. de Blasio said.

Mr. Teitelbaum called a formal news conference to announce the figures, which he presented in a series of brightly colored charts, filled with graphic illustrations that demonstrated the scope of Mr. Giuliani's accomplishment for the sake of the television cameras at the back of the room. By contrast, Mrs. Clinton disclosed her figure in a short statement e-mailed to reporters.

Mr. Giuliani now seems certain to break the fund-raising record of \$21 million set in Virginia by a nonincumbent candidate for Senate, Oliver L. North, in 1994. He has already surpassed Mr. Schumer, who raised \$17 million in his run for Senate in 1998, and his advisers say they now think he may end up raising close to \$40 million.

The splurge of fund-raising was condemned yesterday by Theodore W. Kheel, the former labor negotiator who has taken the lead in trying to work out an agreement between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani to renounce voluntarily the use of unregulated soft money in the campaign.

"It's absolutely terrible," Mr. Kheel said. "It tells the public that the electoral process depends on how much money you can raise. The assumption is that more money will buy the election. It's awful."

The actual filing period does not end until midnight today. Mr. Giuli-

ani's aides said he was putting out the numbers a day early because he would be in Arizona attending fundraisers today. The release of what the aides saw as a bit of good news also came as the mayor tried to tamp down criticism of his response to the fatal police shooting of Patrick M. Dorismond earlier this month.

Because the figures were preliminary, neither campaign was able to provide what is a critical way to measure the financial health of a campaign: the amount of cash on hand. But Mr. Giuliani seems likely to enjoy an advantage in this area. Unlike Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Giuliani has yet to hire much of a campaign staff, a reflection of the fact that he has not done much campaign traveling and has a network of City Hall aides. Mr. Teitelbaum said the campaign was about to begin hiring more staff members within the next week.

Mr. Giuliani appears to be in a strong financial position, for reasons going beyond the numbers in the latest report. Mr. Teitelbaum said that more than half of the contributions came in response to direct-mail solicitations, which meant that Mr. Giuliani, who has kept a modest campaign schedule, did not have to leave City Hall much to raise the cash. And Mr. Teitelbaum said the campaign now has gotten contributions from 135,000 donors, most of whom have given below the \$1,000 legal contribution limit and whom the campaign can ask again for money.

That said, political analysts cautioned yesterday that it would be a mistake to read too much into the political position of either candidate based on fund-raising figures. For one thing, no matter how Mrs. Clinton stands in comparison to Mr. Giuliani, she still has raised what in any other Senate race would be a huge amount of money.

And there is, Mrs. Clinton's aides said, no corollary between a candidate's fund-raising ability and victory. "Senator D'Amato, Senator North and Senator Huffington can all attest to the fact that more money doesn't necessarily get you elected to the Senate," said Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, referring to unsuccessful Senate campaigns by Alfonse M. D'Amato, Mr. North, and Michael Huffington in California.

Hillary's spooks

The supersecret National Security Agency is getting too political for one employee named Jack.

The agency publishes a glossy monthly newsletter for distribution to employees worldwide, and the theme of the March issue is Women's History Month. Its cover features likenesses of 11 notable women, from Mother Teresa to Maya Angelou.

But also on the cover is Hillary Rodham Clinton and, with her likeness, the phrase, "Now Imagine the Future."

Jack imagined and didn't like what he saw. But back to reality, he believes the inclusion of Mrs. Clinton with the campaignlike phrase gives Uncle Sam's publication a political feel if not an outright endorsement of her Senate campaign in New York.

"It would appear to be in violation of existing federal law," he adds.

So Jack typed a letter to the newsletter's internal publisher, who is a woman, and she sent a "snotty" letter back.

She told him that if the same issue was published 16 years earlier, Nancy Reagan would have been on the cover. Then, using Jack's own line of logic, she said the appearance of Mother Teresa and Princess Diana could be construed as an endorsement of Roman Catholicism and monarchism.

BOOK WORLD

*The President, Right or Wrong***A VAST CONSPIRACY**
The Real Story of the Sex Scandal
That Nearly Brought Down a
PresidentBy Jeffrey Toobin
Random House. 426 pp. \$25.95**THE HUNTING OF THE PRESIDENT**
The Ten Year Campaign to Destroy
Bill and Hillary ClintonBy Joe Conason and Gene Lyons
St. Martin's. 432 pp. \$24.95By JAMES BOWMAN,
American editor of the Times Literary
Supplement, film critic of the American
Spectator and media critic of the New
*Criterion.***B**oth these books have something important to say. Jeffrey Toobin's criticism about attempts by "the legal system to take over the political system of the United States" is very much in

need of a hearing. Likewise, Joe Conason and Gene Lyons have a serious point to make about the assumptions underlying the whole enterprise of investigative journalism since Watergate and a kind of uncritical public acceptance they give rise to. If even a fraction of the allegations against President Clinton laboriously charted by Conason and Lyons are indeed as false and fanciful as they are represented as being here, then there is powerful evidence that the siren song of a possible "cover-up" enticed a great many journalists, politicians and others into error.

Neither Toobin's "A Vast Conspiracy" nor Conason and Lyons's "The Hunting of the President," however, is likely to receive the hearing it deserves because both are unashamedly partisan. It's easy to pick the one word in the title of each that tells what side it's on. Toobin's "conspiracy," like Conason and Lyons's "destroy," proclaims an adherence to the Clintons' cause. Hillary Rodham Clinton named the "vast right-wing conspiracy" just as Bill Clinton named "the politics of personal destruction." True, Toobin's "conspiracy" is not the same as Mrs. Clinton's, but, in the light of his, hers is said to have "the unmistakable ring of truth" to it. Conason and Lyons, who also believe in Mrs. Clinton's conspiracy, are as vague as the president about what, exactly, being "destroyed" might mean to a man with no apparent sense of shame.

These are books for the "culture war" that, Conason and Lyons tell us, was "instigated" by "the theological warriors of the religious right." But in taking up the battle on the other side, they do not see how much has been lost by both sides. They are very likely right about how the media were duped by dubious or



Judge

Jim Johnson and David Hale and Jim McDougal and Larry Case and Larry Nichols and Larry Patterson and Larry Wood and Richard Larry of the Scaife Foundation (not enough has been written about the "Larry" motif here); but, obsessed with shooting down every single allegation against Clinton as if he were a saint and a martyr, aren't they, in their own way, just as duped as those they expose?

In the same way, Toobin is right about "the politicization of the legal process," but his book, which identifies Clinton as "the good guy," is an example of the politicization of language. Perhaps the corruption we ought to worry most about is neither that of the Clinton administration nor that of alleged conspirators in the American Spectator's "Arkansas Project" and "the looser cabal of political operatives, journalists, and lawyers" that Conason and Lyons say "had choreographed the Whitewater affair." It is rather this corruption of rhetoric on both sides of the pro- and anti-Clinton divide. Truth in the matter of the Clinton

impossible to state because of the language in which those scandals are discussed. Even more disturbing is that there is no apparent market for a book that, by toning down the rhetoric, might appeal to the nonaligned.

The hyped-up rhetoric of "conspiracy" and "destruction" in these books is only part of the story. It is not enough to say, for example, that the president's inquisitors were wrong or misguided; they are also represented as being, almost uniformly, as greedy, stupid, corrupt, politically motivated and consumed by hatred of the Clintons as their most extreme "right-wing" allies.

These three writers can be as willing to believe allegations against the prosecutors as the Clinton crazies were willing to believe allegations against the president. Toobin believes, for instance, William Ginsburg's outrageous claim that Kenneth Starr's deputy, Jackie Bennett, threatened him with an IRS audit; Conason and Lyons express no skepticism about Susan McDougal's similar allegation against Little Rock prosecutor Ray Jahn or even that Jahn said to her, "You know who the investigation is about, and you know what we want."

Conason and Lyons put forward the opinion of Buddy Young, the Clinton patronage appointee and "former superior" of Arkansas state trooper Larry Patterson, that Patterson's "mentality and objective in life was to sleep with as many women as he could. . . . If Bill Clinton had a meeting with a woman behind closed doors, Larry assumed it was for the purpose of sex, because that's what it would have been if he had been there." Now Buddy Young isn't anybody's idea of a disinterested witness in the matter. What he says about Patterson is malicious, self-interested gossip, designed to discredit the man who

Conason and Lyons quote his view as if it were persuasive, indeed definitive.

In similar vein, they quote Clinton's Arkansas chief of staff, Betsey Wright, as saying that the troopers "exploited [Clinton's] sexual attractiveness to women. . . . Their running around carousing at night was driving me crazy, because the stories always came back about how these guys working for the governor were out picking up women in bars." Stories, said Wright, of Clinton's womanizing were probably just a byproduct of the deep-seated psychic need of "a pudgy little guy who wasn't a football star at the time the hormones raged" to be one of the boys. Likewise, Toobin writes that "it seemed just as likely that the troopers used Clinton to pick up women as that the governor employed them for that purpose."

It must take a near-Blumenthalian level of devotion to Clinton to believe something as preposterous as this, but once political polarization has taken place, the will to believe becomes paramount.

Alas, as one of the practitioners of what Conason and Lyons call the "pretentiously Anglophilic cultural criticism" at the American Spectator (see? they seem to say, even its cultural criticism is no good!), I find myself lumped in with the Clinton crazies and thus as much identified with one side in this unedifying bout of media mudwrestling as the subjects and authors of these books. But for what it is worth, as a right-wing defender of privacy, I thought the president's enemies just as foolishly shortsighted for attacking him about private sexual misbehavior as his defenders were for ignoring the very sexual-harassment law they had so recently striven to enact. Perhaps history will decide that the two sides

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PEOPLE

Hillary, Hollywood rock to Elton at party

BEVERLY HILLS — “I thought Tom would start his remarks with ‘Fourscore and seven years ago,’” joked **Hillary Rodham Clinton** Tuesday night.

Steven Spielberg and **Tom Hanks** — resembling Abe Lincoln for a new movie in which he’s stranded on a desert island — introduced the first lady.

Clinton was given the Women in Courage award at “An Unforgettable Evening,” sponsored by Saks Fifth Avenue and Cedars-Sinai Research for Women’s Cancers. But, she said, “the real heroes are those who care for the women and the women themselves.”

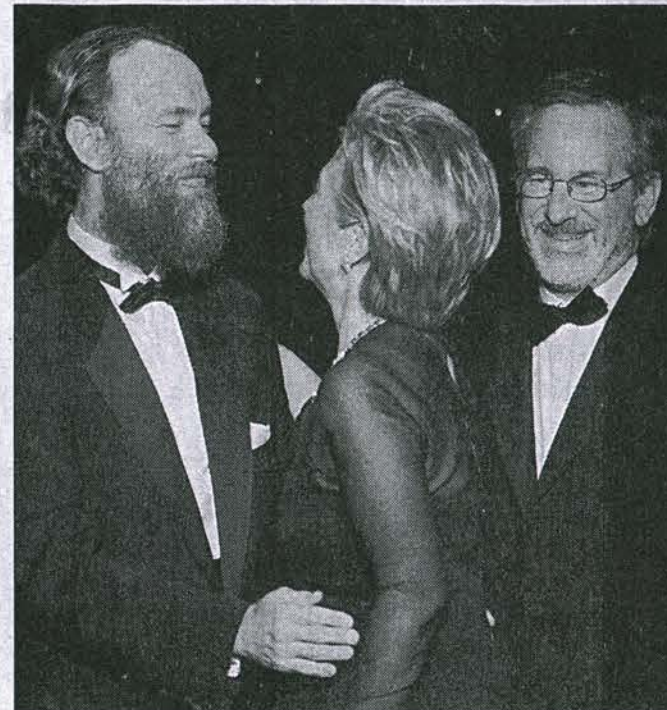
Clinton has been speaking out on the subject since 1995, encouraging the need for early detection. “I don’t think there has been any experience that I have had since I have been in the White House that has been more troubling to me, that women and men, but mostly women, do not have health insurance or do not qualify for public assistance such as Medi-

caid or Medicare.”

The New York Senate candidate rocked in her seat to **Elton John’s** *Crocodile Rock* and a dozen other hits he performed. The guests, who included Beverly Hills oncologists, older ladies with taut faces and Hollywood baby boomers — as well as **Kirk and Anne Douglas** (a former recipient), **Lisa Kudrow**, **Candice Bergen** and **Natalie Cole** — were swinging and swaying in their multithousand dollar-a-seat spots. Some took table candles and choreographed light movement. John dedicated *Can You Feel the Love Tonight?* to Clinton.

Hanks said Clinton “promotes a vision for the future for one day we all may live cancer-free.” Spielberg added, “She really ‘gets’ it, but sometimes only her hairstyles make the headlines. We admire her because of her great voice and her energy. . . . She is a genuine woman of courage.”

Robin Williams lightened up things with: “Elton John is called a knight; I think he’s



By Kevork Djansezian, AP

An unforgettable evening: First lady Hillary Clinton hugs a Lincoln-like Tom Hanks after he and Steven Spielberg introduced her.

more of a weekend!”

And to Clinton, he cracked: “Is it true that your name will just be Hillary on the ballot, or the artist formerly known as the first lady?”

Said producer **Steve Tisch**:

“**Bill Clinton** has done a lot for Hollywood, and Hollywood has done a lot for Washington. I expect to get a résumé from him soon!”

By Sue Facter

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Culture, et cetera

Sneak peek

"Here's another — a moment that to me quite captures her. It is January 2000 and the first lady is on [CBS' 'The Late Show' with David] Letterman. . . . [He] asks the name of the state bird. 'The bluebird,' she says, to applause. The state tree? Hillary gets a Jeopardy Daily Double look. 'Um, the maple.' But which maple? She blinks, thinking hard. 'Let's see, there's the red maple, the sugar maple . . .' That's it, says Letterman, to more applause . . .

"And then the next day it turned out she had seen the questions in advance. She'd been given a 'sneak peek,' according to her spokesman.

"That in itself wasn't shocking. What was shocking was the Daily Double look, the straining gamely for answers. It was all acting. It was all a fake. And it was so convincing.

"It was so . . . Hillary."

— Peggy Noonan, from her new book, "The Case Against Hillary Clinton"



AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton strained to answer David Letterman's New York quiz in January, despite a "sneak peek" at the questions beforehand.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 2000

WHAT is the sound of one hand clapping? It is The Wall Street Journal and the conservative press in general apologizing to Hillary Clinton for calling her a liar about those FBI files found in the White House. She always said she had nothing to do with it, and now the independent counsel, no Clinton acolyte, recently said Hillary was telling the truth. I waited for the conservative press to say something. I hear nothing.

Filegate, as this non-scandal was called, was generally adjudged to be a very serious matter, downright momentous. It supposedly entailed the use of the FBI to do something — no one ever knew what — to the Clintons' political enemies.

No paper was more outraged than The Wall Street Journal. Its editorial page furiously condemned the Clinton White House for "illicitly ransacking" the files. It strongly implied the Clintons — especially Hillary — were lying, and one of its outside commentators, Barbara Olson, just about said so. "Her efforts to hide her role

in this scheme could lead to indictments for perjury and obstruction of justice," she predicted just last January.

Independent counsel Robert Ray found otherwise. "There was no substantial and credible evidence that any senior White House official, or First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, was involved in seeking confidential [FBI] background reports," he reported more than a week ago. He also found no evidence that Mrs. Clinton "played any role" in hiring the aide who accumulated the files.

This happens to be what Mrs. Clinton said all along. But to no avail. Some pretty keen journalists — and I love 'em

No Apology for Hill?



**RICHARD
COHEN**

all — somehow knew for a fact the White House was dissembling. William Safire called the White House's account "a cover story." George Will mocked it. And

Peggy Noonan, writing in the Journal, predicted the New York press would never hold Mrs. Clinton accountable for "FBI files illegally gotten by the former barroom bouncer she hired." In her new book, "The Case Against Hillary Clinton," she repeats the allegation.

I am not arguing for a clear exoneration of the Clintons on each and every accusation brought against them. Still, none of the original scandals (the Lewinsky matter was a late hit) may produce an indict-

ment. And yet they all have been covered as if they were on par with Watergate or Teapot Dome — and with a certainty of guilt and a harshness that, in retrospect, is downright troubling. What accounts for this journalistic lynching?

I'm not sure. Certainly the Clintons brought some of it on themselves. One of the president's vaunted allergies is clearly to candor. From day one, he was not straight about how he avoided the draft or about his affair with Gennifer Flowers. The press turned understandably cynical — and Clinton has continued to justify that feeling. He can be a shifty fellow.

Whatever the reason, if after years of investigation no real crimes are found, then future generations are going to be mystified. Why all the investigations, not to mention the venom? For the press, especially those paid to offer their opinions, it would not be too soon to start asking those questions now — and offering apologies where apologies are due.

I'm still listening.

Don't Blame Hillary

Neither she *nor* Rudy caused the rioting — and the blame game won't make *anyone* safer



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

HILLARY Clinton is not responsible for the rioting that took place Saturday after the funeral of Patrick Dorismond, the unarmed man killed by a New York City police officer — even though she said Rudy Giuliani was “dividing the city” and by saying so contributed to a fraying emotional atmosphere in the city. She might therefore be blamed in part for the riot because she did nothing to ease tensions.

But she wasn't there, she didn't throw a bottle, she didn't hold up a sign saying Rudy Giuliani's son should be killed (as one protestor did) — so she shouldn't be blamed. There. Wasn't that generous of me?

Now, wouldn't it be nice if she or her supporters extended the same generosity to Rudy Giuliani, who may have said some wrong-headed and impolitic things last week but also had nothing to do with the riot that injured 27?

He wasn't there either — surely in part to avoid provoking any kind of violence. And since he wasn't there, he didn't throw a bottle, he didn't throw a rock, he didn't even throw

a punch at the guy who threatened his son. And how about a nice word for the officers of the New York Police Department, who kept a respectable distance from the funeral, found themselves under attack from bottles and rocks and only intervened to protect the innocent folks trapped inside the riot?

The officers acted in a remarkably restrained manner — perhaps too restrained, though to fault them for that given the rhetoric of the past week would be very difficult.

Fat chance that any words of conciliation comparable to those I wrote above about Hillary Clinton will be spoken about Rudy Giuliani or the NYPD. The accusation that Giuliani is “dividing the city” has, in the parlance of the politicians, “gotten traction” — at least as revealed in The Post's poll on Sunday showing a 10-point swing away from him in the wake of the Dorismond shooting. His regrettable conduct in its aftermath will only embolden his attackers, and when you're on the march in politics, you don't apologize or make conciliatory gestures.

But at the risk of being told that I just don't get it, here are a few statistics

a punch at the guy who threatened his son.

And how about a nice word for the officers of the

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION



The American flag that covered Patrick Dorismond's casket — torn up and burned outside the church. AP

worthy of note in the wake of the Dorismond tragedy:

1) Number of unarmed black men by New York City police killed since

February 1999: 3.

2) Number of black people in New York City: 1,847,049. That's according to the last census, and peo-

ple in the black community always claim they've been undercounted in that census, so we'll make it an even 2 million.

3) Percentage of unarmed black males in New York City killed by police in the past two years: .00015 percent.

It is impossible to calculate how many black males, armed and unarmed, are alive today as a result of the crime and murder drop that is the result of tougher and more aggressive policing by the NYPD, but the number is in the many tens of thousands. As is the number of those who have not been the victims of lesser crimes.

It has now become a cliché for black people interviewed on television and in the press to say they no longer feel free on the streets because of the police. Such an attitude is born of an entirely understandable form of amnesia. The city's improvement — nowhere more dramatic than in former hothouses of crime like Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick and Washington Heights — has been so dramatic that it has allowed folks to forget what things were like before.

That the 2 million black people of New York City feel themselves and their sons in mortal danger from the NYPD because of three killings in two years is unreasonable. But what may

not be unreasonable — what should be open to a full and frank discussion — is the question of whether the aggressive stop-and-frisk policies undertaken by the police in the last five years are worth the suspicion and distrust they have understandably engendered among those law-abiding citizens who are subjected to stop-and-frisk that turn up no weapons.

More than 50,000 guns have been removed from the streets because of stop-and-frisk policies. Is that fact alone, which should warm the cockles of every gun controller's heart, worth the anger and the distrust the policy has so clearly engendered?

I don't know. But neither do Al Sharpton, Charlie Rangel, Mark Green and the other folks who have allowed their politicized judgments to outweigh their honest assessments.

We'd better start having a formal and honest public discussion of the stop-and-frisk policies — which can only be led by wise and calm heads on these matters.

The Rev. Floyd Flake might be one. Former MTA commissioner Robert Kiley, who was in charge of the transit police in his day, might be another. Criminologist James Q. Wilson would be central to any serious study of the issue. A civil libertarian like Sidney Zion of the Daily News might honestly represent an anti-stop-and-frisk view without being a Sharpton mouthpiece.

Even someone like former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, who doesn't come from New York and therefore doesn't have a stake in the debate, might be a valuable chairman for such a commission.

The mayor has to do something. Rudy — do this.

E-mail: podhoretz@ny-post.com

Future shock: Green, McCall and Hillary

OVER the weekend, we got a nightmare glimpse into a possible bizarro future for the city of New York.

The mayor was named Green. The governor McCall. And a guy named Ferrer was in charge of dismantling the peace and prosperity we've lately enjoyed.

Worse: Hillary was senator. Frightened?

All weekend long, neighbors and friends shook their heads in astonishment. Can it be? they wanted to know. Can seven years of renaissance be coming to an end?

Mark Green. Carl McCall. Fernando Ferrer. Three politicians whose overblown sense of importance has been shaken by the city's recent success. They were circling the airwaves like vultures on Sunday, giddily feeding off a man's corpse in service of a comeback.

Public Advocate Green, the aging hipster who wants to be mayor so badly he can taste it, was calling for Police Commissioner Howard Safir's head.

State Comptroller McCall, who wants to be governor so badly he can touch it, appeared with Ferrer, the Bronx borough president who has failed to grab for his borough the smallest piece of the city's newfound riches.

They were talking about Patrick

ANDREA PEYSER



Dorismond, the unarmed security guard who was shot and killed by a police officer. But really, they were talking about Mayor Giuliani.

Dorismond had barely been laid to rest, and the politicians couldn't wait another second to exploit his death.

They yammered on about City Hall's failures. About Giuliani's reaction to the killing. I listened and I waited for one of these men to condemn the bottle-and rock-throwing thugs who turned Dorismond's funeral into a riot.

A riot in which the police were not the only ones in danger, but the rioters' own neighbors — including small children who innocently walked into the line of fire.

These pols had an opportunity to redeem themselves by calling for peace. They might have thanked the officers who put down the riot with minimal injury, and prevented it from spiraling into another Crown Heights.

Instead, all we have heard from

our so-called leaders were thinly veiled incitements to riot some more.

Is this the future you want for your kids?

The drivel that has been spilling out of the likes of Al Sharpton, who suggested the rioters may have been provoked by police, is laughably false.

The riot wasn't a justifiable act of rage. It was a premeditated attack.

The proof of premeditation was in the bottles that rioters hurled in the direction of police — and their own friends and neighbors. Some were filled with urine.

Such projectiles are not created spontaneously. Hurling a bottle of urine takes planning.

We may disagree with Giuliani's handling of the shooting of Dorismond, to condemn him for failing to show sufficient sorrow. We are free to express this disagreement, in words or in votes.

But violence is not an excuse for more of the same.

Maybe Ferrer, McCall and Green got used to that kind of nonsense

under the failed Dinkins administration. When Dinkins lived in Gracie Mansion, police shootings of civilians averaged 28 a year.

Last year, there were 11 such shootings.

In the worst year of Dinkins, murders topped 2,000 — many of them in the same communities that now condemn Giuliani for failing to look out for their welfare.

In The Bronx today, the murder rate is climbing at a much faster clip than in the rest of the city. The chaos from which this city emerged is threatening to make a full-scale

comeback.

Let me say that I think Patrick Dorismond should not have died. Anthony Vasquez, the officer who shot him, had no business engaging in a street brawl with an unarmed man.

Now, let the justice system decide whether I'm right.

McCall, Ferrer and Green may benefit from chaos. But it has no place in a civilized city.

We must reject the violence.

McCall, Ferrer and Green may benefit from chaos. But it has no place in a civilized city.

A contrast in media teams



By Janet Durrans for USA TODAY

For Clinton: Sal DeVito, left, and Ellis Verdi both grew up in and around New York City.

Hillary Clinton's team

Agency: DeVito/Verdi, award-winning general creative ad agency.

Location: New York

Clients: Hillary 2000, American Civil Liberties Union, Seagram, *People* magazine, ecampus.com, Daf-fy's.

Principals: Ellis Verdi, president; Sal DeVito, creative director. Both born and raised in New York City.

Favorite sports team: Verdi, New York Knicks; DeVito, Brooklyn Dodgers.

Favorite New York attraction: Verdi, Long Island Beaches; DeVito, Adirondacks.

Favorite New York hangout: Verdi, home with his two kids; DeVito, Barolo restaurant in SoHo.

Claim to fame: Ads for *New York* magazine describing it as, "Possibly the only good thing in New York that Rudy hasn't taken credit for."

Key campaign political staff on the team: Mandy Grunwald, media consultant; Bill de Blasio, campaign manager; Mark Penn, pollster.

Quote: "We speak softly and carry a big ad." — DeVito.



By Eileen Blass, USA TODAY

For Giuliani: Political advertising is the "family business" for Adam Goodman, who grew up in Baltimore.

Rudy Giuliani's team

Agency: The Victory Group, political ad agency.

Location: Tampa

Clients: Rudy Giuliani for U.S. Senate, New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Wash., Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson.

Principal: Adam Goodman, president and lead creative, media and tactical strategist. Born and raised in Baltimore.

Favorite sports team: New York Yankees.

Favorite New York attraction: The Bronx Zoo.

Favorite New York hangout: City Hall.

Claim to fame: Created ads for Giuliani's winning mayoral re-election campaign in 1997.

Key campaign political staff on the team: Goodman serves as the campaign's media consultant. Others include Bruce Teitelbaum, campaign manager, and Frank Luntz, pollster.

Quote: "I say three words every morning: 'Don't blow it!'" — Goodman.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Ad agencies square off

New York Senate race also features scorching battle between fiercely competitive image-makers

By Michael McCarthy
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — There's a good reason first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign slogan is simply "Hillary." Her ad team wants it that way.

There's also a very good reason New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has come out fighting against domestic violence in his new TV commercials. His ad team wants it that way.

This is what the expected costliest Senate race in history is coming down to? What the ad teams want? You bet.

The Hillary-Rudy brawl is not only the most closely watched U.S. Senate race this year; it also might rival the presidential race in national interest. And whoever wins will owe a debt to some of the nation's craftiest image-makers.

The opposing ad teams are almost as different as their candidates:

► In Hillary's Democratic corner is DeVito/Verdi, a street-fighting downtown New York shop. And they're a rarity in

COVER STORY

politics these days: a Madison Avenue ad agency rather than political specialists. Principals Ellis Verdi and Sal DeVito have zero political experience.

But they have tangled with Rudy — in a free speech battle that reached the U.S. Supreme Court. And this year, they outraged the New York Police Department with an ad for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) about the case of Amadou Diallo, killed by police.

► In Rudy's Republican corner is The Victory Group, a Tampa-based political ad agency. Principal Adam Goodman is a second-generation media consultant.

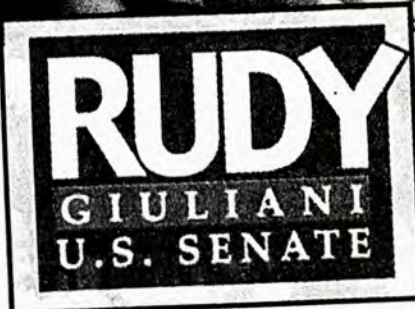
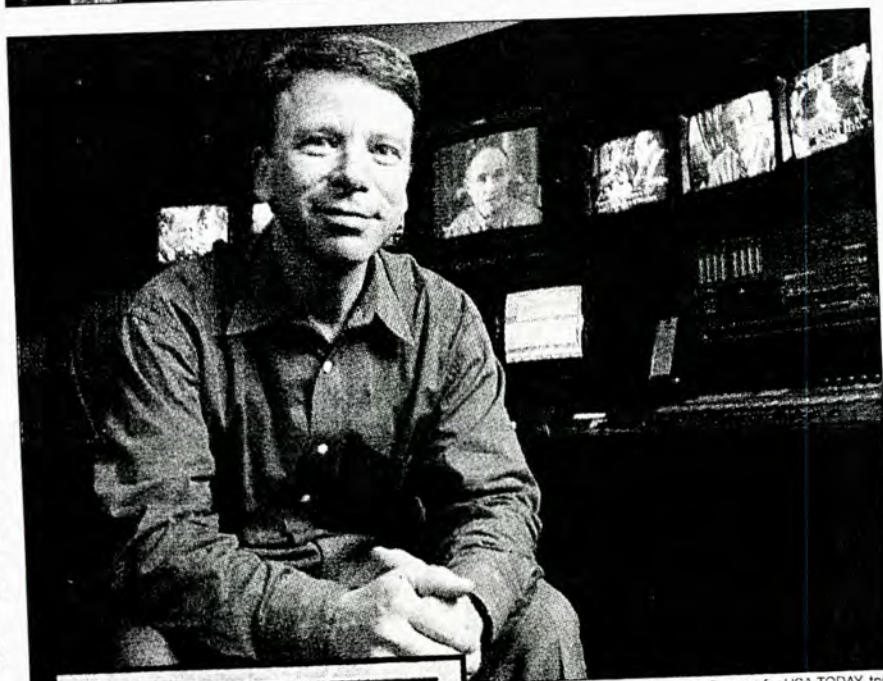
Along with Roger Ailes, his father, Robert Goodman, is one of the legendary Republican image handlers. The son represents the new breed of "young gun" media consultants: faster, fiercer and more high tech.

Goodman's attack ads helped defeat Democratic challenger Ruth Messinger in Rudy's 1997 mayoral re-election campaign. This GOP gun-for-hire has worked with everybody from New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman to Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott.

While Hillary and Rudy are exchanging blows on a near daily basis, their ad executives are mixing it up, too.

"As opposed to DeVito/Verdi, I don't

Please see COVER STORY next page ►



By Janet Durans for USA TODAY, top;
and Eileen Blass, USA TODAY, bottom

Opposing forces: Clinton campaign consultants Ellis Verdi, above left, and Sal DeVito talk on the streets of New York's SoHo neighborhood. Giuliani's man, Adam Goodman, bottom, is surrounded by TV monitors and editing equipment at Chelsea Post Studio in New York.



Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

Frontline

The DSCC's Weekly Political Update

March 27, 2000 SENATOR ROBERT G. TORRICELLI, CHAIRMAN • SENATOR PATTY MURRAY, VICE CHAIR

Robb Announces, Engages

Virginia Senator **Chuck Robb** kicked-off his campaign this weekend with a two-day announcement swing around the Old Dominion. Robb, touting his record as a consensus-builder in the Senate with a legacy of support for public education, is drawing an early contrast with Allen who shares the same ideological mantra of congressional Republicans and the "Contract With America." During his swing, Robb voiced his support for raising the minimum wage, extending the 72-hour federal waiting period gun show weapons purchases, expanding the Family and Medical Leave Act, holding HMOs accountable for decisions that harm patients.

Warner Undercuts Allen on Gas Tax Repeal

Just days after endorsing GOP candidate George Allen in his bid to unseat Virginia Senator **Chuck Robb**, GOP Senator John Warner undercut a major Allen campaign theme when he pledged to work against repeal of the federal 4.3 cent gas tax. Warner and other congressional Republicans note that repealing the tax would cost Virginia nearly a half billion federal dollars for road projects. Faster than you can say "Northern Virginia Gridlock," Allen recanted his previously energetic support for the repeal and sided with Chuck Robb on the issue.

Hillary Edges Forward

Hillary Clinton has pulled ahead of Mayor Rudy Giuliani in their heated battle for the open New York U.S. Senate seat. John Zogby, the pollster who came up with this finding, attributes the shift entirely to the way the mayor mis-handled the police shooting of Patrick Dorismond. The statewide poll of 710 likely voters published in the March 26 issue of the *New York Post* - shows Hillary Clinton leading 45-42%, erasing the 7-point lead that Giuliani held just three weeks ago.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton Needs to Be Woman of Substance in a Race Big on Style

RONALD BROWNSTEIN

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK



NEW YORK CITY—When Rudolph W. Giuliani met the press one morning last week to discuss the latest police shooting of an unarmed black man here, the

mayor sprayed the room with invective as if he were some sort of automatic weapon himself.

In a mere half hour, Giuliani attacked the press ("Your capacity for creating a false picture is pretty impressive, and . . . you resent the fact that I try to give balance to that."); the dead man, Patrick Dorismond (He "spent a good deal of his adult life punching people."); Hillary Rodham Clinton, his opponent in the New York Senate race, who had accused him of dividing the city ("There's a process called projection in psychology: It means accusing someone of what you are doing. That is precisely what Mrs. Clinton is doing."); Al Sharpton; and the press again. Not since Don Rickles prowled the Catskills had so many New Yorkers been insulted so quickly.

It's combusive moments like those that have Democrats dreaming Giuliani will simply beat himself in his high-profile Senate race against the first lady. But that's almost certainly a false hope. Though she's been on her best behavior as a candidate, Clinton is such an inherently polarizing cultural and political figure that she's unlikely to win a personality contest even against the prickly Giuliani. If Clinton has a chance, most local analysts agree, it's by creating an issue debate that makes the race a referendum on what each of them might do in the

Senate. And that won't be easy in a contest whose sheer spectacle and entertainment value reduce issues to a sideshow.

Both camps are treating this race as a war. (Fearful of disruptions, the two candidates guard their public schedules as if they were state secrets, announcing major events sometimes only hours in advance.) Yet, for all the intensity, the contest has been strangely static, more trench warfare than blitzkrieg. Though a New York Post survey released Sunday gave Clinton a narrow lead within the margin of error, virtually every other poll this year has put Giuliani ahead, with very few undecided. Consistently, and ominously, Clinton isn't drawing nearly as much support as she needs from two critical elements of the Democratic base here: Jews and white women, who like the job Giuliani has done as mayor and are unsure about her. And though the race is already drawing saturation coverage, the two already seem to be trading votes only at the margin; even in the Post poll that showed her ahead, Clinton only drew 45%. "I sometimes feel I could wake up in seven months and we could just start then," acknowledges one senior Clinton advisor.

The ground isn't entirely frozen. As the Post poll found, Giuliani's never-give-an-inch response to the Dorismond shooting has helped Clinton win back some New York City Democrats who like what the mayor's done for the city but are uneasy with his belligerent (and sometimes racially polarizing) style. The first lady has tried to stoke those anxieties by relentlessly portraying Giuliani as a divider and herself as someone who can bring the city and state together: "I want to be known by who I lift up, not who I put down," she told a swaying crowd in a Harlem church last week.

But with Clinton also evoking such strong emotions, it's hard to see her attracting a majority around the idea that she can be a rallying point for all New Yorkers—especially because

she's such a newly minted New Yorker. And while Giuliani regularly crosses the line from straight talk to truculence, he also has a from-the-hip authenticity that, as John McCain demonstrated, many voters find attractive. Probably no shortage of New Yorkers like the idea of Giuliani's getting in Washington's face the way he has New York's.

Which is why both independent observers and Clinton's own advisors believe her best chance is to sharpen the issue debate with the mayor. That's the one terrain where Clinton may have an advantage. "It's a very good environment for her in that way," says Lee Miringoff, who directs the nonpartisan Marist College Poll.

In a CBS/New York Times poll last month, New Yorkers ranked health care and education as their top two concerns; they preferred Clinton over Giuliani on the former by almost 3 to 1 and by almost 2 to 1 on the latter. (Giuliani held an even greater advantage on crime, but only two New Yorkers in 100 tapped that as their top concern.) More than two-thirds of those polled said they preferred to use the federal surplus to pay down the national debt and stabilize Social Security and Medicare (as Clinton, like most Democrats, is urging), while only 1 in 6 wanted a large tax cut, as most Republicans are pushing.

Clinton's problem is that Giuliani isn't one of those Republicans; though he reluctantly endorsed last summer's congressional Republican tax cut, he's studiously avoided a position on George W. Bush's proposal for an even larger reduction. Indeed, Giuliani has avoided positions on most federal issues Clinton has tried to raise. Instead, he's focused on his strong record as mayor, while his camp questions her ethics and lack of experience in elective office. "There is nothing we would like better than to compare the mayor's record with Mrs. Clinton's nonrecord," says Bruce Teitelbaum, Giuliani's campaign manager.

Giuliani's local focus has made it

Perspectives on the News



STEVE BRODNER / For The Times

harder for Clinton to generate clear issue distinctions. His support for gun control and abortion rights also blunts two of the most effective wedge issues Democrats have employed here. And convincing New York's feral press corps to cover a serious issue debate is like asking a hyena to use a napkin while tearing apart lunch. But Clinton has also compounded her own problems.

On paper, she's put together a prototypical New Democrat agenda that balances new spending (on areas such as school construction) with centrist reforms (such as urging testing of new teachers). But, though she's begun linking Giuliani with Bush (who already trails here), she hasn't condensed her program into an urgent reason for choosing her over the mayor.

Appearing before a predominantly female audience in Westchester last week, Clinton was engaging and relaxed, but so determined not to appear divisive that she lacked much edge. At times, she seemed a diffuse cloud of good intentions, raining programs (child care subsidies, college loans, peer mediation for high schoolers) on every conceivable problem. But as any New Yorker will tell you, good intentions alone won't get you very far in the big city. To close the sale, Clinton needs to raise the stakes.

Ronald Brownstein's column appears in this space every Monday.

See current and past Brownstein columns on The Times' Web site at: <http://www.latimes.com/brownstein>.

Political Memo

Giuliani Tries Making It a Sharpton-Clinton Ticket

By DAN BARRY

If Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's handlers could have their way, his opponent in this year's United States Senate race would be Hillary Sharpton Clinton. But since Mrs. Clinton's surname is Rodham, not Sharpton, the mayor's aides are doing everything they can to create the perception that she and the minister from Harlem are siblings in spirit, if not in blood.

In campaign fliers and in public comments, the mayor and his advisers have stopped just short of portraying the Rev. Al Sharpton as a political Beelzebub who advises an attentive Mrs. Clinton in ways that, if she is elected, would set the republic on the path to perdition. In fact, they have recently begun to respond to any criticism of the mayor's actions by throwing out one name: Sharpton.

On Tuesday, Mr. Giuliani's campaign manager, Bruce Teitelbaum, referred to "her pal Al Sharpton" in responding to Mrs. Clinton's charge that the mayor had too quickly sided with the police in the fatal shooting of an unarmed black man by a police officer on the West Side of Manhattan nearly two weeks ago.

On Wednesday, the mayor continued his derogatory portrayal of the dead man, Patrick Dorismond, and, to counter Mrs. Clinton's charge that he was engaging in racial polarization, said she was "reading from a script provided by Al Sharpton."

On Thursday, after the Rev. Jesse Jackson referred to the mayor as "mental," Curt Ritter, a spokesman for the mayor, spread the wealth of guilt-by-association among several Democrats. "Jesse Jackson, Dov Hinkind and Alan Hevesi have joined the political pile-on team being captained by Al Sharpton in the name of Hillary Clinton." That same night, Mr. Teitelbaum appeared on CNN's "Inside Politics" program to share a thought about the Clinton campaign: Sharpton, Sharpton, Sharpton.

By the weekend, the association had become an assumed element of the political debate — assisted along the way by Giuliani campaign fliers warning Republican leaders around the state about the "Al Sharpton wing" of the Democratic Party. After the funeral for Mr. Dorismond on Saturday turned into a melee between protesters and the police, the mayor could afford to be vague when laying blame on unnamed "dema-

gogues."

Several of the mayor's usually available advisers did not answer repeated requests to discuss the Giuliani campaign's constant invocation of Mr. Sharpton's name. And yesterday the mayor denied that he often brought up Mr. Sharpton's association with Mrs. Clinton.

"I haven't," he told a reporter. He then added: "I don't know, you just brought it up. So now if I talk about it you are going to accuse me of bringing it up all the time. So I am not a sucker."

Political consultants say the tactic is elementary politics. Polls suggest that Mr. Sharpton, perceived by some as inflicting as many wounds as he heals, is particularly unpopular among Jewish voters, and his inextricable link to race-based politics may offend in the overwhelmingly white electorate in upstate New York. Any voters lured from the

An association is an assumed part of the Senate campaign debate.

Democratic camp by linking Mrs. Clinton to Mr. Sharpton could be the margin of victory in a neck-and-neck race.

"The mayor wants to get off the police brutality issue, so he moves it on to a person who, polls say, generates negative feelings in the minds of Jewish voters," said Norman Adler, a consultant who works for both Republicans and Democrats. "It's one of the oldest political strategies in the book: never defend if you can attack, and always attack in a place where they're soft."

Clearly, Mr. Adler said, Mr. Giuliani's advisers see softness in Mrs. Clinton's recent appearances with Mr. Sharpton. "They have the TV tape of Mrs. Clinton and the Reverend Sharpton," he said. "Bingo! Instant commercial."

But several people, black and white alike, said that although attacking someone for the company she keeps was a familiar tactic, Mr. Giuliani approaches dangerous ground by using Mr. Sharpton as his foil so freely. The mayor has virtually no friends among the city's black leaders, a reality that does not seem

to bother him. In addition, many blacks say they are too often the victims of his administration's aggressive police tactics.

Finally, there is Mr. Dorismond, killed March 16 under hazy circumstances after reacting angrily to an undercover officer who approached him with a request to buy drugs from him. For many, the incident recalls surnames other than Sharpton: Diallo and Louima. And Mr. Giuliani's attempts to offset criticism of the police by questioning the dead man's temperament have widely been seen as insensitive.

Such context is not forgotten when Mr. Giuliani invokes the Sharpton name, said Prof. Manning Marable, the director of African-American studies at Columbia University. "This is a wedge issue," he said. "Giuliani knows what he is doing. He's a smart politician but an unprincipled one. And he's doing this for all the worst reasons."

In recent years Mr. Sharpton has tried without complete success to distance himself from parts of his own past: his involvement in the Tawana Brawley case, and his divisive comments after a deadly fire at a Harlem store whose owner was Jewish. Still, he has emerged as one of the country's best-known civil rights leaders, leading the outcry against racial profiling in New Jersey and organizing protests in the wake of the police shooting death of Amadou Diallo in New York.

"He's gained a respectability and a legitimacy in the black middle class that 10 years ago would have nothing to do with him," Mr. Marable said. A Republican strategist agreed: "Sharpton's a rehabilitated character."

But Mr. Sharpton is still perceived by some as too quick to condemn the police, too eager to shout "Race!" in time for the evening news. While running for president earlier this year, Senator John McCain lumped him together with Louis Farrakhan, Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell as "agents of intolerance." And Mr. Giuliani's antipathy for Mr. Sharpton predates his run for the Senate; years ago there was a spell when the mayor refused even to utter the Sharpton name.

The minister's "stock-in-trade is race; that's how he pays his mortgage," said Mr. Adler, the political consultant. "And Sharpton keeps reminding people about who he is and what he's about, thereby playing into the mayor's hands."

Consultants say that as a Demo-

Job hunting? Check today's Times.

cratic candidate banking on the black vote in New York, Mrs. Clinton had no choice but to shake hands with Mr. Sharpton, if not embrace him outright. She finally met with him two months ago at a public event that included an episode that could have been designed by her opponent's advisers.

At a moment when neither Mr. Sharpton nor Mrs. Clinton was present, a Queens minister talked about Jews in a way that some found to be anti-Semitic. Both Mr. Sharpton and Mrs. Clinton quickly denounced the comments, but the opening for the Giuliani camp had been made. That night, Mr. Teitelbaum declared: "When you make a decision to attend an Al Sharpton-sponsored event at Al Sharpton's headquarters, it shouldn't be a shock when anti-Semitic rhetoric rears its ugly head."

A few days later, Mr. Giuliani appeared on a dais that also included Jörg Haider, a right-wing Austrian political figure who has had to apologize for finding positive things to say about Adolf Hitler. Mrs. Clinton tried to embarrass the mayor about the appearance, but the issue soon evaporated. Mr. Haider is in Austria; Mr. Sharpton is in New York.

Speaking from a purely political point of view, Mr. Adler said that he saw no cost to the mayor's attempts to conjoin the Clinton and Sharpton names. "The mayor is not driving away black votes by demonizing Al Sharpton because he doesn't have them," he said. "If he would be demonizing Ed Koch, he would risk losing some of the votes he already has. I would say blacks, Puerto Ricans and liberals are fair game."

But Charles Rangel, the Democratic representative from Harlem, said he found such political rationalizing to be sad — and classic Giuliani. "What an indictment it would be" not to seek the black vote, Mr. Rangel said. "And isn't it amazing how he's been able to distance himself from African-Americans?"

"Even if the community that he's appealing to comes at the expense of African-Americans," Mr. Rangel added, "it reaches a point with them that enough is enough."

Why does the mayor single out Mr. Sharpton for demonization? Simple, Mr. Sharpton said: "He's playing the race card."

"To the guy in Buffalo, it's 'She's reading from Sharpton's script' — which is the blacks," Mr. Sharpton said. "What they're really saying is, 'She's with the blacks.'"

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

ADD a Campaign Issue

Hey, we thought mental health was Tipper Gore's turf. Now all of a sudden Hillary Clinton has decided her candidacy needs a piece of this action. And so this past week, as the White House announced plans to reduce the number of kids gobbling Ritalin at school, the First Lady scrambled to claim as her own the kids/mental health issue that has been Mrs. Gore's big thing.

The issue got cranked into politics a few weeks ago when the Journal of the American Medical Association released a study saying that the number of kids toting prescriptions for Ritalin, Prozac and other such pharmaceuticals is way up. The White House promptly assembled a gaggle of psychologists, social workers and pediatricians and announced plans to enlist the DEA, the FDA and the NIMH.

Apparently it will take a village of acronyms to solve the problem.

There's little doubt, with seven-fold increases over the past decade, that Ritalin is being overprescribed. The drug, which helps concentration, has become a sort of cure-all for fidgety children. About 10% of the small male population is currently under the influence. And with some schools hiring extra nurses just to go around handing out the little green pills, there is some cause for concern. The question is whether a slew of new regulations and oversight will help a problem that science has already begun to address.

The problem with Attention Deficit Disorder, the condition for which Ritalin is most frequently prescribed to children, is that there has never been a clear test to determine who has the condition. Rather, a questionnaire for parents of potentially ADD children asks whether the child is "easily distracted," "does not pay close attention to details or makes careless mistakes" or "fidgets with hands or feet or squirms in seat."

In the past year, though, scientists have identified the actual brain disorder that causes it, an overproduction of dopamine. A small biotech firm, called Boston Life Sciences, has created an agent that will allow doctors to pick up the chemical on a brain scan. Soon enough, doctors will be able to weed out kids with a genuinely malfunctioning brain from those who are just chronically naughty.

All this would seem to be an argument not for throwing yet more bureau-

crats at the subject but for taking a hard look at some of the social issues driving improper Ritalin use. With a parenting culture in the '90s that spawned an army of latch-key kids and a comfort level with pill popping among baby-boomer parents not present in previous generations, there's plenty of explanations for the tendency to over-prescribe. Add the tendency of suburban parents to plot preschoolers' college educations, and consider that an ADD diagnosis will qualify kids for untimed SATs. By now, though, most parents and doctors are well along in having second thoughts about their excessive reliance on the drug. Mrs. Clinton wouldn't be climbing aboard unless there was already a bandwagon.

In the end, Hillary and the liberals want photo-ops for putting out a fire that they started. According to the National Center for Policy Analysis, in the early 1990s the federal government began a program to give as much as \$450 a month to low-income families with an ADD-diagnosed child. Also as part of the Special Education Law in 1991, the Department of Education offered schools extra money for each kid diagnosed with ADD. Guess what—financial incentives, no matter how perverse their product, work very efficiently: Since the law was passed, the number of diagnoses has been shooting up 21% a year. And of course it was Tipper Gore and Surgeon General Satcher who created the sense of an epidemic when they announced last year that 21% of kids have some sort of mental disorder.

While all this makes good sport for Hillary, the unnecessary politicization of our evolving understanding of the disorder and its treatment is bad news for the kids who actually have ADD. In the past year, partisan agendas have polarized the issue, turning ADD into either an epidemic affliction or a myth created by drug company executives for profit.

Mrs. Clinton is counting on the issue to get her some traction with New York's women. Polls show her running behind Mayor Giuliani with this demographic as with almost every other. But appointing the First Lady and her minions to demagogue as guardians of "our children" will only complicate an issue that seems certain to take care of itself.

Strategic, or stupid?

Another New York shooting, another political shoutfest

BY KIT R. ROANE

NEW YORK—There's never anything simple about New York politics. So when the mayor of the city steps up to the podium to defend his beleaguered police department, the only natural question is why? Is he playing to the right, the center? Upstate or down? Or is it just Rudy being Rudy? And is Hillary smarter just letting him be Rudy, or should she whack him in full public view?

The recent fatal shooting of an unarmed black man by undercover policemen has become the latest test case in the testiest and most contorted political race in America, the one with the candidates with no last names. It's prompting ferocious accusations by the candidates and their supporters—and quiet head scratching by their strategists as they try to assess a winner in the fracas. Left to make up their minds as to what it all means is the surprisingly small slice of New York voters who haven't picked sides yet.

It's doubtful the bickering mattered much to the family of Patrick Dorismond, a 26-year-old security guard who died March 16 after a confrontation with police outside a cocktail lounge. Apparently mistaking him for a drug dealer, an undercover officer approached Dorismond to buy drugs. The security guard was shot by another officer in an ensuing struggle. Who provoked the incident is under investigation.

At a Harlem church full of reporters, Hillary Clinton accused Mayor Rudy Giuliani of polarizing the city by implying that the Hispanic officer who killed Dorismond was an upstanding member of the force, while the dead security guard was perhaps a hotheaded criminal. The mayor, who had ordered the release of Dorismond's juvenile arrest record, swung into an unequivocal defense of the police. Clinton, the mayor charged, appeared to be "reading from a script provided by Al Sharpton." Neither she nor the press, he added, seemed able to accept that Dorismond had "spent a good deal

of his adult life punching people."

Initially, Clinton seemed to get the better of the exchanges as even Republicans cringed at the mayor's purple rage. "His conduct is giving flesh to the unflattering and unjust caricature [some] wish to draw of the greatest mayor in this city's history as a heartless, thoughtless, and cruel man," wrote John Podhoretz in the *New York Post*. "The mayor is angry at Dorismond for getting himself killed instead of arrested," said *Daily News* columnist Jim Dwyer. The ubiquitous Jesse Jackson offered that Giuliani's reaction was "not just meanness; it's mental." But Clinton, who had been critical of New York's cops before, needed to be careful not to overplay her hand.

Standoff. There was calculation, of sorts, behind the outbursts. Giuliani was inflating his image as the mayor who beat crime

into a corner, while Clinton hoped to reveal that she was the compassionate conciliator, the antithesis of the insensitive bully in City Hall. So it went, day after day, as both candidates attempted to wrest

the upper hand in a superheated Senate race neither one of them seems to be winning. The tack each took in this fight was instructive: Even though polls show that only about 10 percent of voters are undecided at this early juncture, both candi-

dates are having trouble where they shouldn't—among core constituencies. "Giuliani is not doing as well as a Republican should be doing upstate, and she is not doing nearly as well as a Democrat should be doing in the city," explains Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac College poll. "We're left with one of the damndest, most congealed, knotted-up races anyone has ever seen."

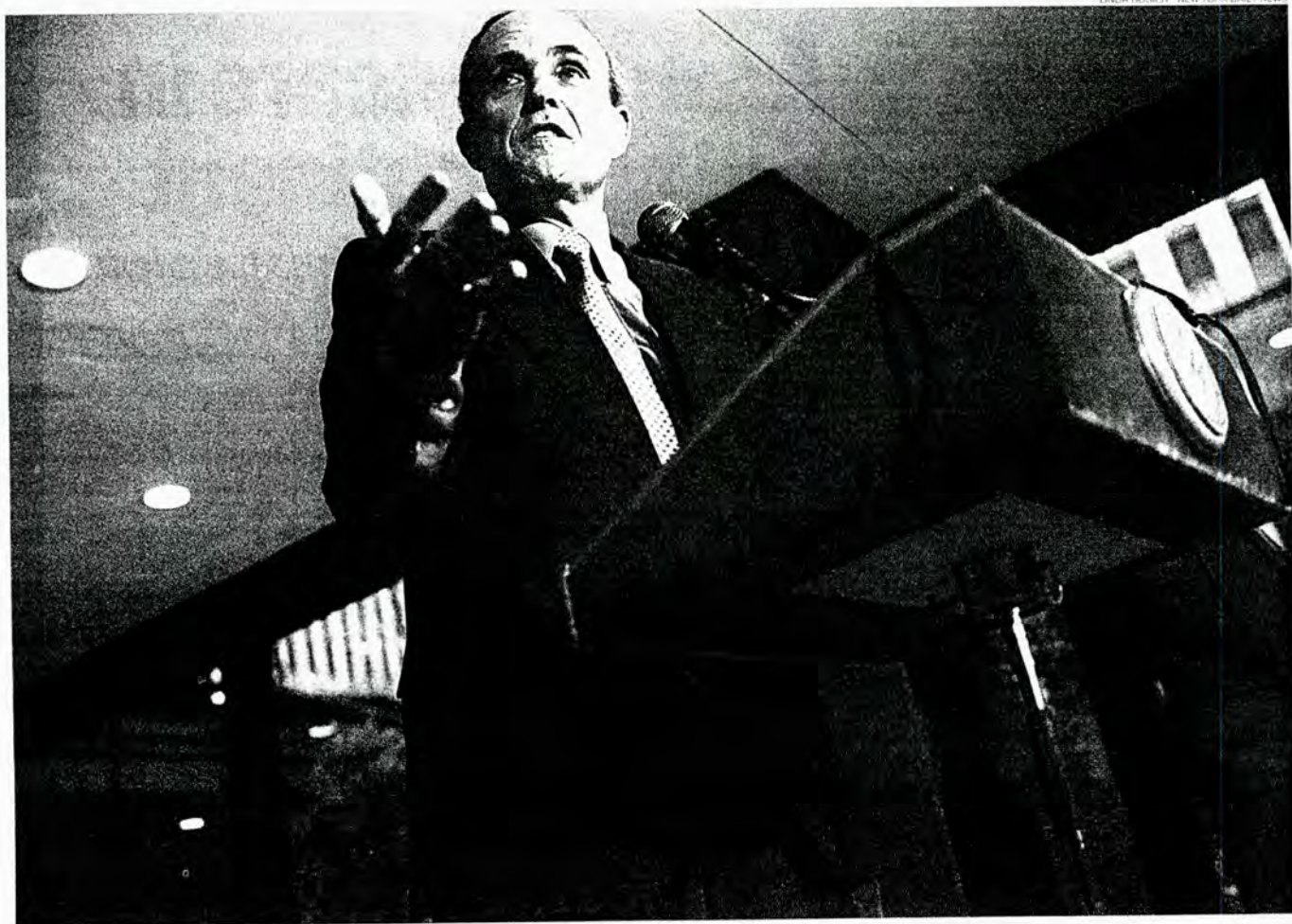
That was evident earlier this month as Giuliani, whose day job as mayor has limited his ability to campaign, made a foray north. As he unveiled a new commercial and pressed the flesh with upstate Republican leaders in Buffalo, Alice Hilary Sullivan laid into him with several friends. "What has he ever done for upstate?" she asked. "Mayor Giuliani is no more part of upstate than Hillary Clinton. He might as well be from New Jersey or New Zealand."

That's bad news for Giuliani, who despite spending millions on national fundraising letters that present him as an archconservative, is still having a hard time with votes in the conservative upstate region. There is just too much lingering distrust of anything that comes out of liberal Gotham, even a Republican mayor.

The shift of these voters into the enemy camp has led to surprising results on the campaign trail, where Democrats have pledged support for Giuliani and lifelong Republicans, such as 60-year-old Ben Snyder, are coming out for Clinton. Like many of his friends, Snyder said he was having a hard time resisting the woman with the terminal smile. "I came out



Clinton scolds the mayor from a Harlem pulpit.
● "Paying attention to upstate"



because I thought it would be exciting to see the first lady and all the Secret Service," he said at one stop in Syracuse. "But I'm going to vote for her, too, because she's paying attention to upstate."

But it gets more complicated. The balance of power in New York often rests with an amalgam of third parties who have now been given some real power over the fates of these two candidates. "The tail wags the dog here," says independent pollster John Zogby.

How serious of a threat are some of these parties? Serious. Just consider that Grandpa Munster could be the deciding factor. That's Al Lewis, who played the part in the old television sitcom and is now running as the Green Party candidate for Senate. A recent poll by Zogby found him getting about 4 percent of the vote. "And they all appear to be coming off of Clinton's back," says Zogby. It's an indication of voter malaise, Zogby says. And he thinks the damage to Clinton could be even greater "if Lewis legally changes his name to Grandpa, which he says will happen before Election Day." Zogby is not joking.

While there has been much speculation about how independent-minded voters might sway the presidential race between

Giuliani tears into Clinton and the press.
 ● "Unflattering and unjust caricature"

Vice President Al Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush, it seems certain these voters will be an awesome force in New York, where state campaign laws allow candidates to run on several tickets at a time and where more than 20 percent of the state's 4.7 million voters have recently cast ballots on third-party lines. In a close race, some of New York's third parties can be kingmakers when they support a candidate and serious spoilers when they run their own. And this is a close race, says Democratic consultant Jerry Skurnick, adding that a win might hinge on "about 250,000 votes."

Among the power brokers are Mike Long, a Brooklyn liquor store owner, and Raymond Harding, a Manhattan lawyer. They lead New York's Conservative and Liberal parties, which have yet to endorse either candidate and together control about twice that winning margin. Traditionally, their preferences are pretty predictable. The Conservatives endorse the Republican, and the Liberals endorse the Democrat. But this year, these usual alliances have broken down because of Giuliani's

peculiar political past. Seeking to beat incumbent Democratic mayor David Dinkins in 1993, Giuliani sought and won an endorsement from the Liberal Party by embracing abortion rights, gay rights, and other socially liberal causes. The party brought the Republican candidate more than 62,000 votes; he won by under 54,000.

Giuliani and the Liberal Party have been a pair ever since, even campaigning for Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo in his failed bid to vanquish Republican rival George Pataki in 1994. But Giuliani's relationship with the Liberal Party has irritated many conservatives, among them Governor Pataki, and his ally in that Brooklyn liquor store, Long. "In the end, Long will do what Pataki wants him to do," says a Republican insider. "The thing is, Pataki isn't quite sure yet what that is."

Tick-tock. Long is now threatening to steer about 350,000 votes that come with a Conservative endorsement out of the mayor's grasp. "The clock is ticking," Long says, adding that the mayor ignores his call to renounce both partial-birth abortion and the Liberal Party at his peril. The Conservative Party plans to announce a "truly

WHO'S SORRY NO

By MARGARET CARLSON

**CAMPAIGN
2000**

LAST WEEK HILLARY CLINTON was a better mayor of New York City than the man who holds the job. Commenting on the most recent killing of an unarmed man, Patrick Dorismond, by an undercover narcotics cop, Clinton told a congregation at the Bethel A.M.E. Church, "I do not believe that bad relations with the police is a necessary cost of doing the business of keeping our cities safe." She went on to criticize Mayor Rudy Giuliani directly: "If he is leading the rush to judgment in New York, how can we trust him to exercise good judgment in Washington?"

Winning the Senate race in New York may not come from Clinton or Giuliani do-

ing well but from one of them doing badly. By that measure, Giuliani's reaction to the latest police killing, the fourth of an unarmed black man in 13 months, gave Clinton her best campaign week yet. Giuliani typically springs to the cops' defense. But this time he wouldn't even express sympathy to the victim's mother, because it "might imply that the shooting was unjustified." He had no compunctions about implying that the shooting *was* justified. Dorismond was "no altar boy," Giuliani reported, as if all non-altar boys are subject to summary execution on the sidewalks of New York. The slain security guard had behaved in a way that was "very aggressive toward the police," he added, though there was no proof that Dorismond did anything except perhaps annoy the plainclothes narcotics cop by rebuffing his attempt to buy marijuana. Giuliani also asserted that Dorismond had spent a "good deal of his adult life punching people," a reference to a domestic complaint filed by Dorismond's girlfriend, which resulted in no charge against him. Though Giuliani released Dorismond's adult and juvenile records

(the latter are supposed to remain sealed), they revealed that he had never been convicted of anything more serious than disorderly conduct. At the same time, Giuliani praised Anthony Vasquez, the officer who

shot Dorismond, as a "very, very distinguished undercover officer," leaving out information suggesting that he was no altar boy himself; he once shot a neighbor's dog and pulled out his revolver during a personal altercation at a bar.

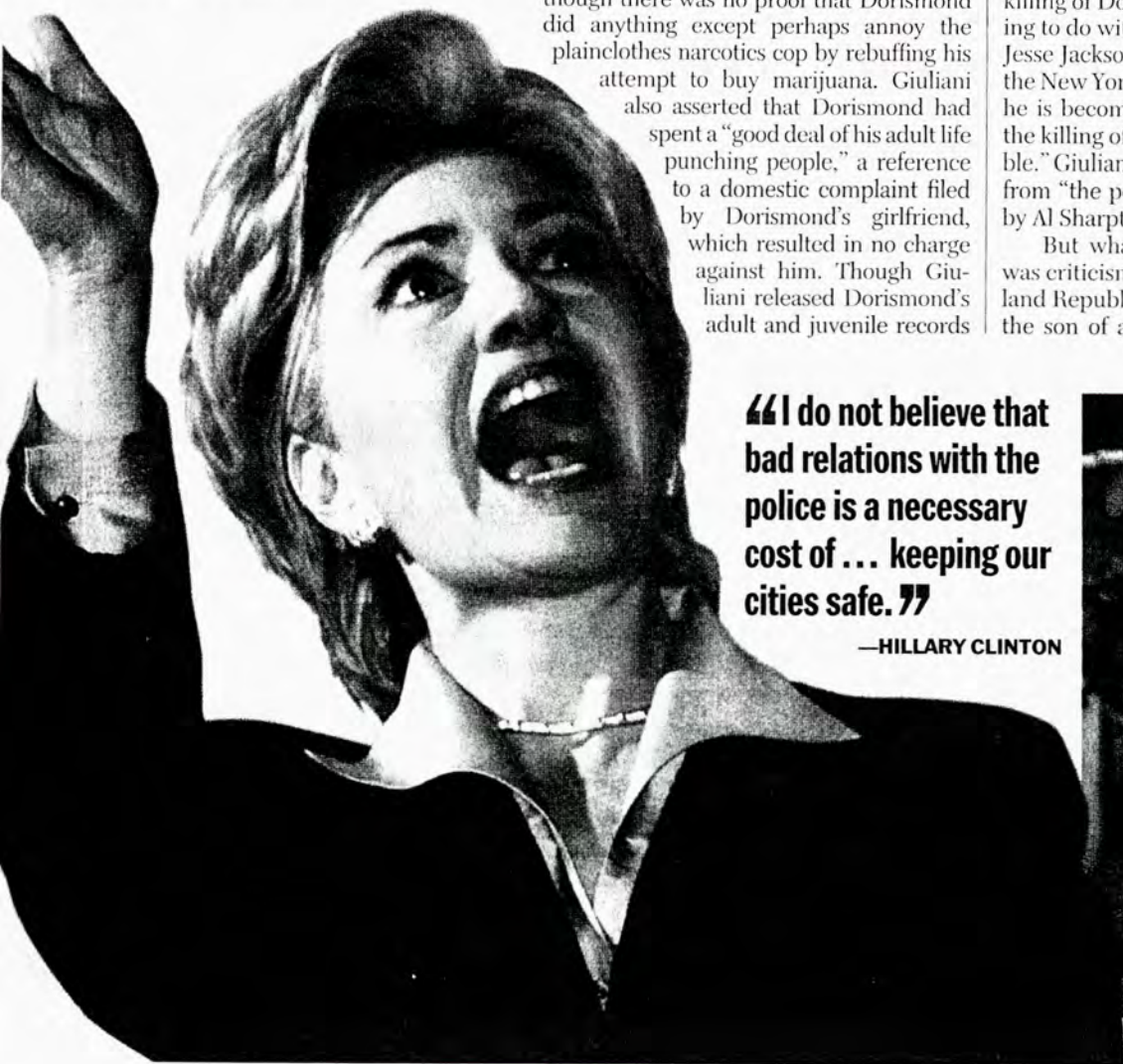
As his weeklong campaign against Dorismond aroused criticism rather than quieted it, Giuliani stopped holding his daily press briefings at city hall and refused to meet with the black community, saying the

killing of Dorismond, a Haitian, had "nothing to do with race." By Thursday, the Rev. Jesse Jackson had chimed in, claiming that the New York City mayor is "not only mean; he is becoming mental ... His reaction to the killing of unarmed people is irresponsible." Giuliani said he expected such carping from "the political pile-on team captained by Al Sharpton for Hillary Clinton."

But what he may not have expected was criticism from his own ranks. Long Island Republican Congressman Peter King, the son of a cop who will eventually en-



VICTIM: Dorismond was "no altar boy," claimed Giuliani



"I do not believe that bad relations with the police is a necessary cost of ... keeping our cities safe."

—HILLARY CLINTON



FRANCIS SPECKER—NEW YORK POST/CORBIS SYGMA

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

W?

After another police killing, Giuliani offers no apologies. That gives Hillary Clinton an opening—and sparks the hottest week yet in their Senate race

dorse Giuliani, said, "Rudy is a great wartime mayor. But once he got rid of murderers and squeegee men, he kept going—jaywalkers, vendors; he couldn't stop himself. Obviously, the cop made a mistake here, but the mayor can't acknowledge it." Former Giuliani aide and Republican National Committee chairman Rich Bond worried out loud that Giuliani's strong defense in this particular case could turn what has been a huge positive for the mayor—his record on crime—into a negative.

Why can't Giuliani just say he's sorry? He surely doesn't need to shore up his law-and-order credentials, and by defending virtually every cop no matter how hideous the episode, he does no favor for the 99% of cops who don't shoot first and ask questions later. Giuliani does know how to behave better. When Haitian immigrant Abner Louima was sodomized by a police officer with the handle of a toilet plunger in 1997, Giuliani expressed shock at the brutality and called for a task force to review police-community issues. But that was in the midst of his re-election campaign, and since then his reaction to charges of police brutality has grown more strident. The irony is that police killings of civilians are down dramatically from what they were during the administration of his Democratic predecessor, David Dinkins. But Dinkins would go around with a long,

sorrowful face that deflected blame, while Giuliani lashes out and invites it. Fred Siegel, a history professor at Cooper Union, says Giuliani needs a strong person who could stand up to him and say, "You're right, police killings are at a record low. But shut up—and express sympathy."

Does Hillary finally have an opening in her race to overtake Giuliani? Her challenge now is to resist her own impulse to become self-righteous, to let Giuliani be his own worst enemy and hope that more of those voters who think Rudy has saved the city will start being worried that he's too intemperate for a collegial body like the Senate. So far, the campaign has been an uphill struggle for her. For months she "listened" to New Yorkers as if she were Margaret Mead collecting stories from the natives in Samoa, and blundered every time she opened her mouth, from claiming too many sports-team allegiances to praising Mrs. Arafat, who had just dissed the U.S. The most recent Quinnipiac College poll, conducted in late February, shows her running behind Giuliani, 48% to 41% statewide. With the mayor leading upstate and Clinton ahead in New York City, the key battleground may be in the suburbs. Giuliani holds a commanding 59%-to-31% lead there, but his popularity among suburbanites—happy he has made the city

safe for a Saturday-night visit—could erode if he becomes too strident. Says King: "Even the moderate suburban housewife who gives him the benefit of the doubt, because they want to visit a safe city, is beginning to get squeamish."

But Clinton may have her own problems. Last week, after a complaint by Giuliani, Congress launched an inquiry into whether Clinton is violating campaign rules by paying only first-class fare rather than the full cost of the military charters the Secret Service insists she take. In the absence of any precedent for a sitting First Lady, she is following the usual practice of presidential candidates.

The battle-scarred Clinton didn't lose a New York minute over the House inquiry—after all, she's survived the mother of all investigations with Ken Starr. The New York legislature, meanwhile, is looking into whether Giuliani broke the law by unsealing Dorismond's records. The last time a sitting New York City mayor was investigated was in 1932, and Mayor Jimmy Walker was dismissed from his job. Giuliani may want to consider saying he's sorry and letting Patrick Dorismond rest in peace. —With reporting by Eric Pooley/New York

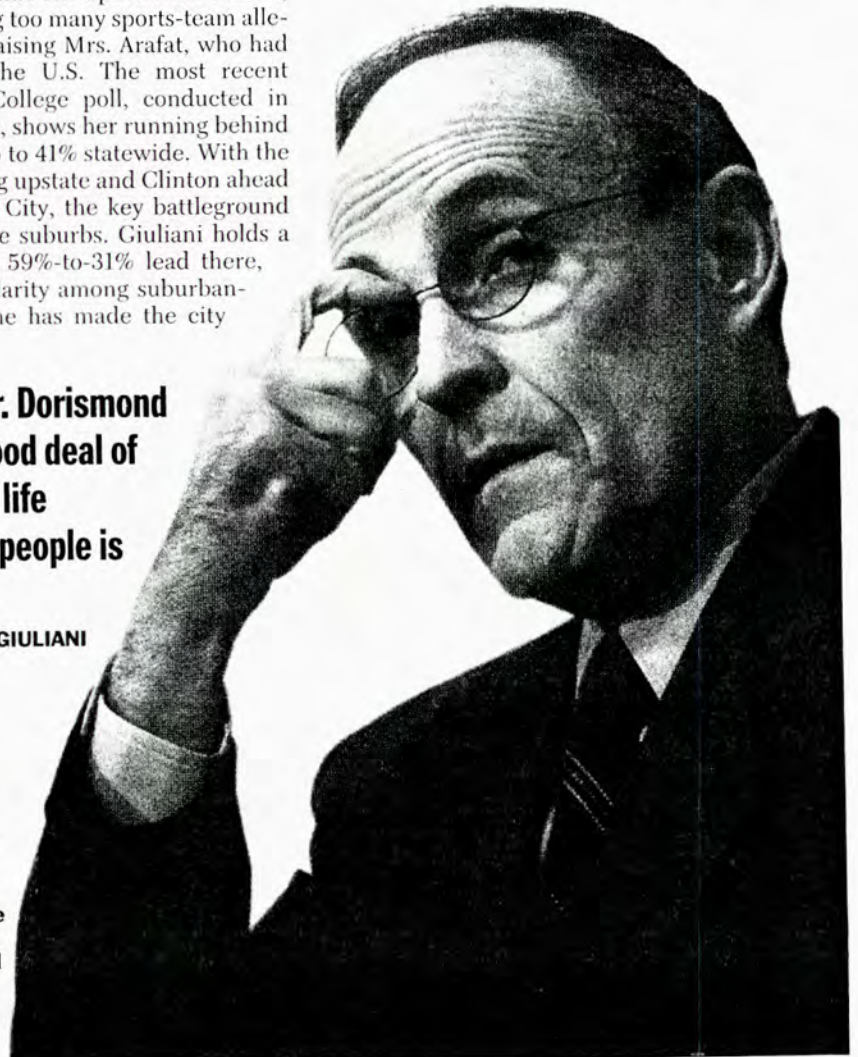


CHRIS HONORS—NEWMAKERS, RIGHT: BRAD RICKERBY—REUTERS

“That Mr. Dorismond spent a good deal of his public life punching people is a fact.”

—RUDY GIULIANI

STIRRED UP: Al Sharpton joins those protesting the latest killing of an unarmed man by New York police



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary gets big discount on travel

Taxpayers help with cost of Senate run

By Sean Scully
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Taxpayers are picking up a considerable chunk of Hillary Rodham Clinton's travel expenses as she seeks a Senate seat in New York — all completely legally.

Under a 25-year-old web of law and policies, Mrs. Clinton and her staff pay the cost of commercial first-class tickets when she travels aboard military aircraft for purely political purposes. Even the smallest passenger plane operated by the U.S. Air Force costs about \$3,700 per hour to operate.

"I am well aware that first ladies have traveled on government aircraft for political purposes in the past ... but what we are talking about here has nothing to do with the first lady's political or official obligations. She is wearing a hat we have never seen before," said Rep. Jim Kolbe, Arizona Republican and chairman of the House panel that oversees the White House travel budget.

It is not clear how much taxpayers have paid for Mrs. Clinton's travel since she first began exploring a Senate bid last June, and congressional investigators are still trying to gather figures.

But it is clear that the cost of the military aircraft far exceeds the

see HILLARY, page A12

HILLARY

From page A1

costs paid by Mrs. Clinton's campaign. During the six-month period before Mrs. Clinton announced her candidacy, for example, she paid \$27,511 to cover the costs of campaign trips.

Even assuming that she flew the smallest military passenger aircraft, that travel cost the government \$113,896 in operating costs, based on the flight times provided by the White House and average operating expenses provided by the Air Force.

But there is nothing illegal about Mrs. Clinton's travels. The method of accounting for personal, political and official travel dates back many administrations, said Michael J. Lyle, director of the office of administration, which oversees many White House functions.

Mr. Lyle testified before Mr. Kolbe's committee yesterday and said he is bound by the existing law and policy and cannot arbitrarily charge Mrs. Clinton a different rate for her travel.

"There has been no deviation from the policies of the past," he said.

The first lady is not required to use government-owned aircraft for her travel, and Mrs. Clinton has in the past taken commercial flights. But the Secret Service strongly recommends that members of the first family avoid commercial flight for security reasons.

"It allows us to better utilize our protective services and have greater control. If she did not, it would be against our strongest objection," Secret Service spokesman Jim Mackalin said.

White House documents released at yesterday's hearings show that first ladies have routinely traveled on military aircraft since at least the Carter administration. A 1981 memo, signed by Ronald Reagan's chief of staff, James A. Baker III, explicitly reaffirmed the policy.

Mrs. Clinton's travel has become an issue recently as the Republican National Committee and New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, her likely Republican opponent, have objected to her official perks. The RNC claims that Mrs. Clinton's campaign has cost taxpayers

more than \$900,000 in the past year, although Mr. Kolbe's staff emphatically distanced themselves from that figure.

Democrats and the White House reacted furiously to the Republican charges. They accused Republicans of "playing politics" with Mrs. Clinton's safety.

"It is not the policy, it is not the legality, it is not the appropriateness" that bothers Republicans, said Rep. Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland, the senior Democrat on Mr. Kolbe's committee. "It is the fact that she is doing a lot of travel doing what she has the right to do as an American citizen ... but she cannot un-become the first lady."

Mrs. Clinton's campaign released an angry statement, calling yesterday's hearing "an attempt to deflect attention from Rudy Giuliani's tragic mishandling of the Patrick Dorismond shooting," in which city police recently shot an unarmed black man.

"Yesterday's press release from the RNC proves that this hearing is nothing more than a partisan exercise conducted at taxpayers' expense," Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said in the written statement.

Rep. Charles B. Rangel, New York Democrat and a supporter of Mrs. Clinton, said other candidates should be subject to the same scrutiny Mrs. Clinton is receiving from Republicans.

"I think they've opened a can of worms," he said. "We may have to examine the mayor to see what his travel expenses are when he leaves the city of New York."

Republicans appeared taken aback by the ferocity of the Democratic reaction and backpedaled during Mr. Kolbe's hearing. They went to great lengths to agree that Mrs. Clinton deserves special protection and has not violated the law.

"I think the law was not written for this purpose, because nobody anticipated it," said Rep. John E. Peterson, Pennsylvania Republican.

But "simply following the law might cause you problems with the public," he warned Mr. Lyle, noting that he and other members are receiving calls from constituents worried about Mrs. Clinton's expenses.

• Staff writer Audrey Hudson contributed to this report.