

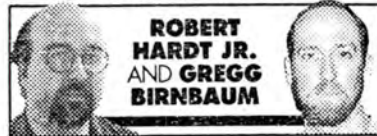
It may not be as life-threatening as campaign-threatening

MAYOR GIULIANI must act quickly to put to rest doubts about his Senate candidacy — or his political health could be in more danger than his physical well-being.

Within hours of the mayor's announcement that he has early-stage prostate cancer, political circles were buzzing with rumors of possible replacements should Giuliani drop out.

That type of will-he-or-won't-he speculation isn't helpful to a candidate who's slipped in the polls and has been under fire — even

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



within his own party — for not campaigning enough, consultants said.

“He must move to control the situation and show people he’s the same old Rudy,” said GOP commentator Jay Severin.

“He must treat the political concern as aggressively as the medical.”

Nervous Giuliani aides issued a statement shortly after the bombshell disclosure, saying there would be no changes in the mayor's increasingly busy campaign schedule and that he will be stumping upstate today, Saturday, Monday and Wednesday, as was planned.

His campaign also said contri-



ATTA BABY: Hillary Rodham Clinton holds year-old Hunter Greene during a campaign stop yesterday in upstate Penn. Yan. Aides say Mayor Giuliani's upstate visits will go on as scheduled. AP

butions received on its Web site rose five-fold, to \$10,000 from the usual \$2,000 a day, and that 300 extra tickets were snapped up for his appearance tonight at a 1,000-a-plate Republican dinner in Saratoga.

The cancer will, no doubt, slow the mayor down — even Yankee

skipper Joe Torre, who bounced back quickly from prostate cancer surgery, missed about six weeks early last season before returning to the bench.

A friend of Giuliani's said it would probably be at least a week before the mayor makes a final decision about whether he

will continue his race against Hillary Rodham Clinton.

“It adds a great deal of uncertainty to the race,” said Stuart Rothenberg, editor of the Rothenberg Political Report. “Politics is like the stock market in that uncertainty isn't good.”

A further problem with the mayor's illness — no matter how serious — is that the “health question” will likely dog him throughout the campaign, should he continue.

Candidates like Bill Bradley, Bob Dole, Paul Tsongas and Jacob Javits all had to grapple with politically damaging questions about their health, and some had to publicly release their medical records — something the famously private Giuliani may bridle at.

But experts said if the mayor gets a clean bill of health, deals with the issue openly, and clarifies — sooner rather than later — whether he intends to stay in the contest, there should be little lasting political fallout.

“There will be tremendous scrutiny — and sympathy — and then the campaign will continue,” said GOP consultant Joseph Mercurio.

One Democratic strategist even suggested the cancer diagnosis could make it harder for Clinton to criticize Giuliani.

“How do you attack someone if they're taking cancer treatments?” the strategist asked.

N.Y. Senate campaign debates in the works

A fall debate appears set in the New York Senate race between first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. The faceoff will be



By Louis Lanzano, AP

Seeing double: Rudy Giuliani checks out his twin Tuesday at New York wax museum.

moderated by NBC's Tim Russert and televised statewide on eight NBC stations and nationally on MSNBC. It likely will be in Buffalo on Sept. 11 or Oct. 9, but "we are still working out the final arrangements," NBC spokeswoman Barbara Levin said.

Giuliani's campaign says it also has agreed to a second NBC debate in October in New York City, and is considering a proposal from ABC and the League of Women Voters. Clinton's campaign says it has accepted the ABC-League of Women Voters proposal.

— Martha T. Moore

► Giuliani led Clinton 52%-38% among upstate voters in a new Zogby Poll, although statewide polls have shown the race close. Some Republicans have criticized the mayor for not spending more time upstate, a GOP stronghold that is a key battleground because about 45% of the vote comes from there. Clinton has stepped up her appearances in upstate communities. Noting the poll results Wednesday, Giuliani quipped that "as they see her more, they like me better, and as they see me less, they like me more."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Flip-Flops on Kids' Rights

By JOHN S. ROSENBERG

Do children have legal standing to assert their own rights in opposition to their parents? That divisive question has roiled the presidential campaign, not only in Florida but across the nation.

No, I'm not talking about Elian. I'm referring to the case of 11-year-old Gregory K. In 1992 an Orlando juvenile court judge ruled that Gregory K could sue his own parents for what news reports described as "divorce." Gregory K's suit became a campaign issue because of several articles written by the young Hillary Rodham, in which the future first lady defended children's rights apart from, and sometimes opposed to, their parents.

"And what does Hillary believe?" Pat Buchanan thundered to the Republican Convention that year. "Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents!"

And indeed she does—or at least did. In a 1973 article in the *Harvard Educational Review*, she argued that "the presumption of identity of interests between parents and their children should be rejected whenever the child has interests demonstrably independent of those of his parents."

Which brings us back to Elian. Does the provision of the immigration statute providing that "any alien . . . irrespective of such alien's status, may apply for asylum" apply to children, as the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals last week suggested it did? Mrs. Clinton's writings clearly support Elian's standing to assert his own interests in court, but the Senate candidate and first lady has changed her tune.

The question of Elian's competency, of how much weight should be attached to his preferences, is distinguishable from the question of whether his interests are different from his father's. Even on the question of competency, however, Mrs. Clinton is

on record opposing the assumption that children have no standing. "The first thing to be done is to reverse the presumption of incompetency and instead assume all individuals are competent until proven otherwise," she wrote in a 1979 article.

One wonders if the president recalls Gregory K, who ultimately won his suit against his parents, or his wife's writings. Apparently not, for on April 20 in the Rose Garden, when he was asked his view of the 11th Circuit's suggestion that Elian has interests and rights at odds with his father's, the president responded that any such conclusion would be "a dramatic departure from the law." Neither he nor his wife has mentioned that for years that is precisely what she called for.

Nor, for that matter, have some conservatives acknowledged that before Elian they stood foursquare for parental rights. But conservatives at least have a plausible explanation for making an exception of Elian: Not to do so would be to consign an innocent boy to life under a totalitarian regime in which neither adults nor children have any rights.

It's harder to understand why Mrs. Clinton and other liberals would abandon their principles in this case. Do they think Cuba is free? Do they think the difference between freedom and communism is not important enough to create divergent interests between parent and child? Or do they want Elian deported for purely political reasons?

Whatever the reasons, standing by her man one more time, in what will probably be the postimpeachment Clinton presidency's defining moment, Hillary has abandoned the very values and arguments on which she built her legal and intellectual reputation.

Mr. Rosenberg is a columnist for the Pike County (Ala.) Citizen.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons and Gore rattle cups at Apple bash

By DEBORAH ORIN,
GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

It was three for the money last night in New York as the trio of President Clinton, wife Hillary and Veep Al Gore teamed up — for the first time in 2000 — to raise \$2.2 million to fight for the Clinton legacy.

As he revved up for the fat-cat bash, the president fretted that voters are so content that they're sleepwalking, and an "almost somnambulist electorate" will let Republicans win next November.

It marked the first time in the 2000 campaign cycle that the Clinton-Clinton-Gore trio teamed up side-by-side to raise campaign cash.

The president hopes boosting his wife into the Senate and his deputy into the Oval Office will become his real legacy — instead of Monica Lewinsky and impeachment.

Last night's fat-cat bash at the Sheraton New York — featuring filet mignon and grilled veggies for 1,000 people — came just a few days after the controversial raid to seize Elian Gonzalez, an issue where Gore split with his boss.

About 50 protesters opposed to the raid marched outside the hotel.

Hillary Clinton yesterday offered belated support for Elian's return to his dad, but Gore was still ducking the

question of whether the boy should be returned to his father, or whether the arms-heavy raid was the right way.

Hillary and Gore kept their distance from the scandal-scarred president this year — he didn't even speak at her campaign kickoff — but now that impeachment seems to be fading, they're reaching out for his fund-raising clout.

Earlier, President Clinton made a solo lunch stop on Fifth Avenue to help raise \$500,000 for Republican-turned-Democrat Rep. Mike Forbes (L.I.) — one of the

Republicans who voted to impeach him over Sexgate.

Both men sing a different tune now that Forbes is fighting to keep his seat and is one of the GOP's top targets in the race for control of the House, which Republicans now hold by six seats.

Forbes hailed the president whom he once voted unfit for office as "somebody I've grown to have great affection for."

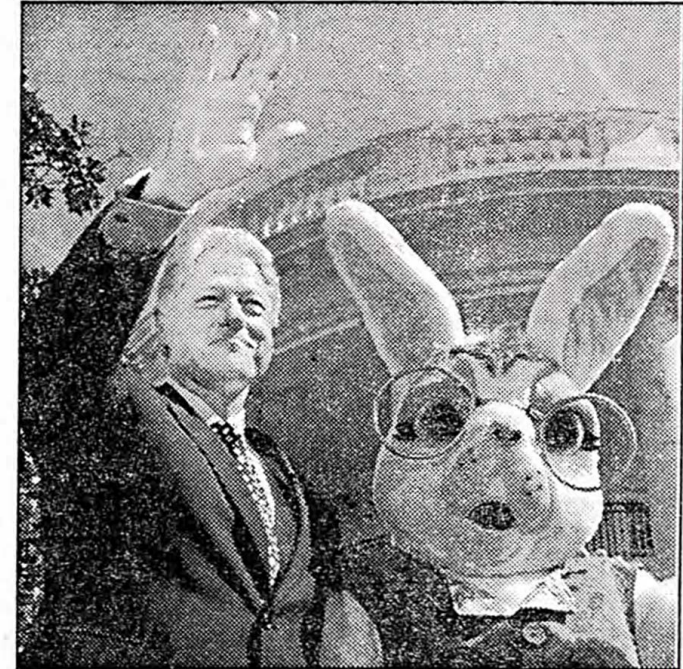
Clinton praised Forbes in a low-key fashion, but fretted that voters are so happy basking in prosperity that they'll sleepwalk into a 2000 GOP victory.

He claimed Republicans will try to "paper over" differences between the two parties "in the hope that basically a satisfied and almost somnambulist electorate will give them the reins of power."

Conspicuously missing from Clinton's speech at the Forbes bash was the president's usual stress on the need to elect pro-choice candidates — since Forbes is a right-to-lifer.

After the lunch, the president lobbied for the embattled China trade deal — an issue he also left out of his pro-Forbes speech since the congressman intends to vote "no."

Today, fresh from the fund-raiser, Hillary Clinton starts a three-day upstate campaign swing.



24-CARROT DAY: President Clinton gets a little help from a big-eared buddy in welcoming kids to yesterday's Easter Egg Roll at the White House. Later, he and Hill came to her new home state for a fund-raiser. Reuters

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Washington



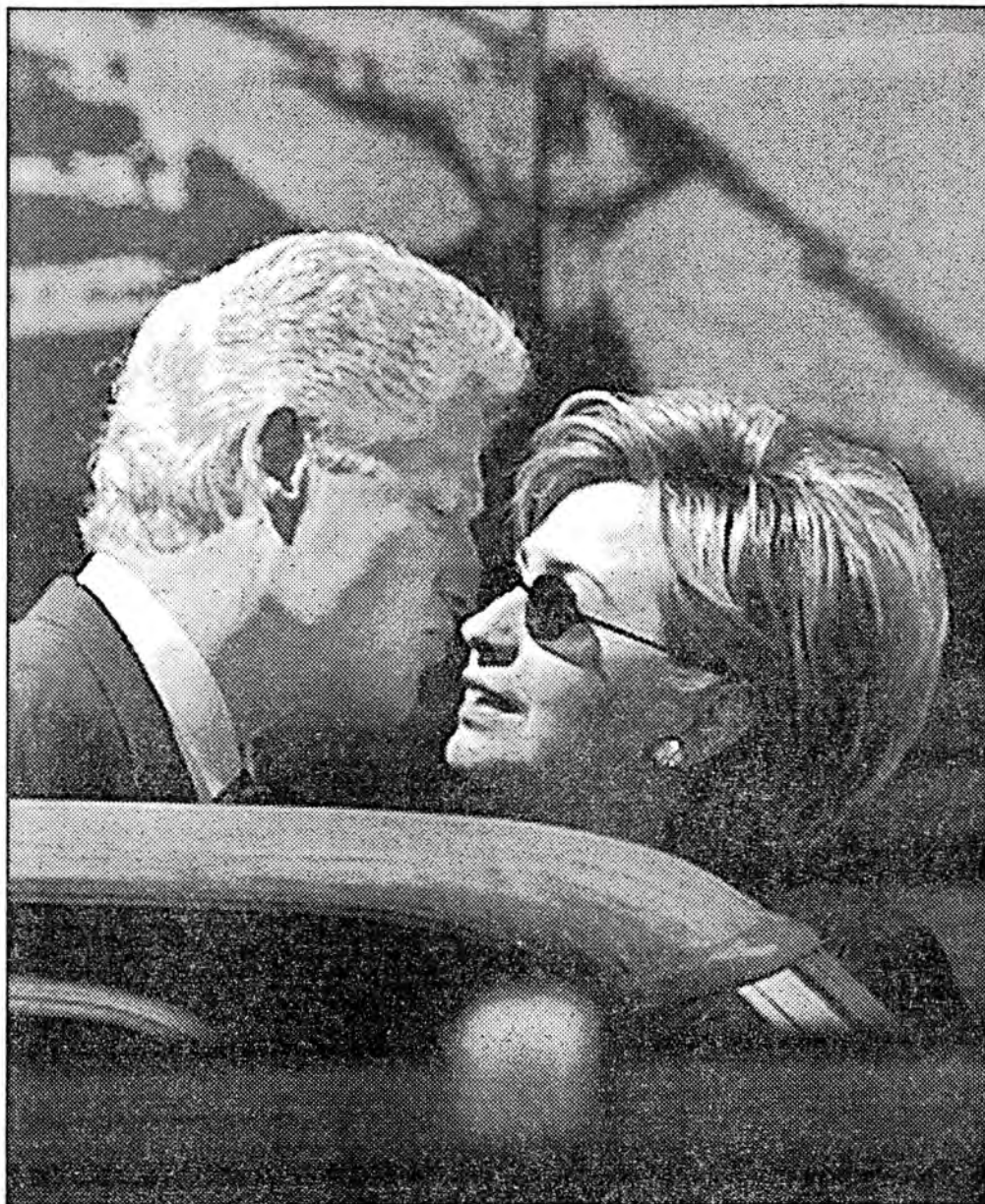
By Khue Bui, AP

Easter festivities roll on

Annual holiday tradition: About 30,000 children and their family members participated Monday in the 122nd White House Easter Egg roll on the South Lawn. President Clinton blew a whistle to launch the annual event, which took place on the Capitol grounds until 1878. This year's activities were cybercast, and can be accessed at www.whitehouse.gov.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PECKING ORDER: The president gives wife Hillary a kiss on the cheek yesterday after their arrival at La Guardia. She ripped the mayor for his comments about the federal agents who seized Elian Gonzalez from his Florida relatives early Saturday. AP

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday praised the seizing of Elian Gonzalez from his Miami relatives and blasted Mayor Giuliani for his "divisive attacks" against federal agents.

Ending two days of silence on Saturday's pre-dawn raid, Clinton took Giuliani to task for describing the agents as "storm troopers" in his initial comments after the lightning-quick operation.

"At a time that cried out for healing, the mayor chose to exploit this situation by making divisive attacks on the United States law-enforcement officers," Clinton said in a three-paragraph statement.

"Calling U.S. law-enforcement officers 'storm troopers' is extreme and unwarranted."

Giuliani had referred to "storm troopers [who] go into a house with loaded weapons and drag a boy out of a house..."

The mayor has not repeated the broadside — yesterday he described the agents as "people dressed like troops."

Clinton said it was "in Elian's best interest to be

Calls it extreme to brand them 'storm troopers'

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

with his father" and that she was "relieved" he was with the dad, Juan Miguel Gonzalez.

The first lady added, "Saturday's action was accomplished rapidly and without injury, and I hope that the appropriate, ongoing legal process will now conclude as quickly as possible."

Clinton has refused to say what she hopes the outcome of the case will be. She initially, last year, seemed to encourage that the boy stay in the United States, but weeks later implied that he should be sent back to his father in Cuba.

Giuliani, asked about Clinton's statement, said, "She's finally emerged. Good!

["But] I don't really care what she said."

"My involvement in this case predates any political situation," Giuliani said.

"You might remember that I was the person that excluded Fidel Castro from [city-sponsored] celebrations [for] ... the

United Nations way back in the mid-'90s, long before any thought of running for office. This comes from things that I really believe very, very strongly."

Giuliani also said reuniting Elian and his father "may very well be the best decision, but that decision should be made in a family court."

"But how any decent person who isn't playing politics could look at people barging in at five in the morning with loaded automatic weapons ... If you care about this boy, there has to have been a better way to do this," Giuliani added.

The mayor also said he didn't fault the federal agents, instead pinning blame on President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno.

But the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association blasted Giuliani for his earlier remark.

"We wish to express our strong disgust and dismay over the use of the term 'storm troopers' to describe federal agents," said the group, which represents 17,500 federal officers.

Why did they do it? Post Opinion / Page 35

Egg hunt a chance to see the president

DISTRICT

Youngsters scramble on South Lawn

ASSOCIATED PRESS

With just a hint of melancholy in his voice, President Clinton yesterday kicked off his final Easter egg roll to the cheers of 30,000 children scampering across the South Lawn.

Mr. Clinton, who wore a tie decorated with colored eggs for the event, shook hands with a life-sized Easter bunny, said a few words to the crowd and then officially started the egg roll.

"Are they ready over there?" Mr. Clinton asked. "Wave your hand if you're ready. All right, on your mark, get set . . ."

He blew a whistle, laughed and then pumped a fist into the air.

He shared the whistle-blowing job this year with master of ceremonies Bernie Fairbanks, who has been attending White House egg rolls since Franklin D. Roosevelt was president. The two blew whistles together.

Children, dressed in their Sunday best, tried their best to get a glimpse of the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and shake the president's hand. Fathers hoisted toddlers on their shoulders.

"I would say, 'Nice to meet you, Mr. President,'" said Sarah Williams, 7, who traveled from Pleasanton, Calif., to attend the egg roll. "I would tell him that I know a friend named Chelsea. She's in my Brownie class."

Mary Claire Veirs of Bethesda said it wasn't hard for her to get her sons, Colby and Hunter, up this morning to get to the egg roll. Their sleep patterns are still on European time.

"We were in England last week. We've come from Buckingham Palace to the White House," she said.

see ROLL, page C2



ROLL

From page C1

The White House dyed 7,200 hard-boiled eggs for the egg roll. Another 2,500 eggs are cooked for children to decorate. Also, 20,000 souvenir wooden eggs, printed with the signatures of the president and first lady, were distributed at the event. The souvenir

eggs, designed by artist Mary Engelbreit, showed a chick pushing an Easter egg in a carriage on the South Lawn.

The Easter egg roll, begun on the Capitol grounds, was moved to the White House South Lawn in 1878 by Lucy Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes. It has taken place there every year since, except during World War I and World War II.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



By Luke Frazza, Agence France-Presse

Together again: President and Hillary Clinton and Vice President Gore attend a Democratic National Committee dinner in New York City.

Clintons, Gore join for Dem fundraiser

Power trio helps net \$2.2 million

By Laurence McQuillan
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — In their first political appearance together this year, President Clinton, his wife, Hillary, and Vice President Gore attended a Democratic National Committee fundraiser that put \$2.2 million in party coffers and united a trio who have been stressing independence from one another.

At an affair that featured singer Tony Bennett crooning *The Best is Yet to Come*, the three joined forces to generate cash and beef up the political fortunes of Gore, who has nailed down the Democratic presidential nomination, and the first lady, who is seeking a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

Gore and Hillary Clinton have been trying to escape the shadow of the president and establish their own political personas. Tuesday night, however, they were back to promoting their roles in shaping White House policy.

The highly visible appearance indicated a strategy shift by the campaigns of both the vice president and first lady. Strategists for both clearly believe their candidates can benefit politically from their White House experiences.

The president introduced Gore and praised him as someone who "was at the core of the process" when tough decisions had to be made since the administration came to office.

Listing foreign policy and domestic issues, Clinton said his vice president "was there every time, taking no credit."

Gore lavished praise on the president and the first lady and told the crowd of about 1,000 party faithful that everything from the selection of the next three or four members of the Supreme Court to the fate of the economy is at stake in the November elections.

Gore, who was joined by his wife, Tipper, claimed the accomplishments of the Clinton years would be "instantly at risk if the other party is put in charge."

In her remarks, Hillary Clinton also sought to draw a connection to what she called "the positive agenda of this Democratic administration."

She reminded the crowd of mostly New Yorkers "how important it is that we elect a Democrat to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan," the retiring senator she hopes to replace.

"We have too many Republicans in the Senate as it is," Hillary Clinton said.

Outside the midtown hotel where the gala was held, a few dozen Cubans chanted and carried signs protesting the seizure of 6-year-old Cuban refugee Elian Gonzalez in Miami over the weekend. Inside, comedian Jon Stewart cracked a few jokes, but neither the Clintons nor Gore brought up the issue during their remarks.

The last time the Clintons and Gore participated in a political event together was last November, during a party fundraising event in Washington, according to a White House official. They participated in a limited number of official functions together, such as the president's annual State of the Union address in January.

The reunion of the three political figures — who operated as a team for most of the president's two terms in office — is likely to benefit Hillary Clinton the most. The first lady is locked in a close fight with her Republican rival, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Her husband is popular among New Yorkers, and Gore has a lead in most statewide polls over his GOP opponent, Texas Gov. George W. Bush.

Gore returns to the campaign trail alone today to give an address on economic issues. It will be the first in a series of speeches that will sharply challenge Bush's qualifications for the White House while promoting his own.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



By Richard Drew, AP

Giuliani: The mayor greets Antoinette D'Amato, mother of former senator Al D'Amato, on April 13.



By Jim McKnight, AP

Clinton: The first lady reads to kids at the Hand in Hand Early Childhood Center in Lowville on April 18.

Nation turns its eyes to N.Y.

High-profile matchup lures national TV to Senate race

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Bored with the Senate race in your home state? Tune into New York's.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani are taking their campaigns to national television.

Clinton will appear at "town meetings" — this election year's political format of choice — Wednesday in Buffalo, to be hosted by CNN, and May 11 in New York, to be shown on NBC's *Today*. Wednesday's town meeting will air from 10 p.m. to 11 p.m. ET; the session May 11 will be broadcast from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. ET.

For his part, Giuliani will appear at a town meeting in Rochester on May 3 that will be shown on MSNBC's *Hardball* and at a CNN town meeting yet to be arranged. *Today* has offered a similar forum to Giuliani, but the mayor's campaign has not responded.

All the meetings will feature questions from voters that could range from national issues to distinctly local concerns such as merit pay for teachers in New York's summer schools, the subject of recent wrangling by the candidates.

In the long lull between the end of the presidential primary races and the beginning of the fall campaigns, New York's Senate race between two high-profile, love-'em-or-hate-'em candidates is the hottest political news around.

"This is a race that has taken on huge interest around the country," says CNN's Wolf Blitzer, who will host Clinton's meeting at the State University of New York-Buffalo. Not only has a first lady never before sought elective office, "it's a very controversial first lady. That automatically makes this a national story."

The New York race is "one of the most historic and most fascinating Senate races in the country this year, so it does merit coverage on the *Today* show," says Allison Gollust, an NBC spokeswoman.

The national media appearances are a departure for Clinton, who has limited her few extended interviews to New York news outlets since beginning her campaign. (One exception: her appearance on CBS' *The Late Show with David Letterman*, on which Giuliani is a frequent guest.)

The race has drawn national media attention since before its start. When Clinton began her "listening tour" of the state last July, some 200 journalists tagged along. Her formal announcement in February — a pep rally at State University of New York-Purchase near her new home in Chappaqua — was carried live on CNN. Not to be outdone, Giuliani appeared the same day on five Sunday morning network talk shows.

The race has attracted record amounts of cash, more than \$32 million so far. Some of it has been raised through nationwide direct-mail fundraising efforts by each candidate.

"This race obviously has national implications," says Bruce Teitelbaum, Giuliani's campaign manager. "The next senator from New York will probably be voting on whether the Internet will be taxed. That has an effect on Silicon Valley in California and in Silicon Alley in New York."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Donna's stage role no model for a first lady

IT'S no secret that the mayor and his wife aren't close. So is Donna Hanover trying to embarrass Rudy by agreeing to appear in Eve Ensler's "The Vagina Monologues?"

Sure looks that way.

The play is vulgar and quasi-pornographic, the kind of sleazy "art" that offends Giuliani voters. And it was written by Eve Ensler, a close friend and political associate of Hillary Clinton's.

But the disgrace is not Rudy's; it's his wife's — and the city's.

Do other metropolises have to see their first ladies take the stage and play a character who talks about the wonders of masturbating with a group of women?

Must they endure their first ladies taking the role of a monologist fondly recalling how liberating it was to have been raped at 13 by an older lesbian?

What other city has a first lady who may speak as a lesbian dominatrix who discourses in "Penthouse Forum"-like detail about what she does to her female lovers?

Say what you will about the hicks in Peoria, but I bet the wife of that city's mayor won't stand on stage and talk about asking a 6-year-old girl to describe the aroma of her private parts.

Poor Rudy. You gotta feel for the guy. What a nightmare.

Actually, there's no telling which of the monologues Hanover will deliver when she joins the cast next month, and which will be taken by her two as-yet unnamed co-stars. But there's very little material in Ensler's Obie-winning effort that befits the dignity of the first lady of New York City.

To be honest, there's very little in the thing that befits the dignity of any woman not in the employ of Runway 69. "The Vagina Monologues" is trash-talking feminist agitprop so juvenile and moronic as to be near-parody. It's a Cosmo article masquerading as defiant art.

The play is a series of monologues Ensler says she based on interviews with a cross-section of women. She says it was only when she started saying the word "vagina" aloud that she realized how messed up she was.

"I did not see my vagina as my primary resource, a place of sustenance, humor and creativity," Ensler writes.

How sad for her! Evie solved that problem by becoming an evangelist for vaginal consciousness. She

wants women to think of their vaginas at all times and in all places — "in your car, at the supermarket, at the gym, in the office."

Oh, brother. When males sit around talking about their penises, we call them "15-year-old dorks." When females do the same, we're supposed to call them "courageous" and "liberated."

This is not progress — but it is typical of feminism's rhetorical bait-and-switch, in which male goatishness is condemned, but the same thoughts and actions by women are praised and encouraged.

"The Vagina Monologues" are little more than intellectual navel-gazing, moved about five inches south. One of Ensler's monologues

is dedicated to Betty Dodson, a "brave and extraordinary" woman who has spent the last 25 years running workshops in which she

teaches women, alone or in groups, how to diddle themselves.

The monologist then speaks in the voice of a woman at such a workshop who undergoes spiritual and emotional convulsions while looking at herself in a mirror, as alternately solemn and ecstatic as if she'd discovered the Ark of the Covenant.

An even more sinister view comes from a "Southern woman of color," who testifies that her mother's bad advice and a childhood sexual assault by a male made her think ill of her vagina. Then she was seduced and raped in adolescence by an adult lesbian.

"Now people say that it was a kind of rape," the monologist says. "I was only 13 and she was 24. Well, I say, if it was a rape, it was a good rape then, a rape that turned my [defective vagina] into a kind of heaven."

Need we speculate how the heavens would fall — and should — if a play presented an adult male sexually initiating a 13-year-old girl as a liberating act?

Again, the offensiveness of the material is constantly undercut by its triviality vamping as seriousness. Ensler conducts a questionnaire in which women interviewees are asked to flesh out their vagina's personality, e.g., "If your vagina could talk, what would it say, in two words?"

Well, if I had a vagina, I know what it would say, in two words, about Donna Hanover's plans to appear in this play: "No class."

e-mail: dreher@nypost.com

ROD DREHER



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary risks loss of Jewish, Arab vote

First lady draws both groups' ire

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton's warm embrace of Suha Arafat, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, created waves last fall among the Jewish voting bloc that she hopes to draw in her U.S. Senate campaign against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

But when the first lady on April 12 yanked her endorsement from a charity dinner hosted by an Arab-American group that excludes Israel, she brought on a new wave of acrimony.

Mrs. Clinton told organizers of the Mosaic Foundation's annual soiree she would not be honorary chair—a title she has agreed to for the past two years—unless representatives from the Israeli Embassy were invited.

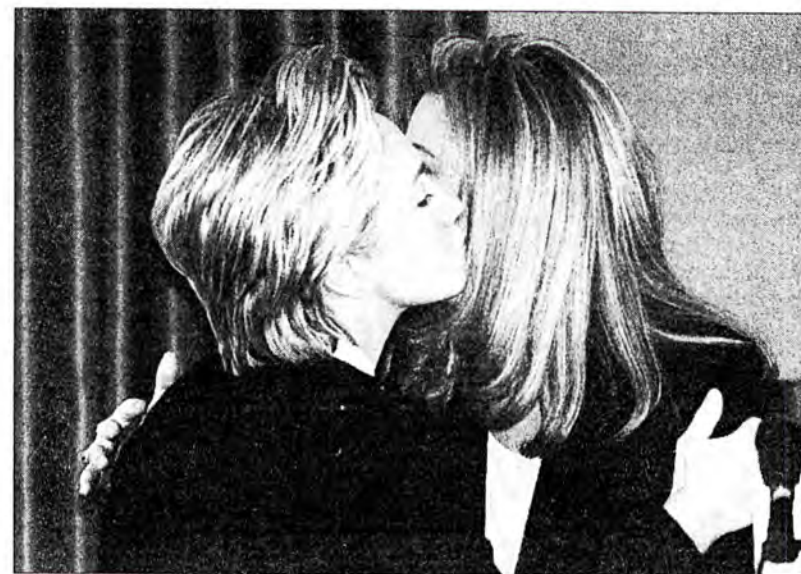
"Under these circumstances, Mrs. Clinton will no longer be able to serve as honorary chair of the Mosaic Foundation event," a statement from the first lady's office said.

"That's not going to happen until there is peace in the Mideast," countered one disgruntled organizer, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

The Mosaic Foundation was formed by the wives of 17 Arab ambassadors to the United States. Mrs. Clinton has lent her name to the event for the past two years, although she has never attended a dinner.

This year's May 3 dinner is to benefit Save the Children.

"I don't think that the needs of children should be caught up in



Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Suha Arafat during a visit to the West Bank town of Ramallah last November to announce a grant. AP

political issues," said Dianne Sherman, a Save the Children spokeswoman.

Mrs. Clinton lends her name to dozens of charity events. The first two Mosaic Foundation dinners grossed over \$1 million. Guests pay \$400 for admission, with some attendees donating up to \$300,000.

"Hillary is a strong supporter of the peace process and does not want to serve as honorary chair of an event which excludes Israelis," said her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

The first lady continues to draw Jewish support in polls, and her decision to remove her name from the Mosaic event could endear her even more.

"Mrs. Clinton has made the right decision," said Kenneth Bandler, a spokesman for the American Jewish Committee. "We are in the midst of an active peace process in which the U.S. people are heavily invested."

Mrs. Clinton has publicly traced her Jewish lineage, but angered Jews in 1998 with remarks supporting a Palestinian state.

It was her West Bank gaffe with Mrs. Arafat that seriously raised eyebrows among Jews.

In that November incident, Mrs. Clinton silently listened to Mrs. Arafat charge that Israel had been using gas to poison Palestinian children.

While any Democrat nationwide should be able to count on at least

two-thirds of the Jewish vote, "some of these natural Clinton constituents are reserving judgment," said Republican pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Wolfson flatly denied that. "I think the vast majority of New Yorkers are supporters of the peace process. We're a long way from the election, and she is not taking anyone for granted."

Mrs. Clinton last ran afoul of the Arab-American community in July, when she called Jerusalem the "eternal and indivisible capital of Israel."

Leaders accused her then of making the Middle East part of her "political campaign rhetoric," according to a statement from the National Association of Arab-Americans.

"This election is going to be decided by the swing vote," said James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute. "And we should not be taken for granted."

Mrs. Clinton has now insulted both groups, he said, which will eventually place the first lady in a predicament.

Still, the state's 1.6 million Jewish voters account for 9.1 percent of the state's population while the Arab-American vote numbers around 300,000.

The Jewish vote has historically proven itself willing to forgive missteps, though, and perhaps the Arab-American vote will as well.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign giving for 2000 reaches a fever pitch

Parties could end up with a 'ton of money'

By Jim Drinkard
and Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Election Day is still more than six months away, yet the money chase has hit a fever pitch in the congressional district just north of downtown Los Angeles. Democrat Adam Schiff, a state senator who wants to replace Rep. James Rogan, has raised \$1.9 million. That's more than both sides spent combined in 1998.

But Schiff's fundraising prowess pales compared with Rogan's, who has amassed twice as much: \$3.8 million. It is believed to be the most money accumulated so far by any House candidate running in 2000.

The southern California race represents the leading edge of a wave of money that is almost certain to set records in this year's House and Senate elections.

"Both parties are going to have more money than they know what to do with," says Rep. Tom Davis, R-Va., chairman of the House Republican campaign committee. "There are 40 or 50 races that will have a ton of money dropped in on them."

New financial reports filed this week show a slew of high-profile House races where combined fundraising already has topped the million-dollar mark, and Senate contests that have raised multiples of that. Figures compiled as of the end of last year by the Federal Election Commission showed congressional fundraising running 37% ahead of the pace of two years ago.

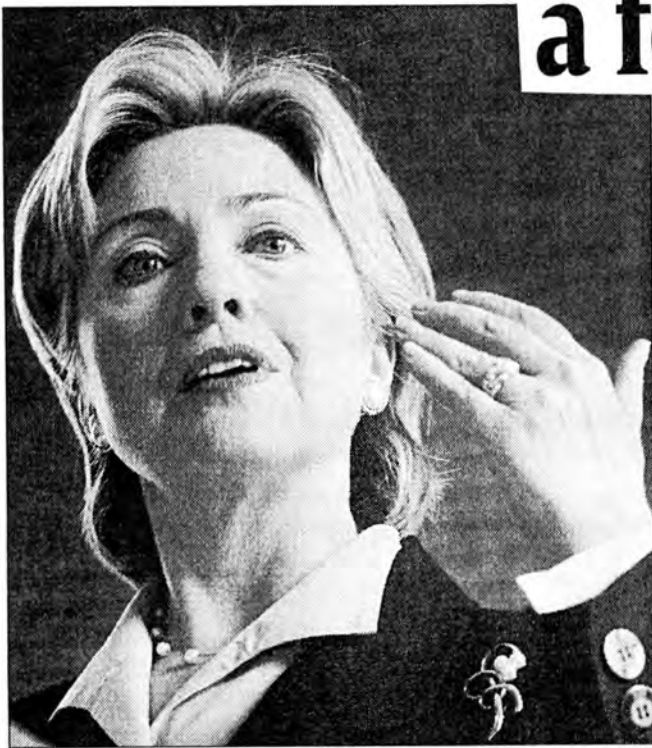
In a year when campaign fundraising records are being eclipsed up and down the ballot, congressional contests have become money magnets. House races are getting particular attention because control of the chamber is at stake.

The most eye-popping figures are being racked up in New York, where the Senate race between first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani has sparked the kind of nationwide donations usually seen in presidential races.

By the end of March, Giuliani had amassed \$19.1 million, and Clinton \$12 million. That puts them on a pace to break the Senate spending record of \$44 million set in the 1996 California race between Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein and Republican Michael Huffington.

The rapidly escalating costs of running for public office are evident in other top-tier Senate races, as well.

In Michigan, Delaware and Missouri, fundraising just through March almost



By Bebe Matthews, AP

Widely watched race: So far, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's coffers have reached \$12 million for her Senate bid.

equals the entire cost of the last Senate races in those states.

Since the beginning of 1999, Sen. Spence Abraham, R-Mich., has pulled in \$6.2 million to Democratic challenger Rep. Debbie Stabenow's \$3.1 million.

In Missouri, Democratic Gov. Mel Carnahan and the Republican incumbent he wants to unseat, Sen. John Ashcroft, are neck and neck: Ashcroft has raised \$4.1 million; Carnahan, \$4 million.

It is one of the few top Senate races where the candidates are about even in money raised. In many of the most competitive Senate races, Republicans enjoy a roughly two-to-one fundraising edge. Senate Finance Chairman Bill Roth, R-Del., has raised \$2.2 million to combat a strong challenge from Democratic Gov. Tom Carper, who had raised \$1 million as of March 31. In Virginia, even though former governor George Allen is the Republican challenger, he has a \$5 million to \$2.8 million fundraising edge over 12-year veteran Democratic Sen. Chuck Robb.

The money race is more even in key House races, which may be a reflection of the different political stakes involved. Even the most gung-ho Democrats privately concede they have only an outside chance of gaining control of the Senate, where Republicans now hold a 55-45 majority.

It's a different story in the House, where many analysts give Democrats at least a 50-50 chance of picking up the six seats

they need to seize control. That tantalizing prospect has energized the party's donors as never before, says John DelCecato, spokesman for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Among House races receiving the most attention and money:

► Freshman Democrat Rush Holt, among the most endangered of his party's incumbents, has amassed \$1.1 million for his New Jersey re-election campaign. But that amount has been equaled by two Republicans who are vying to oppose him. Dick Zimmer, a veteran politician with a deep fundraising Rolodex, has raised \$903,063. His primary opponent, Mike Pappas, has snared \$271,289. Both are former Republican congressmen who represented the district at different times and are now vying to reclaim the seat.

► Republican Rep. Steve Kuykendall has raised \$821,000 so far to help hold onto his Los Angeles-area seat for a second term. He is being challenged by former Democratic representative Jane Harman, who gave up the seat for an unsuccessful run for governor. She has raised \$863,000 to date for her comeback bid.

► Another comeback hopeful is former representative Scotty Baesler, who has raised \$725,000 to retake the Kentucky seat he had held. Republican Rep. Ernie Fletcher has built a \$1 million defensive wall for his campaign.

► Montana promises to be the scene of a

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



By Karen Vibert-Kennedy, Press & Sun-Bulletin (Binghamton, N.Y.), via AP

Eye-popping figures: Mayor Rudy Giuliani is outpacing his opponent's war chest with \$19.1 million by the end of March.

big-spending contest for the open seat being vacated by Rep. Rick Hill. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Nancy Keenan, a Democrat, has raised \$798,000. Former lieutenant governor Dennis Rehberg, the Republican, collected \$507,000.

► Fundraising is closely matched in the race to succeed Stabenow in her Michigan House seat. Two state senators are vying for the position: Democrat Dianne Byrum, who has raised \$820,410, and Republican Mike Rogers, who has collected \$858,416.

► In northeastern Pennsylvania, freshman Republican Rep. Don Sherwood faces a rematch of what was the nation's closest House race in 1998. He has raised \$827,211, compared with \$672,700 for his opponent, Pat Casey, son of former governor Bob Casey.

Money raised by the candidates themselves will only be part of the financial picture in this year's elections, however. The hardest-fought contests will also attract millions of dollars in outside money, either from the parties or from an array of interest groups seeking to inject their issues into the campaigns.

For the first time, Democratic campaign committee political director David Plouffe says, the committee will have enough money to support most candidates in need of a boost. "We will be able to put a lot of money into 40 or 50 seats," Plouffe said. "We will be able to go in and neutralize the Republican money."

Congressional candidates raising record amounts

Candidates in some of the most hotly contested congressional races (incumbents in bold type) and the money they have raised since Jan. 1, 1999:

SENATE

Delaware

Tom Carper (D)	\$1 million
Bill Roth (R)	\$2.2 million

Florida

Tom Gallagher (R)	\$1 million
Bill McCollum (R)	\$3.6 million
Bill Nelson (D)	\$5 million

Michigan

Spence Abraham (R)	\$6.2 million
Debbie Stabenow (D)	\$3.1 million

Missouri

John Ashcroft (R)	\$4.1 million
Mel Carnahan (D)	\$4 million

New York

Hillary R. Clinton (D)	\$12 million
Rudy Giuliani (R)	\$19.1 million

Virginia

George Allen (R)	\$5 million
Chuck Robb (D)	\$2.8 million

HOUSE

California's 27th District

James Rogan (R)	\$3.8 million
Adam Schiff (D)	\$1.9 million

Kentucky's 6th District

Scotty Baesler (D)	\$725,000
Ernie Fletcher (R)	\$1 million

Michigan's 8th District

Dianne Byrum (D)	\$820,410
Mike Rogers (R)	\$858,416

New Jersey's 12th District

Rush Holt (D)	\$1.1 million
Mike Pappas (R)	\$271,289
Dick Zimmer (R)	\$903,063

New York's 1st District

Mike Forbes (D)	\$708,270
Felix Grucci (R)	\$359,000

Pennsylvania's 10th District

Pat Casey (D)	\$672,700
Don Sherwood (R)	\$827,211

Source: Federal Election Commission reports

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton Returns Campaign Donation

Aides Call \$22,000 Gift 'Inappropriate,' Assail Giuliani Over Backer's 'Toxic Contribution'

By LYNNE DUKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 19—Hillary Rodham Clinton's U.S. Senate campaign said today that it has returned a \$22,000 donation from a Miami businesswoman who once played a role in an international drug trafficker's contribution to the Democratic National Committee during President Clinton's 1996 reelection bid.

The revelation of the returned donation of Vivian Mannerud came as Hillary Clinton sparred bitterly with her Senate rival, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, over campaign finance issues. Even while fending off questions about Mannerud, Clinton's aides dished out criticism of Giuliani's acceptance of a huge donation from a company that has been cited for toxic pollution.

Questions about Mannerud's donation, reported in today's New York Post and Daily News, have links to the Clinton administration's campaign finance scandals of the

mid-1990s. Acting in 1995 as a Democratic fundraiser, Mannerud, who runs a Miami-to-Cuba air charter company, solicited a \$20,000 DNC contribution from Jorge 'Gordito' Cabrera, according to congressional investigators. Cabrera, a Cuban American, was known as a prominent seafood supplier in South Florida.

Shortly after his donation, Cabrera attended a Miami fundraising dinner with Vice President Gore, and a White House Christmas reception where he was photographed next to the first lady. Three weeks later, federal agents in Miami charged Cabrera with importing 6,000 pounds of cocaine into the United States. He pleaded guilty and is serving 19 years in prison. His DNC contribution was returned.

Although no connection to the incarcerated Cabrera has been alleged, Mannerud's donation to the New York Senate 2000 "soft money" committee, set up by Hillary Clinton and Senate Democrats, was "inappropriate," said Howard Wolfson, a Clinton cam-

paign spokesman. "Questions were raised. And we decided not to keep it." It had been the largest single contribution to that committee, Wolfson said.

The Giuliani campaign was quick to attack the Democratic candidate. "Mrs. Clinton's desperate grab for campaign cash is a classic Clintonesque strategy she learned in Arkansas and perfected in Washington, run by the same characters at the center of the 1996 scandals that rocked the White House," said Juleanna Glover Weiss, Giuliani's campaign spokeswoman.

The Clinton-Giuliani race is expected to be among the most expensive Senate contests ever. The mayor has raised \$19 million, the first lady \$12 million. Both campaigns have established "soft money" committees, which are governed by more flexible fundraising rules than are official Senate campaign committees.

Even as the Mannerud donation was coming to light, the Clinton campaign assailed Giuliani for accepting \$102,000 in contribu-

tions linked to the Renco Group, a company whose subsidiary, Magnesium Corp. of America, was cited in 1998 by the Environmental Protection Agency as a leading toxic polluter. The soft-money Giuliani Victory Committee received \$100,000 from Renco, and another \$2,000—from Renco head Ira Rennert—went to the Friends of Giuliani campaign committee. The \$100,000 from Renco was the largest single donation to Giuliani's soft-money committee.

"Rudy Giuliani should do the right thing and return this toxic contribution," Wolfson said.

Weiss, responding, said: "Mrs. Clinton lives in such a glass house, she shouldn't be questioning anyone's contribution."

Federal records show that Renco is a bipartisan contributor, having given \$25,000 in 1996 to the DNC. And last April—well after the EPA had cited his company—Rennert and his wife attended a White House function held by the Clintons at the height of the Kosovo crisis.

Liz Smith

News on

I THINK Hillary will win, because voters perceive she has more prospects ... but if she does win, God save us all!"

So said CNBC's chief **Hillary Clinton** hater, "Hardball's" hardball, **Chris Matthews** the other night. Chris loathes Hillary, so much it's almost fun to watch him fulminate nightly over the first lady's campaign for the New York Senate. For his sake, I hope Hillary does capture the Senate seat. If not, he will wither and die, unable to expel all that jovial bile. (Matthews smiles and laughs while saying the *most* awful things. He is much amused by his own rage.)

But far more interesting, on the night of Chris Matthews' campaign prediction, were the remarks of Washington know-it-all **Sally Quinn**. Miss Quinn is still blond and movie-starrish. Maturity has given her features a bit of Dietrich around the sculpted cheekbones and eyes. But what she says ain't movie-star babble.

Quinn offered the news that many of Hillary and **Bill Clinton**'s "best friends" — all those who are publicly campaigning and fund-raising to help her win — are privately admitting that they will actually vote for **Rudy Giuliani**. Quinn adds: "So many women, women who are similar to Hillary in background and position, women who you'd think would really be in her corner, are just *outraged* and offended that she is running for the Senate."

Hmmmm! Well, all I know is that Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani are neck-and-neck right now. And don't think that's not an unpleasant surprise to Giuliani, who thought it was gonna be a piece of cake to defeat this remarkable woman.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

COMMENTARY

MONA CHAREN

'The case against Hillary'

Peggy Noonan is best known for her work as a speech writer to Ronald Reagan. Her poetic Irish soul matched his like a bookend. Since then, she has turned to writing books and withdrawn, to a considerable degree, from day-to-day political battles. But with "The Case Against Hillary Clinton," Ms. Noonan has come roaring back with a Jeremiad that's witty, impassioned and moving.

This book is about the Clintons, but it is also about America — an appeal to her fellow New Yorkers to forbid Clintonism to continue its corrupting course.

Throughout this book, one thinks constantly of the phrase "got your number." That's what Ms. Noonan has on Mrs. Clinton. She assesses the first lady's various poses with the experienced eye of a political pro, but also with astute and often funny psychological insight.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for the Senate was launched, at first, on the strength of her status as first victim. Hillary the long-suffering wife of the philanderer scored far better in the polls than Hillary the copresident, Hillary the health czar or Hillary the Whitewater heavy ever did. But, as Ms. Noonan argues, it is absurd to think of Hillary as Bill's victim. She has been his co-conspirator and true partner throughout this presidency. Together, they have demonstrated a willingness to lie, to smear opponents, to accept gratuities (like a house loan, a sweet cattle futures deal or government-paid nannies) as perks of power. And together they have been always been willing to put their own advancement,

Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for the Senate was launched, at first, on the strength of her status as first victim.

their own power, above the good of the country.

A vignette fleshes out the true Hillary. Following her "vast right-wing conspiracy" diatribe on the "Today" show, Mrs. Clinton turned to an aide and said, "That'll teach 'em to f— with us." Mrs. Clinton is often praised for her "toughness." Ms. Noonan acknowledges that toughness can be a virtue — even a necessary one for politicians. But what she sees in Mrs. Clinton is more than toughness, it is belligerence.

Her advice in White House meetings has consistently reflected her characteristic anger: Screw the Congress, don't appoint a special prosecutor, lose the files, don't settle the Jones lawsuit.

Mrs. Clinton has learned to adopt the victim pose, but (and here I insert my view, not necessarily Ms. Noonan's) there is something contemptible about a woman — any woman, but particularly a self-conscious feminist — who cooperates in destroying the reputations of those unfortunate (mostly lower class) women who are abused by her husband. Hillary Rodham Clinton, the pampered daughter of Park Ridge, Ill., Wellesley '69, Yale Law '72 is not above throwing dirt in the faces of Paula Jones and the others for simply telling the truth.

The most affecting parts of this book are those in which Ms. Noonan offers a glimpse of what could have been, of how Mrs. Clinton might have reacted to her husband and to her times if she had been a different, better person — someone with a dollop of moral sensitivity.

Here's one where she imagines the first lady talking to her husband: "Bill, you were probably no gentleman to Paula — apologize and get this behind us. Bill, later I'll hit you over the head with a frying pan, but for now, tell the truth about that intern, we can't put the country through months of trauma and embarrassment. Bill, I'm handing over the billing records, and there's something I didn't tell you about Whitewater. Bill, people are walking in here with \$50,000 checks and it's against the law, and I want it to stop. Bill, I got up for a glass of water last night and there were complete strangers in the Lincoln Bedroom, and if this is how we're raising money then we're doing it wrong. Bill . . ."

It is not easy to handicap the Senate race in New York. Both candidates have flaws, and the electorate is somewhat unpredictable. But the stakes are extremely high. Hillary Rodham Clinton, her friends and supporters admit, is running for the Senate as the first step in her quest for the White House. Her thirst for attention, adulation and power is unquenchable. But as Ms. Noonan says: "Mrs. Clinton should not be given any more power. Because somehow she never helps anybody with it but herself."

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary taps non-NYers to finance Senate run

By ROBERT HARDT Jr. in New York
and DEBORAH ORIN in Washington

Virtually all the unregulated "soft money" raised by Hillary Rodham Clinton this year came from out-of-state residents, according to financial records released yesterday.

Of the \$1.39 million she has collected since January, only \$81,000 was contributed by New Yorkers. A total of 665 people gave money to her campaign; of these, only 17 live in the state.

Comparable soft-money figures for Mayor Giuliani, Clinton's opponent, weren't available.

Among those who donated so-called "soft money," which cannot legally be used for an individual campaign, were:

Tom Hanks, \$5,000; music legend Quincy Jones, \$10,000; nutrition guru Dean Ornish, \$5,000, and Qualcomm boss Irwin Mark Jacobs, \$12,500.

The largest soft-money donation was \$22,000 from Vivian M. Verble of the Airline Brokers Co.

Other campaign records show how Clinton spent some of her "hard money," donations earmarked directly for her Senate race.

Among her expenses were \$277,000 for an



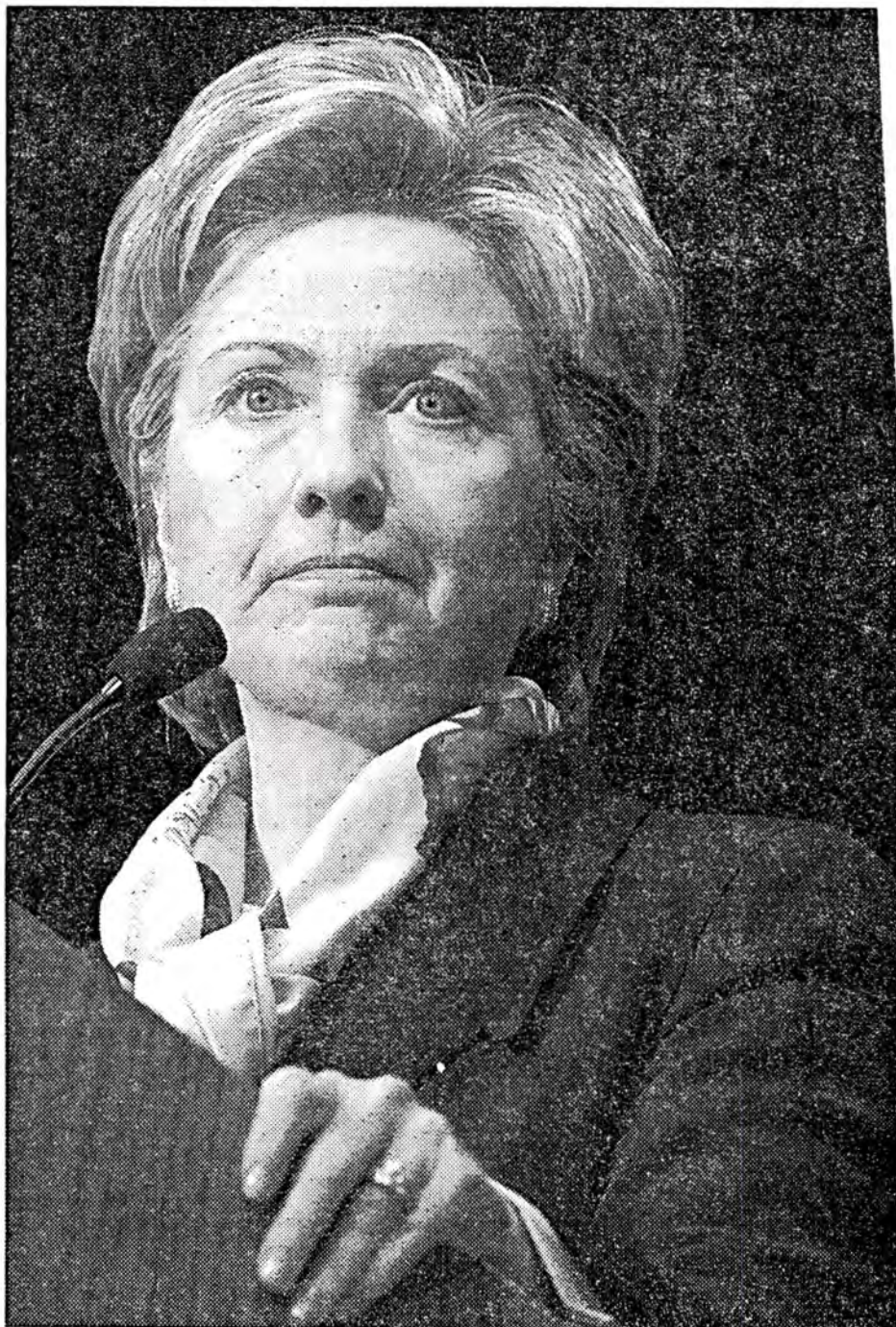
18-minute video tribute created by Hollywood producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason.

The slick biographical film was the centerpiece of Clinton's Feb. 6 gala announcement of her candidacy at SUNY-Purchase. It is unclear if the video produced by the longtime Clinton pal will be used again in the campaign.

The files show the first lady repaid the federal government \$54,424 for Air Force jets used for her campaign in the first three months of the year.

Last year, she reimbursed the government \$34,000, which Giuliani complained was too low.

By law, Clinton must pay the government the cost of a first-class commercial ticket for each of



PAYBACK: Financial records show Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign has repaid the federal government \$88,424 for the use of jets this year and last. AF

the campaign — trips she and her staffers take on Air Force planes.

Giuliani's hard-money donors include retired Gen. Colin Powell, who gave \$1,000.

Former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker and former Secretary of

State Henry Kissinger also contributed to the mayor's campaign.

Records show that the mayor has \$9.2 million left in his campaign war chest while Clinton has \$6.6 million in the bank.

But the mayor is going through his money at a

faster pace. He spent \$5.6 million in just three months — most of it on direct mail — while Clinton spent \$2.8 million.

The figures virtually guarantee that this will be the most expensive Senate race in history.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

14A · FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2000 · USA TODAY

"USA TODAY hopes to ..."



By Kathy Willens, AP

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Two-party politics for mayor's aide and wife

HILLARY Rodham Clinton and the Democratic National Committee apparently have no beef with Mayor Giuliani's campaign director, Bruce Teitelbaum — at least when it comes to his wife, Suri Kasirer.

Kasirer, a Democratic political consultant and lobbyist, is a vice-chair for a DNC gala with Tony Bennett to honor the Clintons and Al and Tipper Gore at the Sheraton Hotel April 24.

Two other Teitelbaums, investor Douglas and his wife, Traie, are also on board as vice-chairs for the DNC's \$1,000-a-head event.

But because of family ties, Bruce has already received a promise from Douglas, a distant cousin, that he'll be ponying up some cash for the mayor's campaign as well.

■
An ex-New York Liberty hoopster is hoping to score points with the latest anti-Clinton Web site — www.hillarydoormat.com.

Jazz Perazic-Gipe, a three-time Olympian who played WNBA basketball in 1997, has started using the Internet to sell doormats adorned with Clinton's picture.

The mats, which cost \$19.95, can be ordered with any of a half-dozen less-than-flattering slogans, including, "I've always been a Yankee Fan," "Read my lips — no new interns," and "Can a carpetbagger be a doormat?"

Perazic-Gipe got the idea during a pickup basketball game with friends, when the talk turned to politics and she blurted out, "That woman's a doormat."

■
While Giuliani last month refused to talk about why his chil-

dren go to a private Catholic school, Clinton yesterday explained at length why daughter Chelsea attended the fancy Sidwell Friends School in Washington D.C.

"We would have preferred that she go to a public school — but no offense to my friends in the press — you cannot tell the press to get off the property of a public school," Clinton told high school students in Coney Island.

"What we concluded was that we had to put her at that time in a private school so that we could basically protect her privacy and let her have as normal a life as possible."

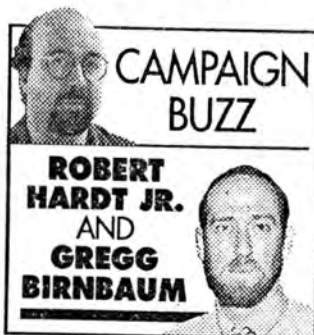
Several reporters rolled their eyes at the first lady's explanation because — at least in New York — public schools are extremely quick to show the door to journalists.

■
Tired of being attacked as too mean-spirited to work with others, Giuliani recently compared himself to an unlikely person — Al D'Amato.

The mayor managed to overlook that one-time enemy D'Amato lost his last election, in order to make the case that he'd be a fighter for New York like Al was.

"How would you describe Al D'Amato?" Giuliani asked in an upstate radio interview.

"Strong personality? Sometimes a little tough? Fought real hard? When we didn't re-elect Al D'Amato, we lost a lot of money for the state of New York ... Maybe it's a good time to send someone to Washington who's tough."



Rudy wants to be the ax man for federal and cap-gains taxes

Mayor Giuliani yesterday unveiled his Senate agenda, starting with cuts in the federal-income and capital-gains taxes — a position he said puts him at odds with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Speaking to 450 women at a Long Island "Women for Giuliani" lunch, Giuliani said slashing taxes is the best way to spur economic growth, create jobs and reduce poverty.

"I believe the only way you're really going to achieve that is by lowering the taxes that affect New York more than any place else," Giuliani said, responding to question about his goals if elected to the Senate.

"If you lower the income tax and either lower or eliminate the capital gains tax, you're going to leave a tremendous amount of money in New York that's redistributed," he added to applause.

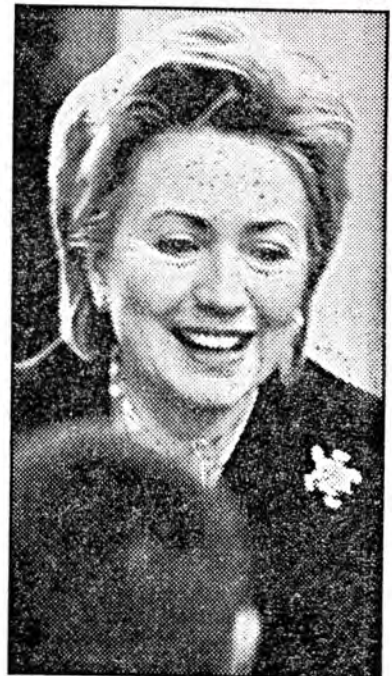
By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Under attack from Clinton for not spelling out his stance on the issues, the mayor called his endorsement of tax cuts a "very big difference between my opponent and me about an issue, not personality."

Clinton has not specifically called for reducing the federal-income-tax rates or capital-gains taxes.

The first lady favors a variety of "targeted tax cuts," including making college tuition tax deductible up to \$2,800 per family and a \$3,000 tax credit for those who care for an elderly parent in their home.

Giuliani said his other priorities in Washington would be education reform and recapturing some of



SCHOOL MARM: Hillary Clinton visits IS 96 in Brooklyn yesterday. N.Y. Post: Luiz C. Ribeiro

the estimated \$15 billion in taxes that New Yorkers pay but goes to programs in other states.

Fielding questions from the audience for 45 minutes, Giuliani's appearance at a catering hall in Mineola was Oprah-style. The mayor used a wireless microphone and spoke informally from the center of the room, surrounded by supporters — a kind of "Rudy in the Round."

Meanwhile, Clinton — continuing to stress education — visited a middle school in Bensonhurst and John Dewey HS in Coney Island as part of the "Principal for a Day" program.

The first lady encouraged the high school students to register to vote when they turn 18 because she said some people want to exclude them from the democratic process.

"A lot of people want you to be turned off by politics. I mean this is not an accidental strategy," Clinton said.

"There are people who really don't want young people, people of color, people of different political beliefs, to vote because if you don't, that's all the better for them," she said, without saying to whom she was referring.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Washington

Clintons to host conference on bringing up teens

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — It's a topic that parents by the millions talk about every day over kitchen tables and office fax machines. And next month, President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will give it bully pulpit treatment when they host a White House conference on raising teens.

The White House Conference on Teenagers: Raising Responsible and Resourceful Youth will take place

May 2, less than two weeks after the first anniversary of the shootings April 20 at Columbine High School, where a pair of teens killed 12 classmates and a teacher before turning their guns on themselves.

A formal announcement of plans for the conference is expected from the administration today.

Concern over youth violence is only one of several reasons the Clintons have decided to host the conference, according to a senior administration official involved in planning the conference.

Among other things, the first couple want to focus attention on new research that indicates that preteen years are a key time for brain development and that — contrary to many parents' beliefs — kids want and need more direction from their parents.

The Clintons want to discuss the challenges and risks of raising what White House officials believe is one of the fastest-growing and most diverse groups of teens in U.S. history. There were 35.3 million Americans ages 10-18 as of September

1999, according to the latest estimates from the Census Bureau.

The day-long conference will feature parents, teens, educators, policymakers and other experts. Among the topics expected to be discussed are drug and alcohol abuse, violent behavior, sexual activity and the effects of the news media on children and parents.

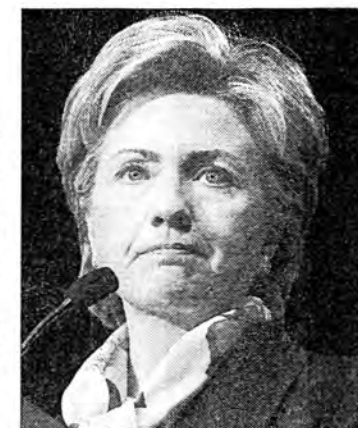
After an opening session, the conferees will break into small discussion groups, led by members of Congress and Clinton administration officials.

The conference is a reflection of Hillary Clinton's long-time interest in children's issues.

It follows up on a similar forum that she and the president hosted in 1997 on early childhood development.

It also will give the first lady a high-profile forum to appeal to women, a constituency that is expected to be key in her New York Senate race.

Her likely Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has also been wooing female voters.



By Bebito Matthews, AP

Hillary Rodham Clinton: Long-time interest in children's issues.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton Tries to Avert New Arab-Jewish Flap

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton tried to head off a new crisis with the Jewish community last night when she abruptly withdrew as honorary chairwoman of an Arab-American charity dinner because Israelis were not invited.

The First Lady has supported the charity work of the Mosaic Foundation for three years but said in a statement last night that when she learned representatives of the Israeli Embassy were not invited, she pulled out of the group's May 3 dinner.

Clinton, who is running for Senate in New York, where 12% of the population is Jewish, has been carefully wooing Jews — as has her opponent, Mayor Giuliani — after several missteps. "The event's sponsors have chosen not to invite representatives of the Israeli government because certain Arab states do not recognize the state of Israel," her campaign said. "Under these circumstances, Mrs. Clinton will no longer be able to serve as honorary chair."

Giuliani's campaign called the action "blatantly political."

"Mrs. Clinton invited this group to the White House in '98, attended their dinner last year, so her decision to flip-flop seems to be motivated more by politics than by principal, as usual," said Kim Serafin, a spokeswoman for the mayor.

The group raises money for charities, including St. Jude Children's Research Hospital and Save the Children.

Clinton stepped into the equivalent of a minefield in November when she sat silently by as Suha Arafat, wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, accused Israel of using poison gas on Palestinian women and children.

In February, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert called Giuliani "the greatest friend of the City of Jerusalem."

Meanwhile, Clinton, who was campaigning upstate yesterday, has begun a dialogue with Assemblyman Dov Hikind (D-Brooklyn), an influential voice in the Orthodox Jewish community who has criticized the First Lady's comments on Israel. The two are expected to meet soon, sources said.

With William Goldschlag and Lisa Colangelo

Original Publication Date: 04/13/2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hill does a job on Rudy's 'perverted' welfare plan

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

ALBANY — Hillary Rodham Clinton charged yesterday that Mayor Giuliani "perverts" welfare reform — attacking for the first time what her opponent promotes as one of his crowning achievements.

"We have a mayor who perverts welfare reform," Clinton roared to more than 1,000 enthusiastic union members attending a convention here.

Giuliani "puts people in make-work jobs and doesn't give them the support or the opportunity to get a job," the first lady charged.

Clinton's blast at Giuliani's welfare-reform program was an important demonstration that her increasingly aggressive campaign intends to let no aspect of the mayor's record go unscathed.

Believing that slashing the welfare rolls is popular with voters, the Giuliani campaign aired a TV commercial upstate last year touting his welfare reform, and the mayor brings it up in almost every political speech.



CAPITAL HILL: The first lady talks with children at the Center for the Disabled in Albany, where she lashed into Mayor Giuliani during an address at a public employees' union convention yesterday. AP

Giuliani highlighted his welfare-to-work program — which has taken 560,000 people off public assistance since he took office — at a "Women for Giuliani" lunch Monday in Manhattan, where he described transforming welfare centers into job centers.

Giuliani spokeswoman Caroline Nolan said the city has "the most effective welfare-to-

work program in the country."

"[Clinton] prefers to increase dependency, while [the mayor] believes in helping people help themselves and embrace a strong work ethic," Nolan added. "Her position on welfare is consistent with her left-wing ideology over the past 25 years."

But Clinton said she backed the ground-breaking 1996 federal welfare-reform legislation, signed by President Clinton, because it would end welfare dependency — and noted that Giuliani opposed the bill.

"I was concerned that there seemed to be a willingness to cut people off from Medicaid and food stamps and other benefits they were eligible for, which is absolutely perverting the idea of welfare reform," Clinton told reporters later.

"I think there are some serious questions that have been raised about the way the city has gone about welfare reform."

Appearing before the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Clinton also pounded Giuliani for supporting school vouchers and for not telling New Yorkers how he would vote in the Senate on health care, tax cuts and other issues.

**The blast shows
Hillary's
increasingly
aggressive
campaign intends
to let no aspect of
the mayor's
record go
unscathed.**

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Report

The New York Times

+ YNE A27

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 2000

Giuliani Gives Political Events A Rain Check

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani abruptly postponed four upstate political events for his Senate campaign yesterday, saying unapologetically that he wanted to go to today's rescheduled Yankee opening game instead.

"Long before I was a politician, I was a Yankee fan," Mr. Giuliani said at his daily City Hall news briefing as he grinned broadly and put on a Yankee cap. "What can I tell you? This is me. I'm a Yankee fan. I love the Yankees. I haven't missed an opening day since I've been the mayor. I'm not going to have another opening day as the mayor, maybe, if I get my wish, right?"

At least one of Mr. Giuliani's upstate Republican hosts reacted plaintively. "I hope in the future that he'll find some time for us up here," said Stephen Minarik, the Republican Party chairman in Monroe County, who was expecting the mayor in Rochester today at a Lunch With Rudy for more than 400 women. "I'm not going to kid you and say that there's not disappointment. A lot of people did put a lot of time into this event."

One was Mr. Minarik's wife, Renee, a chairwoman of the event. She and the other organizers called 400 people yesterday and told them not to come. The other upstate events — a women's forum, a question-and-answer session at a center for the elderly and a \$1,000-a-person fund-raiser — were planned in the Buffalo area today. In Rochester, some organizers of the lunch first heard of the cancellation from New York City reporters.

Other Republicans reacted with astonishment to Mr. Giuliani's decision. "If he keeps this up, it won't be his last chance to go to opening day as mayor of New York," said one state Republican political consultant. "And that's all I can say, because otherwise it's like tossing a match into a fireworks display."

"You've got to admire him, though. Because nobody else would admit it, that 'I'm blowing it off to go to opening day.' They'd come up with some cockamamie excuse like 'I've got to go to a ribbon cutting.'"

Advisers to the mayor's opponent, Hillary Rodham Clinton, reacted to the decision with astonishment and then delight.

"Well, you know he's had a tough couple of weeks," Mrs. Clinton said yesterday, alluding to the mayor's sagging polls. "It might be good for him to go to a game."

Then she added brightly: "And you know, I've had a great couple of weeks traveling around upstate New York. Last week I was in Binghamton and Greene and Rochester and Corning and Albany, and I'm back in Albany today. I'll be back in Buffalo tomorrow."

Republicans north of the Bronx County line have been complaining for months that the mayor is ignoring them and that Mrs. Clinton is receiving alarmingly lavish news coverage from her frequent trips upstate. Last week, when a New York Times/CBS News poll showed that Mrs. Clinton was 8 points ahead of the mayor over all and was even with him upstate — an unusual situation for a Democrat — Republicans consoled themselves that at least the polls might propel Mr. Giuliani out of City Hall and into Broome County.

They apparently did, even though Mr. Giuliani says he pays no attention to polls, even though the mayor left a Broome County dinner last Friday after a 22-minute speech, before dessert. But he stayed long enough to plead for understanding from the 1,000 guests.

"If you've felt I haven't been here enough, I ask you to please give me a break: I have a full-time day job," Mr. Giuliani said to laughter and applause. "Tell your friends and neighbors that. Tell them that the mayor of New York City is like them. He works for a living."

Mr. Giuliani has frequently said that the first lady has no full-time job and that she is free to campaign as much as she chooses.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton Prods Giuliani To Take Stands

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ALBANY, April 11 — Hillary Rodham Clinton asserted today that Rudolph W. Giuliani was avoiding discussion of how he would vote in the United States Senate, and said it was not enough to ask voters to judge him based solely on his record as mayor of New York, as Mr. Giuliani has suggested.

"I am running a campaign that will tell you what I will do," Mrs. Clinton said in a hall packed with cheering municipal workers. At a news conference later today, she added, "I think this campaign should be about issues and about how each of us would vote in the Senate."

With her remarks, Mrs. Clinton sought to lay out a framework for how voters should judge the Senate contest. The candidates, she said, should be evaluated primarily based on how they would vote in the Senate, a formula that would presumably favor Mrs. Clinton in New York, a Democratic state. By contrast, Mr. Giuliani has presented the election as mainly a referendum on his performance as mayor, saying that voters could look to New York City to judge his potential effectiveness as a senator, an assessment that would also appear to play to his greatest strength.

Mrs. Clinton asserted that Mr. Giuliani "won't tell you where he stands" on issues like the Republican tax cut proposal in Congress and increasing the minimum wage. In truth, Mr. Giuliani has discussed these issues, though only in a limited



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned in Albany yesterday.

way and only in response to questions. He has yet to give a major policy speech in the campaign.

In New York, Mr. Giuliani's campaign spokeswoman, Juleanna Glover Weiss, condemned Mrs. Clinton's attack, saying Mr. Giuliani has unhesitatingly offered his views on controversial subjects, like the fate of Elián González, while Mrs. Clinton has held back. "Mrs. Clinton is everywhere and nowhere simultaneously," she said, "while Mayor Giuliani talks about issues every day and has the record to back it up."

Mrs. Clinton offered a new response to complaints that she is running for office in a state she only recently moved to.

"If we're trying to recruit somebody for the Yankees or the Mets," she said, "we wouldn't care where they were born."

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Mr. Giuliani's compass

For a citizen dragging in the throes of Clinton fatigue, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani is a tonic. Having seen his poll-margin of victory in the New York race for the U.S. Senate against Hillary Rodham Clinton evaporate over his reaction to a recent police shooting — make that, over the political and media reaction to his reaction — Mr. Giuliani refuses to wriggle his way back into the establishment's good graces. When asked by Fox's Bill O'Reilly whether, in retrospect (that is, after the recent polls), Mr. Giuliani wished he had done anything different in handling Patrick Dorismond's death last month, Mr. Giuliani said, "No."

How simple, how unequivocal — and how unusual in a politician, circa 2000. Why, even Mr. Giuliani's supporters seem unnerved by this magnetic-North kind of conviction, a fact which indicates how dizzy Americans have become after seven years of spinning Clintonism. That is, not only has Mr. Giuliani not changed his mind; he hasn't even pretended to change his mind, that being the conventional and downright Clintonesque thing to do. For this heresy, Mr. Giuliani has been condemned in the media, on the hustings, and within political circles both friendly and unfriendly. Looks like Mr. Giuliani's stars are in perfectly hostile alignment. How did they get that way?

This brings us back to the Dorismond shooting. After a late-night "buy-and-bust" operation led first to blows between an undercover officer and 26-year-old Patrick Dorismond, and then to Mr. Dorismond's death in the ensuing struggle as two back-up officers entered the fray, Mr. Giuliani responded to the incident as he always responds to such incidents: He put information out, and fast.

The mayor said Mr. Dorismond was "no altar boy," a young man with "a propensity for violence" "who hit people." He had a juvenile arrest record for assault and burglary, an adult arrest for drug pos-

session, and a police complaint filed days before the shooting by his live-in girlfriend that claimed he had struck her head while she held the couple's child, and made harassing phone calls. For releasing these facts, the mayor had "divided the city," declared Mrs. Clinton. For declining to reach out to the black community and treat the shooting as a manifestation of racial prejudice (an absurdity considering that all involved were minorities), the mayor had shown "an utter failure of leadership" and "written off entire communities," she further charged.

Is that what he did?

Imagine if Mr. Giuliani had kept a lid on the Dorismond rap sheet and reached out, as they say, to the grieving family. That's exactly what Mr. Giuliani's predecessor David N. Dinkins did in 1992, after a police shooting left Kiko Garcia dead in Washington Heights. In the near-vacuum of information, the 23-year-old dead man — later proven to be a drug dealer with a record of criminal activity — was lionized on the streets and, in some cases, in the press as an innocent gunned down in cold blood by a racist cop. Mr. Dinkins paid two separate consolation calls on the Garcia family, intensifying the aura of both martyrdom and governmental culpability. Did Mr. Dinkins' actions "unite" the city? In "reaching out," did his "leadership" secure the Washington Heights community?

The answer is no. But they did help kick off several nights of violent rioting, including an attempt by rioters to shut down the George Washington Bridge. It is the Kiko Garcia riots that inform Mr. Giuliani's information policies on police shootings (down, not incidentally, 77 percent since 1993), not polls, not focus groups, and not Al Sharpton. In other words, the man is guided by his own compass. Whether it gets him to the U.S. Senate is, these days, anybody's guess.

Hill pinch hits for Rudy in Rochester

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday made a hastily arranged stop at a Rochester restaurant to spotlight Mayor Giuliani's decision to cancel his visit to the upstate city because of the Yankees' home opener.

"Folks in Monroe County [which includes Rochester] expected to see a Senate candidate today," said Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson. "We don't want to disappoint anyone."

At Yankee Stadium, Giuliani admitted his aides "yelled and screamed" at him for scrapping his planned politicking upstate.

"Opening Day is something with great significance to me," the mayor said.

"If there was an emergency or pressing city business, that would come first, but if we're just talking about raising money, you can raise money anytime."

Clinton, who has spent four of the last six days roaming upstate, had been scheduled to campaign only in Buffalo in Erie County, a

He bowed out to see Bombers

By Robert Hardt Jr. in Rochester and Gregg Birnbaum and Gersh Kuntzman in New York

key Senate battleground.

But once her aides found out Giuliani had postponed his trip to Rochester and Buffalo at the last minute, they sought to capitalize on the mayor's vanishing act by adding Rochester to the schedule.

Clinton dropped in at the Town and Country restaurant in Chili, in suburban Rochester, to greet a few dozen diners for 40 minutes,

but she did not bring up Giuliani.

Asked if she'd rather be in Rochester or at the Yankee game, Clinton ducked the question and cut off the press conference.

The skirmish over upstate, where about 45 percent of the state's voters live, comes as a new poll showed Giuliani bouncing back.

The survey by Zogby In-



MAYOR GIULIANI
Even his aides booed.



HILLARY CLINTON
Falls behind in new poll.

ternational found Giuliani leading Clinton, 45 percent to 44 percent statewide, which is within the 3.8 percentage-point margin of error.

A Zogby poll last month had Clinton ahead of Giuliani, 45 percent to 42 percent.

In the latest results, Giuliani was cleaning up in GOP-dominated upstate, topping the first lady, 55 percent to 34 percent, in the region. The mayor also made gains among Jews, Hispanics and independents.

Zogby and Giuliani aides attributed his improvement to the ebbing of the furor over the cop killing of Patrick Dorismond and to ap-

pearances and a campaign ad the mayor made with Sen. John McCain.

Clinton dramatically trimmed the mayor's edge in the suburbs, where he now only holds a 4-point advantage, 46 percent to 42 percent.

Earlier in the day, the first lady read to kids at a school in Buffalo from a children's book, "Thank You, Mr. Falker," that happened to feature a bully named Eric.

"Do you know anyone like Eric who is always mean to people? So do I," Clinton told the kids, drawing guffaws from staffers and reporters with her obvious reference to Giuliani.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Forum

First ladies: Who needs them?

By Barbara McGowan

For all of the advances in attitudes toward women in politics and social life, the nation still clings to the belief that we need a first lady.

We don't.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's run for the U.S. Senate in New York is an example of what millions of American wives do every day — pursue careers separate from those of their husbands'. But she also is proving that the country can survive quite nicely without a first lady, a position that comes with a job description that calls for the social skills and attitudes of a prosperous Victorian-age housewife.

The traditional role of first lady is outdated, much like that of a doctor's wife. Most contemporary women do not aspire to play this type of role, as their behavior indicates. Women vote more than men, earn more bachelors' degrees than men and as of the mid-1990s were earning more than 40% of this country's law and medical degrees.

What all this suggests is that women prefer to be doctors them-

selves, or even president. The country has more than enough elected and unelected officials, and the White House staff budget is large enough to hire a host if one is needed. It is demeaning to the president's spouse to expect her (and, perhaps someday, him) to have the

party-planning skills of a Martha Stewart, the policy interests of a Mother Theresa and the selflessness of Ma Joad.

First ladies never have been representative figures, nor have they always been held to the exact same standards as the rest of woman-

hood. During the 19th century, many presidential wives used the position to attain more influence than other members of their disenfranchised sex. The childless Sarah Polk considered herself the full political partner of her husband, James, and is credited with convincing him of the necessity of a national bank. Julia Grant cheerfully encouraged lobbyists to speak with her instead of her distracted husband. Others avoided it entirely, bestowing the job and title on more sociable daughters and nieces. The grief-stricken Jane Pierce (her son had died after the election) did not even attend her husband's inauguration and seldom appeared in public. Both Margaret Taylor and Abigail Fillmore deputized their daughters to appear in their place at all official functions.

In the 20th century, the status and behavior of presidential spouses have varied greatly. But it is not true that the role of first lady has directly reflected the gains or losses American women were experiencing in other areas of national life. Ironically, society seemed more tolerant of activist first ladies (Lucretia Garfield, Ellen Wilson, Eleanor Roosevelt) when most women were leading traditional domestic lives than it

does now, when most women work outside the home and follow independent paths.

In the beginning of the 21st century, we expect first ladies not to lead their own lives, but to make up for the perceived personal deficiencies in the lives of all American women by baking cookies, helping with their daughters' college applications and babysitting the grandchildren. In fact, the more liberated ordinary American women have become, the more the country seems to value the "cult-of-true-womanhood" virtues in its actual and potential first ladies.

Now that the presidential race has been whittled down to two candidates, their wives already are being analyzed.

Tipper Gore, for example, is portrayed as a possible victim of the "feminine mystique," marrying young and seeking outlets beyond her husband's career but always drawn back to the family's needs and harmless hobbies and philanthropy. Her daughter Karenna is the one who is allowed to be the modern woman with a child and a career, but Tipper is always the transitional woman torn between her family's needs and her own.

Laura Bush's biography, on the other hand, places her in the early progressive era. She once worked in the approved female profession of librarianship, and her steady devotion had the same effect on her husband's drinking as that related in countless temperance-era pamphlets. She is also described as the girl George married because his

parents liked her. She is the perfect antidote to tales of her husband's fraternity-boy past.

Likewise, Laura's mother-in-law, Barbara Bush, is lauded for quitting college to marry George and following him to Texas, where she raised children while he pursued economic and political success. Like many 19th century housewives, she suffered depression when the children left and George's job took him farther from her side. Now she is reaping the just rewards of the good mother as she watches her son assume the family patrimony.

Whatever the real texture of their lives, the mythology that surrounds such women as Barbara Bush, Tipper Gore and Laura Bush seems more appropriate to the Age of Patriarchy than it does to the New Millennium.

Neither the country nor these women should have to endure the ridiculous images and expectations we impose on first ladies. They should be free to cultivate their gardens, run for the Senate, take care of their children and grandchildren, read a book or push a cause.

But they should do so as individuals, albeit somewhat privileged ones, not as first ladies.

Barbara McGowan, a professor of history at Ripon (Wis.) College, has written on the topic of women and work for several publications, including the Handbook of American Women's History.

Discuss this topic at talk.usatoday.com



By Sam Ward, USA TODAY

Hedging her bets? Flip-flopping Hill backs N.Y. casino

By KENNETH LOVETT *Post Correspondent*

ALBANY — Hillary Clinton, who once fought against casinos in Arkansas, yesterday backed a planned Indian-run casino for the Catskills.

"Hillary believes that the development of a casino at the Monticello Raceway can be the spark for economic growth in the Catskills, and she supports it," said Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson.

"At the same time we must ensure that any development meets community needs so that the community benefits," he added.

The first lady had been mum on the project until yesterday, the day after Republican Senate rival Mayor Giuliani voiced his support for the plan.

As Arkansas first lady, Clinton helped spearhead a 1984 campaign to defeat a proposed state constitutional amendment to legalize casinos in that state for the first time since the 1960s.

She said at the time that legalized gambling "is not as rosy and promising as it is being presented," and warned casinos tend to attract criminal activity and are a bad way to help fund public education.

Giuliani spokeswoman Kim Serafin accused Clinton of "flip-flopping" on the issue, and mocked her for "once again following Mayor Giuliani's lead."

But Wolfson said the Monticello situation is "completely different" from what happened in Arkansas, where the amendment would have allowed for 17 casinos in one county and was opposed by local officials and law enforcement.

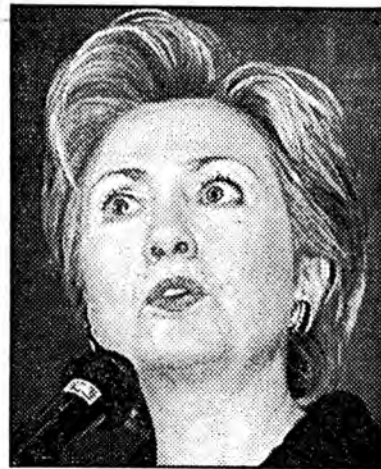
Legalized gambling "is not as rosy and promising as it is being presented."

HILLARY CLINTON IN 1984

Giuliani's support of the Monticello project is also a change from three years ago, when the mayor opposed an effort to legalize casinos in historic tourism areas, including the Catskills, because the measure did not include the city.

The mayor's supporters argue that unlike Clinton, Giuliani never came out against casinos. He was seeking to protect the city's interests in a statewide effort, which is different from the Indian proposal, which falls under federal law, they say.

The St. Regis Mohawks last week received federal approval for



HILLARY CLINTON
Opposed Arkansas gaming.

what developers say would be the largest casino in the country at Monticello Raceway in Sullivan County, just 70 miles north of the city.

Estimates are that 9 million people would visit the casino annually, generating at least \$500 million in yearly revenues.

The big question now is whether Gov. Pataki, whose OK of the proposal is needed, will decide the issue on his own or punt it to the Legislature, where it faces a more uncertain future.

Yesterday, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, the state's most powerful Democrat and an ardent casino supporter, told The Post that Pataki should approve the project without input from the Legislature.

"If the governor wants this to happen, he should make it happen," Silver said. "If he sends it up to the Legislature, the Senate will kill it."

Pataki has remained mum on his plans.

Group bids to disbar Hill / Page 24

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary faces Arkansas bar-room brawl

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — A conservative legal group is prodding the Arkansas Bar to yank Hillary Clinton's law license — at a time

when the same panel is mulling whether to disbar her husband for lying on Sexgate.

At issue is a report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. that says she prepared a document used "to deceive federal bank ex-

aminers" about Castle Grande, a Whitewater-linked real-estate deal.

It's the latest instance when an old controversy could come back and bite the first lady, although so far there's no sign her Senate bid has been hurt by fallout from Whitewater or any of the other Clinton controversies.

The Landmark Legal Foundation first asked the Arkansas Bar Association to probe Mrs. Clinton's conduct in October 1996 — and threatened to go to court March 29 after no action was taken for more than three years.

The head of the bar's disciplinary panel, James Neal, has now pledged to "review and evaluate the issue" in about 30 days, saying he somehow lost track of the original complaint.

"I had thought that I previously had replied . . . however, I have not been able to locate a copy of a response in my files," Neal wrote to Landmark president Mark Levin to explain the long delay.

At issue is a report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. that says Hillary Clinton prepared a document used "to deceive federal bank examiners" about a real-estate deal.

Levin noted that Arkansas bar rules say it's "professional misconduct" for a lawyer to be involved in deceit and vowed to be "very aggressive" and go to court if need be to force action.

The same bar panel didn't act on the disbarment complaint against the president until another conservative group, the Southeastern Legal Foundation, went to the Arkansas Supreme Court.

At issue against the president is the ruling by the judge in the Paula Jones case that he was in contempt of court by lying under

oath. He must respond by April 21 to keep his law license.

Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, didn't respond to questions about the bar complaint against her. In the past, she has denied knowing much about Castle Grande or doing anything wrong.

Castle Grande is an issue in Mrs. Clinton's mysteriously lost billing records, which turned up in the White House with her fingerprints on them — a matter on which Independent Counsel Robert Ray (Kenneth Starr's successor) is expected to report later this year.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

AT a most atypical Saturday-night party on the Upper West Side this past weekend — atypical because it was populated by ideological conservatives, a breed as rare in the neighborhood of my birth as the yak — one topic dominated all conversation among the anxious attendees: “How bad are things for Rudy?”

There is profound concern among Mayor Giuliani’s diehard supporters that Hillary Clinton’s surge in the polls this past week isn’t just a momentary blip — that it must be taken as an ominous indicator of trouble ahead in the Senate campaign.

Giuliani should take the concern seriously and begin addressing it as soon as possible. His fans have been counting on the national phenomenon dubbed “Clinton fatigue” to harm Hillary, even in this Democratic state, but it’s begun to dawn on them that “Giuliani fatigue” might be a problem as well.

The mayor’s impolitic and inappropriate response to the police shooting of Patrick Dorismond has cast a harsh light on the uncompromising quality that is simultaneously his greatest strength and his most glaring weakness.

And yet, while Rudy Giuliani is an uncompromising man, there is one activity about which he has shown, and continues to show, a certain ambivalence: His candidacy for Senate. He’s not campaigning very hard, and upstate Republicans have been e-mailing me for weeks with complaints about the invisibility of the Giuliani campaign as Hillary traipses back and forth up there like a cartographer mapping the Mohawk Trail.

More telling, he’s getting into fights

Forget Clinton Fatigue: Now it’s Giuliani Ennui



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

that nobody whose primary goal is winning a November election would. His stance on the Dorismond shooting is one example. So is his decision to go to war with interim Schools Chancellor Harold Levy over summer-school plans that don’t involve merit pay.

Don’t get me wrong; I love the idea of Rudy making war on the issue of merit

says and does what he believes is right. And he’s what Al Gore only pretends to be — a “fighter” for the best interests of the electo-

rate.

Alas, this is a better moment for a fake “fighter” like Al Gore than a real fighter like Rudy Giuliani. In an election year, it’s important for politicians like Gore who are seen as weak to suggest they’re

It’s no secret that the mayor is running for Senate only because he is limited to two terms in City Hall. But it’s time he committed himself — psychologically as well as politically — to the challenge that is facing him. He should be fighting the war against Hillary Clinton.

pay. His refusal to keep quiet when Levy and others suck up to an enemy of reform like the United Federation of Teachers is his most refreshing characteristic as a politician. He is what people always say they want politicians to be — he is not in hock to any constituency, he

strong. By contrast, a strong-armed like Giuliani needs to take some velocity off his fastball in an election year, lest he seem too overpowering.

This is where his ambivalence about his Senate race is showing. True, he has raised \$19 million for the race. True, he

keeps saying he’s running. But he also insists that he has a “full-time job” as mayor and that people have to understand he doesn’t have as much free time as Hillary.

That’s nonsense. Mayors run for higher office all the time, and do so without shirking their responsibilities. Sure, it’s hard to be mayor of New York, but the city is in very good order for the most part. Rudy Giuliani could spend most of his time running for Senate without jeopardizing the health of his city.

The truth, I think, is that Giuliani loves his current job so much he hasn’t reconciled himself to the fact that he will soon be asking the people of the state of New York to elevate him out of it.

It’s no secret that the mayor is running for Senate only because he is limited to two terms in City Hall. But it’s time he committed himself — psychologically as well as politically — to the challenge that is facing him. The only war he should be fighting is the war against Hillary Clinton.

He’s right to keep it a cold war at present, because it’s a long time from April to November. But you still have to spend 18 hours a day fighting a cold war. Giuliani is spending too much time thinking like a mayor and too little time thinking like a Senate candidate.

Nobody prevails in a contest for the affections of voters without having to work hard to earn their votes. That’s the lesson George W. Bush and Al Gore were taught in 1999, and it’s the lesson Rudy Giuliani needs to take to heart — now.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Arkansas high court probes Hillary's link to Whitewater deal

Legal work for failed thrift at issue

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Arkansas Supreme Court, which is considering disbarment proceedings against President Clinton, yesterday said it also is investigating whether first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton engaged in fraud in a questionable White-water-related land deal.

The probe, confirmed by the court's Committee of Professional Conduct, has focused on accusations about Mrs. Clinton's legal representation of a failed Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association real estate venture, which the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. called a "sham."

A major area of concern is an option agreement that facilitated a \$300,000 payment to Seth Ward, father-in-law of Mrs. Clinton's law partner, Webster L. Hubbell. The option, written by Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Hubbell while they were at Little Rock's Rose Law Firm, guaranteed Mr. Ward a payoff and negated his liability in the project.

The Arkansas probe was sought in 1996 by the Landmark Legal Foundation, a public-interest law firm in Washington, although James A. Neal, executive director of the Committee of Professional Conduct, confirmed in a letter this week the original request had been lost. Mr. Neal said the committee had begun a new "review" and would report its findings in 30 days.

"Let's hope this time they don't misplace the paperwork," said Landmark President Mark A. Levin, who threatened last month in a letter to seek an order from the Arkansas Supreme Court forcing the committee to undertake the investigation.

Mr. Neal was out of the office yesterday and unavailable for comment. A secretary said no one else could speak about the matter.

Mr. Clinton was investigated by the committee on charges he obstructed justice and lied under oath in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case and before the Monica Lewinsky grand jury. The committee has given him until April 21 to respond.

With regard to Mrs. Clinton, the FDIC said in September 1996 that she and Mr. Hubbell drafted legal papers that Madison used to deceive bank examiners and divert \$300,000 to Mr. Ward.

The FDIC said the papers "facilitated the payment of substantial commissions to Mr. Ward, who acted as a straw buyer" in the Madison venture, known as Castle Grande.

A straw buyer is one who owns property in name only, having never put up any money or assumed any risk.

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

The first lady, in a sworn statement to the FDIC, said she did not recall working on the option, although Rose Law Firm billing records mysteriously discovered in the White House living quarters show that the word processing code used by the firm for legal documents prepared by Mrs. Clinton is on at least four pages of the option.

The billing records show Mrs. Clinton spoke with Madison officials about Castle Grande on 14 occasions, billed Madison for a "conference call with Seth Ward," and listed charges for "telephone conference with Seth Ward regarding option."

The May 1986 option was designed to facilitate the transfer of a 22.5-acre parcel to Mr. Ward from the Castle Grande project, a 1,050-acre development near Little Rock. Though the option was never exercised, it disguised the reason for the \$300,000 payment and created a paper trail to justify the outlay.

Mr. Hubbell, who served 18 months in prison on his guilty plea to defrauding the government and the Rose firm of \$400,000, has declined to comment on the option.

Mrs. Clinton's attorney, David Kendall, has said the option was never exercised "so it did not facilitate the payment of a single penny of commissions to Mr. Ward."

He also has noted that the FDIC did not accuse Mrs. Clinton of wrongdoing or having knowledge of any illegal intention with regard to the option.

Mr. Ward has denied any wrongdoing, saying his role in the project has unfairly been described by the FDIC.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

FROM PAGE ONE

Rights agency to attack Giuliani

Report due today takes on Bushes

By Dave Boyer
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A predominantly Democratic civil rights panel, which is issuing a report today critical of Republican Govs. Jeb Bush and George W. Bush on affirmative action, is taking aim next at New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which includes one of President Clinton's key advisers on race, is preparing a report that is expected to be highly critical of Mr. Giuliani's handling of the city police department. Mr. Giuliani is the likely Republican opponent of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in the New York Senate race.

A memo from the office of Chairman Mary Frances Berry on April 6 alerted commissioners to be prepared to discuss a draft report on the New York police at the agency's regular meeting on Friday. Commission spokesman David Aronson said the panel hopes to publish the report soon.

The move to criticize Mr. Giuliani comes after The Washington Times reported on Wednesday that the panel was preparing to issue a report condemning the racial patrol programs of Jeb Bush in Florida and George W. Bush in Texas in higher education. George W. Bush is the presumptive Republican presidential nominee.

The agency voted 6-2 in secret last week to approve the affirmative action report. A source close to the commission said both reports are politically motivated to make high-profile Republican candidates look bad in an election year.

"First it was the Bushes, now it's Giuliani's turn," the source said.

see AGENCY, page A12

AGENCY

From page A1

The commission heard testimony on New York civil rights issues last May, but is preparing to release its report just as polls show Mr. Giuliani faltering against Mrs. Clinton because of his handling of police shootings of unarmed minorities in the city.

Key Republicans in Congress, which controls funding for the agency, criticized the commission last week for engaging in partisan politics. But Republican Rep. Charles T. Canady of Florida, chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee with oversight duties, said it's unlikely Congress would cut funding or try to restructure the agency. The White House and Congress divide the appointments evenly.

Mr. Canady told Miss Berry in a letter yesterday that the commission had set "a new low" by voting to condemn Jeb Bush's policies without first contacting the governor's office.

"I am concerned that the commission's rush to gather votes ... was designed ... to launch a partisan attack on the policies of Governor Jeb Bush and Governor George W. Bush," Mr. Canady wrote.

Mr. Aronson declined to say whether the commission, which has six Democratic and two Republican appointees, is playing politics.

"The person you need to ask is the chair," Mr. Aronson said.

Miss Berry's office has not returned repeated phone messages. But she told Jeb Bush in a letter late last week that the agency's criticism of his "One Florida" initiative — which would end racial preferences in university admissions and state contracting — is not politically inspired.

"The commission has always rejected political pressures toward influencing the agency's work on civil rights matters," she wrote.

But Miss Berry is girding for just such criticism. At her request, the commission's public affairs office has prepared a list of likely media questions for her at today's news conference, including a query about Commissioner Christopher Edley, who advised Mr. Clinton on race and now serves as an adviser to the presidential campaign of Vice President Al Gore, the opponent of George Bush.

"Given Commissioner Edley's position as an adviser to VP Gore, how could this statement not be viewed as a political assault by

Democrats on a Republican Presidential candidate?" Mr. Aronson wrote as a hypothetical question for Miss Berry.

He also proposed this follow-up question for the chairman: "Doesn't issuing such a statement without conducting any sort of hearing or allowing for discussion undercut its credibility and the credibility of the commission?"

Another suggested question for Miss Berry from her staff is this: With minority admissions at the University of Texas-Austin and Florida State University equal to or above levels when affirmative action was in place, why does the panel consider those states' current policies worse?

Mr. Aronson advised Miss Berry: "I doubt the press, with the exception of our friends at The Washington Times, will be quite this nasty."

Both Florida and Texas have plans that guarantee a certain percentage of top high school seniors admission to state universities regardless of race or test scores. In Texas, the top 10 percent of high school seniors qualify; Florida takes the top 20 percent.

Jeb Bush told the commission in a letter last week that minority enrollment at Florida State this year is up 18 percent without using racial preferences.

The Florida governor sent a copy of his letter to Mr. Canady, a move that was not lost on Miss Berry.

"I am aware that our oversight committee chairmen, to whom you copied your letter, wield the power of the purse over this agency," she wrote to Jeb Bush.

Republican appointees Russell Redenbaugh and Carl Anderson voted against the report, which criticizes the Florida program as an "unprovoked stealth acknowledgment that ... segregation will never change."

Mr. Canady told the commissioners in his letter yesterday that their rejection of Jeb Bush's offer to meet with them "raises serious questions about the basic fairness of the commission's action."

"It fits into an unfortunate pattern of irresponsible conduct at the commission," Mr. Canady wrote. "The commission's credibility ... can only be further eroded by actions which evidence such contempt for the standards of thoughtful, informed, open and fair deliberation."

The commission's political imbalance is due partly to staggered six-year terms and to the retirement of two Republican appointees in 1999.

New York Report

The New York Times

Giuliani Does Lunch to Bolster Women's Support

with 52 percent to the mayor's 38 percent. Her support among women is statistically unchanged from a similar Times/CBS News poll conducted in February, before the police shooting of Mr. Dorismond, when Mrs. Clinton led Mr. Giuliani among women voters, 50 percent to 38 percent.

But the poll showed that Mr. Giuliani's support among men had dropped in the same time period. In February, Mr. Giuliani led Mrs. Clinton among men over all, 54 percent to 37 percent. By April, it was Mrs. Clinton who was leading among men, 46 percent to 43 percent.

The poll showed that one of the mayor's biggest declines in support was among independent men, who supported him, 62 percent to 26 percent, over Mrs. Clinton in February. By April, they were supporting him by 47 percent to 32 percent, a net drop of 15 points.

At yesterday's lunch at the Women's National Republican Club, a number of guests characterized Mr. Giuliani's attacks on Mr. Dorismond as merely impolitic.

"Perhaps his choice of words wasn't clear," said Jennifer Duncan, 31, a Republican from Rocky Point, on Long Island, who works as a hotel catering manager in Manhattan. "Just listen to him. He's an intelligent man. He certainly wouldn't want an innocent gentleman killed."

Others said that the mayor's record on crime was his most attrac-

tive attribute to them. "I was mugged when I first came to Manhattan, and it's a much safer city because of him," said Carol Nobbs, 53, a New York City real estate broker and a Republican.

Mr. Giuliani's criticism of Mr. Dorismond, she said, did not bother her. "He was defending himself," she

said of the mayor. "Which he has a right to do."

Tomorrow, Mr. Giuliani is to attend a "Women for Rudy" lunch in Rochester and then what his advisers are calling a "women's town hall meeting" in Buffalo. On Thursday, Mr. Giuliani is to attend a "Women for Rudy" lunch in Mineola.

McCain Says Mrs. Clinton Can Be a Star

By ERIC LIPTON

He is still solidly behind Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's race for the United States Senate, but Senator John McCain had some unusually kind words yesterday for the mayor's opponent, suggesting that Hillary Rodham Clinton would be a "star" if elected to the Senate.

"This is the first time in history a first lady has run," Senator McCain, an Arizona Republican, told students yesterday during a visit to Columbia University. "She would be a star of the quality that has not been seen since Bobby Kennedy was elected senator from the state of New York."

Mr. McCain, the former presidential candidate who campaigned twice this month in New York on behalf of Mr. Giuliani, moved quickly to clarify his re-

mark. "I believe she'd be very liberal and I don't believe she would be good for the country," he said, according to The Associated Press.

But Mrs. Clinton still welcomed the initial compliment, her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said. "Hillary appreciates the kind comparison to Bobby Kennedy and looks forward to working with John McCain in the Senate," Mr. Wolfson said.

Mr. Giuliani, speaking at City Hall yesterday afternoon, said he was not surprised by Mr. McCain's remarks. In fact, he said, he agrees with them. "I think Senator McCain is correct, but you can be a star for the wrong reasons," the mayor said. "She would essentially become a very, very strong advocate for many, many left-wing causes."

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani began a series of statewide "Women for Rudy" lunches yesterday to reinforce his support among Republican female voters, a group that has largely remained loyal as polls show that the mayor's reaction to the shooting of Patrick M. Dorismond has caused a drop in his support among men.

At the first lunch, at the Women's National Republican Club in Midtown Manhattan yesterday, Mr. Giuliani received a hero's welcome from 250 guests, many of whom said that Mr. Giuliani's fight against crime had made them feel safer and that his economic policies had made them prosper.

But as he has in the past before similar groups, the mayor made no specific mention of women's issues. Instead, he delivered his standard speech about what he considers the Giuliani renaissance of New York City, and only occasionally alluded to his Senate opponent, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"Everybody that used to run the city," Mr. Giuliani said to murmurs of approval, "and used to run the city with the high crime rates and the big welfare rates, and used to run the city when it was called ungovernable, all of those people support my opponent, right? Every single one of them! They used to run the city, they support my opponent. What does that tell you about ideas, ideologies, issues?"

"Now, we've done something different. We've changed it. Lots of people don't like that. Lots of people are embarrassed by it. I'm proud of it."

At a news briefing afterward at City Hall, Mr. Giuliani said that he had deliberately avoided speaking specifically about women. "I don't consider women voters different than men voters," he said. "They're the same to me."

He added that "white voters and black voters are the same."

"Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Russian Orthodox, outside of Russia, Muslim voters," he said, "they're all the same to me."

His approach, he said, had helped move the city away from its emphasis on "vast and intricate subcultures."

In a clear reference to Mrs. Clinton, he added that women support him because "they don't feel that I have some kind of pandering group of views that say, 'Oh, gee, you know in front of a white audience I'm going to say one thing, in front of a black audience I'm going to say another thing, in front of a women's audience I'm going to say a third thing.'"

Mrs. Clinton, who leads the mayor 49 percent to 41 percent in a New York Times/CBS News poll of 1,573 respondents conducted this month, also leads among women over all,

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani at the Women's National Republican Club, seated between Ninfa Segarra and Irene H. Impellizzeri, his school board appointees. The woman standing with them was not identified.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

New York Post
April 7, 2000

Team Hillary grows cool to hot ad agency's efforts

THE Clinton campaign is engaged in an internal debate over DeVito/Verdi — the hot-shot SoHo ad agency hired earlier this year to help produce radio and TV spots for the first lady.

Many campaign staffers were privately disappointed by the firm's first effort in February — a confusing radio ad in which the first lady's voice is intermixed with others.

TV ads by the company are being shown to focus groups — and one rumor circulating in Democratic circles is that they're bombing.

But one campaign insider maintains the ads "tested very well."

"I know there are people who are complaining over the spots but when I've talked to them, it turns out that they haven't even seen them," fumed the insider. "It's not fair."

Ellis Verdi, one of the firm's co-founders, was asked by Campaign Buzz about when his TV ads for Clinton will begin hitting the airwaves.

"That's a good question," was his reply.

Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio, who has been threatening to challenge Mayor Giuliani in a GOP Senate primary, was nevertheless invited to be a keynote speaker at a conference sponsored by the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development.

The surprise, however, was on HPD.

Lazio — listed with a cautionary "invited" tag next to his name on the program — was a no-show at the March 27 event, which drew



housing experts from as far away as Northern Ireland.

"That must have been a mistake on their part," said Lazio spokesman Ted Lapkin. "He declined."

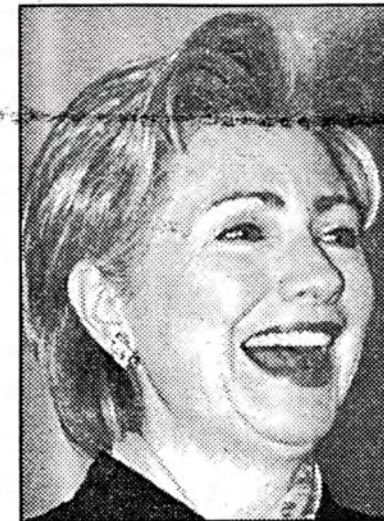
Lapkin said the political jockeying between Lazio and Giuliani wasn't a factor in the congressman's absence.

■
Hillary Rodham Clinton disappointed upstate Greene County residents this week when she admitted hardly knowing anything about an emotional battle over a power plant that has the region up in arms.

At a standing-room-only town hall meeting in Coxsackie on Monday, the very first question Clinton was hit with was about her position on a proposed \$500 million generating plant that would be fired by natural gas.

"I didn't know about the proposed generator until I arrived here today," Clinton said to the hushed room, staring into an audience of people wearing buttons expressing their opposition to the 1,000-megawatt plant.

Clinton asked for more time to research the issue before taking a



HILLARY CLINTON
A confusing message?

stand.

■
Trying to close the gender gap, Mayor Giuliani will be hosting three "Women for Giuliani" luncheon fund-raisers in four days next week.

The 90-minute events, ranging from just \$25 to \$50 per ticket, will start Monday at the Women's National Republican Club in Manhattan.

Giuliani will be in Rochester Wednesday and Mineola, L.I., Thursday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



CAMPAIGN 2000



Rudy: I'm the 'integrity' candidate

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Mayor Giuliani kicked off a big-bucks statewide "Integrity" advertising blitz yesterday — linking him with popular Sen. John McCain — in a bid to halt his recent slide in the polls.

Giuliani's 30-second commercial uses footage of the mayor and McCain, his "soulmate," on their visit Tuesday to Nassau County to portray Giuliani as a fearless truth-telling candidate and an "authentic New York leader."

Titled "Integrity," the spot is the first for either candidate to appear in all New York media markets — the city, suburbs and Long Island, and across upstate — an advertising sweep that can cost as much as \$1 million a week.

The mayor's aides hope some of McCain's sparkle will rub off on Giuliani because the former GOP presidential contender is popular with key independent voters and crossover Democrats.

"John McCain is valued a lot for his independence and his willingness not to necessarily follow the party

Campaign spots liken Hizzoner to McCain

line in Washington. Sometimes he's criticized for that," Giuliani said. "That's something that I share in common with him."

Giuliani, who has previously aired ads only upstate, can afford the statewide TV-broadcast and companion radio ad because he's already raised a record-setting \$19 million, compared with Clinton's \$12 million.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson would not discuss the campaign's plans for advertising. Ellis Verdi, a member of Clinton's media team, said he was unimpressed by the Giuliani ad.

"I'm surprised that Mayor Giuliani would associate himself with someone [McCain] who is that far to the right," said Verdi, of the DeVito Verdi ad agency.

The Giuliani camp intended shake up the Senate contest with its willingness to shell out so much money on advertising seven months from Election Day and by its zippy, 48-hour start-to-finish production of the commercial by media man Adam Goodman.

Goodman said the point of the spot, which doesn't mention Clinton, is to show that Giuliani, by linking him with McCain, is a straight shooter who "tells it like it is."

"Everyone has to measure up on the standard of integrity and character," Goodman said. "That's a legitimate standard of measurement for Mrs. Clinton, too."

Giuliani and campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum denied the timing of the commercial had anything to do with the mayor's slip in the polls over the past two weeks.

Meanwhile, a new CBS/New York Times poll last night showed Clinton leading Giuliani, 49 percent to 41 percent. The eight-point advantage, outside of the survey's margin of error, is the first lady's biggest edge in recent polls.

TITLE: "Integrity"

RUNNING TIME: 30 seconds

WHERE SHOWN: Statewide

PRODUCED BY: Adam Goodman, the Victory Group



Bruce Teitelbaum,
Campaign manager

reform. The other, an authentic New York leader, ready to make a difference for an entire state and the nation.

"Both dedicated to replacing fear with optimism, intolerance with understanding, insincerity with truth."

"The New York campaign of Rudy Giuliani. Real leadership for all New York."

VISUALS: Bus rolling along a back road with the words "Straight Talk Express" appearing on the screen; several shots of Giuliani and Sen. John McCain together, seated on the bus and at a "town hall" meeting; pictures of veterans; ends with more images of Giuliani

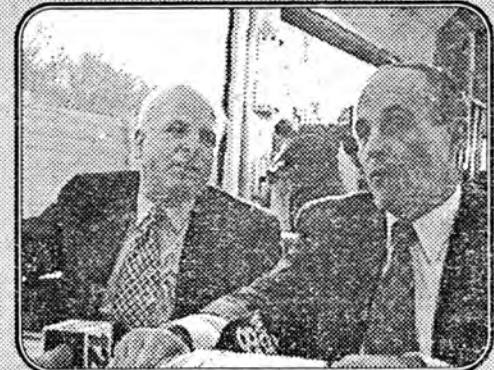
ADWATCH

and McCain, and a crowd applauding.

ANALYSIS: Unlike Giuliani's previous upstate ads, this one

doesn't highlight his accomplishments in the city. It never mentions he's the mayor. It's all about personal traits: integrity, authenticity, sincerity. Giuliani's strategists believe that's where he's strongest and where Hillary Rodham Clinton is vulnerable. The spot uses the words "New York" four times — could that be because Clinton is not from New York?

CLINTON RESPONSE: "An hourlong bus ride does not make up for seven years of division. Instead of offering platitudes, Rudy Giuliani should tell New Yorkers what he would do in the Senate on issues like education, health care and the economy" — Campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GIULIANI'S RATINGS DROP OVER ACTIONS IN POLICE SHOOTING

VOTERS FAVOR FIRST LADY

Mayor's Bid to Discredit Victim Are Damaging His Senate Campaign, Poll Shows

By ADAM NAGOURNEY
with MARJORIE CONNELLY

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's response to the shooting of Patrick M. Dorismond has resulted in his lowest job approval ratings in seven years in office, jolting his campaign for the United States Senate while catapulting Hillary Rodham Clinton into the lead for the first time in a year, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The poll, which was completed on Wednesday night, found that Mr. Giuliani's attempt to discredit Mr. Dorismond after he was shot by a New York City police officer has raised concerns about the mayor's temperament and qualifications, while voters' perceptions of Mrs. Clinton have improved. The first lady now enjoys a 49 percent to 41 percent lead over Mr. Giuliani; when undecided voters were pressed to state their leaning, Mrs. Clinton moved a full 10 points ahead of Mr. Giuliani, 52 percent to 42 percent.

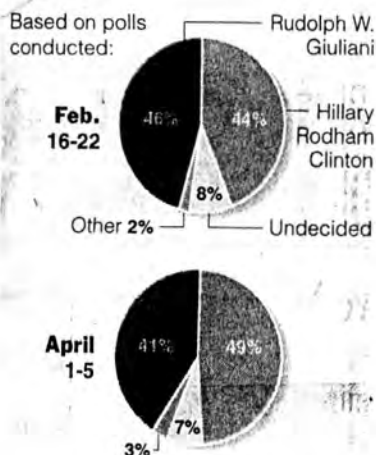
Strikingly, Mr. Giuliani is now tied with Mrs. Clinton upstate, where he is drawing just 44 percent of the vote, significantly less than what a successful Republican statewide customarily draws north of the suburbs. Mrs. Clinton has been campaigning regularly there, while Mr. Giuliani has been criticized by Republicans for spending little time north of City Hall.

Mr. Giuliani still commands a lead in the immediate suburbs. But in New York City, where his popularity was seen as a serious threat to Mrs. Clinton's Democratic base, Mrs. Clinton is now defeating Mr. Giuliani by nearly three to one, the Times/CBS News Poll found.

Mr. Giuliani, whose record as a crime fighter has lifted him to two victories in New York City and positioned him as a formidable Republican challenger to Mrs. Clinton statewide, has even suffered a steep decline in the way voters, statewide and in New York City, judge his actions on his signature issue: crime

Continued on Page A23

Candidate Preference



Polls by The New York Times and CBS News.

reduction. The number of New York City residents who disapprove of his handling of crime has jumped almost 30 points since fall, to 50 percent in this latest poll, and a majority believe that Mr. Giuliani's law enforcement policies have contributed to an increase in police brutality.

Misgivings among voters have spilled over from the mayor to the Police Department as well. New York City residents say that the police are more likely to use deadly force against black suspects than white ones, and that brutality against minorities is widespread. Nearly two-thirds of people in New York City said the Police Department was doing only a fair or poor job, with the level of dismay particularly high among blacks.

Tension over police-community relations in the city has heightened in the last six weeks, since the acquittals of four officers in the police shooting of Amadou Diallo and then the shooting of Mr. Dorismond, an unarmed man killed by an undercover officer last month.

In the case of Mr. Dorismond, more than half of voters statewide said the shooting would not affect their vote, but one-third — including 15 percent of the Republicans — said they were less inclined to vote for Mr. Giuliani because of how he handled the case.

The Times/CBS News Poll was conducted Saturday through Wednesday, with 1,573 respondents statewide. The margin of sampling error for all registered voters statewide is three percentage points; for New York City residents, plus or minus four points.

Asked about the poll results last night on WCBS-AM, Mr. Giuliani said: "My reaction is the same to all polls. That is, they are momentary things." Then, alluding to the Dorismond shooting, Mr. Giuliani said the polls "are things that reflect sometimes coverage of a particular situation."

"I think when all the facts are known and everything is out there," he said, "things will return to a much different situation."

Mrs. Clinton's pollster, Mark Penn, attributed Mrs. Clinton's gains in the poll to her efforts to distinguish herself from Mr. Giuliani on issues, though he acknowledged that Mr. Giuliani's difficulties in recent weeks had undercut his campaign.

"The spotlight has been on his lack of leadership in New York City," Mr. Penn said, "and in fact now I think the fundamental rationale for his campaign is evaporating, because if the people in New York City don't think he's done a good job as mayor, how is he going to run with that as the major reason for being in the Senate?"

The election is seven months and dozens of polls away, as the mayor's aides noted yesterday, and Mr. Giuliani enjoys a large fund-raising edge over Mrs. Clinton. The advantage of that money became clear yesterday morning, as Mr. Giuliani began a statewide series of television advertisements. It was an early start for an advertising campaign that suggests both the prosperity and the level of concern in Mr. Giuliani's camp.

Still, even given the buffers of time and money, the Times/CBS News Poll suggested a number of reasons for worry on the part of Mr. Giuliani's campaign.

By large numbers, voters believed that Mr. Giuliani inflamed the situation over the Dorismond shooting and strongly disapproved of Mr. Giuliani's decision to release Mr. Dorismond's confidential police record. New York City residents have a decidedly negative view of Mr. Giuliani's handling of race relations, and more than three-quarters of the respondents in New York City described the shooting as unjustified, Mr. Giuliani's arguments notwithstanding.

Beyond the immediate moment of the Dorismond shooting, events over

The New York Times

FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

the last few weeks have appeared to reinforce the arguments Mrs. Clinton has offered against the mayor's candidacy. That is the kind of shift political analysts look for in polls, because it suggests a more lasting and difficult-to-change shift in voters' attitudes that tend to be more consequential than the back-and-forth of the weekly horse race.

An increasing number of voters do

not believe that Mr. Giuliani cares about the "needs and problems of people like yourself," a measure on which Mrs. Clinton continues to score highly. About 35 percent of respondents said that Mr. Giuliani was trying to divide people, as Mrs. Clinton has repeatedly charged, compared with 40 percent who said that the mayor was seeking to bring people together. Two-thirds of the

voters said Mrs. Clinton was trying to bring people together.

By an overwhelming margin, respondents said compromise was an important attribute for a senator, and Mrs. Clinton was seen as the more adept compromiser of the two.

In addition, Mr. Giuliani's standing with black voters, which has never been strong, is weaker than ever; the number of New York City black voters who said they approved of Mr. Giuliani's job rating was so low as to be virtually unmeasurable. That could prove to be a meaningful finding, particularly if it turns out, as some Democrats now believe possible, that Mr. Giuliani's presence on the ballot might encourage a spike in turnout in black neighborhoods.

Voters' perceptions of Mr. Giuliani's performance have also slipped in areas besides crime and race relations. More voters offered a negative view of Mr. Giuliani's record on education, which Mrs. Clinton has attacked at almost every opportunity.

The poll also found evidence of a racial divide in New York City in perceptions of the Police Department. More than two-thirds of blacks said that brutality against minorities by the Police Department was widespread, compared with 23 percent of whites.

In the last Times/CBS News Poll, conducted in February, Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton were statistically tied.

In pulling ahead, Mrs. Clinton has gained support from male voters; the number of men backing Mr. Giuliani has dropped to 43 percent from 54 percent. Her standing among women has not changed; she is leading Mr. Giuliani, 52 percent to 38 percent.

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted April 1 to 5 with 1,573 adults throughout the state. Of those, 1,207 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges across the state. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to geographic region of the state, race, Hispanic origin, sex, age and education.

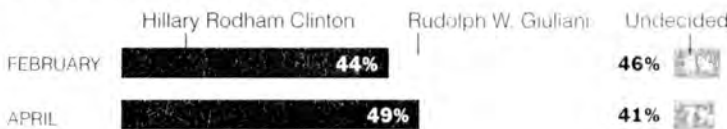
In addition, questions about voting preferences and other aspects of the 2000 election for United States senator are based on the responses of 1,032 "usual voters." Usual voters are those who say they are registered and voted in 1998 or 1996, further weighted so that those who reside in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups the potential sampling error is larger. As an example, for residents of New York City it is plus or minus four percentage points.

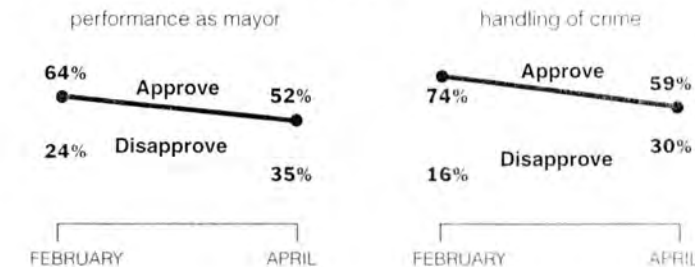
In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for instance, can lead to somewhat varying results.

A Change in Views of Candidates

Senate candidate preference

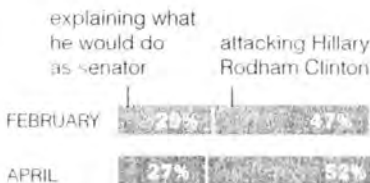


Statewide evaluations of Giuliani's:

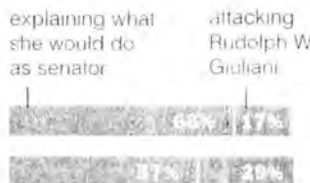


The campaign so far

Rudolph W. Giuliani has spent more time:



Hillary Rodham Clinton has spent more time:



Based on telephone interviews conducted throughout New York State April 1 to 5 with 1,032 usual voters and Feb. 16 to 22 with 1,240 usual voters. Those with no opinion are not shown.

Views in Different Parts of the State

Total state		N.Y.C.	N.Y.C. suburbs	Rest of state
Followed police shooting of Patrick M. Dorismond				
15%	Very closely	29%	12%	8%
41%	Somewhat closely	40%	44%	39%
30%	Not too closely	24%	32%	32%
13%	Not at all	6%	11%	19%

Rudolph W. Giuliani's response to the shooting made the situation:

11%	Better	7%	10%	14%
56%	Worse	79%	60%	38%
4%	No effect	4%	4%	4%
29%	Don't know	10%	26%	44%

Hillary Rodham Clinton's response to the shooting made the situation:

20%	Better	34%	14%	14%
28%	Worse	23%	40%	24%
11%	No effect	16%	9%	9%
41%	Don't know	27%	37%	53%

In his campaign, Giuliani is trying to:

40%	Bring different groups together	26%	49%	45%
36%	Divide them	55%	28%	27%

In her campaign, Hillary Clinton is trying to:

66%	Bring different groups together	79%	58%	62%
17%	Divide them	8%	24%	19%

Based on telephone interviews conducted throughout New York State April 1 to 5 with 1,032 usual voters.

Giuliani's Poll Ratings Drop

Over Actions in Police Case

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

McCain stumps for Giuliani, who makes pledge to fight for campaign-finance reform, but soft money' is big part of race

y Martha T. Moore
nd Kathy Kiely

NORTHPORT, N.Y. — The self-described crusader for campaign-finance reform stumped Tuesday in a Senate race that campaign-finance watchdogs say is making a travesty of their cause.

Former presidential candidate John McCain campaigned for New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, whose contest with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is waged in cash, including the so-called soft money McCain has tried to ban. The two candidates, who have raised \$31 million between them, are on their way to breaking the record for the most expensive Senate race ever.

As Giuliani and McCain were pledging to fight for campaign-finance reform legislation in the Senate, two watchdog groups were holding a news conference in Washington to accuse Giuliani and Clinton of "brazen" violations of campaign contribution limits.

Both campaigns insist they have done nothing illegal, but no one doubts that Clinton and Giuliani are working very hard when it comes to fundraising.

Both candidates entered the race "with the fundamental assumption that their opponent would raise gigantic sums of money," says Anita Dunn, a Democratic media consultant. As a result, she says, heavy fundraising "became a given."

The astronomical totals are being raised in a race in which polls indicate that most people made up their minds before a single ad was aired. It's raising questions about whether there is any limit to how much candidates can collect and spend to win election.

"It's a nuclear arms race in terms of money," says Scott Harshbarger, president of Common Cause.

The non-partisan advocacy group and another, Democracy 21, contend that both campaigns are circumventing limits by setting up arm's-length "victory committees," technically separate from their campaign committees, to accept what is called soft money — contributions that if given directly to their campaigns would be subject to strict federal limits. Soft money is supposed to be used for generic party-building activities and not for a particular candidate.

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) has shown little inclination to go after questioned soft money contributions. For that reason, the two watchdog groups also asked the Justice Department's campaign finance task force to conduct an inquiry. The department had no immediate response.

Both campaigns say there is nothing illegal about their fundraising. Giuliani says he supports a proposed ban on soft money but has to match the efforts being made on Clinton's behalf. "I have to (face) the reality of the situation that I'm in, but I would support and do support campaign-finance reform," he said.

That was good enough for McCain, who was making his first appearance for a candidate since he dropped out of the presidential race last month.

"I don't approve of soft money," said the senator, who accompanied Giuliani to a Long Island district that McCain won in the New York primary. "I want to change it, but I also understand that given the huge amount of money that's coming into this campaign, he has to fight fire with fire."

So far, Giuliani has raised \$19 million and Clinton \$12 million, according to their campaigns. Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, predicted that the final price tag for the New York Senate race will exceed \$55 million, which is well beyond the \$44.3 million record set in the battle between Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., and GOP oil heir Michael Huffington in 1994.

Most of the money will pay for TV ads in a state that's home to one of the most expensive TV markets in the nation. Prized suburban swing voters watch New York City stations, where a 30-second ad on a top-rated show such as NBC's *ER* can cost \$30,000, says George Hayes, head of local media buying at New York ad agency Universal McCann. To run an ad frequently enough that most viewers see it once a day, as campaigns do in the final weeks, "you're running through a million dollars easily a week," Hayes says.

Ad prices will get higher when demand rises this



By Jim McKnight, AP

Clinton: The first lady, center, spoke at the National Education Association-New York meeting Saturday.

fall, as consumer-product advertisers grab spots during the Summer Olympics in September and new fall shows in October. Candidates in the New Jersey Senate race, which is also expected to be a big-dollar con-

test, buy time on New York City television, too.

Do two candidates whom voters already feel they know on a first-name basis really need the commercials that former New York governor Mario Cuomo calls "perfect devices for seductive distortion"?

For \$25 million each, roughly the amount the campaigns are likely to spend, Clinton and Giuliani could send 7,350 students to the State University of New York for one year, fully insure 19,000 New York kids who don't have health-care coverage or pay prescription premiums for 20,000 senior citizens, according to calculations based on the New York state budget.

Or the candidates could treat all the undecided voters to dinner. Polls show that about 11% of voters, about 300,000 people, haven't made up their minds.

"It would probably be cheaper to take every one of those 300,000 people out to dinner," says Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf. In fact, they could all eat at top New York City restaurant Le Cirque 2000, where the *prix fixe* dinner is \$90 plus tip, and have almost \$20 million left over.

Contributing: Jim Drinkard

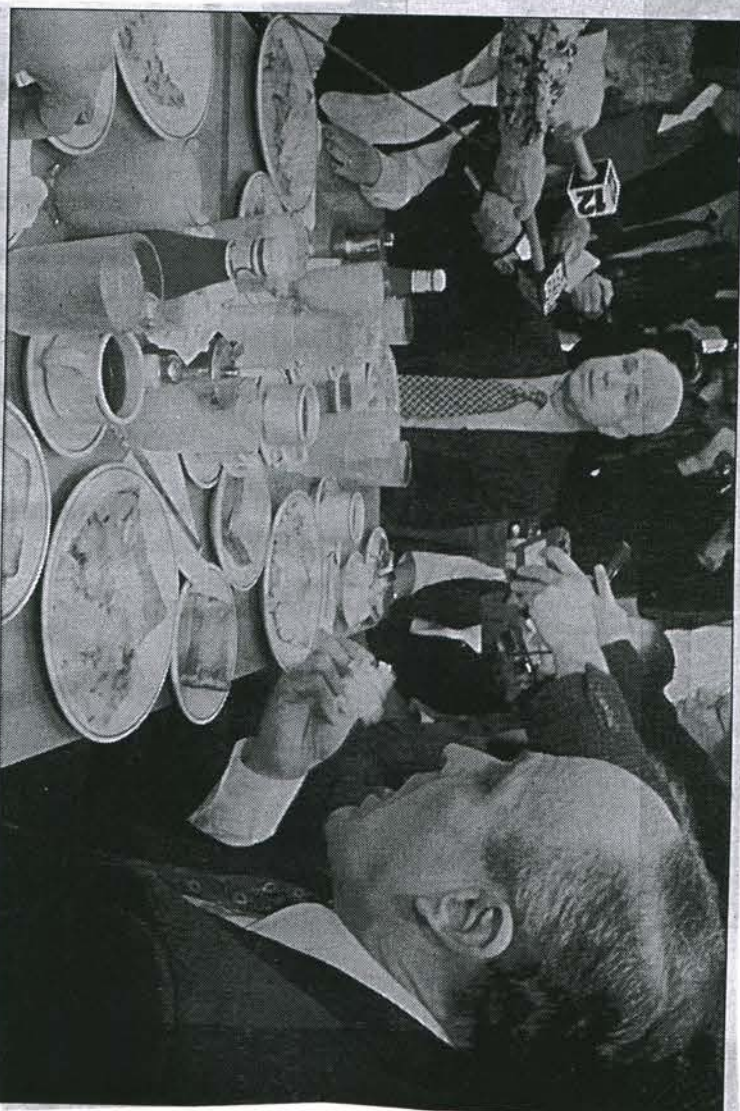
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USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 2000 • 11A

N.Y.'s Senate contenders might break money mark

Republican breakfast: New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, right, eats his meal while Sen. John McCain of Arizona, center, talks to reporters during a campaign stop at the Landmark Diner in Roslyn, N.Y., on Tuesday.

By Richard Drew, AP



As Shooting Case Erases His Edge, Giuliani Turns to McCain

By LYNNE DUKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 6—Doubts over Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's handling of a recent police shooting have vaporized his nine-month lead over Hillary Rodham Clinton in the New York Senate race, prompting the mayor to take new steps to halt the free fall.

With new polls showing that Clinton has pulled even—or spurted ahead, in some cases—Giuliani reacted yesterday with a new ad aligning himself with Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), whose presidential candidacy resonated among independents and Democrats.

Giuliani finds himself buffeted by criticism and skepticism because of his handling of the latest in a spate of police shootings of unarmed black men. Giuliani criticized the victim, Patrick Dorismond, said he may have caused his own death and—without offering condolences to Dorismond's prominent Haitian American family—praised the officer

who shot him.

More than any other of the many controversies that routinely swirl around Giuliani, this one cost him dearly in the polls. The mayor had been up to seven points ahead of Clinton just before the Dorismond incident, but now he is three points behind her, at 46 percent to 43 percent, in the latest survey of 1,058 registered voters by the Hamden, Conn.-based Quinnipiac College Polling Institute.

That puts them in a statistical dead heat, as did a recent poll by Zogby International. A smaller poll released today, by the Siena Research Institute of Siena College, found Clinton and Giuliani dead even at 38 percent.

Worse for Giuliani, his lead in the suburbs dropped from 28 points in early March to only 10 points now, and in the city Clinton's 21-point lead widened to 37, the Quinnipiac poll showed.

"The Dorismond case zapped him and it zapped him among everybody," said Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac polling

group.

Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.), who has considered entering the race, warned this week that Republicans might be "blowing" the party's chances of defeating Clinton. Trying to snuff out such talk, New York Gov. George E. Pataki (R) has reaffirmed his support for Giuliani—offered only begrudgingly last year—and said of Lazio: "I think he is just wrong."

Giuliani's campaign spokeswoman, Juleanna Glover Weiss, responded: "In light of recent media coverage, this is not unexpected." Giuliani has accused the news media of bias toward the accusers or victims in cases of alleged police abuse.

Nonetheless, a more energetic Giuliani emerged from the cocoon of City Hall this week and took to the campaign trail with a boost from McCain. They rode on a bus reminiscent of McCain's "Straight Talk Express."

On Tuesday, they toured the all-important suburbs of Nassau and Suffolk counties, on Long Island, where Giuliani has strong sup-

port and is perceived as a tough law and order mayor who tamed New York City's spiraling crime. Though he lost the state during the GOP presidential primary, McCain won Nassau County.

Giuliani's campaign began airing footage of the campaign swing as a political ad entitled "Integrity." The spot bills McCain and Giuliani as political soul mates, saying, "Both dedicated to replacing fear with optimism, intolerance with understanding, insincerity with truth."

"The ad is a smart ad and it's an attempt to stop the hemorrhaging," said Henry Sheinkopf, a political consultant not working for either side of the campaign.

Giuliani this week made light of his downward trend in the polls, saying, "I mean, the polls today do not reflect where the electorate is going to be in September or October."

Still, the new questions being raised about his candidacy within Republican circles reflect the persistent disquiet about his prospects

and personality.

While Pataki has attempted to squash Lazio's hectoring from the sidelines, he has also helped the New York Conservative Party raise money in recent weeks. Conservative leader Michael Long has indicated that he might back a Lazio challenge of Giuliani.

No Republican candidate has won statewide office without Long's endorsement in 25 years, but Giuliani has refused to embrace the staunch antiabortion policy line that the Conservatives require for their support. Long has repeatedly said that Lazio could be an alternative to Giuliani.

Such an alternative seems unlikely to emerge, however, with Giuliani raising funds at a pace that has outstripped even the formidable Democratic fund-raising machine that had been expected to benefit Clinton. As of last week, Giuliani had raised \$19 million to Clinton's \$12 million, amounts that easily could make this the most expensive Senate campaign ever.

DIPLOMATIC DISPATCHES

Nora Boustany

www.commitment.royal/jordan

Blending the trendy lingo of techies, e-commerce buzz words and plugs for her country's nascent information industry, Jordan's **Queen Rania** wowed a gathering of young entrepreneurs in West Virginia on Tuesday, then presented first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** with a village banking award last night in New York on behalf of the Foundation for International Community Assistance.

Glowing and three months pregnant, yet determined to be an effective teammate in the uphill battle her husband faces to bring economic respite to his desert kingdom, Rania addressed the Young Presidents' Association in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., to promote Jordan's drive to wire itself into the global economy. Before arriving in the United States Monday, the young queen made a one-day stop in Kosovo, during which she launched small loan projects for women and conflict victims, and visited graves of some of those killed in the war. She is using her meetings here with businessmen and officials of nongovernmental organizations to scout prospects for Jordan.

The YPO, 8,000-strong, groups together prominent CEOs and business leaders from companies generating a cumulative \$1.3 trillion a year. The Palestinian-born queen's hectic networking schedule with the young business elite here and in New York is designed to ease Jordan out of its economic doldrums. The difficult task of reforming and modernizing the country was accentuated Wednesday with the resignation of **Adnan Abu Oudeh**, an adviser to the royal court and the third key reformer to quit—following **Abdul-Karim Kabariti**, chief of the royal court, and Deputy Prime Minister **Rima Khalaf**. While they are in favor of empowering Jordan's large Palestinian population and winning the confidence of the Palestinian-dominated private sector, the old guard—led by conservative Prime Minister **Abdul-Raouf Rawabdeh** and prominent members of the Jordanian parliament—would like to keep Jordanians in control of the public sector and traditional interests.

Queen Rania emphasized a trend of "youthful thinking" in her country and the fact that young Jordanians have already been focusing on information technology in studies abroad in advance of a government program aimed at ensuring Internet access in public schools. "Our young talents are not waiting around for government initiatives," she said.

The queen, radiant in a red blazer, quoted one of **King Abdullah's** upbeat slogans in her speech: "Anything and everything is up for privatization." She talked about the strides made in privatizing Jordan's Telecommunications Co. and Aqaba Railway Corp. She also noted the king's undercover forays as a taxi driver, journalist and elderly man seeking medical care as examples of

his desire to stay in touch with the people, whom she called the "true stakeholders in the Jordanian enterprise."

Jordan's royal family has made numerous efforts to help combat poverty, beginning with the efforts of **Queen Noor**—wife of the late **King Hussein**—to provide Bedouin women from Bani Hamida with small loans, dyes and designs for carpet weaving, and the founding of the Jordan River Design project to promote local crafts. Queen Rania has adopted and broadened the concept of providing families with capital to raise their incomes and living standards in her new River Foundation, which encompasses and builds on the old.

The beauty and dedication of both queens have earned the small kingdom they serve a special standing globally. Economic experts insist, however, that without administrative and political reforms necessary to attract investment, economic liberalization and royal initiatives will not suffice to reverse Jordan's economic stagnation.

As Long as It's for Charity

Fund-raisers, take note. Hair-raising stuff! There is a cheaper, cooler way to raise money for charity. Consider this leap of faith from Kangaroo Land. More than a dozen Australian diplomats and colleagues had their heads shaved Friday—paying \$50 each for the privilege—to raise \$20,000 for the American Cancer Society. The concept originated in Australia in the late 1980s when 55 police officers—men and women—raised money by having public haircuts. The popular "Crop a Cop Day" event now attracts 2,000 participants and raises \$2 million annually.

"We are now challenging other embassies to better our effort," said organizer **Kirsten Weymouth**. The Australian Embassy's newly sheared include **Howard Debenham**, minister counselor for management and consul general; **Andrew Todd**, counselor for congressional affairs; attaches from the naval and defense departments; and **Edeena Hay**, executive assistant in the defense attaché's office.

The Powerless Press

Freimut Duve, rapporteur on freedom of the media for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, came to Washington this week to brief officials and Capitol Hill on his team's activities over the past year. Duve said the Serbian law on public information is "draconian" and a "declaration of war against independent media." His office has concentrated on developments in Ukraine, where he said there were numerous cases of harassment of media that have been critical of the president. One editor in the Crimea region has asked Duve's office to help her seek political asylum after three years of threats, he added.

Hey, Hill, don't skirt issues by crying sexism

THE first lady is playing the little lady again. Lordy, Ms. Hillary. What's a li'l girl to do?

In her latest incarnation, Hillary Clinton, former shark lawyer and fierce feminist icon, now a celebrity Senate candidate who jets about on government planes, finds it politically prudent to suggest at every opportunity that women can't get an even break.

Perfect.

At last, Hillary has hit upon an all-purpose excuse to explain away her gilded, frequently bungling campaign. A campaign whose only coherent strategy to date has been to trash her opponent.

In the world according to Hillary Clinton, everyone who criticizes her race for the Senate — yours truly in womanhood included —



is a sexist pig.

The latest salvo in the Little Ms. Hillary saga was fired on Monday. At a community forum upstate, Hillary declared that the campaign trail is harder than she expected — particularly if you're of the female persuasion.

"It's very tough for both men and women," Hillary began. "There are extra burdens that women face around the country.

"The best advice I've ever seen for women in politics came from one of my favorite predecessors, Eleanor Roosevelt." Again, she exhumes old Eleanor.

"She said, 'You must grow skin as tough as a rhinoceros.'"

It was not the first time Hillary's invoked her current favorite disclaimer — women are mistreated.

The most famous incident occurred in January, when a Buffalo radio announcer asked Hillary why so many people were "foaming at the mouth" — his words — at the thought of her in the Senate.

See PEYSER on Page 24

Don't skirt issues by crying sexism, Hill

PEYSER from Page 8

"I think some of it is because of the positions I've taken and maybe a little of it is because I'm a woman taking those positions," Hillary shot back. "And maybe some of it is people don't like my hairstyle."

Hillary should not be surprised to learn that some working women — those who don't have access to government perks, personal stylists and millions of dollars to spend like Monopoly money — are offended by the notion that women like Hillary have anything "tough."

"What could she possibly know about tough?" fumed Laura Kilroy, a single mother of two from Brooklyn.

"Choosing between Dior and Versace?" Kilroy said.

"I got problems putting food on the table, working and raising my kids. And she's got problems?

"This is a woman who has a wonderful hobby running for Senate. I collect comic books myself."

Some women you just can't please.

But it can't be denied that playing the victim, a ploy that made Hillary so popular among women during the Lewinsky affair, is no accidental pose. This strategy is carefully honed, if insultingly cynical.

"It's silly to say things like that about women. It becomes almost a mindless cliché," said pollster John Zogby.

"However, you cannot deny the fact that's Hillary is connecting."

Last week, for the first time in the race, a Zogby poll found Hillary shooting up nine points ahead of Rudy among women voters. Previously, there were neck-and-neck.

Part of the change can be attri-

buted to disagreement with Rudy's handling of Patrick Dorismond's shooting by police. Zogby sees Hillary carefully targeting women in cities upstate. And succeeding.

"She is talking as a veteran, as someone who's been out there on the hustings, who's changed her hairdo a hundred times, who's been criticized a thousand times.

"These little annoying things she calls attention to allow her to connect with women, especially professional women who experience those annoying things."

New York women should not buy into the fiction that Hillary is one of us.

Crying discrimination when you've run out of answers is a cop out unworthy of a candidate who holds herself up as some kind of feminist hero.

You can call me sexist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

Mike Allen

Clinton, Giuliani Committees Prompt a Complaint to FEC

Two groups seeking to curb money's role in politics charged yesterday that both candidates in the New York Senate race are violating "the spirit and letter of the federal election laws" with party fund-raising committees that can accept unlimited donations.

"First lady **Hillary Clinton** and Mayor [**Rudolph W.**] **Giuliani** are thumbing their noses at the federal campaign finance laws," said **Fred Wertheimer**, president of Democracy 21, a nonpartisan organization.

A federal candidate can accept donations from individuals of no more than \$1,000. But in a move that allows them to take unlimited checks, Clinton set up a "New York Senate 2000 Committee" in conjunction with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and New York Mayor Giuliani followed suit with a "Giuliani Victory Committee" with the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Democracy 21 and Common Cause filed a 13-page complaint with the Federal Election Commission, asking it to negotiate with the campaigns or take them to court to stop the practice.

Jim Jordan, DSCC political director, said donors to Clinton's party committee are told that their contributions are not earmarked and will not necessarily be spent in New York. "Their complaint is frivolous, intellectually dishonest and utterly without merit, and this committee is currently contemplating cross-filing for sanctions and lawyer's fees," he said.

Clinton's spokesman, **Howard Wolfson**, said, "All of our fund-raising is completely legal."

Stuart Roy, the NRSC's communications director, called the charges "another of the frivolous complaints" that he asserted Common Cause files to get "the publicity they need to raise money."

A spokeswoman for Giuliani said his campaign had stayed within the letter of the law.

Wertheimer was joined by **Scott Harshbarger**, president of Common Cause and a former Massachusetts attorney general.

The DSCC crashed the news conference and handed out clippings showing Harshbarger had benefited from party donations during his unsuccessful bid for governor in 1998. Harshbarger replied that rejecting unregulated money is easier said than done. "It's almost impossible if you're in the system and running for office to do it yourself," he said. "That's why the reforms are so important."

'Mild-Mannered' McCain Stumps for Giuliani

Sen. **John McCain** (R-Ariz.) isn't palling around with Texas Gov. **George W. Bush** yet, but he did spend yesterday campaigning with another famous Republican.

Beginning an odyssey on behalf of GOP candidates for the House and Senate, McCain appeared with Mayor **Giuliani** at American Legion Post 694 on Long Island.

"We need more mild-mannered, even-tempered individuals like Rudy and myself who will never rock the boat or say anything that's controversial in nature," McCain cracked, according to the Associated Press. "I look forward to having a soulmate in the United States Senate."

McCain reveled in an extended ovation at the American Legion post. "If you don't stop, I'm going to go back on the campaign trail," he said.

Then someone yelled back, "Please do!"

On NBC's "Today" show yesterday, McCain retained his standoffish posture toward the man who vanquished him in the presidential primaries. "I will support George Bush as the nominee of my party," McCain said. "I think we have to have some understandings, and I'm sure we'll have some more conversations."

A8 WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 2000

5

Politics

2000
CAMPAIGN

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

Parties deny funneling 'soft money'

Fund raising for Giuliani, Hillary in New York at issue

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A complaint filed yesterday with the Federal Election Commission charges both political parties with using "ongoing illegal schemes" to benefit New York Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rudolph W. Giuliani.

The complaint from political watchdog groups Common Cause and Democracy 21 accuses both the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee of accepting unlimited contributions to parties, known as "soft money," and injecting the money into the two Senate campaigns.

"We call it a scheme among the candidate committees, the national campaign committees and the state party to funnel soft money into the Senate campaigns," said Don Simon, general counsel for Common Cause, in an interview yesterday with The Washington Times. "This is really an evolutionary step in the use of soft money in federal campaigns."

The establishment of "joint fund-raising" committees by both

parties, Mr. Simon said, has allowed contributions to the respective party committees to be spent on the Senate races and placed into the candidates' coffers in excess of the legal limits.

"Everyone knows precisely what is going on here," said Fred Wertheimer, president of Democracy 21, in a prepared statement yesterday. "The Clinton and Giuliani campaigns are thumbing their noses at the federal campaign finance laws . . . treating the voters of New York as if they were fools."

No illegal or unethical arrangement exists, said Jim Jordan, political director for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

"The legality of these [committees] is not in question," Mr. Jordan said. "Joint funding committees are a creation of federal law. We have operated in accordance with that law. What more can we do?"

The Clinton campaign had raised several million dollars with its joint funding committee, called "New York Senate 2000," through March, Mr. Jordan said.

A National Republican Senatorial Committee called yesterday's complaint "frivolous."

Donations to any of the three Republican joint fund-raising committees are scrupulously accounted for, Stuart Roy said.

"Individuals are prohibited by law from writing two separate checks [at a fund-raiser], one to the NRSC and one to the candidate," Mr. Roy said. "So \$2,000 [of one donation] goes to Giuliani, then the rest goes to the NRSC."

The Giuliani campaign did not return calls yesterday. A spokeswoman for the Clinton campaign declined to comment.

Soft money cannot legally be spent on advertising for a specific candidate but can be used for issue ads that benefit them.

An attorney for Metabolife International Inc., a California-based vitamin company, said he handled a \$25,000 contribution to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in September, money that he knew would go to help Mrs. Clinton's campaign.

"We were giving party-building money and I knew that the biggest Senate contest was going to be in New York, so we knew where the money was going," Gary Morrow said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Nobody home

The White House is empty, as far as the U.S. Census is concerned.

President and Mrs. Clinton received two census forms — one at the White House and one at their home in Chappaqua, N.Y., USA Today reports. They decided to file from New York.

And luckily for them, it was the short form, not the longer version that has roiled folks from sea to shining sea.

Perhaps it was fitting that the first family's census decision involved a fib.

"The Census Bureau's guidelines say that people who have more than one residence should be counted at the residence where they live most of the time," said reporters Laurence McQuil-
lan and Haya El Nasser.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Vote set again on abortion procedure

By Dave Boyer
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The House is expected to vote today to ban partial-birth abortions in the face of another veto as Republicans urge Vice President Al Gore and Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton to change President Clinton's mind.

"The president has to deal with his conscience on the matter; we have to deal with ours," said House Majority Leader Dick Armey, Texas Republican. "We could not, in good conscience, not have this vote."

The Senate in October voted 63-34 to ban the procedure but fell two votes short of the required two-thirds of senators present to override Mr. Clinton's certain veto. Given that reality, some House members have questioned today's floor vote as symbolic.

But Mr. Armey disputed that argument yesterday, saying "there's a nation full of people that are appalled by this procedure, and Con-

GOP appeals to Gore, first lady

gress is committed to stopping it."

"I don't think it's at all symbolic," Mr. Armey said. "The Senate has made a clear mark on this bill. They want this horrible procedure stopped. And the will of the House is the same. The president, in my estimation, should sign it. This is clearly what I call in the category of issues of the heart."

The previous two Congresses passed similar bans on partial-birth abortions, in which an unborn child is partially delivered through the birth canal before its brain is suctioned and skull crushed.

Mr. Clinton vetoed both measures, saying the procedure is medically needed in some cases to ensure the mother's health.

The House voted both times to override the vetoes, but the Senate failed both times to get the necessary 67 votes, getting 58 in 1996 and 64 in September 1998.

In this election year, Republicans tried another approach yesterday, urging Mr. Gore and the first lady to use their powers of persuasion on the president.

"Today, I call on Al Gore and Hillary Clinton to abandon their allegiances to the radical left, listen to the hearts and voices of the American people, and support a ban on partial-birth abortion," said Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee. "If they really are as influential in the administration as they claim to be, I urge Al Gore and Hillary Clinton to walk down the hall and tell the president not to veto the ban for the third time of his presidency."

Douglas Johnson, legislative director for the National Right to Life Committee Inc., said Mr. Gore has been an "enthusiastic supporter of abortion rights" in the administration.

"I don't think there's any evidence that Al Gore is a moderating influence," Mr. Johnson said.

Democrats and centrist Republicans are expected to offer a bill sponsored by Rep. Steny H. Hoyer, Maryland Democrat, that would ban all partial-birth abortions unless the pregnancy endangers the health of the mother. But in a letter to colleagues last month, Mr. Hoyer acknowledged that includes "mental health."

"Indeed, mental health is considered a serious and adverse consequence to the mother's health," he wrote.

Because of that interpretation, Mr. Johnson said, the alternative bill "is no restriction at all."

Asked why Republican leaders are pressing the vote against the wishes of some centrists in the party, Mr. Armey replied, "Ninety percent of our conference wants this bill on the floor and wants to vote for it. You're not going to deny 90 percent of the conference the vote they want."

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, APRIL 10, 2000



TRUST ME, SUCKERS! The truth about Hillary Rodham Clinton is that there isn't any. N.Y. Post: Francis Specker

Just what is it about a phony like Hillary that makes my skin crawl?

PERHAPS it's time we took a fair look at the lady from Chicago. I mean Little Rock. No, Washington...

The moment is at hand to set aside our petty hatreds and visceral fears, and to make an objective, dispassionate examination of the Yankee-loving, Suha Arafat-kissing, Al Sharpton-pandering woman from Chappaqua.

What is it that drives us nuts about Hillary? From the sound of things Friday, Hillary Clinton's possible ascent to the rank of U.S. senator from New York would bring about no less than the end of the Republic. Big-government programs. Stratospheric taxes. And the rise of an annoying, finger-wagging, self-righteous hypocrite in our midst.

But let's be fair... On Friday, a prestigious array of Hillary experts assembled at the offices of the American Enterprise Institute in Washington for a daylong forum billed as "The Future and Legacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton."

Examining the "legacy" of a woman whose major political accomplishments to date include the failed effort

to shove a mammoth national health-care plan down our throats, and the effective vanquishment of her husband's mistress, was unprecedented.

As unprecedented as the notion of a sitting first lady running for public office.

ANDREA PEYSER



For an entire day, it was all Hillary, all the time.

The Hillary-haters were out in force. Vanity Fair writer Christopher Hitchens and Phyllis Schlafly (remember Phyllis?). Laura Ingraham and Christina Hoff Summers and the Wall Street Journal's John Fund.

And me. You know what side I'm on.

The Hillary-lovers were no less impressive. Clinton enemy-turned-groupie David Brock was there. Eleanor Clift and Betty Friedan, too.

In the end, the high-brow anti-Hillary orgy turned into something quite different.

The haters wound up on the hot seat. The can't-stand-Hillary folks needed to make an effective argument as to why we despise her with such a vengeance.

As U.S. News's Jodie Allen, a panelist, wrote in Slate, "What are they so afraid of?"

That should be easy. Although it can be difficult to articulate because, as a Buffalo radio commentator famously asked Hillary, "Why are so many people foaming at the mouth?"

For a moment, let's put aside the obvious political idiocies: Hillary's sucking up to Sharpton and the anti-Israel policies of Suha Arafat, her lifelong reverence for big government and dangerous disdain for the police.

To help me understand the hate, I spoke to Laura Kilroy, a Brooklyn mother. The subject on the table was Hillary's assertion that female politicians have "extra burdens," running for office.

"What does she know about burdens?" asked Kilroy, a single mom of two.

"Deciding whether to wear Versace or Calvin Klein?"

Silly? Maybe. But it gets to the heart of the deep-seated feelings Hillary evokes from otherwise rational people. And Kilroy helped explain, more succinctly than our eloquent panelists, the revulsion so many people harbor.

We do not trust her. For all Hill-

See PEYSOR on Page 24

Reason why Hillary makes my skin crawl

PEYSOR from Page 18

ary's practiced folksiness, we do not see her as one of us, but a phony who wants this job for all the wrong reasons.

We see her desire to run for the Senate as an expression of her personal need for power — or, perhaps, vengeance against a husband who humiliated her.

This month, Hillary has pulled ahead of Rudy Giuliani in some polls. The consensus at the conference was that the polls are picking up on dissatisfaction with Giuliani's handling of the Patrick Dorismond shooting.

We don't love Hillary more. Perhaps some of us love Rudy less. It may not last.

Why do I hate Hillary so? After the conference, a painfully young and inarticulate woman from Slate asked me, "Like, you didn't really, you know, say."

I say it every day. Some people just don't want to hear it.

New York doesn't need Hillary. But as the conference demonstrated, she fascinates us all the same.

The Spotlight Means Death

This basic rule of New York politics explains the ups and downs of the Hillary-Rudy race



DICK MORRIS

THERE is one basic axiom which dominates all elections in New York state and New York City: So virulent are the media and so cynical the voters that if the focus is on you, you're going to lose. If the attention is on the other candidate, you're going to win.

Just as in modern, precision-guided warfare — if they can see you, they can kill you. The way to win is to go stealth. Neither Rudy nor Hillary — two of the highest-profile people in America — are much good at stealth. But the rule still applies. If the race is about Hillary running for the Senate, Rudy wins. If it's about Rudy running, Hillary wins.

In this way, New York is the opposite of anyplace else. In other states, you want to control the spotlight and hog the center stage. In New York, you don't. You want the other guy to have that honor.

Examine the precedents:

1977: The issue in the mayoral race was Gov. Hugh Carey's attempt to push Mario Cuomo as mayor of New York. The winner? Ed Koch.

1982: The issue in the governor's race was Ed Koch's attempt to become the first city mayor to be elected statewide. The winner? Cuomo.

1989: Ed Koch and his scandals were the issue. The winner? David Dinkins.

1993: The issue was Dinkins' conduct in the Crown Heights affair. The winner? Rudy Giuliani.

1998: The issue was Al D'Amato's negative rhetoric, calling his opponent a putz-head. The winner? Chuck Schumer.

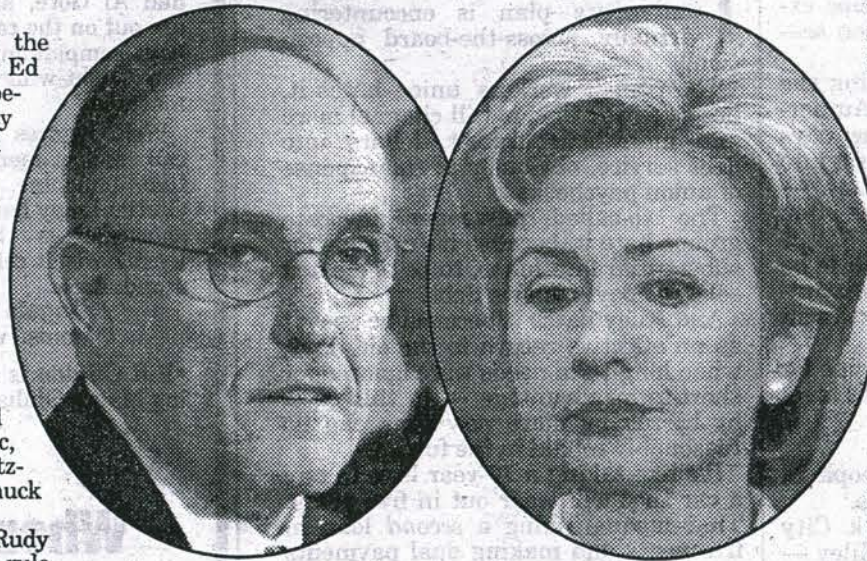
Follow the Hillary vs. Rudy race so far to see how the rule operates:

In February-April of 1999, the focus was on the Diallo shootings and Hillary had a big lead.

From May 1999 to March 2000, the focus was on Hillary running. The newspapers talked about the move to New York, her listening tour, Hillary's fundraising, the FALN pardon, her mortgage, the use of the White House aircraft and so on and on and on. During this period, Rudy had the lead.

Now the talk is all about the NYPD and its trail of unarmed dead. Now it's Hillary's turn to take the lead.

The irony of this year's epic



Photos: AP; N.Y. Post: Tamara Beckwith

contest for the Senate in New York is that the fate of both Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Clinton depends on factors they cannot control. Rudy is dependent on the performance of New York City's cops. Hillary's rests on what Robert Ray, the special prosecutor does.

If the trigger fingers of the 34,000 men and women of the NYPD twitch when they shouldn't, they can send the mayor's fortunes plummeting. It took Rudy three months to recover after the Diallo shooting.

Now, another shooting has sent Rudy into a 10-point skid and given Hillary the lead in most polls.

Presumably, Rudy will recover again. But when will the next shooting occur? In October, 2000? If so, the bullet will pierce the mayor's candidacy just as surely as it strikes its victim. If the police make the spotlight focus on Rudy, he's cooked.

Hillary's fate is similarly beyond her control. A negative report or two from special prosecutor Robert Ray could destroy

her viability. Ray's reports will focus attention on key questions in the summer and the fall of 2000:

■ Did Hillary lie to investigators when she disclaimed any responsibility for the firing of the White House Travel Office employees? Does perjury run in the family?

■ Did Hillary conceal evidence when her billing records for the Rose Law Firm disappeared into the bowels of the White House residence only to re-emerge, with her fingerprints, literally and figuratively, all over them?

■ Did Hillary lie when she billed for 60 hours of legal work on the Castle Grande real-estate deal, or did she lie when she said that she had no involvement in the deal? Federal regulators have already determined that Castle Grande involved a phony sale of property to a straw purchaser (Webb Hubbell's father-in-law) in order to deceive federal bank examiners. Ray will tell us the extent of Hillary's culpability.

None of these questions will be fun during a Senate race. Even less fun for the president and the first lady is the possibility that an indictment may be waiting for them on departure from office in January 2001.

New York is a tough state in which to get elected. It is so dominated by the press and media that it is almost impossible for a candidate, no matter how well funded, to escape their gravitational pull. If the headlines have your name in them, you are not going to win. If they are looking at you, look out.

New York Post, April 6, 2000

Another poll boosts first lady

By ANDY GELLER
and GREGG BIRNBAUM

A new poll shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has edged ahead of Mayor Giuliani, the third survey to find that the mayor's lead has evaporated since the police shooting of Patrick Dorismond.

The Quinnipiac College poll found the first lady now holds a 46-to-43 percent lead over the mayor in their race for the Senate after trailing him by 7 percentage points a month earlier.

The results, released yesterday, mirror a Post/Zogby International poll published March 26 that found Clinton leading the

mayor 45 to 42.

A Marist College poll issued three days later showed Giuliani's lead fell from 6 points to 3 points.

Maurice Carroll, head of Quinnipiac's Polling Institute, said the poll showed a "dramatic drop" for Giuliani, and the main reason was the slaying of Dorismond, an unarmed black man killed in a struggle with an undercover cop March 16.

"Upstate voters are not following this issue and there's been no change in the matchup there, but closer to home, in the city and suburbs, support has shifted to Mrs. Clinton," Carroll said.

The poll, which holds a

margin of error of 3 percentage points, found that voters disliked the way both candidates responded to the shooting. But they were much more unhappy with Giuliani, who released Dorismond's sealed juvenile record.

Statewide, 50 percent of voters disapproved of the mayor's response, with the most dissatisfaction coming from New York City — 72 percent — and the suburbs — 54 percent.

Overall, 33 percent were unhappy with Mrs. Clinton's response, with the greatest disapproval coming from the suburbs — 49 percent. However, 40 percent of Big Apple voters approved of her response.

The poll also found 3 of 4 black voters disapproved of the NYPD, and only 13 percent have a favorable opinion of the department.

Among city residents, 50 percent disapproved of the department while 40 percent approved.

Eighty-seven percent of black voters and 58 percent of New York City voters also believe that the NYPD generally uses excessive force against minority suspects.

But there was overwhelming agreement among voters — 69 percent — that undercover police operations are a good idea. Black voters favored them, but by 47 percent.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Summer-school fiasco is all Rudy's fault: Hill

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday blamed Mayor Giuliani for the city's summer-school debacle, calling it "a terrible admission of failure" as she sided with the powerful teachers union.

After visiting a Manhattan school, Clinton charged that Giuliani's "failure of leadership" in the talks between the city and the teachers is what caused the meltdown in plans for an expanded summer school.

"It's a terrible admission of failure on his part," Clinton said.

"I would hope that maybe it's not too late, although I know the parties have pretty much given up because of his stance."

Interim Schools Chancellor Harold Levy on Monday announced he had to trim 70,000 students from summer school because Giuliani and the United Federation of Teachers couldn't reach a deal over merit pay to attract more teachers.

Clinton is supported by the UFT and counts its leader, Randi Weingarten, among her closest political allies.

The first lady backed a merit-pay plan practically identical to one favored by Weingarten and blasted Giuliani's salary proposals as unfair to many teachers — as Weingarten has.

Giuliani spokeswoman Kim Serafin said Clinton "should be embarrassed for placing job protection before children's education."

"Ever since Mrs. Clinton shared the stage with the teachers' union to announce her candidacy, she's been much more concerned about perks, pay and privilege for union leaders than reading, writing and arithmetic for our children."

Serafin said Clinton's attack on the mayor over summer school "raises serious doubts about her credibility as an advocate for children."

Clearly energized by her recent boost in the polls, a newly confident and aggressive Clinton seemed to take pleasure in needling the mayor.

"I know he's been having a bad couple of weeks," Clinton said, barely able to contain her glee.

"It just seems that he's not a very happy person these days, a little bit



SNUFF SAID: Hillary Clinton and Mark Green promote "Kick Butts Day" at the Salk School of Science in Manhattan yesterday. She later ripped the mayor's "failure of leadership" in talks with the UFT. N.Y. Post: Luiz C. Ribeiro

out of sorts."

Told by a reporter that Giuliani appeared upbeat during a Tuesday Long Island bus trip with Sen. John McCain, Clinton smiled and was left speechless for a moment.

"I want everyone to be happy," she joked.

Clinton also dismissed Giuliani's charge, made in an interview with Fox News Channel's "The O'Reilly Factor," that the U.S. Justice Department has "dramatically" increased its probes of the city since the mayor launched his Senate cam-

paign.

"I don't know what he's talking about," she said.

Meanwhile, Gov. George Pataki, the state's most powerful Republican, ripped into U.S. Rep. Rick Lazio (R-L.I.) for suggesting he'll run for the U.S. Senate.

"I don't think it is particularly helpful for other Republicans to do anything other than get behind the candidacy of Mayor Giuliani," Pataki told a state Capitol news conference. "I urge him [Lazio] and all the others to do that."

The New York Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 2000

Mrs. Clinton Criticizes Mayor Over Cuts in Summer Schools

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y., April 5 — Hillary Rodham Clinton said today that plans to sharply cut back summer school in New York City represented a "terrible admission of failure" on the part of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. Mrs. Clinton attacked Mr. Giuliani's push for teacher merit pay, the issue that led to the breakdown in talks over the school program, calling it a crude and ineffective way to improve public education.

With her remarks, Mrs. Clinton took the side of one of her most influential supporters, the United Federation of Teachers, in its increasingly acrid battle with Mr. Giuliani over merit pay. The mayor has argued for individual teacher stipends based on student test scores as an incentive for teachers to work this summer and as his opening move for negotiations with the union, whose contract expires in November.

The dispute between Mr. Giuliani and the union over the incentives led the interim schools chancellor, Harold O. Levy, to announce Monday that he was scaling back the number of summer school slots by nearly 70,000, limiting the program to 250,000 students.

Mrs. Clinton said today that she could support merit pay awarded to entire schools rather than individual teachers, a position close to that of the union and Mr. Levy. And she said she supported "pay for performance," a position that, again, resembles the union's, and would provide extra pay to teachers who take on additional responsibilities like serving as mentors to other teachers.

Mrs. Clinton said merit pay to individual teachers would discourage teachers from helping troubled students and would create a distorted competition among teachers. "I don't think that's a very good way to inspire teachers," she said.

"We want our best teachers to work with the kids who are hardest to teach," she added. "And if teach-

ers are going to be told that the people who look better on a test, or who please an administrator more, are the ones who are going to get them rewarded in their salary or compensation, why would anyone take on the kids who are harder to teach?"

Mrs. Clinton's statement offered a strong contrast with the position of Mr. Giuliani on an issue that has received increasing attention in New York's public school system. Mr. Giuliani was raising personal campaign funds in Tennessee today, and his campaign aides issued a statement attacking Mrs. Clinton and asserting that her position was evidence that she was too close to the teachers' union.

"Ever since Mrs. Clinton shared a stage with the teachers' union to announce her candidacy, she has been much more concerned about perks, pay and privilege for union leaders than about reading, writing and arithmetic for our children," said Kim Serafin, a campaign spokeswoman, in New York. "Mrs. Clinton should be embarrassed for placing job protection before our children's education."

Mrs. Clinton's statements marked the latest evidence of her increasingly aggressive stance against Mr. Giuliani and her campaign's intention to try to turn what her aides see as mayoral difficulties into a Senate race issue.

Mrs. Clinton did not suggest that the question of how to staff summer schools in New York City, or even merit pay, was likely to appear on the floor of the United States Senate any time soon. Nonetheless, her aides have counseled her to seize on the impasse over summer school as a way to spotlight two of her main differences with her opponent: her assertion that he has a weak record in administering the city schools, and her claim that he is too belligerent to serve in a collegial body like the Senate.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Senate Rivals Employ Opposite Media Tacks

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Since the beginning of the year, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has given interviews, by his count, to at least eight national television programs across the country, all part of a plan, his advisers say, that has helped him get national attention and raise millions of dollars for his Senate campaign.

At the same time, Mr. Giuliani has mostly avoided the headaches of one-on-one interviews with local newspapers because, the mayor said this week, they tend to write such nettlesome things as " 'When he said that, he twitched' or 'When he did this, he was angry.' "

Hillary Rodham Clinton, by contrast, has turned down almost all interview requests from national programs and instead focused on television affiliates and large and medium newspapers across the state, all part of a plan, her advisers say, to underscore that she is a local political candidate and not just the first lady. "Local, local, local," emphasized Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary.

Like so much else about New York's most intense Senate candidates, their media strategies are mirror opposites of each other. Both also reveal some of the character of their campaigns.

For Mrs. Clinton, strategy dictates that she never do anything, such as give an interview to Barbara Walters, to remind voters that she comes from anywhere but New York. For Mr. Giuliani, it is a chance to raise his national profile and enjoy the attention of media luminaries like Larry King, Cokie Roberts and Tim Russert, even if Mr. Russert, as Mr. Giuliani's advisers admit, pinned him to the wall in a recent interview.

"The mayor isn't afraid of tough questions, nor does he duck on the issues," said Bruce Teitelbaum, Mr. Giuliani's campaign manager. "But he prefers to answer those questions by speaking directly to people."

For that reason, Mr. Giuliani has become something of a radio talk-show host, and sometimes seems to be on the airwaves as often as a 1010 WINS traffic report.

He already has three regular programs, dating from before the campaign: "Live From City Hall With Rudy Giuliani," a 45-minute call-in show on Friday mornings on WABC; "Ask the Mayor," another call-in show with Rich Lamb the first Thursday of every month on WCBS; and a weekly Sunday morning address to New Yorkers on "current topics of interest" on WINS.

But lately, the mayor has stepped up his interviews with radio stations across the state. By his count, he has been interviewed by no less than 23

radio stations since the year began.

"I've always liked the idea of direct communication with the people who are going to get to decide whether to vote for me," he said on Tuesday on a bus trip to Long Island with Senator John McCain. "That's why I do so many radio shows."

In contrast, Mr. Giuliani has done far fewer interviews with local television stations and no long interviews about his Senate campaign with New York City television reporters, with whom he often spars at his daily press briefings at City Hall.

The mayor added that he likes it when newspapers and magazines print only questions and answers from an interview.

"That's great, when they print the entire Q-and-A," Mr. Giuliani said. "Then somebody can say, 'Oh, yeah, he's a jerk,' or 'He's very smart,' as opposed to somebody else interpreting it."

But Mr. Giuliani's advisers also say that his approach, particularly

'Local, local, local,' said Mrs. Clinton's press secretary.

with national television, has helped him raise \$19 million for his race — \$7 million more than Mrs. Clinton — and has bolstered the response from his national direct mail campaign.

"Say you're a \$25 donor and you live in Kansas," said Roger Stone, a Republican political consultant. "You see Rudy on TV, you get a solicitation in the mail and you send in your check."

Mr. Stone added that he thought the mayor's strategy of avoiding long local interviews about his Senate ambitions was wise, for now.

"There is a school of thought that you limit media access to your candidate and you control the flow of news," Mr. Stone said. "That's exactly what he's doing. It's a viable strategy, and it's certainly working for the time being."

Mrs. Clinton, on the other hand, has talked to nearly every large and medium newspaper and television affiliate in New York.

"She's the first lady, and she needed to establish relationships for the first time with local media people throughout the state," said Ken Sunshine, a public relations consultant who is informally advising her campaign and who was chief of staff to Mayor David N. Dinkins. "There's no history positively or negatively between her and the local media here."

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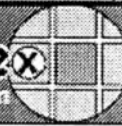
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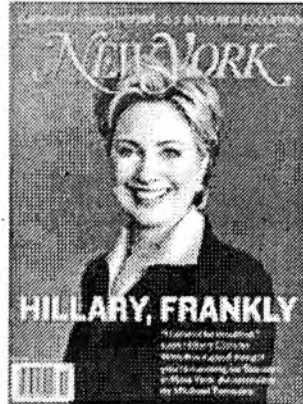
poll

trivia

critics

columnists

current issue

table of contents
April 03, 2000

"Part of what I bring is that there is nothing anybody can say about me that will hurt my feelings. I *cannot* be insulted. You know? I just can't be."
-- Hillary Clinton, "Hillary Up Close"

- site exclusive
- ny mag.com today
- current issue
- critics
- columnists
- new york essentials
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FEATURES

Hillary Up Close

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY

Shaking her image as the controversial wife of a controversial president and coming into her own as a New Yorker hasn't been easy. "I've had to learn from my mistakes," she says in an interview covering everything from the mayor to modern art. How is she preparing for the hard knocks of a New York race? Well, for one thing, she's a Three Stooges fan.

April 4, 2000

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critics

columnists

current issue

e- site exclusive

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e- current issue

cover story

features

gotham

gotham style

intelligencer

table of contents

e- critics

e- cool articles

e- new york economics

e- nyc winter guide

e- nyc food scene

e- nyc people

[commerce](#)New York Magazine's
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 26 ISS
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current issue

cover story

Hillary's Turn

Since 1992, Hillary Clinton has morphed from two-for-the-price-of-one partner to failed health-care czar to long-suffering wife and, now, New York Senate hopeful. In a freewheeling interview, she talks about the road she's been on -- and the one to come.

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY



Somehow, in New York more than most other places, campaigns are hammered into shape by events that happen outside them. And so, suddenly, with the alleged shooting by police of Patrick Dorismond and Mayor Giuliani's release of Dorismond's sealed juvenile record, boom, we have a campaign. For the first time, after months of fragile caution, Hillary Clinton tore into the mayor, who, as is his custom, tore back. The mayor's actions in the past week reinforced for New Yorkers just how well we know him -- in maintaining his barrage on Dorismond's character, Giuliani was not making elaborate political calculations beyond the understanding of others; he was just being himself. By contrast, Mrs. Clinton's verbal grenades showed a side of her we've never seen, more aggressive and direct than she's ever been since she started coming to the state last July. It underscored, her immense fame notwithstanding, how little we know about her -- as a candidate, to be sure, and simply as a person in her own right.

If nothing else, this improbable campaign will see to it that Hillary Clinton's frequently mutating image will receive one more makeover. Whether she's sincere or ambitious, distrustful of people or open to them, are among the questions about her that voters will answer in their own way come November. But what follows should shed some light on them. In her most extensive interview since coming to New York, she talks about her candidacy, her caution, her recent incaution, the press, the health-care failure, Bill's shadow, Trent Lott, archaeology, modern art, the Stanhope, even the Three Stooges and *The Flintstones*. However you feel about her, you'll find out something here you didn't know.

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"I was told that New York's was the toughest political environment in the country. I think that's right. People offer me their opinions at the drop of a hat, but by and large, I feel very welcome."

New York Magazine: What grade would you give yourself so far as a candidate?

Hillary Rodham Clinton: I'd grade myself as Needs Improvement but Making an Effort and Getting Better [laughs].

NYM: Okay. I'll put a grade on that, C-plus. Fair?

HRC: I don't think about it that way. It's been a learning experience. You know, I have a lot of sympathy for the vice-president, who, when I watched him start his campaign last spring, I could tell was really having a hard time making the transition. And I didn't realize how hard that would be until I tried to do it myself. To move out of saying we to I -- you know, it took some time to figure out how to do that.

NYM: I was in Rochester, at the hotel, that morning the Village Voice story came out about Giuliani's letter accusing you of "hostility to America's religious traditions." When you walked through those double doors, you were quaking with rage. But then when you started to speak, the rhetoric was very soft and very careful.

HRC: Well, I was outraged. I thought it was a . . . misuse of campaign tactics and rhetoric, and it was insulting to me. But I understood why he did it, and why he will continue to do it --

NYM: Why is that?

HRC: It raises a lot of money. This isn't complicated. That's why he won't release his letters. He doesn't want us to see what else he's saying about me to open the pocketbooks of the far right and the people who respond to Ollie North and Jesse Helms and Richard Viguerie.

But I also believe that it's important when you're in a campaign to always remember that this is *not* about you. That if you become emotionally angry and say everything that's on your mind about how you feel, you lose a chance to communicate clearly that what you're really going to get up every day worrying about is not what your opponent says about you but what you're going to do for people.

I also believe that it is just more difficult for women candidates to express their strong feelings about things affecting them, as opposed to how I feel about gun control or the deteriorating public schools or stirring up racial hostility, which I can be as angry about and as determined to fix as I possibly can be. But I think you make a mistake if you let any campaign become about *you*. I know who I am. I know what I believe. I know what I would do in the Senate. And I know what my religious convictions are. There's nothing he can say, after I've calmed down, that will affect who I am.

NYM: Well, let me ask you about the Diallo verdict, and your response to that. Again, I felt it was soft, didn't really take a side, didn't really --

HRC: I did not want in any way to be a part of a reaction that could conceivably have resulted in any kind of disorder or violence. I did not have any official responsibility or job that would enable me to help control anything. And I thought it was very important to be measured and to be thoughtful about what I said. I carry a very heavy responsibility. I'm not the usual Senate candidate [*laughs*], for better or worse. I don't want anything I say or do to feed into the kind of, ah, climate in which people engage in insults.

NYM: Then, last week, after the Dorismond shooting, you really took the gloves off and went after the mayor. What made you do that?

HRC: It was wrong for the mayor to rush to judgment and release Patrick Dorismond's records. It was wrong for him to refuse to reach out, and it was wrong for him to make the situation worse by lashing out and losing control.

("Hillary's Turn" 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5)

From the April 3, 2000 issue of New York Magazine.



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[current issue](#)

[features](#)

[gotham](#)

[gotham style](#)

[intelligencer](#)

[table of contents](#)

[critics](#)

[columnists](#)

[new york economics](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[commerce](#)

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[HOME](#)

current issue

cover story

("Hillary's Turn" [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#))



NYM: How do you respond to the mayor's charge that you politicized this?

HRC: You know, when the incident occurred, the mayor and I both said New Yorkers should wait and reserve judgment until all the facts come out. I am still waiting. It was the mayor who politicized this and led the rush to judgment here.

NYM: Some people have observed that, while they may agree with you on the mayor's role, it sounds like you're getting into an argument about his mayoralty, and since you haven't lived here, that's an argument you can't ultimately win.

HRC: I'm talking about leadership here. I mean, if Rudy Giuliani won't represent all New Yorkers as mayor, then how is he going to represent the whole state in the Senate?

NYM: You describe yourself as a New Democrat. Many liberals spent eight years thinking and hoping you were sort of the liberal secret weapon in the White House. And then there's this other set of people who believe you have this secret radical agenda. How have your views changed since you were young?

HRC: Well, my gosh, I've gone from a Barry Goldwater Republican to a New Democrat, but I think my underlying values have remained pretty constant. Individual responsibility and community -- I don't see those as mutually inconsistent. I think our politics of the last 30 years has been fraught with false choices that I don't think reflect the common-sense, pragmatic progressive strain of American politics that I've always identified with.

NYM: Where would you put yourself on a continuum between Pat Moynihan and Chuck Schumer?

HRC: I know that people often talk about how there's a division between being the senator who fixes potholes and the senator who sees the big issues on the horizon. I don't think there has to be a contradiction there. If you're in the Senate, you have to do both. Oftentimes, what is most local and personal that the government can affect is the way you build trust and faith in government at the ground level. So I think it's important to help people with their Social Security problems or their disability problems or their potholes or their highway interchange or whatever it is that to them symbolizes the government.

But at the same time, it's important to be a leader. When I'm upstate, I obviously talk about the upstate economy. But I also talk about it when I'm downstate. It matters to people in this city that there's been an exodus of people from upstate New York. And the result is, with the loss of population, New York's likely to lose two or three members of Congress in the 2000 redistricting. That's devastating for what I think we need to do for New York.

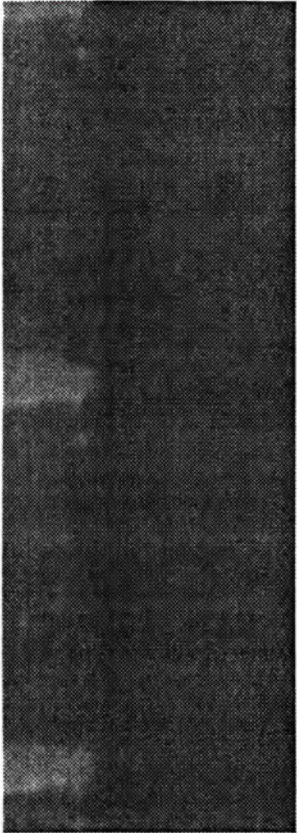
And then there are issues both nationally and internationally that New Yorkers are concerned about. And there are issues on the horizon that are not yet political issues. I don't have any New Yorkers coming up to me now except in the

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[Table of Contents](#)

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most specialized circumstances who ask me what my opinion is about the human-genome project. I mean, that's not an issue that's on most New Yorkers' minds. And yet when we get the genome mapped by 2003, or earlier, that's going to have a huge effect on the life of New Yorkers. On teaching hospitals. On research. On insurability. So I want to be someone who is really grounded enough to respond to people's needs and help, and somebody who's going to be a leader in raising issues. So I'd like to be a combination of that.

NYM: *I've talked to some Capitol Hill staffers from 1994, and the picture they paint for me of the health-care situation is you, or the White House, insisting on an all-or-nothing package and not being willing to do the compromising and horse-trading that gets legislation passed.*

HRC: Well, I'd paint a very different picture. We did what we were asked to do by the leadership, which at that time was Democratic in both the House and the Senate. We had a lot of internal debates about how to proceed. And they wanted us to present a piece of legislation, not just a framework. In retrospect, knowing what I now know, I don't think that was the best way to proceed. But that's what we did. And it was drafted in the basement of the Cannon Building with Hill staffers involved with it every step of the way. It was reviewed and signed off on by the chairmen of the committees. And the plan was that the Republicans would put forth their version, which Senator [John] Chafee [of Rhode Island] was in charge of drafting. And Senator Chafee and I had numerous conversations about this. And the plan was that we would introduce our legislation, he would introduce his, and the Congress would, in an act of great, you know, bipartisan achievement, hammer out the differences and come out with whatever the atmosphere would permit.

("Hillary's Turn" 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5)

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[features](#)

[gotham](#)

[gotham style](#)

[intelligencer](#)

[table of contents](#)

[criticism](#)

[columnists](#)

[new york economics](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

[commerce](#)

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[HOME](#)

[current issue](#)

cover story

("Hillary's Turn" [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#))



NYM: *Where did it collapse?*

HRC: Well, it collapsed at several points. It collapsed when Senator Dole decided that he was going to run for president. And he was advised by Republican strategists that they didn't want any kind of health-care bill. It collapsed also because the changes that

both of us would have made were contrary to certain interests that were banded together.

NYM: *How has that experience changed the approach you'll take if elected? And what Republicans in the Senate do you think you could establish good relations with?*

HRC: Depending upon the issue, I think I could work with a lot of them. That's been the pattern of the last seven years, and that's the only way to be successful in the Senate. We all learned a lot from the health-care experience. From my perspective, even though I thought we tried to reach out and involve a lot of people, we were not successful in creating an awareness of how much of that was going on. I also learned that it's very difficult for anyone to present a piece of legislation to the Congress. Even if you're asked to do that. Because just as Senator Bradley found out with the details of his health-care plan, you are then subject to it being nitpicked apart.

NYM: *How do you show that you're still there, in terms of leadership?*

HRC: One of the ways is not to end the story at the White House and health care. You'd think that after health care, I'd taken to my bed with vapors or something, you know? And so it's my obligation to go to you and say, "Well, if you care about the following 25 things, here's what I've done on them." The work I did *continued*. I immediately began to work on the Children's Health Insurance Program. I wrote a best-selling book and gave away a million dollars to children's charities. I was the point person on welfare reform with a lot of the advocates' groups, 'cause I had worked with them, and I had to persuade them, insofar as I was able, to go along with the concessions that were made to get a bill passed. I started the emphasis in the administration on women and women's needs around the world as part of our foreign-policy objectives. I worked on microcredit. I worked to change the foster-care and adoption system.

People don't know that because I made a very, for me, pragmatic decision. I realized that because of the role I was in -- I mean, I have worked all my life, ever since I was 13. All of a sudden, I'm in this full-time-volunteer position. And the health-care issue was very polarizing. So I had to make a decision: How do I get things done in the time that I have here in the White House? How do I show leadership even if I don't immediately get credit for it? So that was what I chose to do.

NYM: *One might suspect that Trent Lott would block something that has your name on it, simply because it has your name on it.*

HRC: I don't think that works in the Senate, because there are too many individual prerogatives that you have to balance off if you're the majority leader

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[Table of Contents](#)

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of the Senate. I have no reason to believe that. Also, there are many ways of getting things done rather than [being] direct and confrontational. I will make alliances with people who you might not imagine that I could. Just a quick example: One of my great concerns in public life is the foster-care and adoption system. In the last seven years, we've been able to make changes that were never thought possible before. And we did that on a piece of legislation in this last Congress that meant a lot to me. Every year, 20,000 kids age out of the foster-care system. And usually what happens to those kids is that when they turn 18 or graduate from high school, whichever happens first, a social worker shows up in many jurisdictions with a black plastic garbage bag and says, "Put your stuff in, you're moving." And they have nowhere to move to.

So I worked with some members of Congress to change that. To provide some more support for these kids, to keep them on Medicaid, et cetera. I worked in the Senate with John Chafee. And in the House, I worked with somebody who's never had a good word to say about me or my husband -- Tom DeLay -- but who cares about foster care. I think he was as surprised as he could be that we invited him to the White House, that he was part of the team that we put together. He was very helpful in getting the legislation through.

NYM: *Even people who really feel connected to you and don't feel connected to Rudy emotionally at all still see him as this guy who has tremendous executive ability. How do you compete with that force-of-nature kind of executive ability that the mayor conveys?*

HRC: Well, the first thing I would say is that I don't deny that some good things have happened in the city. I love New York, you know, and the fact that many people who live here and work here are feeling better about this city I think is great. And I'm glad that he was mayor during a great economic boom that was contributed to in some great measure by the president's economic policies, and was given additional tools to fight crime. So he used the time well. And I applaud him for that. And he's a very tough opponent. He's gonna run a very hard campaign, I'm well aware of that.

But I think there are three major differences that people have to ask themselves about us when they're going to make their decision about voting. First, I don't think we need another Republican in the Senate. That's the first thing I'd ask New Yorkers to look at.

Second, there are significant differences between us on the issues. I think his support for the Republican budget plan, his support for George Bush, means that he would support the kinds of fiscal policies that would undermine the economic prosperity of New York and the country. I think if you look at public education, his whole policy is vouchers. Poverty has gone down around the nation; it has *not* gone down in New York City. New York now has the distinction of having the second-highest rate of poverty in the country and the biggest gap between the rich and the poor. I don't think that's acceptable.

And then, finally, there's a real contrast in leadership styles. Willingness to listen to people and actually learn from people. In the Senate, I would look for every possible way to work with my colleagues to try to get things done for New York. And I wouldn't expect if I disagreed with them, I could sue them or fire them.

But part of what I bring is that there is nothing anybody can say about me that will hurt my feelings. I *cannot* be insulted. You know? I just can't be. And so whatever comes in this campaign, or whatever will come in the future, my goal is as it was after health care: What can I do to help people and get things done?

("Hillary's Turn" 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5)

From the April 3, 2000 issue of New York Magazine.



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[gotham](#)

[gotham style](#)

[intelligencer](#)

[table of contents](#)

[criticism](#)

[columnists](#)

[new york essentials](#)

[new yorker's guide](#)

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[commerce](#)

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current issue

cover story

("Hillary's Turn" [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#))



NYM: *Aside from politics and policy, what are your intellectual interests and passions? Who's your favorite novelist? What about art? Or music?*

HRC: Wow [pauses]. How much time do we have? I have fairly catholic tastes. I'm very interested in archaeology. And I'm interested in prehistory as well as what we think of as the periods of history that there's a record of.

One of the highlights of my last seven years in the White House was on my first African trip, when I went to East Africa, the Olduvai Gorge, where the Leakeys made a lot of their discoveries, and walked the gorge with some of the paleoanthropologists and archaeologists who worked there, and just talked about the transition to *Homo sapiens* and then to historic man. I was in a rain forest in Australia, and Bill and I were being guided around by an aboriginal guide. We're walking through this rain forest, and he was saying things like, "You see that tree over there? The bark of that tree, if you boil it, and then you leave the pulp in the sun, it cures gangrene, our people tell us." There were so many examples of that. And I'm sitting there thinking, you know, modern man has no understanding of what we owe to the people of the last million years. Because we're so impressed with ourselves and what we've learned in the last hundred years, especially with the speed of knowledge and the Internet. But think how many generations it took to figure out what you boiled and put in the sun to cure a dread disease.

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[Archives](#)

[Table of Contents](#)

[Best Bets](#)

"I carry a very heavy responsibility. I'm not the usual Senate candidate, for better or worse. I don't want anything I say or do to feed into the kind of, ah, climate in which people engage in insults."

NYM: *And that's from college, or --*

HRC: No, it's just been an interest of mine. I subscribe to *Archaeology* magazine because I love reading about it. So going to Egypt was a lifelong desire of mine, to be able to go and see the tombs and be guided around by Egyptologists who've spent their lives studying this. If I were to have an interest that I were to go back to school and study and think about and spend time on, or go on an archaeological dig, that would be at the top of my list.

Also, I really love art of all kinds. One of the things I'm happiest about in my time at the White House is that I was able to bring twentieth-century American art and sculpture to the White House, which has always been a particular love of mine. The de Kooning family lent us a big piece for the second floor of the White House. We added a [Henry Ossawa] Tanner, the first African-American artist in the collection, and we added an O'Keeffe in the permanent collection. And I started a sculpture exhibition in what's called the First Lady's Garden. Bill and I had our first date at the Yale University Art Museum in New Haven. We've

always loved modern sculpture.

And I like a lot of modern Expressionist and abstract work. But as I say, I'm very catholic. Literature, I'm a big fan of Dostoevsky. As I get older, I appreciate Shakespeare even more. I like Thomas Hardy; I like Dickens. Most recently, I've been reading a lot of American literature, particularly modern works by women. I think the best book I read last year was *The Poisonwood Bible*, by Barbara Kingsolver. I thought that was brilliant.

NYM: *Have you had a chance, on the subject of art, to go to the Met or moma?*

HRC: When I was a private citizen, I used to go all the time. The Stanhope is now a very fancy place, but back in the early eighties, it was not yet there. And it was in a pretty great location, right across from the Met. I used to go and stay there all the time. It was inexpensive, if you can believe it, very friendly, and there was an Irish-American bellman by the name of Pat who used to greet me. And I felt very much at home there. Toward the end of the eighties, it was taken over, and it was gentrified and really made into a beautiful place. The last time I went there, Pat met me, and he said to me, 'Ah, Mrs. Clinton, this place will no longer be for the likes of us.' " [Laughs.]

NYM: *Because New Yorkers love people who love New York, you know, why can't you just sort of stop the car and go into Saks or something?*

HRC: Well, because I'm mobbed. I went to the supermarket in Chappaqua, which is, you know, hardly a heavily populated area, and I could not get up and down the aisles. I loved it. I talked with a lot of people, and they came up and asked me questions and said things to me. I can't seem to get anywhere without drawing so much attention that I can't really do what I came to do. I suppose I could go to the theater, because the lights go out. But I don't know how to do this. I'm having a really hard time. I find that people are really interested in talking to me. I'm hoping that I'll be able to get back and do some of the things that I like to do. What's ironic is that if I go someplace with my husband, who obviously travels with a huge entourage, he draws all the attention, so I can kind of go and look at things or visit with people and feel like I'm actually out there enjoying the experience. But now that I do it on my own, I find that people are really interested in talking to me and seeing me, and wish me well and ask me questions. I'm hoping that I'll be able to get back and do some of the things that I like to do.

NYM: *Any plans for your husband to come up anytime soon?*

HRC: There aren't any plans right now. We have a long way to go between now and the election, but I do anticipate him campaigning for me.

NYM: *I was thinking about the way the vice-president took pains to distance himself from the president. Do you feel that you have to do anything like that?*

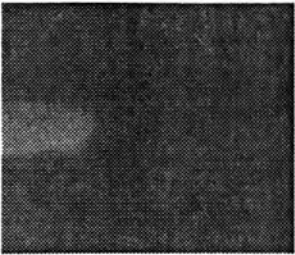
HRC: You know, I think my job is to demonstrate my own record and qualifications, but I'm also very proud of the record and progress the administration has made. I say that in nearly every speech I make. We've done a lot of things I'd like to see continued, and there are other areas I'd like to work on that have not been as high a priority up until now. It's important for people to know what I'd do, but I don't see that that's in any way inconsistent with having been supportive of what the president has done.

NYM: *What did you least expect about New York that you've found? What has surprised you most, or taken you aback?*

HRC: I don't know that I'm surprised by anything yet. I was always told it was the toughest political atmosphere in the country. I think that's right. I don't think that's a surprise. People offer me their opinion at the drop of a hat, but by and large, I feel very welcome, and very much at home.

NYM: *How would you compare this press corps to Washington's? You've had a pretty tough time of it so far.*

HRC: But I don't view it as tough times as much as I've had to learn how to be a candidate. I don't think the press here -- with maybe one or two exceptions, as



we know *[laughing]* – I don't think it's been unusually tough on me. I think it's just got a certain way of doing business with the people that it covers. And I've had to learn, as I said when I started on Senator Moynihan's farm, how to be a candidate. I had to learn from my own mistakes. All in all, I think the press has been pretty fair to me.

("Hillary's Turn" [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#))

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[gotham](#)

[gotham style](#)

[intelligencer](#)

[table of contents](#)

[critics](#)

[columnists](#)

[new york recommendations](#)

[new yorker's guides](#)

[entertainment](#)

[archive](#)

[commerce](#)

[New York Magazine's
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("Hillary's Turn" [1](#) | [2](#) | [3](#) | [4](#) | [5](#))



NYM: What are the specific burdens, then, of being both First Lady and candidate?

HRC: Well, I don't know any person who runs for Senate who gets as much attention as I do at this point in the race. Adding to my high visibility is the fact that because I do come from the White

House, I think it's appropriate that people would be weighing what I say and trying to understand whether what I'm saying is in some way related to the administration, or to the president, or to the Justice Department, or to somebody else. So I think I have that extra caution, to be as clear as I can and not to raise any extraneous issues. And that's what I'm trying to do.

NYM: That might be a particular liability in New York, which is a place that likes its politicians -- well, to mouth off, really. Ed Koch is the archetype of this.

HRC: He is. And I think as the campaign goes on, that becomes more of an option for me. I have a lot to say. I have a lot of, you know, irreverent mouthing-off to do. Which I fully intend to be able to do. But I don't think that this far out from an election, when I'm still getting to know people and people are still getting to know me, that that's the best way for me to spend whatever time I can have getting into people's living rooms.

There's a rhythm to any campaign, and in this campaign, people are intensely interested, and while they're interested about me, I want them to get to see me talking about what they care about, and how I'd go about the business of the Senate. There'll be plenty of time for one-liners and retorts, but it's not now.

NYM: Okay, I asked you about serious things like literature. What silly things do you like? I, for example, have a soft spot for *The Flintstones*.

HRC: Well . . . it's funny you should mention *The Flintstones*. My family were big *Flintstones* fans, too. And I can't carry a tune, but I could in an off-key way join my brothers in the humming of the *Flintstones* theme song. My father *hated* *The Flintstones*. My father had this devastating stroke and was in intensive care. And we're all in there with him. It's shortly before he died. The doctors had said, "He's not going to come out of it." And my brother said, "Yeah, but, you know, if he wanted to, maybe he could. And what always gets a rise out of him is the theme from *The Flintstones*." So there we are in intensive care singing and humming -- and carrying on, with tears coming down our faces -- *The Flintstones*. And my mother's saying, "Oh, God, he's always hated that, don't do that!" My brothers to this day swear that they saw a slight flicker of distaste on his face.

I happen to be more of a Three Stooges fan. I walked into -- oh, I know where we were, we were doing an event at C.W. Post with Chuck Schumer on making college tuition tax-deductible, and we had a family who was sort of representing what this would mean to them. And I walked in, and the man who was going to be on the program and his wife -- he had on a Three Stooges tie. Which I've never seen! And I mean, all their faces in big relief coming down his chest, you know? And so I go up to the man, and I go [*she leans forward, puts her hands right in front of my face, and, à la Curly, starts snapping her fingers and rapping her knuckles*], and he looks at me like [*laughs, imitates man's shock*], you know.

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[Archives](#)

[Table of Contents](#)

[Best Bets](#)

 *her knuckles*], and he looks at me like [*laughs, imitates man's shock*], you know . . . and I say, "Hi, I want to be your senator!"

("Hillary's Turn" 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5)

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A Historical Rescue Mission

By Sarah Booth Conroy

Special to The Washington Post

Monday, April 3, 2000; Page C02

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Women's History Month 2000 is over, but efforts to find, preserve and study women's contributions to centuries past and millennium present remain well underway, according to Beth W. Newburger, General Services Administration associate administrator and co-chairman, with Ann Lewis, of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History.

The culmination of last month's activities came in a dedication of the planned restoration of Clara Barton's Missing Soldiers Office, located on the third floor of the ivy-covered building at 437-441 Seventh St. NW, one of Washington's earliest buildings--and once in danger of being torn down.

Robert A. Peck, GSA public buildings service commissioner, said at the event that he learned about the building's significance from Andrea Mones, the regional historic preservation officer. She told him that a contractor's assistant visiting the building to estimate the projected demolition costs found the historic space full of boxes of papers, a frock coat, an embroidered slipper and a felt hat. Though doubtless there were some items lost over time, what had been found that day was properly turned over to Gary Scott, National Park Service chief historian, according to a July 1998 Washington Post article.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a leader in historic preservation and women's history, was in Beverly Hills, Calif., last week to receive the annual Women of Courage award for her "commitment and dedication to women's health issues, and for shining a national spotlight on the need for more research." The fourth annual "Unforgettable Evening" celebration raised money for women's cancer research.

Ellen McCulloch-Lovell, representing the first lady and the White House Millennium Council, read a letter of appreciation that Clinton sent to the Barton dedication:

"As we celebrate Women's History Month, it is most appropriate that today's event pays tribute to the achievements of Clara Barton as both an unsung advocate of missing Civil War soldiers and their families and as founder of the American Red Cross. One of the best ways we can imagine the future is to preserve what we value of our past."

McCulloch-Lovell presented a certificate to GSA Public Buildings Service Commissioner Robert A. Peck, naming the office and its artifacts an official "Save American's Treasure site."

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During the Civil War (or the War Between the States or the War of the Northern Aggression--whichever the wounded or the starving people called it), Barton organized and distributed supplies to the front lines and nursed those in need, no matter which side of the Mason-Dixon line they came from. She went into the Fort Wagner battle with the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, an African American unit, and cared for the wounded, according to American University historian Ed Smith.

For her bravery and compassion, she was called "Angel of the Battlefield."

At war's end, Barton took up an effort vital to families whose friends and relatives had seemed to vanish in the gunfire. Barton, never one to tend to just knitting, set up her apartment and office at the Seventh Street address. For four years, the heroine sent out posters, with lists of people whose friends and family were searching for soldier friends and relatives, alive or dead. Her efforts found 22,000 soldiers, according to Scott.

Barton joined with Frederick Douglass in his battle for African American rights and then Susan B. Anthony in the suffrage movement. In 1869 she went to Europe during the Franco-Prussian conflict, and, true to her passion to help, worked with the International Red Cross. The German emperor awarded her the Iron Cross of Merit.

Back in Washington, she organized the American Red Cross and, of course, became its first president, and for 23 years directed its work. At 79, she went to Galveston, Tex., to help the people suffering from floods there. She retired at 82, and lived at Glen Echo, until her death at 91 in 1921.

A poem by Barton, read at last month's dedication, explains her life's work:

Because in their hearts God had planted the seed
Of pity for women, and help for its needs;
They saw, in high purpose, a duty to do,
And the armor of right broke the barriers through.
Uninvited, unaided, unsanctioned oft times
With pass, or without it, they pressed on the lines
They would bind on their "brassards" and march to the fray.
And the man liveth not who could say them nay;
They would stand with you now, as they stood with you then
The nurses, consolers, and saviours of men.

Barton's is not the only women's site worth seeing. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History has published a guide to 14 women's historic sites in the capital, with

addresses and telephone numbers. The brochure is available at libraries and schools.

Some Sites to See

Sites in the area relevant to women's history include:

- * The Eleanor Roosevelt statue--commemorating her many accomplishments as the U.S. representative to the United Nations and the force for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights--stands at the FDR Memorial along the Tidal Basin in West Potomac Park.

- * Sewall-Belmont House, 144 Constitution Ave. NE--the site where Alice Paul organized the National Woman's Party.

- * Mary McLeod Bethune began the National Council of Negro Women and established its headquarters at 1318 Vermont Ave. NE. Her memorial is at Lincoln Park, 13th and East Capitol streets NW.

- * Women in Military Service for America memorial is at the ceremonial entrance to Arlington National Cemetery.

- * The Vietnam Women's Memorial is at Constitution Gardens, 23rd Street and Constitution Avenue.

- * Statues of three suffragette leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott, stand in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, and six others are in the Capitol's National Statuary Hall.

- * The National Museum of Women in the Arts is at 1250 New York Ave. NW.

- * "From Parlor to Politics" exhibit is open at the National Museum of American History, 14th Street at Constitution Avenue NW.

- * Newseum, located at 1101 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, recognizes "trailblazing women journalists."

- * The Military Women's Corridor at the Pentagon Boundary Channel Exit features biographies of women, including Mary E. Walker, a Civil War battlefield surgeon. Rear Adm. Grace Hopper is recognized for her creation of COBOL computer language.

- * The General Federation of Women's Clubs houses the Women's History and Resource Center, 1734 N St. NW.

- * The National Archives and Records Administration includes documents on women's rights movements, 700 Pennsylvania Ave. NW

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Hillary Clinton Links Giuliani to Right Wing

From Associated Press

ALBANY, N.Y.—Hillary Rodham Clinton said Monday that Rudolph W. Giuliani is tapping into a network of right-wing, non-New Yorkers to help pile up his fund-raising lead in their Senate contest.

The first lady said the Republican New York mayor is utilizing a "broad national network of people who are opposed to what I would do in the Senate."

"He is playing on their fears and sending out these direct-mail requests and people that are seeing them are responding to it," said Mrs. Clinton, who has raised \$12 million to Giuliani's \$19 million. "I don't think it's very complicated."

Giuliani's fund-raising letters are "more in line with the right wing of America than the mainstream of New Yorkers," Mrs. Clinton said.

Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum responded: "Mrs. Clinton is obviously disappointed in her campaign and its ability to attract more support, so now she's reverting to that old Clinton ruse of blaming the vast right-wing conspiracy."

Also Monday, Mrs. Clinton said life on the campaign trail has been harder than she expected.

"I'm having a great time, but I'm also seeing how hard it is" to be a candidate, the first lady told an audience of about 100 people at

a community forum in the village of Coxsackie, just south of Albany.

"I'm almost embarrassed to think back—all the times that I would say to my husband, 'Well, you could have said this differently, or you could have done that.' Now, I would like to take all those words back because it's very tough for both men and women," she said.

Mrs. Clinton also repeated her support for gun licensing, a position shared by Giuliani.

She attacked the National Rifle Assn. for being stuck on a "theological view" about gun control, but she also warned against "people on the other extreme who want to take everybody's guns away."

"I've gone hunting," she said. "I don't have anything against guns if guns are used by responsible people."

Meanwhile, Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.), who over the weekend reignited talk of entering the race, said Monday that the contest between Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani is shaping up as a personality-driven "food fight."

Lazio said he offers voters a clear alternative.

"I am not trying to be difficult, I am not trying to be defiant," he said. "I am simply trying to be what I think is a good public servant and good Republican in saying I think we have had a wake-up call."



OPEN MEETING? First Lady Hillary Clinton fields questions at a Cocksackie town meeting yesterday. During her Albany press conference, two of the mayor's representatives were ejected. AP

C'mon, Rick, don't stick it to Giuliani

ET TU, Ricky? Why is Rep. Rick Lazio trying to stick a shiv in Rudy Giuliani's back? With Republicans like these, who needs Democrats?

The mayor is down in the polls, the result of his inept mishandling of the Patrick Dorismond shooting. Giuliani needs his troops rallying to his side now, particularly with the threat of Reno Justice taking over the NYPD at Al Sharpton's behest.

What he doesn't need is a member of his own party mischievously trying to gin up talk of a destructive primary *mano a mano* that's never going to happen.

Lazio, the Long Island Republican, told Sam Donaldson on Sunday, "We are in the process of potentially blowing this race."

We? The only race-blowing car bomb I see is a last-minute primary challenge driven by Rick Lazio's ambition.

Giuliani would win, but the GOP, already a bloody mess, would be further split, Rudy's war chest would take a big hit, and Hillary Clinton would continue to polish her image with voters.

Given Giuliani's amazing missteps of late, there is something ever so slightly John McCain-ish about Lazio's warning state Republicans not to put all their money on a flawed candidate, and offering himself as an alternative more palatable to a broader cross-section of voters.

But while McCain had strong poll numbers indicating he would do far better against Al Gore than George W. Bush, there's nothing to indicate that Lazio would do any better against Mrs. Clinton than Giuliani.

There is no conceivable rationale for a Lazio bid other than to exploit Giuliani's current problems — which only helps Hillary.

Just as McCain Republicans had a duty to shut up and get behind the man who, for better or worse, was our only chance to stop Act III of the Clinton administration, Lazio owes it to the

party to quit this silly speculation and get behind Rudy.

Rudy is no pro-life social conservative's idea of a perfect candidate. But he's running against a Democrat who is, in Jonah Goldberg's priceless phrase, "the Dashboard Saint of the asinine Left."

Just imagine six years of that gruesome woman's caterwauling on behalf of every weenie-worm grievance group!

The thing is, there would likely be no reckless talk of a Lazio insurgency if Giuliani weren't such a knothead. He should have found a way to make nice to Conservative Party Chairman Mike Long, the obvious insti-

gator of the Lazio threat.

Time and time again, the mayor behaves as if engaging in the artful give-and-take that's the essence of successful politics is an admission of weakness.

This attitude has him in a world of trouble in the wake of the Dorismond killing.

Would it have killed Rudy to express condolences to the Dorismond family? How hard would it have been to have taken the high road and not allow himself to be baited by the Sharpton mob into trashing the innocent dead man's memory?

It falls to cooler heads to point out that there were almost three times as many police shootings of civilians under David Dinkins than under Giuliani.

There were almost four times as many murders under Dinkins. Last year, the 11 fatal police shootings in the city were the lowest number ever recorded here.

There's no question that black New Yorkers, and all New Yorkers, are vastly safer thanks to the leadership of Giuliani and the NYPD.

There is also no question that the mayor's insensitivity makes it harder for his supporters to point that fact out.

But also, in these tough times, more necessary.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY HIZZONER ON 'SCARE' TACTICS

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

ALBANY — Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday joined in President Clinton's weekend attack on Mayor Giuliani, charging her Senate opponent with scaring voters and scooping up cash from the right wing.

"The mayor has tapped into this broad national network of people who are opposed to what I would do in the Senate," Mrs. Clinton said.

"He's playing on their fears."

The Democratic candidate's comments about a "broad national network" are reminiscent of her 1997 claim that a "vast right-wing conspiracy" was trying to undermine her and the president. Mrs. Clinton has since avoided repeating that oft-ridiculed phrase.

President Clinton — who had been keeping a low profile in his wife's race — raised eyebrows Saturday when he said a "right-wing venom network" has helped Giuliani raise \$19 million for his Senate campaign.

"I'd like to know more about how he's raising all this money," Mrs. Clinton said. "The mayor



needs to be asked some tough questions."

In her broadside, Mrs. Clinton also noted that the Giuliani campaign has hired Richard Vigurie, whom she blasted as a "right-wing direct mail guru" who has been employed by Sen. Jesse Helms, Oliver North and Jerry Falwell.

Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum fired back: "How many more times is Mrs. Clinton going to blame her faltering campaign on the vast right-wing conspiracy?"

Mrs. Clinton also took shots at Giuliani for not pushing fellow Republicans in the state Legislature to pass hate-crimes legislation, and for injecting politics into the case of Elian Gonzalez.

Campaigning at the state Capitol, the first lady called on the GOP-controlled state Senate to OK a bill toughening penalties for hate crimes — and said the mayor should press his political ally state Sen. Majority Leader Joseph Bruno (R-Rensselaer) to allow a vote on the measure.

"He's never come to Albany [to lobby against] hate crimes," Mrs. Clinton said.

Giuliani has repeatedly said he favors passage of the hate-crimes bill.

The first lady said she believes Elian should be reunited with his father, but she would not say whether they should live in the United States or Cuba.

Giuliani favors making Elian and his family U.S. citizens.

Two of the mayor's Albany representatives were ejected from her press conference — and angrily complained that they had been mistreated in the process.

New York Post
Tuesday
April 4, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton Says Mayor Is Exploiting Cuban Boy

By WINNIE HU

ALBANY, April 3 — In her strongest words on the issue so far, Hillary Rodham Clinton said today that Elián González belonged with his father, and she roundly criticized Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and others, saying they were exploiting the boy's misfortunes.

"I believe personally that this little boy should be with his father," she said at a news conference called by state Democratic officials to endorse legislation

that would ratchet up penalties for hate crimes.

"I think that is how I would see his particular interest at this time," Mrs. Clinton said of the 6-year-old boy, "but I also believe that this is not a decision that politicians should be making."

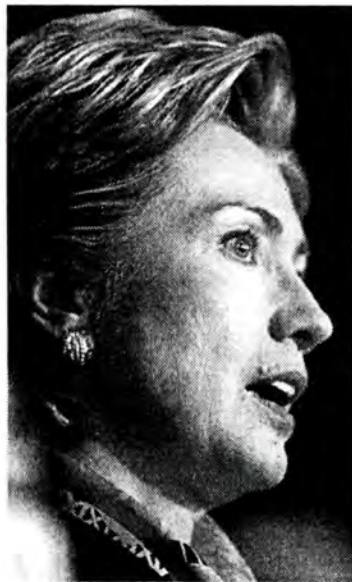
In recent weeks, politicians from Mr. Giuliani to Vice President Al Gore have called for Congressional legislation that would grant permanent resident status to Elián and allow him to remain in the United States while a family court decides whether he should be returned to his father or be allowed to stay with relatives in Miami.

Not surprisingly, Mrs. Clinton made a point of singling out Mr. Giuliani for her harshest remarks.

"I regret that the mayor has tried to politicize this issue in this Senate campaign," Mrs. Clinton said. "I wish everybody would take a deep breath, and a step back, and let's try to get this child into a safe, permanent, loving, unexploited home and family as soon as possible."

When asked whether her criticism also applied to Mr. Gore, Mrs. Clinton said: "You know, the vice president and I are going to disagree from time to time. But on all of the big issues facing our country, we are in absolute agreement."

Mr. Giuliani's office did not respond to several messages seeking comment.



Will Waldron for The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton at a news conference yesterday.

New York Times
April 4, 2000

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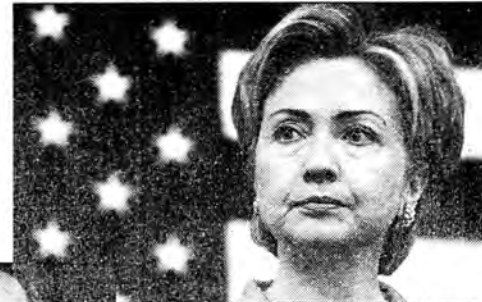
THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Lloyd Grove

Vast Right-Wing Temper

■ Friday is Hillary Day at the American Enterprise Institute. The right-of-center Washington think tank has joined forces with the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, a California group bankrolled largely by billionaire conservative **Richard Mellon Scaife**, to hold a daylong symposium in D.C. on "The Legacy and Future of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**."

Although the gabfest has the usual suspects—such Clinton antagonists as Washington author **Christopher Hitchens** and Wall Street Journal editorialist **John Fund**, and such defenders as feminist icon **Betty Friedan** and Newsweek's **Eleanor Clift**—it also presents a delicious irony: The defenders, who'll each receive a \$200 appearance fee, may get a cheap thrill from being able to spend Scaife's



FILE PHOTO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Horowitz, far left (but not politically), got absolutely livid when asked about the money behind a daylong symposium focused on Hillary Clinton.



BY ROBERT DURELL—LOS ANGELES TIMES

money—the same dollars that fund what Senate candidate Clinton once dubbed the "vast right-wing conspiracy."

"It's ironic, given that he was and is the banker to the right-wing conspiracy," participant and Clinton sympathizer **David Brock** told us. "The funding raises some questions." The center's communications director, **Monty Warner**, said that while Scaife may be a major backer of the Center for the Study of Popular

Culture (donating \$3.8 million from 1989 to 1998, according to public records), money for the Hillary conference was raised independently.

Center Director **David Horowitz** was less sanguine. When we asked him about the situation, he shouted profanities at us. "Didn't you learn from McCarthy that this kind of guilt by association is not healthy?" Horowitz demanded in a rare quotable comment. "Richard Scaife's character has been practically assassinated thanks to you liberals at The Washington Post. . . . [Bleep] you!"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Seeking leadership

Recent developments surrounding the Justice Department's criminal probe of the Clinton White House's mishandling of e-mail records has prompted the president of Provenance, a leader in software record keeping systems, to offer his firm's assistance to the administration.

We obtained a letter yesterday from Tony Summerlin to Vice President Al Gore, which says in part: "Your well-documented interest in information technology makes us confident you will take a leadership role in implementing changes that need to be made in electronic records management in the Executive Branch."

He continues: "We would welcome the opportunity to speak with you ... in outlining how the White House could prevent future embarrassments for the U.S. government and the American taxpayers."

Provenance recently created the records management standard for the Pentagon, capturing, managing and preserving all of the military's e-mail records.

Reagan sacrifice

John McClaughry was senior policy adviser to Ronald Reagan, serving in the White House Office of Policy Development from 1980 to 1982. His association with the former president began in 1965.

"If any couple ever deserved a Congressional Gold Medal for distinguished service to their country, Ronald Reagan and Nancy Reagan would be that couple," Mr. McClaughry writes in a letter to Rep. Michael Castle, a member of the Banking and Fi-

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin



Photo by Karen Ballard/The Washington Times

In this 1998 photo, the first couple listen to Vice President Al Gore's words of support after the House voted to impeach the president.

nancial Services subcommittee on domestic and international monetary policy, which oversees the U.S. Mint.

"I need not recite their accomplishments. I'm sure that has been amply demonstrated in your hearing record," Mr. McClaughry says, referring to testimony in support of HR 3591 to award the

gold medal to the Reagans.

But now, the kicker: "However, I have a serious hesitation about endorsing the awarding of such a medal."

Good grief, Mr. McClaughry, what's your beef?

"Once you establish the idea that celebrated presidential couples merit such an award, it will

not be long before another Congress — controlled by Democrats — sees fit to bestow an identical award on such as Bill and Hillary Clinton," he explains.

"Since President Clinton's current legacy in history seems to be having avoided Senate removal for compound grand jury perjury and obstruction of justice on a truly historic scale they will be sorely tempted to take some such act."

Mr. McClaughry says the Democratic members of Congress who boarded buses to travel to the White House on Mr. Clinton's day of impeachment, to "frolic with the perjurer ... on the White House lawn, would certainly have no compunction about pushing through a bill to award a gold medal to Bill and Hillary."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

How Hill's Hanging Herself

Clinton's secret police left their footprints this time



DICK MORRIS

York Times reporter Jill Abramson the same day and left a message on her voicemail describing the existence and the content of the Willey letters. The

EVEN as she complains loudly that Mayor Rudy Giuliani is invading the privacy of Patrick Dorismond by releasing his juvenile criminal justice file, interrogatories provided by a White House aide in a proceeding in Washington's U.S. District Court indicate that Hillary Clinton blatantly violated the Federal Privacy Act in approving the release of letters Kathleen Willey wrote to the president.

It has been widely reported that U.S. District Court Judge Royce Lamberth found that President Clinton willfully committed a criminal violation of the Privacy Act in releasing Willey's letters. But if Bill is guilty, Hillary is guilty as well. Indeed, Hillary's involvement in the illegal release of these protected documents is even more overt than her husband's.

In his answer to interrogatories before Lamberth's court, White House aide Sidney Blumenthal testified that he called Hillary Clinton on March 16, 1998, the day after Willey had described on the TV program "60 Minutes" how Clinton tried to grope her. Blumenthal relates that he and Hillary discussed the content of the Willey letters to the president and their inconsistency with what Willey had said in her interview. He says he and Hillary "agreed that the letters should be released."

Energized by his call with Hillary, Blumenthal called New

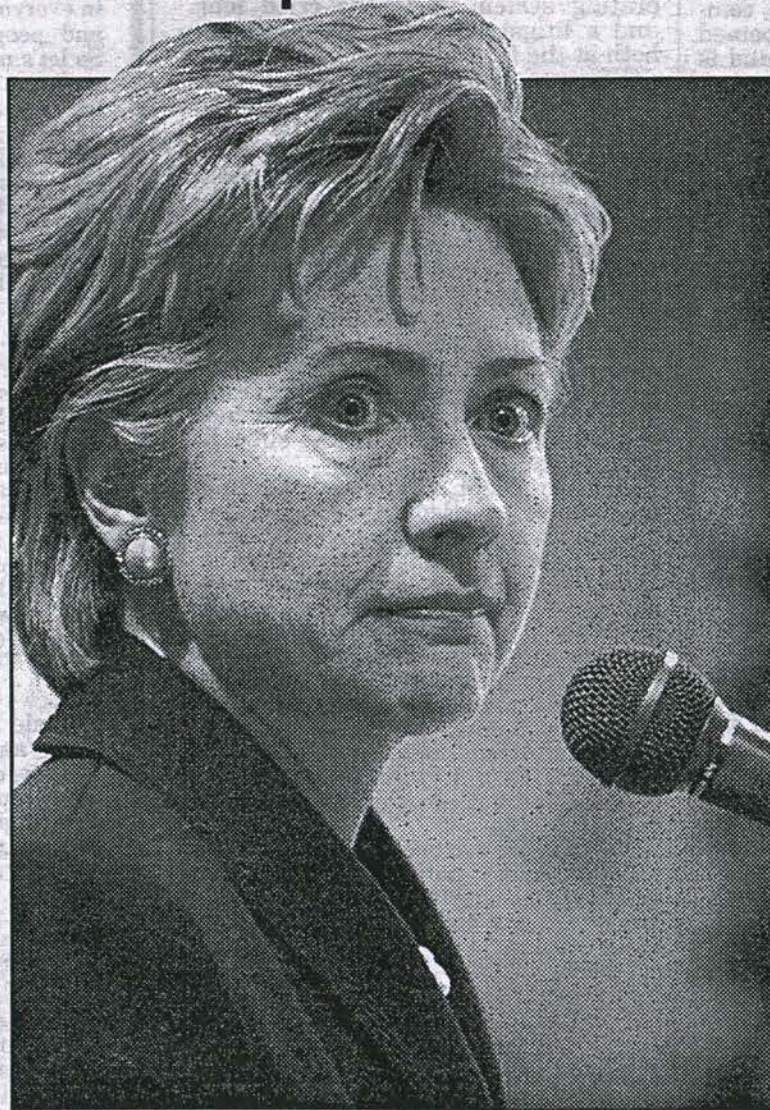
next day, March 17, Blumenthal learned that the letters had been released to the public.

Now that Lamberth has held that the release of the letters was a "criminal violation" of the Privacy Act and has mentioned Bill Clinton's culpability, it is logical to deduce that the gander is as guilty as the goose. The Hillary-Blumenthal phone call makes her so.

Those who have worked with the Clintons for years know that Bill is in charge of positives and Hillary is in charge of negatives. You go to the president over policy and to her over politics, to him concerning initiatives and to her where the focus is on combat. Whether the subject is negative ads or generating negative press publicity against an opponent, Hillary is in charge of the White House's noir operations, just as she was in Arkansas.

Blumenthal has been Hillary's hatchet man for almost a decade. In the 1996 campaign, it was he who worked to generate negative press on Kenneth Starr. Sidney was particularly gleeful when he got New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis to write a piece critical of the special prosecutor. It was his success in this endeavor that earned him promotion to the White House staff after the election.

Even while he worked at the New Yorker, Sidney was Hill-



ary's boy. It was she who pestered me to involve Sidney in the campaign and she who constantly mouthed what I knew Sidney had said to her the day before. The negative food chain

ran from Hillary to Sidney to Blumenthal's journalistic friends and former colleagues.

It would be interesting to examine any role Blumenthal (and Hillary) may have played in the

violation of Linda Tripp's privacy as well as Willey's. In 1998, this column first made the charge that the release of Tripp's Pentagon personnel file in an effort to discredit her violated the Privacy statute. The special prosecutor's office has since been investigating the question. The journey of that particular file went from Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon (the guy who hired Monica) to New Yorker reporter Jane Mayer (who co-authored a book with Jill Abramson and worked with Blumenthal at the magazine).

Did Hillary or Blumenthal know of or order the release of the Tripp file?

In any event, there is enough in the Willey letter case to hang Hillary. We have Blumenthal's sworn statement that he talked to her, that she wanted him to release the file, and that he then released it, all on the same day. We have the ruling of Judge Lamberth that the release of the file violated the Privacy Act. Ergo, Hillary and Sidney conspired to violate Willey's privacy.

All this will be very difficult for Hillary to explain as she runs for the Senate. Now, in addition to a highly negative report from Special Counsel Robert Ray which will likely indicate that she testified falsely over the White House travel office firings and that she hid documents in the Whitewater investigation, she must face liability for a violation of the Privacy Act.

More ominously for her, there is an aggressive litigant in the conservative group Judicial Watch, headed by Larry Klayman, on her trail and the matter is before the no-nonsense Judge Lamberth. Bad news for the Senate candidate.

The White House secret police struck again. But this time, they left footprints.

POSTFORUM

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 4, 2000

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THE FRONT PAGE

Why Peggy Noonan Hates Hillary So Much

by Nina Burleigh

The Case Against Hillary Clinton, by Peggy Noonan.
Regan Books, 181 pages, \$24.



There was a time, not too long ago, when a girl could walk around Washington and feel pretty special. There were a lot of living male legends still around, and they appreciated us. At an *American Spectator* dinner in 1992, on my way to the bathroom, I ran into the gray eminence of Gen. William Westmoreland. I introduced myself as a reporter, and he responded, "Well, you're a very pretty girl." How cool it was to be complimented by the man who ran the Vietnam War! Now of course the miasma of political correctness has made such exchanges rare indeed in the nation's capital. Our loss.

Peggy Noonan is the kind of woman who likes a male legend. She was the gumptious gal speech writer to Ronald Reagan in the napping years of his Presidency and the genius behind George Bush's idea that welfare be replaced by a "thousand points of light." Before Mr. Reagan, she wrote for Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather and revered them as much as she did the Gipper. She fit in with the boys, and in her memoir about the Reagan White House she always called her male compatriots "fellas" like a tough-cookie 1940's gossipeuse instead of a 35-year-old woman in the late 80's. Her last speech for Mr. Reagan was lavish with metaphors of hardness and strife, all granite ridges, storms and beacons, walls and wills. Like many members of her generation (born in the 50's) who loathe Bill Clinton, she can't forgive him for lacking the myth-making maleness of the World War II generation.

Her new book, *The Case Against Hillary Clinton*, urges New Yorkers to stop Hillary before she gets her political start. She believes that by electing H.R.C. to the Senate in 2000, we will be sending her on her way to the White House in 2004.

**Toe-sucking,
prostitute-serviced
midget
pollster Dick
Morris tells
Peggy
Noonan that
Hillary
Clinton "has
an Eleanor
fixation."**

So Ms. Noonan lists all the usual good reasons for anyone—right or left—to despise Hillary: She's power-addled, calculating, secretive, politically tin-eared, changes her hairstyle too often and embarrasses other women by saying idiotic things about wanting to become independent at age 52. Ms. Noonan also covers the thing conservatives hate about H.R.C.: She's a secret socialist who wants government to replace families in children's lives.

Ms. Noonan also gives Hillary credit for something larger. She's one half of a pair of pathological narcissists whose ideology is "Clintonism"—a creed of televised lying, professional spinning and personal ambition that has "damaged" the country in some materially unquantifiable way. Yes, the budget's balanced; yes, crime is down; yes, prosperity is at a peak; but there's something awry in America, and Ms. Noonan and her friends can feel it in their bones when they're out driving or gardening or golfing. Clintonism has imbued the nation with a sense of uncleanness, unwholesomeness, and it's everywhere—on TV, on the radio (except Rush), in the water and in the air. The little ones are being poisoned by it, and that's why they're blowing each other away at school.

To make her case, Ms. Noonan psychoanalyzes the Clintons and finds them wanting. For guidance she consults the usual authorities. One of them is the toe-sucking, prostitute-serviced midget pollster Dick Morris, who tells Ms. Noonan that Hillary "has an Eleanor fixation." Another source quotes verbatim from a book on borderline conditions to give Ms. Noonan a clinical diagnosis of the President and First Lady.

No anti-Clinton screed would be complete without the offended White House Secret Service agent who's seen it all up close. Ms. Noonan has her very own specimen. She runs into the man—whom she knew from the Bush and Reagan White House—at the 1996 Democratic convention (she was covering it for *Time* magazine). Here's her account: "I asked him how things were going. And he stood there, and looked me in the eyes, and barely, just perceptibly, shook his head back and forth. As if he didn't have words; as if the words he had should not be spoken. We said nothing for three or five seconds. And then I said, 'It's bad, isn't it?' 'You have no idea,' he said softly. 'You wouldn't believe.' And then he said good-bye and walked by himself through the lobby. And I wondered if seeing me hadn't simply reminded him of other, older White Houses, the ones he'd known before the current trauma, the ones that had given him his first and lasting sense and of what a White House is, and how it operates."

The horror! This Secret Service agent is so much more effective than ex-agent Gary Aldrich, in whose tell-all book we got underwearless interns in miniskirts and George Stephanopoulos lapping up frozen yogurt while waiting in line in mess. Ms. Noonan's "pained" Secret Service agent is so loyal he can't describe the heart of darkness. But we know from his whisper and nod that whatever's going on in the White House simply can't be uttered by decent men.

Ms. Noonan has her own test of greatness in Presidents, and it is humility. Like the good speech writer she is, she can summon up pithy historical anecdotes. Lincoln told a free slave not to kneel before him, Churchill told an adoring crowd on

V-Day that the victory was theirs, not his, and Reagan got down on his knees in his hospital room after being shot to wipe water off the bathroom floor. Bill and Hill have provided no similar acts of common decency for Ms. Noonan. Instead, Ms. Noonan writes that the Clintons "comport themselves as if respect is not what they owe you but what you owe them." She reels off the ways the Clintons have taken credit for the economy and then notes that they fail to give credit to the people who "created the economic miracle"—all those poor nameless techies and their poor, nameless venture capitalists, I guess.

Her case rambles off into nonsense. Nonsense spiked with envy. Very few of those committed to the game have the decency to leave the stage when they lose. For the past eight years, Ms. Noonan's former cronies from the Republican set in D.C. have hardly gone gently into that good night of law firms and consultancies and investment banking. No way. They have been scheming to retrieve their former positions by hook or by crook. That's why Ken Starr stood at the keyhole, and that's why half the town moved to Austin last year. We have them to thank for George W. Bush's "conservative compassion" slogan morphed into "Reformer with Results" and back again, for the craven Bob Jones University appearance and the nasty breast cancer TV spot, for every little dirty trick used to wipe John McCain off the face of the map. If you think the good ol' Governor of Texas himself is dreaming that stuff up, you would be mistaken. His handlers are, and they ain't from Texas.

They are from a place Ms. Noonan misses a lot: "the Revolution," the biggest frat-party, modern-day Washington Republicans can remember. When the Motown soundtrack was switched off by an ambitious country boy named Bill Clinton, the Reagan Revolutionaries were outraged that the voters had been manipulated by photo ops, spinning and televised lying, as Ms. Noonan defines Clintonism. They knew the voters were falling for Reaganism practiced by a younger, smarter, sexier man.

And that's when the standard of practices in Washington changed. The Reagan Revolutionaries had never been offended by grand international-scale lies told to cover up the murders of little brown people in Guatemala and Honduras in the name of fighting Communism. Suddenly they were outraged at the petty exercise of power that emptied the Clinton White House travel office of its Revolution-era staff (apparently all legal, according to the latest special prosecutor's report). They raged over lies about sex—sex and lies only made public because one of the Revolution's own had the Government Printing Office publishing pornography. (It can be argued into infinity, like the chicken or the egg: Which defiled the republic, the public document or the private act? Ms. Noonan is sure she knows the answer.)

Ms. Noonan's sometimes-clever, sometimes-dreary attack on Clintonism is delivered with a purpose: The thought of eight more years of Clintonism in the White House led by H.R.C. makes the hair on the back of her neck stand up. Her final words to her fellow New Yorkers: "Before Hillary Clinton gets to decide your future, you get to decide hers."

For Peggy and the Revolutionaries, a vicarious Clinton defeat is better than none at

all.

 [back to top](#)

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