

The Ickes & Enright Group

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25 May 1999

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Re *Penn Station editorial*FAX DATE: 5-25-99

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From

Harold Ickes

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Wednesday 5/21/99

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significant change in gun control since the Democrats lost the House in 1994," but that's only half the story. The other half is that such an obvious and necessary step should deserve any sort of superlative. The Senate left plenty of work for the House to do. Let's hope the House doesn't gut what the Senate did.

EDITORIAL / At Penn Station, Rudy Defines Rudeness Again

Let's assume that Mayor Rudolph Giuliani winds up running for some statewide office -either senator or governor-in the near future. Before he closes the deal with voters, he must do one thing in particular: He must show he can work well with others. But can a mayor who is famous for his feuds and his fury convince New Yorkers that he has the discipline to build coalitions in Washington or guide bills through the State Legislature? On Wednesday, Giuliani blew a chance to make precisely that kind of statement.

President Bill Clinton, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Gov. George Pataki and a pack of lesser luminaries had gathered at the General Post Office in Manhattan to unveil plans that will transform this marvelous old building into a new Pennsylvania Station. It's a vital project for a city that yearns to sparkle as a proud civic entity once more.

Giuliani could have chosen to put aside politics and appear with his rivals (a group that includes Pataki as well as the president). This would have helped the mayor come off as a gracious and reasonable kind of guy. It might also have allowed backers of the Penn Station project to present a united front as they seek the remaining \$134 million that is needed to fund this \$484-million job.

But forget about it. Instead-in a triumph of pettiness-Giuliani missed the ceremony, bad-mouthed the project's design and went on to question the soundness of the funding. He said yesterday that while he essentially liked the project, he worried the city could get stuck with the bill. This has the project's backers mystified. They say the \$134 million will come mainly from Albany and Washington.

In truth, there are few subtleties about any of this. A petulant Giuliani would put his own political interests ahead of a marvelous plan to restore some of the city's faded grandeur. Yet Giuliani isn't serving anyone well with his hostility. The line between hardball player and misanthrope is thinner than he thinks.

EDITORIAL / Suffolk Needs Revival of Police Cadet Program

Suffolk's effort to draw more minority candidates into the police academy while making recruitment far more difficult represents a new high in legislative befuddlement.

Two legislative initiatives are involved. One sets up a new police cadet program for candidates at the bottom of the economic ladder; the other demands a college degree of would-be candidates for the police

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28 May 1999

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Re Long Island NY Times 5.21.99

12 cc - must read

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A

The boss sent him home with a pill, but no pay, he says, and the hospital refuses to operate to repair his bones because he has no insurance. Now he cannot make the \$200 rent that he pays for his bunk in a ranch house crammed with 16 strangers.

"Please, Mother," he says as he lights a candle to the Virgin Mary.
"Send help."

In Hernpstead, a woman named Gloria fries pork chops in a kitchen that reeks of excrement. She pays \$300 a month for a small bedroom in a wood-frame house whose toilets have not flushed in over a week. Gloria hopes for something better, but she is not optimistic. "I keep looking, but no one wants a woman with three daughters," she said, her 10-year-old translating and quietly grasping her mother's meaning.

Behind louvered shutters, vinyl siding and drawn curtains in nearly every town and village on Long Island, tens of thousands of legal and illegal immigrants from Central America and Mexico are jammed into subdivided houses and partitioned apartments, biding their time in invisible suburban slums that local officials say they have little hope of controlling.

By day, these men and women perform some of the lowest jobs on the Island's booming economic ladder, cleaning the floors or pruning the shrubbery of affluent suburbanites, hauling construction materials for home builders, picking spinach in Riverhead.

By night they count up earnings far greater than anything they could have hoped for back home -- up to \$10 an hour.

With unemployment at 2.8 percent in Nassau and 3.7 percent in Suffolk, experts and local officials say many of these jobs would not get done without immigrant labor. "If we didn't have this population, the dishes and silverware in our diners probably wouldn't be clean," said Frank P. Petrone, the Supervisor of the Town of Huntington.

But the same booming economy that has drawn so many immigrants to Long Island has also created an extraordinary shortage of affordable housing and enabled some landlords to charge thousands of dollars a month to groups of men who then split the rent as many as 10 or 20 ways.

While similar overcrowding can be found in many immigrant neighborhoods in Queens and other parts of New York City, experts say the housing plight of immigrants in the suburbs is particularly acute, in part because there are far fewer social services and homeless shelters available.

As a result, many political leaders are reluctant to crack down on bad living conditions, fearing that such an effort would make homeless people of those who now have roofs over their heads.

No one knows exactly how many immigrants live on Long Island.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has not even estimated the number, a spokeswoman said. But some experts point to the growth of the Salvadoran population as a indication of the extent of the surge. In 1979, before civil war broke out in El Salvador, there were as few as 5,000 Salvadorans living on the Island. Today, according to immigrant groups and outreach workers, the number is well over 100,000.

Hondurans, Guatemalans, Mexicans and others have followed a similar path, bypassing the comparatively tight job market in New York City and moving directly to the suburbs, where apartment complexes are scarce but where three-bedroom homes can provide space for a lot more than three beds.

"They've found it almost impossible to find anything but substandard housing," said Pearl M. Kamer, chief economist for the Long Island Association, an economic development group.

"So they're doubling, tripling, quadrupling up. And therefore you have disasters."

Outreach workers point to a series of deaths that have periodically drawn attention to the housing problems of the immigrants.

In 1996, a 5-year-old girl, Melissa Castillo, died with her grandmother, Blanca Saravia, in a fire in a cramped Port Washington house; 11 others were left homeless. Jose Santos Fuentes died of exposure in 1997 after falling into a creek next to his bed under a Glen Cove overpass. The same year, Clementino Morales, a Guatemalan immigrant, was killed in a Riverhead fire that left his nine housemates homeless.

On May 1, in Huntington Station, a converted commercial building teeming with 34 Salvadorans erupted in flames, killing a woman, her 5-year-old daughter and a man who had arrived to find work just four days earlier. Another resident has been charged with murder and arson.

When deaths occur like that and overcrowded housing conditions are exposed, local officials usually resolve to do more. Now, it is the Town of Huntington's turn, but officials say they have neither the money nor the support of voters to create housing for poor immigrants or enforce building codes more vigorously.

Surviving in Suburbia No Cheap Housing and No Welcomes

✓ **L**ong Island's lack of low-cost housing can be traced to the postwar boom that drew hundreds of thousands of new homeowners to Nassau and Suffolk.

The sprawling new subdivisions that sprouted on Long Island's potato and corn fields featured winding lanes, cookie-cutter houses and a family car in every driveway.

Apartment buildings, row houses or rental units of any kind were never particularly welcome among the split level homes, picket fences and spacious lawns of the suburbs and that attitude prevails to this day.

✓ "Some of it is racism," said Jim Morgo, president of the Long Island Housing Partnership, a not-for-profit developer of low-cost housing. "But I've seen many instances of blacks and Hispanics opposing affordable housing. It has an awful lot to do with the fact that Long Island, and their home, is people's most significant financial investment. They have this myth that affordable housing in their neighborhood is somehow going to devalue their homes."

But even though some subsidized houses have been built -- Islip, with 900 homes built over the last 25 years, has produced the most -- they cannot, of course, be bought or rented by undocumented immigrants, who are ineligible for government subsidies.

"It's a trickle-down effect, if anything," Morgo said. "Somebody who's a citizen or a resident alien leaves a unit to buy one, opening up another apartment."

Lax enforcement of housing codes also leaves undocumented immigrants vulnerable to exploitation by landlords, experts say. Across the Island, most municipalities have laws limiting the number of unrelated people sharing a home, said Stefan H. Krieger, director of Hofstra Law School's Housing Right Clinic. In Smithtown, for instance, the limit is two; in Huntington, the limit is five.

But to enforce such laws, inspectors first must obtain search warrants and then prove that the people are unrelated.

✓ But more critically, town and village officials say they do not have enough inspectors to handle even a fraction of the hundreds of thousands of illegal apartments that are believed to exist on Long Island.

Even when inspections are made and citations are issued, there is no guarantee that living conditions will improve for anyone.

Huntington's public safety director, Bruce Richard, tells the story of a single-family house in Huntington Station, a few blocks from the site of the recent fatal fire.

In 1994, he said, inspectors found men living in two outdoor sheds on the property, and more people living in two apartments carved illegally out of the garage. The sheds were removed, and the owner, Estella Martinez, paid \$375 in fines. In 1997, Richard, then an inspector, checked out a report of an overflowing cesspool and discovered at least 15 people -- all of them, apparently undocumented immigrants, living on the property: in a camper parked next to the garage; in four rooms in the cellar, two of which he likened to a crawl space; and in an upstairs attic.

The house was declared unfit for occupancy, he said, and Ms. Martinez received 20 summonses, eventually paying \$1,100 in fines. But last January inspectors returned to investigate another complaint, and found

people again occupying illegal apartments in the cellar of her home, he said. She was given five more summonses and is due in court today. She could not be reached for comment, and her lawyer, Kenneth Butterfield, declined to discuss her case.

"This is not unusual, by the way," Richard said. "It's really

frustrating, when people play the system to the point where the fines that are imposed constitute the cost of doing business."

Housing Quandary Exploitation or Homelessness?

Early on a rainy morning, men slowly begin their daily trek to the Glen Cove train station, the meeting place for contractors. Usually the jobs are in construction or landscaping: \$80 for 10 hours' work.

As executives in tailored suits await the 7:30 to Manhattan, about 50 laborers, sleep still in their eyes, huddle under an overhang at the other end of the station, hoping the sky will clear so there will be work.

A police officer arrives.

"You people cannot stand here," he tells the workers. "You have to be over there." He points through the rain to a trailer that was placed there to serve as something like a hiring booth.

The scene was evidence of Glen Cove's dueling impulses. Notorious in the early 1990's for a local law meant to rid its street corners of undocumented workers, Glen Cove eventually became the first community on Long Island to provide a hiring area.

But tensions persist, and officials say they sometimes have to police the workers. "We've gotten a lot of complaints about these guys from citizens," said Detective John Nagel of the Glen Cove Police Department. "Technically it's railroad property, but if they are creating a nuisance or blocking pedestrian traffic, there are laws to make them move along."

But the working men see themselves as victims of harassment.

For example, they say, the public bathrooms next to the parking lot are always locked, so they are forced to urinate in the open -- a complaint that city officials promised to address when told of it.

"They want us for the dirtiest things," said David Antonio Molina, 29, who came to the United States three years ago from a small farming village in El Salvador.

"But we don't have many rights. And after 6 o'clock, they don't want to see you. You don't exist."

Molina lives in a basement with five other men. Upstairs are four crowded rooms, two with doors freshly carved out of the walls. In the attic, Virgilio Yanes and four other men live in one small, sloping warren with plywood walls and broken windows. Five more live in another. All the men in the attic share a single toilet and shower. Their kitchen is a hot plate on a piece of lumber.

But Yanes, who with his roommates pays \$1,175 a month in rent,

considers himself lucky.

"My dream is to stay," he says. "The situation in Salvador is critical. Here, I've got a place to stay, I work, and that's all that matters."

What he does not know is that his home is going to be raided soon by Glen Cove housing inspectors. The city has begun issuing search warrants, subpoenaing phone records and getting the names of residents from the Post Office. A list of homes with too many occupants is being drafted and Yanes's home is on it.

Mayor Thomas R. Suozzi said the crackdown on overcrowding was meant to protect immigrants from exploitative landlords -- and from themselves.

"We will not allow landlords to take advantage of people of any race and put them in dangerous conditions," he said. "On the other hand, if you come to Glen Cove, you must obey the laws."

But other officials on Long Island and the directors of advocacy groups say they realize the risks involved in taking a hard line against substandard housing.

Patrick Young, legal director of the Central American Refugee Center, which is based in Hempstead, worried aloud about what would happen if, as a result of the Huntington fire, officials started cracking down on overcrowded conditions.

"We consider that house to be better than living in a drainpipe," he said of the Huntington building. "That's the heartbreaking thing: Shutting down overcrowded, rundown houses only increases overcrowding. You can either become homeless, or go to live with someone who's already in crowded circumstances."

Petrone, the Huntington Supervisor, suggested what he called a "Band-Aid" solution: focusing code enforcement on finding and shutting down the most dilapidated and overcrowded firetraps, while working with social service groups to insure that their inhabitants find new homes.

He and other municipal officials on Long Island say that real solutions must involve cooperation among Federal, state, county and local agencies. In particular, they say, national immigration policy should be changed to allow working immigrants to obtain legal residency faster. That way people would come out of hiding, get services they are entitled to, and qualify for what little subsidized housing there is.

And Federal officials, they say, must help local governments provide more low-cost housing.

Otherwise, Petrone said, the problems will fester. "We have to come to a decision one day," he said. "Is this population fish or fowl?"

Community Frictions Fearing a Drop in Property Values

"Welcome to Farmingville," reads the sign at the corner of ~~North Ocean Avenue~~ and Horse Block Road, "Cultural Heart of Brookhaven." Next to it is a 7-Eleven -- and nearly 100 Latino men. The area, 70 miles east of Manhattan, has become a hub for cheap labor for the home builders who are rapidly developing eastern Suffolk County. Every truck that pulls up sets off a stampede of ever-hopeful day laborers.

But the growing numbers of immigrants have also produced growing tensions. Some longtime residents have videotaped day laborers and the contractors who hire them, and have given the tapes to county legislators and the police. Last July, when the day laborers at the 7-Eleven numbered as many as 300, officials sent housing inspectors and fire marshals to six rental homes, where they cited the landlords for code violations, kicked out dozens of tenants and padlocked the houses. Forty-four men pitched tents on the lawn of the Church of the Resurrection.

The raids drew national attention, but the day jobs did not disappear, and neither did the workers.

The landlords, who can get as much as \$5,000 a month renting a house to a group of men, quickly made repairs. Their tenants moved back in.

✓ Employing undocumented workers is illegal, but the risk to employers who do so is minimal. According to the I.N.S., there are 40 agents who focus on employer sanctions in Suffolk and Nassau Counties, but they are also responsible for 12 other counties, including all of New York City.

Now, Joseph Caracappa, Farmingville's representative in the county legislature, wants to make it illegal for contractors to pick up day workers on the streets. Caracappa did not return several calls to his office seeking comment.

The frictions are all too apparent in Farmingville, a working-class hamlet of 15,000. "There are bad feelings here," said Mario Ugalde, 38, who, like many of the other day workers, came from Hidalgo in western Mexico. "There is racism. They say we look at the white women. It's not true. We just want to work."

But some longtime residents say the workers are nothing more than law-breakers, stealing jobs and destroying neighborhoods. Anything like an outdoor hiring hall, they say, would only condone an illegal economy and invite more immigrants.

"These people aren't citizens, so why do they have more rights than me?" said Vincent Bullock, 75, who lives next door to two homes overflowing with men and rubbish. "There are 20 guys to a place, people in the attic, garage and basement. And more keep coming. Where is the I.R.S.? The I.N.S.? Where's the Board of Health?"

"Long and the short of it, they're knocking down my property values," he said. "And I'll be damned if I'm paying a dime to help them do it."

Out in the Open at Work Camps, Lower Salaries

If there is any irony to the living conditions of Long Island's immigrants it can be found in the old potato fields of Riverhead, where Edward R. Murrow chronicled the "Harvest of Shame" in 1960, shocking the nation with depictions of migrant workers living in shacks and chicken coops. Today's work camps are an improvement: they are clean and inspected. But today's workers have a new reason for shunning them: the jobs just don't pay.

"Landscapers are paying 8, 10, 12 dollars an hour," said Joseph M. Gergela 3d, executive director of the Long Island Farm Bureau. "A farmer just can't afford to pay his men that. A vegetable farmer can't pass the labor cost on to the consumer. And it's hard to find an immigrant, much less an American, to do the job for \$5 an hour."

To augment the low wages, farmers supply their field workers with free housing and, usually, a bonus at harvest's end. The county provides free medical care and transportation to and from its clinics.

Those who are content to take the jobs cite those benefits and the dignity of the work.

On the farm of Philip A. Schmitt, a dozen Mexican men labor on their knees, cutting fresh spinach. The smell of eggs and rice wafts out from the barracks, a clean, freshly painted cement house where the men live two to a room. Salsa music plays from somewhere.

Out in the fields, near the road, Juan Rubio, 31, is picking.

The boss is a decent man, Rubio said. Workers are given coffee and doughnuts at break time. And there is always Sunday off. He is not treated like a cheap tool made in Mexico.

"I make \$5.15, which is not as much as some other jobs," he said. "But this one is steady, every week. And when I get sick, the doctor comes. And the rent is free.

"America," he adds, "is a decent place."

But there are inescapable indignities.

From up the road, a pickup truck barrels past. Two young white men are inside, baseball caps pulled down over their eyebrows. One sticks his head out the window and yells.

"Qué pasa, frijoles!"

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AROUND

Pataki to endorse Bush

By Marc Humbert

The Associated Press

ALBANY — Gov. George Pataki, who has himself toyed with the idea of running for president, is prepared to endorse Texas Gov. George W. Bush for the nomination, a veteran New York Republican leader said Monday.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, a former congressman and major New York backer of the Texas governor, said his information came from "sources very high up in the governor's office." Molinari refused to be more specific.

Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said Molinari was simply speculating and hadn't gotten any such confirmation from anyone in the governor's office, including the governor.

The New York governor set off a round of political speculation Monday by asking top state Republican leaders to join him next week to talk over a major political announcement.

Even before Molinari spoke out there had been indications Pataki might be preparing to jump on the growing bandwagon of major party figures lining up behind Bush's expected presidential candidacy.

Such a move could help keep the New York governor on the list of potential Bush running mates, several Pataki loyalists noted. It would also quell growing criticism from Molinari and others that Pataki's continued hesitancy to get behind Bush, as most other GOP governors have done, could hurt New York Republicans.

"He hung in there as long as he could, but he has decided now to come out publicly and support George Bush and I think it's high time," Molinari, the father of former U.S. Rep. Susan Molinari, said.

"There was growing concern on the part of the elected representatives and the political operatives in the state that New York would be left out," Molinari said. "I think it forced his hand."

The Bush camp said it didn't know what was up.

"We certainly hope Governor Pataki will endorse the governor," Bush spokeswoman Karen Hughes said. "We'd welcome his endorsement. That would be very valuable."

While Molinari, a veteran of New York politics with ties to Pataki and to New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, said he was certain of Pataki's plans, there was all sorts of other speculation about what the governor might be up to.

One hot rumor had Pataki throwing his own hat in the ring for next year's U.S. Senate race that Republican Giuliani and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton are already eyeing. Fueling

that theory is the fact there is no love lost between the mayor and the governor.

"What I hear is that it's the Senate thing, that he wants to run," one veteran New York GOP operative said, speaking on condition of anonymity, said. The well-connected Republican quickly added, "it's just a little bizarre."

In fact, Pataki has said in the past that he has no interest in running for the Senate. At one point, he told *The New York Times* it would be more likely "the Hindenburg would come back together."

Another scenario had the New York governor kicking off some sort of favorite son candidacy for president, tying up the state's GOP national convention delegation to give him leverage at the event. The problem with that theory is that most political operatives, including Pataki's own, expect the nomination to be decided in the primaries, not at the convention.

One variation on that theme had Pataki announcing he was a favorite son candidate, but only to hold the delegation together for Bush's sake. That could, of course, keep Pataki in play should Bush stumble down the road.

Pataki wasn't being very helpful about his intentions.

"I'm not going to comment on what I may or may not announce next Monday," he told reporters Monday at the conclusion of an unrelated news conference at an Albany supermarket.

Had he changed his mind about the Senate?

"We'll say what we're going to say next Monday," he said.

Reminded he had earlier said he wasn't interested in the Senate nomination, he said: "Well, then I've said it in the past."

After answering a few other questions about unrelated matters, Pataki was pressed again on whether he had changed his mind about the Senate race.

"I haven't changed my opinion on anything," he said. "I'll make my statement next Monday, presumably."

So why not just say now that he had no interest in running for Senate?, a reporter asked.

"I like aggravating you," he said. "It's fun."

All county party chairmen and a host of other GOP officials were invited to the 9 a.m. meeting Monday with Pataki at a New York City hotel after which the governor was expected to make his announcement, officials said.

The Monday morning session comes after Pataki gets back from headlining a fund-raising dinner in Kansas City on Sunday for U.S. Rep. Jim Talent, the Republican candidate for governor of Missouri.

Pataki expected to back Bush, source says

By MARC HUMBERT
Associated Press

ALBANY — Gov. George Pataki is prepared to endorse Texas Gov. George W. Bush for the GOP presidential nomination, a veteran New York Republican leader said Monday.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, a former congressman and major New York backer of the Texas governor, said his information came

from "sources very high up in the governor's office." Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said Molinari hadn't gotten any such confirmation from anyone, including the governor.

The New York governor, who had been the subject of some speculation that he was weighing a White House run, on Monday asked top state Republican leaders to join him next week to discuss a major political announcement.

There had been indications Pataki might be preparing to endorse Bush's expected presidential candidacy.

Such a move could help keep the New York governor on the list of potential Bush running mates, several Pataki loyalists noted. It would also quell growing criticism from Molinari and others that Pataki's continued hesitancy to get behind Bush, as most other GOP governors have done, could hurt New York

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Lazio says he's moving toward run, challenges Mrs. Clinton

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., said Sunday he is moving toward a Senate run in 2000, and challenged the qualifications of two well-known figures considering the race: Hillary Rodham Clinton and GOP Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York.

"I'm inching closer and closer," Lazio, in his fourth term from Long Island, said on ABC's "This Week." He said he would be a strong candidate because "I think I've been a good legislator, because I stand for the right values."

Aides to Mrs. Clinton have said she is likely to form an exploratory campaign committee in June, an important step in deciding whether to seek the seat held by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

The first lady scheduled a trip Monday to New York for a book party for Matilda Cuomo, the wife of former Gov. Mario Cuomo, D-N.Y. She also was to attend a dinner for Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., who plans to run for Moynihan's seat if Mrs. Clinton decides not to enter the race.

Lowey, interviewed with Lazio, said the first lady's decision will be "sooner rather than later." The one certainty, Lowey said, was that "the next senator from New York will be a woman."

But Lazio said Mrs. Clinton, who never has lived in New York, is not qualified to represent the state.

"She needs an exploratory committee to find Elmira" and, as a native of Illinois, roots for the Chicago Cubs over the New York Mets.

"I say bring her on. I think it's a great opportunity for us to talk about who we are and what we stand for," Lazio said.

Lazio was equally critical of Giuliani, who has formed an exploratory committee to raise and spend money while he decides whether to run.

"I think he is a reluctant Republican. I think he is the

wrong candidate. I think we need to have somebody who has not endorsed Mario Cuomo," Lazio said. In 1994, the mayor endorsed the incumbent Cuomo, a liberal Democrat, over Republican George Pataki, who won.

Lazio, a moderate, also referred to Giuliani's aggressive, often antagonistic style, saying Republicans have to be "non-polarizing and inclusive" and the candidate needs to have "the right temperament to do the job."

Pataki, attending a fund-raiser in Missouri for GOP Rep. Jim Talent, who is running for governor of his state, poked fun at the notion of the first lady running in New York.

"I think it's a tremendous endorsement of our policies by Hillary Clinton, the fact that she has chosen to consider moving to New York State," he said. "But on the other hand, you have 18 million bright and talented New Yorkers. Any one of them is capable of being a fine senator in Washington. We don't need someone from Washington moving to New York. We need someone from New York moving to Washington."

A statewide poll appearing Sunday in the New York Post indicated Pataki could be a strong contender in a Senate race against Mrs. Clinton.

Pataki is considered a potential GOP vice presidential candidate in 2000.

The poll, by Zogby International of Utica, N.Y., had Pataki as the choice of 49 percent compared with 45 percent for the first lady, a statistical dead heat given the survey's margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. The telephone poll of 669 likely voters was conducted Tuesday through Friday.

Giuliani was favored by 49 percent and Mrs. Clinton 44 percent in a possible matchup, according to poll.

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AP Photo
First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will visit New York today.

She'll Do It Her Way

Clinton says she'll decide on a run at 'my own time'

By William Douglas
Washington Bureau

Washington -- Hillary Rodham Clinton said she will decide "in my own way and my own time" whether to run for the Senate, while Rep. Rick Lazio, a potential Republican challenger, yesterday branded her a power-thirsty outsider.



Newsday File Photo/Julia Gaines
Rick Lazio (R-Brightwaters)

"You can't have somebody representing New York interests who is looking for this as a platform for power," Lazio (R-Brightwaters) said on ABC's "This Week." "And shame on the Democrats, frankly, if they can't find somebody ... who's from New York to actually run for the Senate."

Lazio's broadsides came as Clinton begins a pivotal week in deciding whether to run for the Senate seat to be vacated next year by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and become the first sitting first lady to run for elective office.

ON THE WEB:

- [Hillary 4 Senate.org](http://Hillary4Senate.org)
- [Rick Lazio.com](http://RickLazio.com)

Clinton returns to New York today for her ninth visit this year, this time to speak at a fund raiser for Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), who is poised to run if the first lady does not. The next day, Clinton heads to northern Florida for a vacation with President Bill Clinton.

The first lady is to use the six-day vacation to decide whether to run for the Senate or throw her support to Lowey. Advisers say they expect her to run but not to make a formal announcement until later in the year.

Clinton will likely signal her intent by forming an exploratory committee by mid-June that will allow her to raise funds to pay for her New York visits, according to her advisers.

But Clinton said Saturday night that she has not made up her mind. Speaking aboard Executive Foxtrot One, an Air Force C-32 jet, while returning from a tour of the Southwest, Clinton said, "There are so many issues that I have to think about."

Although she has talked to more than 200 of New York's

most influential politicians, union and civic leaders, Clinton said she needs to talk to more average New Yorkers.

"So I have to figure out a way to stage any sort of decision-making so that I can spend time really out there listening to people," she said. "... That is a big part of my deciding whether this is something that makes sense."

Clinton said she does not feel pressure from state Democrats who want to know whether she is in or out.

"I think it's very understandable that people in New York want to know what my decision is, and I fully appreciate that," Clinton said. "When I make this decision, I'm going to be there 100 percent, whatever it is, and I'm not going to, I hope, regret whatever decision it is."

"So I have to make it in my own way and my own time. And I have to do it fitting it in with all the other things that I am obligated to do, that I've been scheduled to do weeks and months ahead."

A pressing and still unanswered question for Clinton is how to perform her functions as first lady and still spend enough time in New York to try to deflect the "carpetbagger" label.

"Obviously, there are responsibilities that I will still have in this position that I'll have to fulfill, but I would just not take on any new ones," Clinton said.

Clinton would face another logistical headache: how to campaign spontaneously under the blanket of Secret Service protection.

As with the president, Secret Service agents travel wherever the first lady goes. Agents travel days ahead of her to check out places she is scheduled to go. Some of Clinton's advisers say she fears that would hamper her campaign style. The issue, the advisers say, remains unresolved.

Unresolved, too, is where the Clintons would live in New York. Both the first lady and the president said they had thought about moving somewhere in the state once the president's term expires.

Clinton's lack of a New York address -- and New York roots -- was foremost on Lazio's mind. He chastised her as "someone who needs an exploratory committee to find Elmira."

"This is someone who has never lived one day in her life

in New York outside the Plaza Hotel, who never paid [former New York Governor] Mario Cuomo's taxes," Lazio said.

When asked whether he was being used by Gov. George Pataki and former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato as an instrument against Giuliani, Lazio said no.

"I'm not the anti-candidate," Lazio said. "I'm in it because I think I've been a good legislator."

Marsha Berry, Clinton's spokeswoman, declined to comment yesterday on Lazio's assertions. But Lowey, who also appeared on "This Week," defended the first lady.

"I think New Yorkers care what you stand for rather than where you're from," Lowey said.

Clinton said Saturday that she's paid little attention to the goings-on in the state Republican Party: The jockeying between potential Senate candidates Lazio and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and the major announcement Pataki is scheduled to make today.

"I haven't really had much time to focus on that," Clinton said. "I have enough problems making my own mind up."

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May 24, 1999

Budget Surplus Puzzle: Use Now, Want Later?

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

Like athletes clutching a trophy, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and City Council leaders have held up New York City's \$2.1 billion budget surplus in recent months as proof of their own financial prowess and the city's exceptional fiscal health.

Giuliani and Peter F. Vallone, the City Council Speaker, have proudly proclaimed that the record surplus would help them balance next year's budget and leave enough over to pave the way for a new round of tax cuts for city residents and businesses. But as news of the surplus strategy spread, the response has been more cranky than congratulatory: in recent weeks, everyone from labor leaders to community gardeners has accused Giuliani of hoarding the bounty.

The unions want him to set aside a chunk of the surplus for salary increases for municipal workers. Advocates for children want more for day care programs, school construction and housing for homeless families. And independent fiscal monitors say every cent of the surplus should go toward reducing the city's multibillion-dollar long-term debt.

Even the State Legislature has joined the chorus.

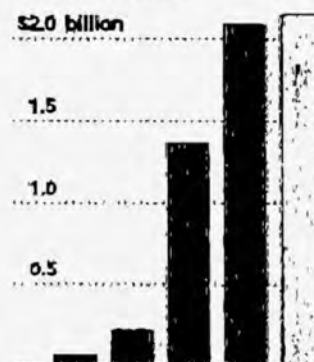
Last week, state lawmakers took the surprising step of voting to abolish the city's commuter tax, saying suburban residents who work in the city deserved a piece of the windfall.

"Thanks to Mayor Giuliani's leadership, New York City has built up a surplus of

Record Surplus

The mayor's office predicts an operating surplus of over \$2.1 billion for fiscal year 1999 — the largest ever.

New York City
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New York City has built up a surplus of more than \$2 billion," Joseph L. Bruno, the majority leader of the Republican-controlled State Senate, said after his house passed the repeal. "This is the right time to eliminate the commuter tax."

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The New York Times

Source: New York City
Office of Management and
Budget

The Giuliani administration has responded angrily to the Legislature's action, saying it cannot simply use surplus funds to make up for the expected loss of \$360 million a year in commuter tax revenues. The city must be conservative with its surplus, mayoral aides say, because the economic boom that produced it, driven mostly by Wall Street, could slow at any time.

The city's spending is growing faster than its revenues, contributing to annual budget deficits that are expected to grow in the next few years. Giuliani has been able to patch recent budget gaps with surplus revenues from the Wall Street boom. He is planning to use 80 percent of this year's surplus -- about \$1.7 billion -- to plug the expected budget gap for the fiscal year that starts July 1. "We are not taking the surplus and spending it on party favors," said Robert M. Harding, Giuliani's budget director. "Fiscal prudence dictates you do everything you can to make sure your budget gaps in the out years are under control."

The city always gets bombarded with wish lists when it has a surplus, but this year -- the third in a row that the surplus has exceeded \$1 billion -- the clamor seems louder than usual, city officials say. Douglas A. Criscitello, director of the city's Independent Budget Office, said that after several years of fiscal prosperity, people have come to expect significant increases in spending.

"An expectation has developed that a surplus will materialize each year, and everyone wants a piece of it," Criscitello said. "But they have to remember, if the economy and Wall Street return to normal levels," the surpluses will end.

While the strong economy has allowed the city to solve short-term financial problems like next year's budget gap, Criscitello and other budget analysts say that Giuliani has not taken advantage of recent surpluses to address more serious, long-term problems.

Most important, they say, the city has not made great gains in paying off its \$37 billion in long-term debt, a sum that is expected to increase rapidly in the coming years as the city is forced to borrow more heavily in order to replace its aging infrastructure.

The Independent Budget Office is predicting that the deficit will be more than \$2 billion in the coming fiscal year's \$35.3 billion budget and that it will grow to \$3.1 billion by 2003, partly because the city is expected to spend more on contracts with unions representing municipal workers.

Those unions have made some of the thundering demands for

Giuliani to share the surplus, asking that he set aside as much as \$1 billion to pay for wage and benefit increases for their members. During a labor rally in Manhattan this month, union members waved signs drawing attention to the surplus, and labor leaders gave speeches accusing Giuliani of squandering the extra money on tax cuts that primarily benefit wealthy businesses.

"There is far too much corporate welfare that goes on in this budget," said Randi Weingarten, president of the United Federation of Teachers and chairwoman of the Municipal Labor Coalition, which represents 100 municipal unions. "We are very concerned about the chasm between the rich and the poor and middle class, who helped create this surplus."

Ms. Weingarten said the city should spend part of the surplus to reduce class sizes in public elementary schools, improve health care services for the poor and cut taxes for poor and middle class residents. But fiscal monitors say it would be foolish to use the surplus for recurring expenses, whether they be salary increases, tax reductions or new city programs.

"A surplus can only be spent once, so it's not smart to use it to pay for things that continue forever," said Diana Fortuna, president of the Citizens Budget Commission, a private watchdog group. "We should be looking at what the city can afford to pay year after year."

Ms. Fortuna said that even the Mayor's tax cut proposals were risky, because the city would have to make up for the lost revenue for years to come. She said it was disturbing that even in the strongest of economic times, city officials had not figured out how to balance the budget unless revenue exceeded their estimates.

The city would be wiser to spend the money on long-deferred construction projects or to pay off some of its long-term debt, she said.

"Times are good enough that they are ignoring some of the underlying fiscal issues that they could be addressing," Ms. Fortuna said. "They ought to be worrying more about how to address some very serious problems down the road."

But Harding argued that a few carefully chosen tax cuts could go a long way toward creating future surpluses. While the commuter tax repeal will not strengthen the economy, he said, other measures, like Giuliani's proposals to reduce certain business taxes, eliminate the sales tax on all clothing purchases and offer an earned-income credit to the working poor -- some of which will probably be abandoned because of the loss of the commuter tax, could.

"The notion that you have a surplus, therefore you can do any old tax cuts, misses the point," Harding said. "But if you do tax cuts targeted to spur the economy, help create jobs, help make the city more attractive to businesses, then you help build the surplus."

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CAMPAIGN 2000

The Potholes of New York**How would the First Lady's run for the Senate mesh with—or mangle—Gore's own campaign?***By Howard Fineman*

She's made the calls Harold Ickes told her to make—all 200 of them. She's made eight trips in and around New York state, with another one this week. She's been to Ireland recently, will soon visit Israel, and the joke in the city is that Italy can't be far behind. She has talked to the consultants she wants to handle her, the moneymen who want to help her, the organizers who want to turn out the unions, blacks and liberals. This week Hillary Rodham Clinton checks off the next big item on her yellow legal pad. On a Florida vacation with her husband and daughter, she'll ask if they can think of one good reason she shouldn't run for the Senate from New York. They aren't likely to find one.

It appears that we are about to see something new in American politics: a de facto national ticket featuring a First Lady and a vice president, each laying claim to the boss's legacy. While she could still back away, sources tell NEWSWEEK that she will almost certainly form an "exploratory committee" this summer—a decision that would all but guarantee a campaign launch by fall. "She's gone from 'Tell me why?' to 'Tell me why not?'" said one of her closest advisers. "It's as close to a done deal as you can get," said another.

Nobody's promised Hillary a Rose Garden. Indeed, the spring bloom has already faded from her prospective candidacy. She began far ahead of New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani in test matches, but the two now run neck and neck in polls. Giuliani could enjoy something close to unity in the state's fractious Republican Party. Gov. George Pataki, NEWSWEEK has learned, will soon announce that he won't challenge Giuliani for the GOP Senate nomination. Still, the prospect of a tough race isn't dissuading Clinton. She knows that Democrats are on her side, and so is history. No New York City mayor has been elected to statewide office since 1868, and Robert Kennedy—another First Family member called a "carpetbagger"—won a Senate seat in 1964.

The more intriguing question is how her candidacy would mesh—or interfere—with the campaign of her putative ally in the White House, Al Gore. "The implications for Gore are very serious," former New York governor Mario Cuomo told NEWSWEEK. "She has to think very hard on this issue." She would upstage her party's presidential candidate in a critical state, but there are also some potential benefits to the pairing. "Anything that generates excitement among Democrats

is good for us," said Democratic polltaker Harrison Hickman. Being outshone is not so terrible if it draws the GOP's fire away from Gore. "And it'll give the president something to do," said another Democratic insider. "If you're Gore, do you want Clinton calling The New York Times about your campaign or Hillary's?"

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Beyond the City

Lazio Takes Aim At Hil, Rudy

By TIMOTHY J. BURGER
Daily News Washington Bureau

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WASHINGTON

Senate hopeful Rep. Rick Lazio showed off his jab yesterday, taking a few pokes at First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's ambition to run for Senate from New York.

Lazio, a Republican from Long Island, cracked that Clinton "needs an exploratory committee to find Elmira."

"This is somebody who has never lived a day in her life in New York outside The Plaza hotel . . . and roots for the Chicago Cubs," he said mockingly of the First Lady, who is originally from Chicago.

Clinton will be back in Manhattan today for a pair of Democratic fund-raisers. During a Florida vacation starting tomorrow, she is expected to discuss the Senate race with her family.

"I say, bring her on," Lazio said yesterday on ABC-TV's "This Week."

Before he gets to take on Clinton, however, Lazio will likely have to face Mayor Giuliani in a Republican primary, and yesterday he took a few shots at the mayor, too.

"I think he's a reluctant Republican. I think he's the wrong candidate," Lazio said of Giuliani.

"We need somebody who has not endorsed Mario Cuomo," Lazio added in a reminder that Giuliani had crossed party lines in 1994 to endorse Democrat Cuomo over George Pataki, the candidate of Giuliani's own party. Pataki won.



Hamburg NEWS
Rep. Rick Lazio
(R)

And in a dig at Giuliani's famous temper, Lazio repeatedly emphasized that the Senate required somebody with the "right temperament," "somebody willing to compromise and bring people together."

Giuliani spokesman Matthew Higgins said the mayor "didn't see the interview, so we don't have any comment."

The Senate spotlight will shift back to Clinton today when she arrives in Manhattan.

She will raise at least \$500,000 for Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), who has said she will seek the Senate nod if Clinton doesn't. Clinton will raise hundreds of thousands more for whomever Democrats nominate for the Senate race.

Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) said yesterday on NBC that Clinton is "edging closer and closer to running."

But he cautioned that the First Lady would "have to put the running for the Senate first, ahead of being First Lady."

Original Publication Date: 05/24/1999

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Beyond the City

Capital Stuff

Will Starr Hurt Hil for Senate?

By THOMAS M. DeFRANK
Daily News Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON

Friends and political allies of **Hillary Rodham Clinton** say it will take a major U-turn to take her out of the race, but she's still nervous that independent counsel **Kenneth Starr** — whom she is known to absolutely loathe — could foil her dreams of being the junior senator from New York when he files his final report later this year.

It's universally believed there's no chance the First Lady faces any legal jeopardy from Starr's four-year probe of the Clintons.

But any negative ink in Starr's report about her would damage her electoral prospects.

"She's in the middle of Whitewater, the travel-office firings and the missing Jones law firm billing records," worries one top Clinton source. "Depending on what he decides to say, Starr could hurt her."

Uncontrolled Muse

Did President Clinton do **Al Gore** a favor when he called The New York Times to talk about the vice president's sputtering campaign?

Some Clinton aides believe the President knew exactly what he was doing — delivering a brutal wakeup call in such a public way that even Gore's pollyannaish spinners couldn't ignore the message.

True to their craft, nevertheless, some Gore courtiers now say it was really just wonderful that their boss got zinged — enabling the veep to distance himself from Clinton by having aides pass the word he was mightily miffed about the President's condescending "help."

But others clearly saw the phone call for what it was.

"This was Clinton in high uncontrolled muse," says a top presidential adviser. "He didn't mean any harm, and the fact is he would never do Al Gore any harm — he has a huge amount riding on Gore. But to put it mildly, this wasn't helpful. Now the entire world knows that Gore's in serious trouble — and that Clinton is very worried about it."

World's Bunker King

If Serb strongman **Slobodan Milosevic** decides not to sue for peace with NATO, military sources say one of the reasons he could hold out indefinitely is an elaborate system of underground bunkers throughout Yugoslavia stockpiled with supplies and equipment.

"The Yugoslavs are the premier bunker-builders," says one administration official. "There are thousands of them scattered throughout the country. They're so good at it, in fact, that most of **Saddam Hussein's** bunkers were built by the Yugoslavs."

Which is why U.S. intelligence agencies quietly sought out the Yugoslavs for technical details of Iraq's bunkers before the Gulf war.

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NEW YORK POST

COMMENTARY

A NEW YORK SCHOOL THAT WORKS

By FLOYD FLAKE

pay to be
at a

AT PS 250 in Bushwick, principal Jim Quail and his partners in the educational process are making things happen. Test scores are going up, attendance is improving, parents are involved, the community supports his leadership style - and people are taking notice.

Home Delivery

That's rare. If the bad blood between the Board of Education and City Hall isn't grabbing the headlines, it's bad schools that get the lion's share of media attention: no-show employees, children "learning" in bathrooms, ethically challenged school boards, advocates' calls for more money and critics' demands that the funds already in the system be more wisely spent. Too often the only thing that draws a crowd of parents to a school is a report of some new abuse or danger. We have developed a culture that doesn't respond to the good schools in our midst.



That's why I thought it prudent to call attention to one of the bright and shining successful public schools where the principal, teachers, parents and students are working together to make a difference.

At a recent "Reading Day" at PS 250, nearly 100 bankers, police officers, lawyers, librarians and a host of other professionals dropped by for a morning of interaction with Jim Quail's kids. Some public schools don't have that many happy visitors in a year. Why were busy people like state Sen. Ada Smith and Councilman Ken Fisher there that morning? Part of the reason was that they know where Jim Quail's commitment is taking this school.

In fact, it was Sen. Smith's boasting about Quail and PS 250 that first tipped me off about the special things that are happening there. Quail has carefully built a political power base

that values his presence in the community. Other principals would be wise to develop similar support structures.

Quail is unapologetic in his dogged commitment to "his" children at the school and their parents and guardians. For him, the success of each child is central to his personal standard of accomplishment: If they don't succeed, then he and the rest of the staff are not succeeding. The result is evident in the support that he gets from "his" kids - Quail can scarcely walk the halls without the students receiving him like a rock star.

But the praise doesn't go to his head. The very next moment, when one of the school's crossing guards call in sick, Quail is donning a guard's vest and whistle. Jim Quail is committed to his students' well-being at every turn, whether on the street in the morning or in the classroom during the day. It is this holistic spirit that distinguishes him, and consequently his school. These are the leadership intangibles that can transform regular organizations into superstars.

Quail faces his fair share of the usual socio-economic obstacles. Many of his kids are on federal meal programs that are based upon income. But their family's poverty is supplemented by a wealth of love and care evident from teachers, custodians, and from Quail himself.

Quail sets the tone and everybody at the school seems to follow the maestro's lead. This is a perfect example for other principals, mayors or leaders in any field. If the leader sets a tone, other pieces of the organizational puzzle will fall right into place more often than not.

Quail rarely sits in his office, cloistered from the school's goings-on. That energy and spirit is matched by the commitment of PS 250's teachers. When class is in session, they don't sit behind their desks either. Instead, they are roving the room, looking for ways to make learning more dynamic and interesting.

When a little girl at Quail's school had a chronic attendance problem and her mother commiserated with Quail about being unable to get the girl to attend school, Quail got in his car and went to the girl's housing project with

his megaphone in his hand to bring her to school.

The threat of being embarrassed in front of her friends and neighbors conspired with Quail's concern for the girl to cause a positive outcome: The little girl and Quail no longer have an attendance problem. Tough love still works.

Parents joke about Quail and his willingness to do the "dirty work" that it takes to make PS 250 what it is rapidly becoming. That's why so many mothers, older siblings, PS 250 alumni, and committed volunteers fill up basement rooms with their volunteer hours helping to make the school a beacon in the community.

Parents recognize this fact and struggle to make sure that their kids get into PS 250. That's why the school's events are always well attended.

For parents' week, family and guardians are invited to have breakfast with the children. More than 3,000 parents turned out for this weeklong event. That's because Quail treats parents like customers who have a right to good service. He brags that if a parent calls him during the day, they have a promise that he will return their call before the school day is over. That's no easy task for a principal who arrives before the sun rises and often leaves after it sets.

That's what it takes to meet the needs of a community of 1,200 students, and that might even be what it takes to make some of the bad blood between City Hall and the Board of Education go away.

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Top News

New York no longer no worse than United States in job growth

Sports

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ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) - Ronald Reagan was president and Mario Cuomo was New York's governor the last time a year-to-year job growth rate was not lower than the national rate - until last month.

International

National

Private-sector employment in New York grew between April 1998 and April 1999 by 145,300 jobs or 2.2 percent, the state Labor Department reported Thursday. That was identical to the federal private-sector job growth over the same period.

Washington

Business

Wall Street

April also represented the 20th straight month in which private-sector employment advanced in New York state.

Entertainment

✓ The state's chief economist, Stephen Kagann, said that by matching the national growth in April, New York had achieved a "milestone."

Health/Science

Regional

"In the past decade, every state that has made large reductions in the burden that government imposes on the private sector has experienced an improvement in its relative rate of growth," Kagann said. "The data show that New York, which leads the nation in cutting taxes and other imposed costs, is no exception."

In January 1994, by comparison, the state's job growth was only 21 percent of the national average, Kagann said. The last time the state's job growth rate as good as tied the national rate was in January 1987.

The state's seasonably adjusted unemployment rate in April was 5.0 percent, unchanged from March 1998 and down from 5.7 percent in April 1998. The corresponding national rates were 4.3 percent in April 1999, 4.2 percent in March 1999 and 4.3 percent in April 1998.

New York City's jobless rate in April 1999 was 6.5 percent, up 0.1 of a percentage point over March but down from the April 1998 unemployment rate in the city of 8.0 percent.

Among individual counties, Hamilton (15.6 percent) had the highest unemployment rate last month while Nassau

and Albany (2.6 percent each) had the lowest.

The state's jobless figures are based on monthly surveys of 20,000 business establishments. The jobs data does not include agricultural workers, the self-employed and domestic workers in private households.

Here is a breakdown for major metropolitan areas in the state. The following are on a not seasonably adjusted basis. Under that gauge, the state's unemployment rate in April was 4.9 percent and the national rate 4.1 percent:

Here is a breakdown for major metropolitan areas in the state:

-New York City, 214,900 jobless or 6.4 percent, compared with 6.9 percent in March and 7.9 percent in April of last year.

-Albany area, 14,900 or 3.3 percent, compared with 4.0 percent and 3.6 percent.

-Binghamton area, 5,100 or 4.1 percent, compared with 4.8 and 3.9.

-Buffalo area, 29,200 or 5.2 percent, compared with 6.0 and 5.4.

-Elmira area, 2,000 or 4.6 percent, compared with 5.5 and 4.0.

-Poughkeepsie area, 4,000 or 3.3 percent, compared with 3.9 and 3.3.

-Rochester area, 23,000 or 4.0 percent, compared with 4.7 and 3.9.

-Syracuse area, 13,900 or 3.8 percent, compared with 4.8 and 4.0.

-Utica-Rome area, 6,200 or 4.4 percent, compared with 5.4 and 4.7.

-Nassau County, 17,700 or 2.6 percent, compared with 2.8 and 2.9.

-Suffolk County, 23,100 or 3.3 percent, compared with 3.7 and 3.7.

-Westchester County, 13,800 or 3.1 percent, compared with 3.5 and 3.1.

-Rockland County, 4,500 or 3.0 percent, compared with

3.2 and 3.3.

-Putnam County, 1,400 or 2.7 percent, compared with 2.9 and 2.5.

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From

Harold Ickes

12 pages including this page



First published: Sunday, May 23, 1999

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boy to HRC etc

Gender gap looms large for First Lady

Senate bid by Hillary Rodham Clinton would rely heavily on support of female voters

WASHINGTON -- First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, accelerating preparations for a likely Senate race in New York in 2000, is counting on support from women voters to help her win the seat held by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

Clinton is showcasing ties with prominent women in New York on Monday during her ninth visit to the state since Jan. 1 as she lays the groundwork for what is widely expected to be her announcement in mid-June that she is forming an exploratory committee to raise funds for her Senate race.

Clinton is expected to reach a final decision during a Memorial Day vacation with President Clinton and the couple's daughter Chelsea at White Oak Plantation in Yulee, Fla.

The formation of an exploratory committee would enable the First Lady to raise funds to finance her campaign through private contributions. Republicans have criticized her for traveling to New York on Air Force planes at taxpayers' expense.

One former senior White House adviser who remains close to Clinton said she is "nudging toward running. She's much closer than I ever thought possible."

Clinton plans two additional trips to the state in early June and a politically valuable trip to Israel later in the month.

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is expected to seek the Republican nomination for the Senate seat. New York Gov. George Pataki has scheduled a political announcement on Monday, sparking speculation that he also might seek the nomination.

During her visit Monday, Clinton is expected to raise more than \$1 million at two fund-raising events. She will appear at a \$1,000 per person fund-raiser for Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., the veteran six-term House member who has vowed to seek the same Senate seat if Clinton declines to run.

Clinton also will appear at an exclusive \$10,000 per person fund-raiser at a private residence in Manhattan. The \$500,000 expected to be raised there will go to the Democratic Senate nominee.

Clinton also plans to take part in a book party honoring Matilda Cuomo and her new book, "The Person Who Changed My Life." Cuomo, wife of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, asked Clinton to write the forward for the book.

The First Lady also is taking part in an awards gala at Lincoln Center where the Americans for the Arts will honor her and two prominent patrons of the arts -- Brooke Astor and Agnes Gund.

Clinton's multiple appearances with prominent women in New York underscores her ongoing effort to highlight her commitment to issues of concern to women voters, including child care for working women, the role of women in society and strengthening public education.

William Schneider, a public opinion specialist at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., says Clinton is already reaping a windfall from women voters in New York.

"Women who are Democrats and independents really have a reason to vote for her," says Schneider. "They want to make a statement about how she has been wronged and support her effort to strike out on her own."

Schneider added: "Supporting her sticks a thumb in the eye of the Republican Congress, as if they're saying, 'Take that, you middle-aged, conservative old white men.'"

Public opinion polls show sizable support for the First Lady in a hypothetical Senate race against Giuliani.

While polling has narrowed overall between Clinton and Giuliani, Clinton has maintained a large lead among women. The Quinnipiac College Poll completed April 20 shows Clinton leading Giuliani

among women by 17 percentage points -- 54 to 37 percent -- a margin that more than accounts for her eight percentage point lead over Giuliani among all voters.

"Women always vote a little more for Democrats, but in Hillary's case, it's not just the gap, it's a chasm," says Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute.

Ruth Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in New Jersey, predicts that Clinton will continue to benefit from an edge among women voters.

"To the extent anyone can predict anything in politics and elections this far ahead, I'd have to say that if Hillary Clinton runs for the Senate from New York, she will benefit from the gender gap."

Women voters helped propel Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., to victory last fall over incumbent Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y. Schumer won the votes of 59 percent of women compared to D'Amato's 40 percent share, more than accounting for the Democrat's 55 percent to 45 percent victory over D'Amato.

Women exceed men in New York not just in voting registration, but also in actually turning out to vote. According to a U.S. Census Bureau survey taken after the 1996 election, 52.3 percent of 1996 actual voters were women.

Ellen Malcolm, president of Emily's List, which raises helps bankroll women who support abortion rights and are running as Democrats, says her network will support Clinton in New York.

Malcolm says a Clinton-Giuliani race would be decided in the suburbs, where independent minded so-called "soccer moms" are often the deciding factor in close races.

"Hillary will do better upstate than Democrats usually do, and Giuliani will do better in (New York City) than Republicans usually do," Malcolm said. "So the battle will be in suburbia, among suburban women."

Geraldine DeAngelo, president of the New York State Federation of Republican Women, said Clinton may be underestimating the pitfalls of a New York candidacy.

"Don't think that just because she's a woman, she's got all the woman in New York state behind her," DeAngelo said. "I think she'll be in for a big fight,"

Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, echoed the sentiment: "The best day (Clinton) has will be the day before she announces."

In addition to formation of the exploratory committee, Clinton plans to continue her efforts to forge close ties with the main Democratic constituencies that she would rely upon in a Senate race. The First Lady plans a June trip to Israel to become the first member of the first family to meet in Israel with newly elected Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

Clinton has been working for months to ease concerns of Jewish Americans who expressed worry over her remarks at a meeting in Davos, Switzerland, last year when she voiced support for an independent Palestinian state.

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the full story

Herald American Post-Standard Herald-Journal

Run by first lady likely to stir passions

A Hillary Rodham Clinton bid for the Senate would fire the electorate, pundits predict.

By Erik Kriss

When Robert F. Kennedy came to Oswego in 1964, Catholic school students lined the shoulders of Route 481, hoping for a glimpse.

People were thrilled when Kennedy stopped his motorcade to shake hands. Five thousand packed the front of City Hall to hear him speak about the strategic importance of Oswego in military history.

"The Kennedys," said former Oswego Mayor John Sullivan, "just evoked in people a passion and interest we have not seen since."

Not, perhaps, until first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the same U.S. Senate seat Kennedy won back in 1964.

The president's wife is expected to form an exploratory committee for a New York campaign for the Senate and is laying the groundwork for a race, advisers said last week.

U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer, visiting Syracuse Saturday, said there's a good chance Clinton will run. He said she has sought his advice several times, and he said he told her that if she runs, she has to run hard to win over New Yorkers.

"You can't be half-time Senate candidate and half-time first lady," said Schumer, a Democrat.

Sullivan, who served as chairman of the state Democratic Party's executive committee, said he would put Mrs. Clinton in the Kennedys' category.

"Particularly," he said, "among women's groups and people who've not been part of the process. She can evoke hope and enthusiasm."

Or outrage and cynicism, if you're a Republican.

"She will generate an anti-vote," an anybody-but-Clinton vote, pollster John Zogby said.

But most Democrats are looking on the bright side of a Clinton candidacy - which aides cautioned is not certain.

They say they believe a Clinton Senate candidacy would create a new generation of volunteers and others who haven't been involved in politics - much the way Robert Kennedy and his brother, President John F. Kennedy, inspired new people to join the party.

Overall voter enrollment in New York rose more than 15 percent between the fall of 1963 and the fall of 1964. Enrollment among Democrats rose 21 percent.

"It brings a lot of energy to the race and brings a lot of new people into politics," said Erie County Democratic Chairman Steven Pigeon. "Every time one of these watershed things happens, you get a whole new generation of people who get involved and stay involved."

"We've had tons of calls from people saying they want to volunteer - people who have never called to volunteer before," he said.

Drawing attention to the race would be no problem.

"The work to be done to ensure crowds are present and that the media cover events, that wouldn't have to be done with her race," said state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, D-Cicero.

Democrats believe that Clinton, to overcome the stigma of being a carpetbagger, would have to start visiting New York early and often. And the media attention and contributions such visits would generate would help Democrats running for local office in 1999, Democrats contend.

Already, Clinton has offered to help Erie County Executive Dennis Gorski's re-election campaign, Pigeon said.

With a 12-12 deadlock on the Onondaga County Legislature and Democrats looking to gain the majority, a Clinton candidacy could help, local Democrats said.

"I'm sure we could throw one heck of a fund-raiser for the county legislature candidates if she were to attend," said Assemblyman William Magnarelli, D-Syracuse. "I think we'd have a full house."

Bragman said he believes it's important to both Clinton and local candidates that she campaign with and raise money for them.

"I think it's important to forge a relationship and ensure there is grass-roots support," he said.

Democrats believe Hillary Rodham Clinton on the 2000 ticket would boost fund-raising at all levels for the party.

Pigeon said the state Democratic committee doubled sales to a recent

fund-raiser within a week of announcing that Clinton would be there.

"She will energize (local) party fund-raising because she will be making appearances at local fund-raisers," he said.

And Democrats believe a Clinton candidacy would drive up voter turnout even more than usual in a presidential election year.

"She has the capability as a Clinton to generate pretty substantial turnout among African-Americans, Latinos, lower-income voters, the same sort of an impact that Bobby Kennedy had in 1964," Zogby said. "From the bottom up as well as the top down, it energizes the Democratic Party."

But while higher turnout would help Democrats in places like New York City, Buffalo and Albany, it might not in Republican-dominated Central New York.

"The fact that she'd be running for office in New York state would bring out a lot of people - on both sides," said Assemblywoman Joan Christensen, D-Syracuse, who faces re-election next year.

Reminded that prominent Downstate Democrats are practically begging Clinton to run, Christensen said, "That's in the city (of New York). I live Upstate."

Does that mean Clinton's presence on the ticket might not help someone like Christensen?

"That's exactly right," Christensen said. "I think she has as many foes as she has friends."

Magnarelli said he thinks a Clinton candidacy is good for politics, period.

"Anyone who can generate excitement into a race is good not for me, per se, but for the process," he said. "If she's going to generate interest in government and issues, then to me that's good for everybody."

"Nobody's voting anymore, and here's a person who may get people out to vote one way or the other. That's good for process, and if she helps get Democrats elected, all the better."

Catie O'Toole contributed to this report.

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5/24/99

Today's HOTLINE

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HURTS GORE THE MOST?

ABC's Stephanopoulos, on an HRC bid: "The big loser in that decision is Vice-President Al Gore and other Democrats. You know he, one, loses Mrs. Clinton's ability to energize Democrats across the country. But even more, Republicans are going to make Hillary Clinton Al Gore's running mate across the country and ... that will hurt the Vice-President with swing voters and independents, the kinds of people he needs to win" ("This Week," ABC, 5/23).

Newsweek's Howard Fineman on what HRC running does to Gore's campaign: "That's the last thing that Al Gore wants, is a replay of the tape of the last year and a half. He's going to be out there making new proposals about where he wants to take the country, so it's a problem for him" ("Reliable Sources," CNN, 5/22).

New Yorker's Joe Klein on what HRC running for the Senate does to Al Gore: "I think that this is kind of tough for Al Gore, because what's going to happen is that we're going to rehearse all of the scandals of the last seven years in the New York Senate race and you're going to have a situation where Mrs. Clinton would say something on one day, and the next day, 200 reporters would ask Al Gore, 'Mrs. Clinton said this about her health care plan. What do you think?' I think it doesn't work to the vice president's advantage." Klein, on the idea of HRC running: "Well, it's a pretty strange idea. It's a unique idea, I guess, but then she's probably more qualified to do this than many of the professional wrestlers who are going out and running for office around the country" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 5/23).

USA Today's Susan Page: "I think the Gore people are not happy with the idea that Hillary Clinton's going to run for Senate, because -- take some fundraising away from him, some money and take some attention and excitement of Democratic voters, especially women voters and liberal voters who may be focused more on the New York Senate race than on his race for president" ("Late Edition," CNN, 5/23).

PUNDITS PUT IN A LITTLE OT

NPR's Mara Liasson, on HRC's intent to announce whether she's running by September: "She's not like the President. She's on time, you know, she keeps her schedule. ... They run a tight ship over there in Hillaryland" ("Special Report," FNC, 5/21).

The Standard's Bill Kristol: "I will predict now, I think she is going to run and Hillary Clinton will run way behind the presidential ticket in New York. I think the Democrats will carry New York at the presidential level, but I don't think Mrs. Clinton will beat Giuliani or Lazio" ("This Week," ABC, 5/23).

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May 21, 1999

City's Unemployment Rate Stays at Its Lowest, Reassuring Wary Economists

By LESLIE EATON

New York City businesses continued to add new jobs at a rapid pace in April and the unemployment rate remained near its lowest level in a decade, reassuring some economists who had feared that it would rebound after its sharp drop in March.

After adjustment for seasonal factors, the unemployment rate in the five boroughs edged up to 6.5 percent in April from 6.4 percent in March, according to data released Thursday by the State Department of Labor. Both figures are sharply lower than February's unemployment rate of 7.6 percent; a year ago, unemployment in the city was 8 percent.

"I'm glad to see it's down, I'm glad it didn't bounce back up," said Jim Brown, an analyst for the agency. Unemployment figures, which are extrapolated from a sampling of households, are traditionally volatile, he said.

Nevertheless, he noted, the underlying trend in the city has been for unemployment to decline for several years. In June 1997 the rate, which is the percentage of people seeking work as a percentage of all the people working or looking, was close to 10 percent.

The number of new jobs in the city rose in April by 14,000, according to state figures, which are derived from a survey different from the unemployment data. The gains were largest in construction, retailing and services to businesses and individuals.

But while the number of jobs in the city rose, the number of city residents with jobs fell by about 29,000, according to state data. The unemployment rate stayed low because the number of people looking for jobs also fell, by almost 9,000.

Brown cautioned against assuming that the difference between the rising number of jobs and falling employment is caused by people commuting into the city to work, noting that many city residents



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New York Times' William Safire: "I'm almost certain that she will run. She's going into kind of an interesting New York political situation. Everybody assumes that Mayor Giuliani will be the candidate for Senate, but like a cloud on the horizon, you've got a congressman from Long Island, Rick Lazio, who will be running in the primary against them. He's got a couple million bucks in his pocket and he might make it an interesting race. ... Everybody assumes, 'oh, you can go into New York and run as a carpetbagger,' and they point to Robert Kennedy. Kennedy won in a squeaker in a year that Lyndon Johnson won in a landslide" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 5/23).

George's Tony Blankley: "She's going to disappoint an awful lot of Democrats and a few Republicans if she doesn't announce" ("Late Edition," CNN, 5/23).

NBC's Russert: "The people up in Buffalo and Rochester, who are the swing voters in any statewide race, they have to decide which is more foreign: the mayor of New York City or a carpetbagger from outside" ("Meet the Press," 5/23).

CNN's Morton on whether or not HRC will run: "It's the best guessing game in politics right now" ("IP," CNN, 5/21).

U.S. News's Steve Roberts: "I think to some extent, she is underestimating the polarizing nature of her candidacy and how tough it's going to be. She's got an awful lot of people who want her to run because it would be good for the party in New York, good for fund raising, but I'm not sure they have her interests at heart" ("Late Edition," CNN, 5/23).

New York Times' Rick Berke: "The Hillary-running-for-Senate story is not just a state Senate campaign. It's a White House story, too. There's going to be all kinds of related stories about Clinton's role in her campaign. Everyone will revisit all the investigative questions about her, about the White House and everything else. You just know it's going to come up again and again" ("Reliable Sources," CNN, 5/22).

CAN YOU SAY FIZZLE

Pataki's major announcement was this a.m. He became the 17th gov. to endorse George W. Bush's WH 2000 bid. As for the senate race, Pataki: "I've been in politics long enough to know you never say never but let me make it very clear I have no intention of running for the Senate." The gov. said he would back the GOP nominee, whether it is Lazio, who was invited to today's announcement, or Giuliani, who was not (Humbert, AP, 5/24).

also work outside the city.

Some economists suggest that the underlying data may be flawed in some way but it is not clear exactly how. In March, the number of people with jobs plunged by 50,900 and the number of city residents looking for work fell by 44,400, according to the city comptroller's office, which adjusted the numbers for seasonal factors. Both declines are unusually large for a single month.

A statement from the Comptroller's office expressed concern about the figures, which "suggest that even though there has been a steady increase in jobs, there has been a decline in the number of city residents working or looking for work."

Within the city, the lowest unemployment rate was in Staten Island, at 5.1 percent. In Manhattan, the rate was 5.4 percent; in Queens, 5.8 percent; in the Bronx, 7.5 percent, and in Brooklyn, 7.6 percent. None of these figures is seasonally adjusted.

Though it has come down sharply, the city's unadjusted unemployment rate of 6.4 percent remains sharply higher than the rate for the state over all of 4.9 percent and than the national rate of 4.1 percent.

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5-18-99

AROUND

Pataki to endorse Bush

By Marc Humbert

The Associated Press

ALBANY — Gov. George Pataki, who has himself toyed with the idea of running for president, is prepared to endorse Texas Gov. George W. Bush for the nomination, a veteran New York Republican leader said Monday.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, a former congressman and major New York backer of the Texas governor, said his information came from "sources very high up in the governor's office." Molinari refused to be more specific.

Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said Molinari was simply speculating and hadn't gotten any such confirmation from anyone in the governor's office, including the governor.

The New York governor set off a round of political speculation Monday by asking top state Republican leaders to join him next week to talk over a major political announcement.

Even before Molinari spoke out there had been indications Pataki might be preparing to jump on the growing bandwagon of major party figures lining up behind Bush's expected presidential candidacy.

Such a move could help keep the New York governor on the list of potential Bush running mates, several Pataki loyalists noted. It would also quell growing criticism from Molinari and others that Pataki's continued hesitancy to get behind Bush, as most other GOP governors have done, could hurt New York Republicans.

"He hung in there as long as he could, but he has decided now to come out publicly and support George Bush and I think it's high time," Molinari, the father of former U.S. Rep. Susan Molinari, said.

"There was growing concern on the part of the elected representatives and the political operatives in the state that New York would be left out," Molinari said. "I think it forced his hand."

The Bush camp said it didn't know what was up.

"We certainly hope Governor Pataki will endorse the governor," Bush spokeswoman Karen Hughes said. "We'd welcome his endorsement. That would be very valuable."

While Molinari, a veteran of New York politics with ties to Pataki and to New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, said he was certain of Pataki's plans, there was all sorts of other speculation about what the governor might be up to.

One hot rumor had Pataki throwing his own hat in the ring for next year's U.S. Senate race that Republican Giuliani and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton are already eyeing. Fueling

that theory is the fact there is no love lost between the mayor and the governor.

"What I hear is that it's the Senate thing, that he wants to run," one veteran New York GOP operative said, speaking on condition of anonymity, said. The well-connected Republican quickly added, "it's just a little bizarre."

In fact, Pataki has said in the past that he has no interest in running for the Senate. At one point, he told *The New York Times* it would be more likely "the Hindenburg would come back together."

Another scenario had the New York governor kicking off some sort of favorite son candidacy for president, tying up the state's GOP national convention delegation to give him leverage at the event. The problem with that theory is that most political operatives, including Pataki's own, expect the nomination to be decided in the primaries, not at the convention.

One variation on that theme had Pataki announcing he was a favorite son candidate, but only to hold the delegation together for Bush's sake. That could, of course, keep Pataki in play should Bush stumble down the road.

Pataki wasn't being very helpful about his intentions.

"I'm not going to comment on what I may or may not announce next Monday," he told reporters Monday at the conclusion of an unrelated news conference at an Albany supermarket.

Had he changed his mind about the Senate?

"We'll say what we're going to say next Monday," he said.

Reminded he had earlier said he wasn't interested in the Senate nomination, he said: "Well, then I've said it in the past."

After answering a few other questions about unrelated matters, Pataki was pressed again on whether he had changed his mind about the Senate race.

"I haven't changed my opinion on anything," he said. "I'll make my statement next Monday, presumably."

So why not just say now that he had no interest in running for Senate?, a reporter asked.

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All county party chairmen and a host of other GOP officials were invited to the 9 a.m. meeting Monday with Pataki at a New York City hotel after which the governor was expected to make his announcement, officials said.

The Monday morning session comes after Pataki gets back from headlining a fund-raising dinner in Kansas City on Sunday for U.S. Rep. Jim Talent, the Republican candidate for governor of Missouri.

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Pataki expected to back Bush, source says

By MARG HUMBERT
Associated Press

ALBANY — Gov. George Pataki is prepared to endorse Texas Gov. George W. Bush for the GOP presidential nomination, a veteran New York Republican leader said Monday.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, a former congressman and major New York backer of the Texas governor, said his information came

from "sources very high up in the governor's office." Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said Molinari hadn't gotten any such confirmation from anyone, including the governor.

The New York governor, who had been the subject of some speculation that he was weighing a White House run, on Monday asked top state Republican leaders to join him next week to discuss a major political announcement.

There had been indications Pataki might be preparing to endorse Bush's expected presidential candidacy.

Such a move could help keep the New York governor on the list of potential Bush running mates, several Pataki loyalists noted. It would also quell growing criticism from Molinari and others that Pataki's continued hesitancy to get behind Bush, as most other GOP governors have done, could hurt New York

Republicans.

"He hung in there as long as he could, but he has decided now to come out publicly and support George Bush and I think it's high time," Molinari said.

"There was growing concern on the part of the elected representatives and the political operatives in the state that New York would be left out," Molinari said. "I think it forced his hand."

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21 May 1999

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Re WST *white* 5.21.99 about *white* *white*

Memorandum to The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Cc Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Susan Thomases
By fax 212-327-4327

Janet Green

373-3512

373-1142 (H)

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ONLINE

W.S. Journal 5.21.99

Inside Campaign 2000, the New Battleground Is the Net

By JOHN SIMONS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Cancel that benefit dinner. The next hot fund-raiser for presidential hopefuls is the Web.

The Federal Election Commission paved the way for presidential candidates to boost campaign coffers via the Internet. Under a draft proposal, which needs final approval, the government could begin distributing funds to match credit-card donations that candidates receive over the Internet. As it is now, only donations received by check or other "written instrument" are eligible for matching funds.

So with 45% of Americans regularly surfing the Internet, and many using credit cards for online purchases, next year's presidential election promises to be the first in which candidates compete widely on the Web.

That's thrusting a handful of relative unknowns in Washington into the political spotlight. They are Internet campaign strategists. More than technicians who merely construct a site, these Web counselors see themselves as a new breed of political adviser to give candidates an edge in an increasingly important channel to raise funds and recruit volunteers.

They hail one early success. On a

VoteForMe.com

Bill Bradley, Democrat

Plus: Extensive, well-written biography

Minus: Utilitarian design; not very jazzy, creative

www.billbradley.com

Vice President Al Gore, Democrat

Plus: Gore personally answers questions posted in the "Town Hall"

Minus: Hard-to-find campaign financial report

www.algore2000.com

Texas governor George W. Bush, Republican

Plus: Contains a mirror site in Spanish

Minus: Site too sparse for a front-runner

www.georgewbush.com

Patrick Buchanan

Plus: Site reacts quickly to news events

Minus: Too text-heavy, opening page has no graphic

www.gopatgo.org

shoestring budget, 44-year-old Phil Madsen developed a Web site that last year attracted voters to Jesse Ventura, the upset winner in Minnesota's gubernatorial race. Mr. Madsen periodically sent e-mail updates to alert supporters to rally sites, and to squelch campaign rumors about the views of Mr. Ventura, a former pro wrestler.

Lynn Reed, 29, hopes to make her Web site for Democratic presidential candidate

Bill Bradley "sticky," cyber-slang for a Web page that lures fickle viewers, holds their attention and compels them to return. She and other web advisers focus on everything from a campaign Web site's overall tone to arranging pictures and text. Click on billbradley.com, and there are photos of the candidate cradling babies at campaign stops and descriptions of his days as a New York Knicks basketball star.

Each of the 2000 presidential cam-

paigns has a Web site, some better than others. Republicans Steve Forbes and Lamar Alexander have squabbled over who first announced candidacy on the Internet. Trailing them, by setting up a site last month, was Vice President Al Gore—still smarting from jokes about his claim that he "took the initiative in creating the Internet."

Ms. Reed, who has a two-person firm, NetPolitics Group, signed on with former New Jersey Sen. Bradley after running the Clinton/Gore Web site in 1996. For a \$4,000 monthly consulting fee, she screens speeches and position papers before they go on the site, brainstorms design ideas to make the site easier to navigate, manages incoming e-mail and credit-card contributions from supporters, and talks to Mr. Bradley's closest advisers about what he wants on the Web site.

One thing he wants is donations. Mr. Bradley already had hired lawyers to persuade the Federal Election Commission to make credit-card donations via Web sites eligible for the federal matching-funds program. To date, the commission has reasoned that checks were easier to trace.

Through mid-April, Mr. Bradley's campaign has raised \$30,000 via the site, and as

Please Turn to Page B4, Column 3

Presidential Hopefuls Will Battle for Job Over Internet Sites

Continued From Page B1

of this week, Mr. Gore's site rang up \$18,500. "We only know a tiny amount about how the Internet attracts voters," says Ms. Reed. "We are all still figuring this out."

So are candidates. In 1997, New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman wasn't thrilled to find a snapshot of herself as a gangly teenager on her re-election Web site. But site designer Robert Arena Jr. says he convinced her that the pictures helped to "humanize" her appearance.

Last election, Ms. Reed used an Internet attack strategy for Democratic congressional candidate Brian Baird in Washington state. His opponent, Republican Don Benton, had missed more than 400 votes during four years in the Washington state Senate. So Ms. Reed developed a site called "missedvotes.com."

Responding during the election, Mr. Benton said he didn't miss any of the important votes, an aide says. But Ms. Reed says, "Our site gave voters information that showed otherwise." Negative campaigning on the Internet can seem more "mean spirited," she says, than a half-minute TV spot. But humor can disarm that, she adds. So her site featured a care-free cartoon character merrily skipping off from work, plane ticket in hand.

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18 May 1999

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Harold Ickes

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^Top New York GOper: Pataki to endorse Bush<

^Eds: Updates with Molinari saying Pataki to endorse Bush, new in top 11 grafs; edits to conform. Moving on news and political circuits<

^By MARC HUMBERT=

^AP Political Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) — Gov. George Pataki, who has himself toyed with the idea of running for president, is prepared to endorse Texas Gov. George W. Bush for the nomination, a veteran New York Republican leader said Monday.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari, a former congressman and major New York backer of the Texas governor, said his information came from "sources very high up in the governor's office." Molinari refused to be more specific.

Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said Molinari was simply speculating and hadn't gotten any such confirmation from anyone in the governor's office, including the governor.

The New York governor set off a round of political speculation Monday by asking top state Republican leaders to join him next week to talk over a major political announcement.

Even before Molinari spoke out there had been indications Pataki might be preparing to jump on the growing bandwagon of major party figures lining up behind Bush's expected presidential candidacy.

Such a move could help keep the New York governor on the list of potential Bush running mates, several Pataki loyalists noted. It would also quell growing criticism from Molinari and others that Pataki's continued hesitancy to get behind Bush, as most other GOP governors have done, could hurt New York Republicans.

"He hung in there as long as he could, but he has decided now to come out publicly and support George Bush and I think it's high time," Molinari, the father of former U.S. Rep. Susan Molinari, said.

"There was growing concern on the part of the elected representatives and the political operatives in the state that New York would be left out," Molinari said. "I think it forced his hand."

The Bush camp said it didn't know what was up.

"We certainly hope Governor Pataki will endorse the governor," Bush spokeswoman Karen Hughes said. "We'd welcome his endorsement. That would be very valuable."

While Molinari, a veteran of New York politics with ties to Pataki and to New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, said he was certain of Pataki's plans, there was all sorts of other speculation about what the governor might be up to.

One hot rumor had Pataki throwing his own hat in the ring for next year's U.S. Senate race that Republican Giuliani and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton are already eyeing. Fueling that theory is the fact there is no love lost between the mayor and the governor.

"What I hear is that it's the Senate thing, that he wants to run," one veteran New York GOP operative said, speaking on condition of anonymity, said. The well-connected Republican quickly added, "it's just a little bizarre."

In fact, Pataki has said in the past that he has no interest in running for the Senate. At one point, he told The New York Times it would be more likely "the Hindenburg would come back together."

Another scenario had the New York governor kicking off some sort of favorite son candidacy for president, tying up the state's GOP national convention delegation to give him leverage at the event.

F-1 to

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The problem with that theory is that most political operatives, including Pataki's own, expect the nomination to be decided in the primaries, not at the convention.

One variation on that theme had Pataki announcing he was a favorite son candidate, but only to hold the delegation together for Bush's sake. That could, of course, keep Pataki in play should Bush stumble down the road.

Pataki wasn't being very helpful about his intentions.

"I'm not going to comment on what I may or may not announce next Monday," he told reporters Monday at the conclusion of an unrelated news conference at an Albany supermarket.

Had he changed his mind about the Senate?

"We'll say what we're going to say next Monday," he said.

Reminded he had earlier said he wasn't interested in the Senate nomination, he said: "Well, then I've said it in the past."

After answering a few other questions about unrelated matters, Pataki was pressed again on whether he had changed his mind about the Senate race.

"I haven't changed my opinion on anything," he said. "I'll make my statement next Monday, presumably."

So why not just say now that he had no interest in running for Senate?, a reporter asked.

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18 May 1999

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Re *Press Clippings*
Commuter Tax issue

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By fax 202-456-6244

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THE NEW YORK TIMES METRO MONDAY, MAY 17, 1999

REGION

Giuliani and McCall Fight Repeal of Commuter Tax

By DAVID M. HERSHENHORN

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, so often at political odds, teamed up yesterday to denounce plans by the State Legislature and Gov. George E. Pataki to repeal a tax on suburbanites who work in New York City.

At a City Hall news conference, Mr. Giuliani, a Republican, and Mr. McCall, the state's highest-ranking elected Democrat, accused the Legislature and the Governor of playing politics with New York City's budget. Repealing the tax would deprive the city of at least \$210 million a year.

"Sometimes the game of politics goes out of control, and this is a situation in which the game is overwhelming the public good," Mr. Giuliani said, noting that the impetus for the tax repeal grew out of politicking in a special election for a vacant State Senate seat in Rockland and Orange Counties.

The State Senate could vote as early as today to approve the measure, paving the way for the Assembly to pass it and Mr. Pataki to sign it several days before the May 25 special election.

Both the Republican and Democratic candidates in this race are seeking to take credit for the repeal.

Mr. Giuliani has vowed to fight the repeal in court with a lawsuit arguing that the state needs the city's approval, in the form of a so-called home-rule message, to repeal the tax. Just two weeks ago, Mr. Giuliani said, the State Assembly had planned to extend the tax and had asked for a home-rule message to do so.

Mr. McCall said that the tax repeal was unconstitutional because it applied to New York residents but not commuters from other states. If the tax were repealed for all commuters, he said, it would cost the city \$260 million a year, causing "a considerable hole in the city's budget."

Yesterday's news conference at City Hall was unusual because Mr. Giuliani and Mr. McCall are frequently on the opposite sides of one political issue or another, and their offices are constantly arguing against each other in court, often over Mr. McCall's efforts to audit city agencies or programs.

Mr. McCall's appearance at City Hall was his second in three days. On



Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, left, and H. Carl McCall, the State Comptroller, at a news conference at City Hall. The Mayor sought to use their history of disagreement as evidence of strong opposition to a tax repeal.

Friday, he attended a news conference on the steps of the building to voice support for Senator Chancellor Rudy Crew, who has been embroiled in disagreements with the Mayor for several weeks.

Mr. Giuliani sought to use that

Two officials often at odds oppose a move that could cost the city millions.

history of disagreement and Mr. McCall's prominence as the state's senior Democratic elected official as evidence of strong opposition to the tax repeal.

Thanking Mr. McCall, the Mayor said, "Coming from him, this is enormously powerful and very important to the city."

Asked about their traditional opposition, Mr. Giuliani said, "I think it indicates how concerned we all are for the city and that we are putting the city first."

Last week, the Mayor also made a joint statement with the City Council Speaker, Peter F. Vallone, another Democrat, to criticize the proposed tax repeal.

In addition to Mr. Giuliani and Mr. McCall, the Council continued to voice its opposition to the tax repeal yesterday as its finance division released results of a statistical analysis showing that New York City's commuter tax, at a rate of 0.45 percent, is one of the lowest in the country.

The statistics show that the New York City commuter tax is lower than the 0.5 percent rate in Los Angeles, the 1 percent rate in Newark, the 1.5 percent rate in San Francisco, the 2 percent rate in Cleveland and the 4.5 percent rate in Philadelphia.

In all these cities, commuters pay the same local income tax as city residents, while New York City residents pay local income taxes at a

rate that is eight times greater than the commuter tax. In addition, the statistics show that commuters generally earn substantially more income than city residents.

Even Yonkers, the only other city in New York State with a commuter tax, has a higher tax rate of 0.5 percent, according to the Council statistics. Several New York City officials expressed outrage that Albany leaders had expressed no intention of repealing the Yonkers tax.

According to the Council's numbers, the average household with at least one adult commuting to work in New York City earns more than \$144,000 a year, while the average household in New York City earns slightly less than \$43,000 a year. The average individual commuter earns about \$28,000 a year.

Thomas L. McMahon, the Council's finance director, said the statistics offered little evidence to support the tax repeal. "There is not a compelling reason that we can think of from a tax policy perspective," he said.

Rudy, McCall an odd couple vs. commi

DAILY NEWS
Monday, May 17, 1989

By TRACEY TULLY and LISA NEW

Daily News Staff Writers

Mayor Giuliani yesterday stood shoulder-to-shoulder with a political foe to save the city's commuter tax — but conceded he may be powerless to sway Albany lawmakers bent on killing it today.

With his aides scrambling for eleventh-hour support from the city's Assembly Democrats to vote against a repeal, Giuliani joined state Controller Carl McCall — a Democrat with whom he has feuded for years — to denounce the elimination of the tax.

"You're pushing up against a very,

very big bill," Giuliani said of Albany lawmakers whose surprise move to nix the tax he called "a game of politics gone out of control."

The relief for suburbanites who work in New York City appears set to sail through the Senate and Democratic-controlled Assembly — despite a revolt by a dozen city Assembly Democrats set to break ranks with Speaker Sheldon Silver, who supports repeal.

Giuliani estimates a repeal could cost the city \$360 million a year, and said the hole in the city budget will jeopardize \$400 in tax cuts for city residents.

He renewed threats yesterday to

take lawmakers to court if they dump the tax, saying the move would be unconstitutional without "home rule" permission from the City Council.

The tax, first approved in 1960, bailed the city out of financial crisis. It's a flat .45% fee imposed on about 800,000 commuters. Their mean income is \$33,361, compared with the \$42,727 mean income of city residents, according to a City Council finance analysis released yesterday.

The issue first flared last week as a campaign promise made by candidates in a tight suburban state Senate race. A day after Senate Majority Leader Joe

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ute tax ax

ino (R-Rensselaer) offered to sup-
t repeal, Silver (D-Manhattan) fol-
ed suit.
"We're passing the bill today," Bru-
spokesman John McArdle said.
"The bill to ax the tax does not apply
Yonkers, the only other city in New
rk with a commuter tax.
and just two weeks ago, the Assem-
bought home rule legislation from
y Council to have New York City's
mmuter tax renewed.
To stress the apparent hopelessness
the fight, the mayor said he wasn't
en sure if his top aides would go to
bany today to lobby lawmakers.

Ri dy rips commuter-tax f ip-t op

Says bill on track until political 'game' began

By TOM TOPOUSSIS

State lawmakers racing to repeal the city's commuter tax asked for the city's OK to renew the levy just two weeks ago, Mayor Giuliani said yesterday.

Giuliani and Comptroller Carl McCall — making a rare appearance together — turned up the heat on Albany lawmakers, accusing them of playing a political game that had gone out of control.

"Sometimes the game of politics gets out of control and this is a situation in which the game is overwhelming public good," said Giuliani on the eve of a vote on the tax in the state Senate.

The Assembly could follow later tonight. Giuliani said a letter from the Assembly's Democratic leadership requested that the City Council vote to authorize the renewal of the commuter tax — a requirement under state home-rule pro- cedures.

"So sometime in the last two weeks a big change of direction has taken place. I think it's obvious, it's maneuvering on both sides over a [state] Senate vote. And I'm not even sure this is an awfully big issue," said Giuliani.

"This is like a game of, what do you call it, chicken?" said Giuliani, turning to McCall, who has been among his chief political adversaries in recent years.

"I think everybody thought somebody else would blink. Nobody blinked, and now this is what we have," McCall said.

McCall chided lawmakers on both sides of the aisle, saying it's "surprising" that Polski and legislative leaders can agree so quickly to repeal the tax when they can't settle on a budget that's 47 days overdue.

City officials were quick to point out that there is no comparable proposal to repeal a non-resident income tax levied by Yonkers — the only other city in the state that taxes its commuter work force.

"Yonkers has a higher commuter tax than New York City, but that wasn't put up for repeal," said Tom

TRAVEL TARIFF	
Round trip (round trip) to Yonkers, N.Y. (round trip) Yonkers, N.Y. (round trip)	
\$30.00	\$42.00
\$100.00	\$140.00
\$150.00	\$210.00

McMahon, finance director for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone.

The proposed tax repeal began as an attempt by state Republicans to bolster the campaign of Tom Marchano, a GOP candidate for state Senate from Rockland County.

The twist came when Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, a Manhattan Democrat, endorsed the tax repeal — a move Republicans never expected.

A spokesman for Silver said yesterday that if the Senate votes to repeal the tax, the Assembly will follow.

The 0.45 percent tax on commuters is worth \$360 million a year to the city treasury. Giuliani said the city will have to postpone other planned tax cuts until the repeal can be challenged in court.

"We're very confident that we would win, but that's



MONEY MATTERS: Mayor Giuliani and state Comptroller Carl McCall shake hands at a press conference yesterday supporting the city's commuter tax, which the Legislature might repeal. Steven March

five or six months from now at best and that means that the tax reductions we otherwise were talking about would have to be put in jeopardy for that period of time," Giuliani said.

Giuliani said he doesn't believe lobbying lawmakers will do much good if their leaders are backing the tax repeal.

But McCall held out hope for a rebellion among Assembly Democrats.

"I believe in this particular instance there are a lot of legislators from New York City who would find it difficult — I would have to support this tax [repeal]," said McCall.

**Gov coy on big
announcement /
Inside Albany: P. 20**

We're going to 'get this done' today, Bruno vows

By FREDRIC U. DICKER State Editor

ALBANY — Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno, rejecting claims that repeal of the commuter tax will hurt New York City, plans to hold the vote this afternoon.

"We expect to have the votes and to get this done in the afternoon," Bruno said.

"We think that for the members of our Republican [Senate] Conference that this is the right thing to do because so many of our members have constituents who are affected by this tax," Bruno continued.

Some key Senate leaders, however, indicated Bruno would fall one vote short of the 31-vote majority because five of the GOP's 35 senators are from New York City and will likely vote no.

That would mean Bruno will need the vote of at least one of the Senate's 26 Democrats to repeal the commuter tax.

Insiders said there's no question that Senate Democratic Minority Leader Martin Connor will arrange to provide whatever additional votes are needed to repeal the commuter tax.

Bruno and Connor are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on a special May 26 Senate race in Rockland County, where repeal of the commuter tax is a crucial issue.

Meanwhile, Assembly Democrats continued to insist that they will follow suit if the Senate votes to repeal the commuter tax.

"If it passes the Senate, it will pass our house," said Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver's spokeswoman, Patricia Lynch.

Silver faces a revolt from New York City assemblymen, who fear the impact on the city budget of the loss commuter-tax revenue.

BS

Parties Place High Value On a State Senate Seat

Continued From Page B1

his new job early this year. That way, his successor would be chosen in a special election, when turnout is low, a circumstance thought to favor Republicans.

Some Republican officials estimate that more than \$1 million will be spent on Mr. Morahan's campaign, an extraordinary sum for a state legislative race, but Senator Bruno insists the figure is closer to \$400,000. Several Senate Republicans are campaigning for Mr. Morahan, including Gov. George E. Pataki. Mr. Bruno even sat with the editorial board of The Journal News, which covers Rockland County, to try to influence its endorsement.

"We're pulling out all the stops, and they're pulling out all the stops," Mr. Bruno said. "It's the kind of district that goes either way, so it really matters. We're not going to lose it."

Republicans are bluns about their candidate's primary appeal: the pork-barrel advantages of being in the Senate majority. "Being in the majority means more and better things for the district, and miserly members aren't in a position to do much by way of bringing home the bacon," Mr. Bruno said.

The Senate recently approved \$4 million in transportation aid for the East Ramapo school district, a decision that Senators conceded was neatly timed to benefit Mr. Morahan.

Democrats say they will spend \$300,000 to \$350,000 on Mr. Zebrowski's effort. His stump campaign has included a raft of state legislators, and are expected to include United States Senator Charles E. Schumer. State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and State Attorney General Elliot L. Spitzer.

Senator Eric T. Schneiderman of Manhattan and the Bronx, chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, said. "We've got better issues and a better candidate, versus Joe Bruno's power."

In voter registration, Democrats hold a 42 percent to 28 percent advantage over Republicans in the district, which includes all of Rockland

and part of Orange and begins about 25 miles northwest of New York City. But the parties have been closely matched here. Rockland's Legislature has changed party control twice in four years, the County Executive and State Senator are Republicans, and the county's two Assemblymen are Democrats. President Clinton and Mr. Pataki have carried the district twice, and Senator Alfonso D'Amato narrowly carried it in legislative last year to Mr. Schumer.

As if any more intensity were needed in this race, the two candidates are not fond of each other. Both grew up in working-class families in New York City, live in New City and are members of the same Roman Catholic parish, and their children know each other. But they are still longtime antagonists on the County Legislature, and their debates in this campaign have been heated, at times barely short of shouting.

A lawyer in private practice, Mr. Zebrowski, 53, calls himself "an unquenchable legislator," and his often rapid-fire speech is a stream of proposals, which include allowing mortgage lenders against health maintenance organizations, using tobacco settlement money to lower taxes and legalizing casinos in the Catskills.

His steady supply of opinions extends even to his aides' driving, which he frequently critiques in short hops between appearances. Shaking hands and handing out postcards bearing his name, even as he listens to people's concerns and responds, he seems in a hurry, eager to return to the next subject, the next vote.

On a campaign stop at the West Haverstraw Senior Apartments, he told elderly residents that his mother has to spend \$300 a month on medication beyond what her insurance will cover. "We've got to stop making seniors go bankrupt or depend on their relatives just so they can afford the medications they need," he said to the knowing nods of his audience.

"You speak my language when you talk about H.M.O.'s," Christine Truglia said.

Mr. Zebrowski lashes out at Mr. Pataki for backing away from a program to pay for pre-kindergarten and kindergarten classes around the state and to reduce class sizes in the early grades. He boasts of a county budget he put together that cut taxes and increased aid to towns and villages. And he takes credit for many other initiatives, like preserving open space along the Hudson River, leveling unequal property valuations and establishing an arts program linked to public works projects.

Where his opponent offers an agenda, Mr. Morahan, 57, is more prone to offer himself, saying that his character, outlook and party would make him a better Senator. "I believe I have more experience," he said. "And it's no secret you have more power in the majority."

As he shook hands during an appearance outside the Shoprite in New City, it seemed as if Mr. Morahan was known — and well liked — by at least half the people he greeted. He talked with them not about issues, but about friends they have run into at meetings they have attended. "You're going to be at the Italian-American dinner?" he asked. "Me, too."

Among county officials in both parties, Mr. Morahan is not known for bold plans, but as someone who tries to massage legislation to his ends. This reputation has Republicans praising his restraint, but it leaves him open to Democratic criticism that he is a "me, too" politician with few ideas of his own. When asked to name his greatest achievement in county government, he cited the planned reduction of the County Legislature from 21 members to 15 as part of a lawsuit settlement.

He readily shows a prickly side, arguing that when people ask him, "They're being discriminated against," when the commuter tax is mentioned, he suggests that the Democratic-controlled Assembly will not really pass it and say, "Let's see."

Each candidate claims credit for plans to repeal the commuter tax. Both argue for a variety of school safety measures, and both say they would increase state aid to schools. Mr. Morahan voted against Mr. D'Amato's budget, but he takes credit for the property tax cuts in it, saying they were made possible by the surplus accumulated when he led the County Legislature.

A tight race, with turnout expected to be around 20 percent, will hinge on which party's voters go to the polls.

Mr. D'Amato and Mr. Pataki have won strong support from the district's sizable Orthodox Jewish population, which usually has a strong turnout, but Mr. Morahan dismisses that record of support as a vote of expedience, not a pro-Republican pattern. "It's go with who's in the incumbent," he said.

Recent campaign stops showed that both candidates face a challenge in motivating voters, who seem largely unaware of the election, unsure of its date or unclear of its connection to the commuter tax.

"I haven't thought about it, to be honest," Frank Petricelli said, glancing at a Morahan brochure outside the Shoprite. "I can't say who I'd vote for. I'm not even sure I'd vote."

Giuliani gets served up on Silver platter

THE 10-MINUTE phone chat that may cost our city \$360 million a year, every year, took place on Tuesday between state Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Democrat Silver initiated the call to Republican Giuliani at City Hall. Giuliani proved to be out of town on yet another trip to raise money for the person he would most like to see achieve higher office. He called Silver back later in the day from California.

By one knowledgeable account, Giuliani did not seem

surprised when Silver reported that state Senate Majority Leader Joe Bruno had called for the repeal of New York City's

commuter tax. Silver asked Giuliani's position on this matter that could cost the city hundreds of millions. Giuliani said that as mayor he was of course against any effort to eliminate the tax.

Silver then asked Giuliani to express that position with all due emphasis to Bruno. Our mayor had, after all, become big buddies with his fellow Republican, who once termed him "Judas Giuliani." Bruno had even said he would support Giuliani as Republican candidate for U.S. Senate.

The problem for Giuliani was that Bruno had proposed cutting the commuter tax in an attempt to assist the Republican candidate for a special state Senate election in Rockland County. Both parties viewed the race as important, and those who had weighed in on the Democratic side included Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom Giuliani could very well end up facing in the U.S. Senate contest next year.

Now, right when Giuliani was in the midst of raising money for that same U.S. Senate race, here was Silver asking him to lean on Bruno. Giuliani's reaction would later be paraphrased by someone in a position to know.

"Da-da-da-da."

Giuliani and Bruno no doubt figured the matter would become a dead issue before the mayor had to take a more emphatic stand. Any repeal of the commuter tax would have to pass both houses of the Legislature, and the speaker controls the Assembly.

First and foremost, Silver is an assemblyman from lower Manhattan, so he surely was not going to come out against the city in favor of a bunch of suburban commuters. He was certain to declare his opposition immediately, and Giuliani would return from distant California able to dismiss the issue as moot.

Thus, Bruno's guy would get a boost in Rockland County,

Silver and the Democrats would take a hit among all suburban commuters, and Giuliani would avoid having to stand up for the city that elected him as mayor. The scheme must have particularly appealed to Giuliani, who so loves to have his cake and make them eat it, too.

But, maybe the mayor was a

little too taken with his own cleverness as he spoke over the line from California. Maybe his da-da-da-da was a lit-

tle too smug. Maybe the cake stuck in Silver's throat.

The situation must have been even less palatable for Silver as he pondered the days ahead. The mayor who sought to make him swallow the blame for keeping the commuter tax would be pushing for \$400 million in tax cuts.

And these cuts would be based on a \$2 billion "surplus" squeezed from a city where many school kids have never seen a science lab, where a typical high school has a \$7,000 budget for 22 athletic teams.

Silver gazed and surprised everyone. He announced that he would support the repeal of the commuter tax.

Suddenly, the mayor had no choice but to be the mayor. He termed the repeal "a useless political exercise." He declared he would, as always, act only out of principle.

"Maybe it will hurt me politically, but the message I am trying to send is, 'Don't mess around with the city,'" he said.

On Friday, as Giuliani quivered on, Silver was down on Grand St., cutting the ribbon to a new subway entrance. He afterward discussed the commuter tax. He also said he was acting solely out of principle.

"This is not about politics," he said. "I am responding to fellow Democrats who have this need in the suburban communities."

He happened to be standing on the very street where he was raised. He does not just represent the lower East Side. He is from the lower East Side, one part of the city nobody is advised to mess around with, a place where people most definitely do not like anything forced down their throats.

He was asked if he did not find the mayor's predicament delicious. He rubbed his hands together and his smile was worth almost \$360 million, at least at his address, Grand St.

MICHAEL DALY



Daily News

never committed

Giuliani and Vallone See a Budget Tangle if the Commuter Tax Ends

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

After predicting for months that budget negotiations would be quick and relatively painless this year, city officials are now warning that the State Legislature's plan to repeal the commuter tax will seriously hinder the process, forcing Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and the City Council to prepare for the potential loss of up to \$200 million in annual revenue.

Mr. Giuliani and Peter F. Vallone, the City Council Speaker, both said this week that if the Legislature pushed through the repeal, they might have to scale back or even abandon their own tax cut proposals — the largest of their respective agendas — which they have touted as ways to share the city's \$2.1 billion surplus with its residents. In recent weeks, the Democratic Speaker and the Republican Mayor had cheerfully predicted that their most daunting task would

be agreeing on which taxes to cut.

Now it seems that Albany will decide for them, eliminating a tax that suburban residents who work in the city have paid since 1964. And while commuter tax revenue is only a tiny fraction of the city's \$35 billion budget, officials in the Giuliani administration say the proposed repeal is an egregious example of state lawmakers' tampering with the city's finances.

"How is New York City going to successfully manage its money if Albany, on a whim, can repeal a tax that is an important source of revenue?" said Robert M. Harding, Mr. Giuliani's budget director. "We are being forced to move away from targeted tax cuts and meet somebody else's idea of how we should govern our city."

The pending repeal would affect only New York State residents, who represent 39 percent of those paying the commuter tax. But lawmakers in neighboring states have al-

ready said they would sue to force New York to cut the tax for all commuters. If the suit succeeded, the city would lose \$260 million annually. Otherwise, the loss from New York commuters would be \$210 million.

Independent budget reviewers said yesterday that either way, the city could absorb the revenue loss because the economy was so strong. But they said the commuter tax was essential and important.

"It's not the biggest hole in the world," said Diana Fortuna, the president of the Citizens Budget Commission. "But it's a shame, because it will probably knock off some tax cuts that would be much more beneficial."

Mr. Harding and other city officials said that if the Legislature made good on its promise to repeal the commuter tax next week, the Mayor and the Council would struggle to meet their goal of adopting a budget by June 5. They would have to re-

adjust revenue estimates and shuffle spending priorities, which could lead to more haggling between the two sides, they said.

"The budget process has been going on for five months. We're getting into the final stretch, and now this major hurdle has been thrown in front of us," said Thomas L. McMahon, the director of the Council's Finance division. "Having significantly less resources will require both sides to reassess our priorities."

But Sheldon Silver, the State Assembly Speaker and a Manhattan Democrat, questioned why the proposed commuter tax repeal would complicate budget negotiations, when all Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone had to do was relinquish part of their own tax cut proposals. The Mayor has proposed \$405 million in tax reductions, while the Speaker's tax cut package is worth more

Continued on Page B6

NEW YORK STATE

Officials See a Budget Tangle if the Commuter Tax Ends

Continued From Page B1

than \$700 million.

"The Mayor and the Council Speaker both have proposals to take away more money than this," Mr. Silver said in an interview yesterday. "It may make it harder for them to impose the tax cuts they want, but they have clearly allocated money for tax cuts in their fiscal plans."

He added, "The Legislature has a right to make a determination as to how things go."

Republican leaders in the State Senate were the first to propose ending the commuter tax, hoping that it would help a Republican Senate candidate from Rockland County with a special election later this month. But they privately expected that the State Assembly, which is dominated by New York City Democrats, would block the plan.

On Wednesday, Mr. Silver sur-

prised everyone by announcing that the Assembly would support the repeal. Although some Assembly Democrats from New York City have backed their leader and assailed the plan, it appears that Mr. Silver will get enough support to win approval. Two influential Assembly Democrats, Roberto Ramirez, the Bronx party leader, and Clarence Norman Jr., the Brooklyn party leader, declined to say yesterday how they would vote, but they expressed little opposition to ending the tax.

"If Shelly needs the votes, he usually gets the votes," Mr. Norman said.

News of the proposed commuter tax repeal came as the City Council held hearings on Mr. Giuliani's spending plan, and as aides to the Mayor and the Speaker held preliminary discussions on the budget. Traditionally, negotiations start in earnest toward the end of May, and the Mayor and the Council agree on a

City officials prefer to implement their own ideas for helping taxpayers.

budget by early June, a month before the new fiscal year begins.

Last year was an exception. Negotiations broke off after Mr. Vallone refused to abandon a plan to hold a public referendum on the future of Yankee Stadium. The Council defiantly passed its own budget, and Mr. Giuliani retaliated by vetoing \$200 million in spending that he deemed excessive. Although the Council overrode the veto, Mr. Giuliani withheld most of the money until November, after Mr. Vallone had

lost the governor's race.

Both the Speaker and the Mayor have promised in recent months that budget negotiations will result in normal this year, and said their disagreements were minimal. The most likely point of contention is the \$7 billion school construction plan that the Board of Education passed this week, over the objections of Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew. Mr. Vallone has hinted that he might add money to the five-year plan, even though Mr. Giuliani has insisted that \$7 billion is enough.

Mr. Vallone has also threatened to block the Mayor's plan to include \$12 million in the budget for a school teacher program. And he has criticized Mr. Giuliani's plan to shift away \$200 million in appropriated funds not revenue over the next four years for future stadium construction. Mr. Vallone has proposed wiping out the commercial rent tax.

But aides to the Mayor and the Speaker have said privately that they expect to reach a compromise on stadium financing, as well as on a tax cut package. The two sides may eventually battle over Mr. Giuliani's school construction and voucher plans, the aides said. But for now, their united opposition to the commuter tax repeal is obscuring their differences.

In particular, the Giuliani administration and the Council appeared united yesterday in their anger at Mr. Silver and other state lawmakers from New York City for supporting the commuter tax repeal.

"We understand that Speaker Silver has put himself in a difficult position wherein he is not representing the people who elected him," said Joseph J. Lanza, the Deputy Mayor for Operations. "We hope he finds a way to extricate himself from this cynical political maneuver."

Michael Clandinin, a spokesman for Mr. Vallone, added, "Our tax cut program helps New York City and the entire state, while their commuter tax cut hurts everyone."

But Mr. Silver said lawmakers from other parts of the state had long supported legislation that benefited city residents — he pointed to the Legislature's decision in 1997 to preserve the state's system of rent surcharges — and that city lawmakers needed to reciprocate.

"It's time to show that Democrats in New York are not just for the city, and that they take into account the needs of suburban residents," Mr. Silver said. "We have to start treating this as one state."

NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1999

Hizzoner and Vallone lean on Albany pols to keep commuter tax

Mayor Giuliani and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone scrambled for 11th-hour support yesterday to save the city's \$360 million-a-year commuter tax.

Giuliani aides ratcheted up the pressure with a memo to Albany lawmakers blasting the surprise tax cut — slated to go to the Senate floor for a vote Monday.

Vallone called the state's top three elected officials, asking for a reprieve.

The Giuliani camp — which spent the day contacting Senate officials, trying to convince them not to abolish the tax — insisted they had enough support to keep the plan from passing.

"We'll win this on the Senate floor," said one City Hall official, who asked not to be named.

Vallone also urged labor

By FREDRIC U. DICKER and GREGG BARNBAUM in Albany and MAGGIE HABERMAN in New York

leaders to back Albany's plan, telling workers at a breakfast at District Council 37, the city's largest municipal union, that the state is threatening their raises by yanking the tax.

But city officials seemed to be fighting an uphill battle, as Gov. Pataki, Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver refused to budge from their bombshell decision to kill the tax, which all three announced last week.

Silver spokeswoman Patricia Lynch said the Assembly is set to take up the repeal right after the Senate acts. Pataki has said he'll sign the bill.

The call to end the 0.45 percent tax for 500,000

suburban New Yorkers who have jobs in the city stemmed from a special state Senate election in Rockland County, and snowballed into a city-state war.

Sources said council staffers at one point were considering a compromise, in which the city would retain some of the tax and give a portion of it to the state-run Metropolitan Transportation Authority for increased service to commuters.

But the idea died quickly. City Hall officials said Giuliani never would have supported it.

The impending Senate vote raised red flags with city officials, who said repeal would threaten \$405 million in tax cuts Giuliani has proposed and



MAYOR GIULIANI, Working the phones.

could result in slashed funds to various city services.

"What we're doing is giving a tax cut to non-residents and we're maintaining the current burden for city residents," said one city official, who added it was "premature" to discuss how the city would plug a sudden \$360 million budget hole.

Meanwhile, State Sen. Roy Goodman (R-Manhattan), a Giuliani ally, urged Bruno to postpone Monday's vote, calling it a "sudden carpet pulled from beneath the mayor's fiscal plan."

Giuliani, an all-but-declared U.S. Senate candidate next year, has said backers of the repeal expected him to keep quiet so he wouldn't offend the suburban voters who hate the tax.

Angels slip past Yankees in 7th for 1-0 win, 1C

LATE SPORTS

The Journal News

Thursday, May 13, 1999

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Tax cut seen for commuters

If Legislature OKs bill, Pataki would sign it for suburbanites who work in New York City

KYLE HUGHES
Albany Bureau

ALBANY — Westchester and Putnam commuters who work in New York City are likely to get a tax cut after Assembly Democrats endorsed the idea yesterday, and Gov. George Pataki's office said he would approve such a bill.

"We'll sign this legislation if it passes," said Pataki press

secretary Michael McKeon. Senate Republicans said they would approve the measure on Monday, prompting Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, D-Manhattan, to say it was likely the Assembly would do the same.

"Good for them," said Germaine Meyers of Ossining, a law firm secretary who pays about \$200 a year toward the tax. "In a way, I don't mind paying because I get a lot out of the city, but every tax cut helps. My commuting costs each year are enormous when you add them all up."

About 100,000 people in Westchester pay the tax, about 24,000 in Rockland and 6,300 in Putnam, Senate Republicans said.

The rate is 0.45 percent on taxable wages and 0.65 percent on net income from self-employment, meaning commuters with \$100,000 in taxable wages pay \$450 annually, while a similar self-employed worker pays \$650.

"It would be like found money," said John Roman, a stockbroker from Tarrytown who said he paid about \$300 a year toward the tax. "My commuting

costs are bad enough without this tacked on."

Other commuters were less optimistic.

"I'll believe it when I see it," said Seth Silverstein of Spring Valley, a clerk in a Midtown men's store who said he paid about \$150 a year toward the tax. "They can't get a budget out on time in Albany. How are they going to do this?"

The state collects the tax and passes it through to New York City municipal government. Overall, an estimated 454,000 state residents pay the tax, which totals \$238 million annu-

ally. An additional 214,000 commuters pay the tax in Connecticut and New Jersey.

Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno, R-Rensselaer County, denied the tax cut would hurt New York City, where Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is opposed to the idea. New York City officials say commuters should help pay for city services from which they benefit.

But Bruno noted that New York City had a better than \$2 billion budget surplus, and Giuliani has proposed his own

Please see COMMUTERS, 2A

Commuter tax cut seen

COMMUTERS from 1A tax cuts for city residents.

"It's not a New York City situation," Bruno said. "It's a New York state situation, a downstate situation."

The levy became an issue in the hotly contested special election in the 38th Senate District in Rockland County, where candidates are espousing tax cuts. Republican candidate Tom Morahan issued a statement yesterday taking

credit for the proposed tax cut.

"I set out to bring the commuter tax cut to the forefront, make it a critical issue in Albany and get real action to eliminate it — mission accomplished," Morahan said.

Democratic candidate Kenneth Zebrowski took credit for Silver's decision, saying removal of the commuter tax was part of an overall tax cut plan he released nearly a week ago.

"Obviously, I have height-

ened the dialogue," Zebrowski said.

Aides to Silver said Democratic Assembly members have been pushing for years for a repeal of the tax, which first took effect 23 years ago. The suburban commuting region outside the city includes 19 Democratic Assembly members.

Staff writer Bill Varner contributed information for this report.

COMMUTER TAX

Of the estimated 454,000 New York commuters, 100,000 reside in Westchester, 24,000 in Rockland and 6,300 in Putnam. An annual total of \$238 million is generated by the tax.

The tax rate depends on the type of income. For example:

TAX RATE	TAX ON \$100,000
0.45% On taxable wages	\$450
0.65% On net income from self-employment	\$650

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The Journal News Saturday, May 15, 1999 3A

Hillary Clinton run likely, Dems say

**JOHN MACHACEK
and DEBORAH MATHIS
Washington Bureau**

WASHINGTON — New York Democratic leaders say it is increasingly likely that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for a U.S. Senate seat in New York, with the decision coming in early June.

"I think it's a go," said Rockland County Democratic Chairman Paul Adler, who spoke to the first lady in New York City last week.

"The circumstantial evidence that we have seen indicates that she will run," said Rep. Maurice Hinchey, D-Saugerties.

7 Hillary Clinton is expected to announce her plans when she

returns from a Florida vacation with President Clinton later this month, either announcing formation of an exploratory committee or saying she will not run.

But Adler and others think she's already made the decision to run for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

"I think she has come to a way of thinking that it is her time to make her contribution .. and give her own voice to a lot of issues," Adler said.

But New York Democrats said the increasing number of visits she is making to the state makes it much more likely that she will run. She's also shown a great deal of interest in local issues and in

the special election for a state Senate seat in Rockland County.

Adler said the first lady has helped garner money and support from pro-choice groups for Ken Zebrowski, the Democratic candidate in the race.

Adler said a June announcement by Hillary Clinton would help Rep. Nita Lowey, D-Harrison, who plans to run for Moynihan's seat if the first lady doesn't.

But Hiltzik said New York Democrats could wait until late summer for a final decision by the first lady Clinton.

"As long as the Senate situation is clarified by then, Democrats will be well positioned for 2000," he said.

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FOR RELEASE:
 IMMEDIATE, Monday
 May 17, 1999

GOVERNOR, COMPTROLLER: BUSINESSES BOOST COLLEGE SAVINGS PLAN
Golub Corporation and Business Council to Promote New York Program

Governor George E. Pataki and Comptroller H. Carl McCall today announced the establishment of unique public-private partnerships with the Schenectady-based Golub Corporation and the Business Council of New York State to promote New York's College Savings Program.

"For New Yorkers who want to invest in their children's educational future, the College Savings Program is literally money in the bank," Governor Pataki said. "These innovative partnerships with New York business will help the program expand, making it the most successful in the nation. Good news like the College Savings Program is contagious and we want New Yorkers to catch education fever."

State Comptroller McCall said, "Price Chopper and The Business Council understand what we're trying to do. An investment in education is an investment in economic growth. This is about building a better future for young New Yorkers and building a better workforce for New York. It's great to have partners like The Business Council and Price Chopper working with us to encourage New Yorkers to start building that better future by participating in the College Savings Program."

The College Savings Program provides significant state and federal income tax advantages to account holders. Since its inception in September 1998, more than 54,000 accounts have been opened totaling more than \$190 million in assets, the most successful start-up of any such program in the nation.

The Golub Corporation, which operates 59 Price Chopper Supermarkets in New York State, will participate in an informational campaign at each of its stores, advertising the College Savings Program over the next several months on potentially hundreds of thousands of milk cartons and shopping bags, as well as on its corporate website: www.pricechopper.com. Customer service areas in Price Chopper stores also will distribute tens of thousands of brochures containing information about the program.

In addition, beginning May 18 in Albany, the Business Council and the state will cosponsor a series of seminars for companies interested in setting up College Savings payroll direct deposit programs for their employees. New York State has already established a direct deposit option for state employees.

- more -

Lewis Golub, Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Golub Corporation, said, "A college degree is perhaps the best investment we can make in a child's future and we at the Golub Corporation are pleased to be part of this important effort to help make those educational dreams come true."

Business Council President Daniel B. Walsh said, "Educated New Yorkers strengthen New York's economy. That's why the Business Council and its more than 4,000 member companies are pleased to help promote this program and the effort to help New York state families save for their children's education."

Albany Mayor Gerald Jennings said, "The corporate support for the Governor's College Savings Program provided by the Golub Corporation and the Business Council highlights the importance of education for the workforce of tomorrow. I applaud the Governor for helping families ensure that their children receive the education necessary to succeed in the job market. I am sure the College Savings Program will be a tremendous success."

The informational seminars sponsored will cover details of the program and options available to employers who wish to set up payroll deduction plans. In addition to the May 18 session in Albany, seminars are set for May 19 in Poughkeepsie, May 26 in Buffalo, May 27 in Syracuse and Rochester, June 2 in New York City and June 3 in Uniondale, Long Island.

~~"Providing a payroll deduction option for the College Savings Program will make what is~~ now regarded as the most flexible program in the nation, the most convenient program in the nation," the Governor said. "Both the Golub Corporation and the Business Council are to be applauded for their commitment to a better-educated workforce."

The program is jointly administered by the state's Higher Education Services Corporation (HESC) and Comptroller McCall, and managed by TIAA, a nationally-known financial services company which currently has more than more than \$230 billion in assets.

"The incredible success of the College Savings Program is just another jewel in the crown making New York the 'Education State,'" said HESC President Robert J. Maurer. "In fact, we project that at the end of its first year of operation, the program will reach more \$300 million in assets, making it far and away the most successful start-up year for any college savings program in the nation."

Comptroller McCall said, "Education is an investment both in the economic strength of our families and in our State. I have been working with Governor Pataki and Legislators to spread the word so that all New Yorkers learn of the benefits of the College Savings Program. By joining in this effort, Price Chopper and the Business Council are demonstrating their commitment to strengthen the educational and economic future of New York."

Providing direct deposit has several benefits:

- It is a low-cost way to provide an important option to employees.
- It is easy to administer.

- more -

- Employees will not have to use money from other employer-sponsored savings plans such as 401(k) programs to pay for educational expenses.
- Employees will have a convenient way to save for college expenses for their children, other relatives, or even themselves, while realizing significant tax benefits.

Individuals can set up a College Savings account with anyone -- child, grandchild, other relative or friend -- as the beneficiary. The first \$5,000 contributed each year, or \$10,000 for a married couple opening separate accounts, is exempt from New York state tax. Investment earnings are also exempt from state tax as long as the money is used for qualified higher education expenses anywhere in the United States and at some higher education institutions abroad.

Federal tax on earnings is deferred until the beneficiary uses the money for college expenses, at which point they are taxed at the student's income tax rate, which is generally significantly lower.

Accounts can be opened for as little as \$25 if payments are made through direct deposit or electronic funds transfer, or with \$250 by check.

Additional information about the College Savings Program is available by calling toll-free 1-877-697-2837, or on the Internet at www.nysaves.org.

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18 May 1999

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Re *Press Clippings*
Wall Street Journal

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Cc Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

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By fax ~~212-327-4327~~

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From Harold Ickes

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Wed 30 Jan 6 10 70

Climbing to the Top of Black Businesses

By ROBERT JOHNSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

J. Bruce Llewellyn says his firm's rise to the top of a new tally of the largest black-owned companies reflects the best and worst about African-American business in the late 1990s.

"On the one hand, I have been around a long time in a very basic business, bottling soft drinks, so that indicates stability," says the 71-year-old owner of closely held Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co. "But you could also say, 'Gee, there's nothing really new and hot up at the top of that list.'"



J. Bruce Llewellyn

Yet, with 1,700 employees and \$389 million in sales last year, Mr. Llewellyn adds: "I make solid profits. So what if I'm not on the Internet?"

That might not bother him, but some in the black business community say there is too little high-tech presence on the ranking of the Top

100 African-American-owned industrial and service businesses, annually prepared by Black Enterprise magazine. Just 6% of the list's overall sales come from technology-related companies—compared with 20% for the 100 largest U.S. corporations.

The Black Enterprise Top 100, announced Saturday night at a conference hosted by the magazine in Orlando, Fla., is dominated by basic businesses that have become mainstays for black ownership: Grocers and other food companies, beauty-care products and minority-targeted publishing and music. (Dow Jones & Co., publisher of this newspaper, was a sponsor of the conference.)

"Not to take anything away from what Bruce Llewellyn has accomplished, but we need to gain more admittance to Silicon Valley," says Earl G. Graves, chairman

Ranking African-American-Owned Companies

Black Enterprise magazine's list of top 10 industrial or service companies by 1998 sales.

	Company	Business	1998 Sales (in millions)	Last Year Ranking
1	Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co.	Soft drink and water bottling	\$389	3
2	Johnson Publishing Co., Chicago	Publishing, broadcasting, TV production, hair care and cosmetics	372	2
3	TLC Beatrice International Holdings Inc. (New York)	Manufacture and distribution of grocery products	322	1
4	Active Transportation, Louisville, Ky.	Hauls cars and trucks to retailers	250	4
5	Bing Group, Detroit	Steel processing and stamping	232	5
6	World Wide Technology Inc., St. Louis	Distributes information-technology products and services	201	11
7	FUCI Metals USA Inc., Northbrook, Ill.	Raw materials importer	200	22
8	Granite Broadcasting Corp. (New York)	Seller of commercial airtime	194	6
9	H.J. Russell & Co., Atlanta	Construction, real estate development and airport concessions	184	8
10	BET Holdings II Inc., Washington, D.C.	Cable TV programming and publishing	178	7

Source: Black Enterprise magazine

and publisher of New York-based Black Enterprise. (Total sales for the companies listed by Black Enterprise rose 6.3% in 1998, to about \$14 billion, while total employment rose 23% to 70,400.)

Some blame difficulty raising capital for the shortage of black-owned technology firms. But whatever the reason, the shortage "should be a wake-up call. High-tech is rapidly becoming the mainstream," says Don Barden, chief executive officer of Barden Cos., a Detroit-based company with interests in casinos and real estate. He does expect younger entrepreneurs to move in that direction, he says. "It won't be that long before a high-tech company is at the top of the Black Enterprise list."

On the horizon may be people like Kendrick Bryant, the 27-year-old founder of

a Nashville-based start-up called Exposure Solutions. "I think a lot of us mistakenly believe it's too expensive to get started," he says. Trying to get exposure for his business, Mr. Bryant mingled at a conference cocktail party last week with an open laptop computer in hand to demonstrate his commercial Web site-building capabilities. "You really don't need much equipment; it's more about your skills."

Front and center now is Mr. Llewellyn, the only African-American among the 100 or so U.S. bottlers of Coke. His firm is Coca-Cola Co.'s fifth-largest American bottler. Taking into account car dealerships, which Black Enterprise ranks separately, only one black-owned business actually eclipses Mr. Llewellyn's in the U.S. It's led by for-

Please Turn to Page B4, Column 5

women. Thursday and Friday, the 150 participants piled in for sessions on risk management, selecting CEOs and directors, dealing with Wall Street analysts and investors, crisis management, and handling the media.

Then they recessed for massages, makeup lessons, personality tests and wellness counseling. There was even a shopping night at the Palm Beach Saks Fifth Avenue, from which 10% of the purchases were donated to the Children's Defense Fund.

At the historic Breakers, the conference resembled a women-only equivalent of the elite Sun Valley investors conference hosted annually by investment bank Allen & Co., where moguls and their families gather to network, go rafting and hatch deals. Nancy Peretsman, an Allen & Co. managing director, was on hand at the Women & Co. event, billed as an opportunity to "share ideas, experiences, perspectives and challenges in a relaxed, open atmosphere."

Terri Dial, president and chief executive of Wells Fargo & Co.'s bank unit, said, "It's much easier for women to network with women they don't know than to network with men they don't know."

For Citigroup and other sponsors, the conference also provided a golden marketing opportunity. For starters, Citigroup, issued orange-and-yellow charge cards to conference attendees, stamped with their names and the Women & Co. logo, designed by ad agency Young & Rubicam, another sponsor. The cards carry \$25,000 credit limits.

Other sponsors included law firm Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom, which advised Travelers Group on the merger with Citicorp; executive search firm Spencer Stuart; accounting giant Ernst & Young; Time Warner Inc.'s Fortune magazine, and Citigroup's Salomon Smith Barney.

"There's a multitude of senior women across businesses," said Citigroup's Ms. Miller. With little opportunity to swap stories and ideas about business and leadership issues from a woman's perspective, she said, "we wanted to see if we could create a forum for women across corporate America that would be ongoing."

Ms. Miller said the conference took shape after she floated the idea among a

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Bottler bubbles Up to Top Of Black Businesses

Continued From Page B1

mer Detroit Lions football star Mel Farr Sr., whose chain of Midwest auto dealerships posted \$596 million in sales last year.

Further, Mr. Llewellyn owes his ascent to No. 1 partly to the recent shrinkage of last year's biggest company, TLC Bealrice International Holdings Inc. in New York, a grocery-products company that has been divesting units in a restructuring.

Still, the tale of how Mr. Llewellyn achieved the top spot among his contemporaries is instructive. "I wanted to run a big business, but I wasn't wedded to any particular industry or technology and I didn't invent anything," he says. "The first business I ever owned was a liquor store. It taught me to watch the books, pay everybody on time and not to think of yourself as a black businessman. I'm a businessman, that's all."

A newspaper printer's son, Mr. Llewellyn joined the Army Air Corps at 15, becoming a pilot and commissioned officer stationed in Germany after World War II. In 1948, at age 21, he enrolled in City College of New York, and used \$30,000 he had painstakingly squirreled away for a down payment on a liquor store in Harlem. During the next decade, he earned an MBA from Columbia University and a law degree from New York Law School.

"When I graduated from law school it was 1960, the dawn of a new era for African-Americans in this country," says Mr. Llewellyn. "I got into both government and politics. I felt that I needed to expand my world beyond Harlem."

From 1960 to 1962, he was a prosecutor in the Manhattan district attorney's office. By 1965, he had developed contacts within President Lyndon Johnson's administration that helped him get appointed New York's regional director of the U.S. Small Business Administration. "You learn a lot about the realities of what works and what doesn't in a position like that," he says.

By 1969, he was ready to make a big bet. "I mortgaged my house and sold just about everything I owned to raise seed money to buy a grocery chain in a devastated part of the Bronx that most investors and entrepreneurs were avoiding," he says. The company, Fedco Foods Corp., had 10 outlets and annual sales of \$18 million. He gradually built Fedco into the nation's largest black-owned supermarket chain—with 29 outlets and revenue of \$100 million.

His success gained recognition from the Carter administration, which appointed him the volunteer president of the Overseas Private Investment Corp., an agency that arranges insurance for the overseas operations of many U.S. companies. There from 1977 to 1981, he raised his identity nationwide among the white business community.

Banking resources he had never dreamed of began to open. Says Mr. Llewellyn, "I remember walking up the stairs of one guy's club in Atlanta, passing a statue of Robert E. Lee, and thinking, 'Okay, he's welcome here but so am I.'"

In 1985, he borrowed heavily to purchase the Philadelphia Coke plant. Soon after he acquired majority ownership in an ABC television affiliate in Buffalo, N.Y., and in Garden State Cablevision Inc. in New Jersey. "I owed nearly \$500 million there for a brief time."

Now he has sold his interests in all but the Coke bottler, which he expanded by investing heavily to quadruple his plant capacity and buying up distribution rights in parts of neighboring states. He is less involved with day-to-day operations than he once was—holding forth these days from a high-rise office in New York. A heart operation last year has left him on doctor's orders not to fly.

Thus he declined to attend the Black Enterprise magazine-sponsored banquet Saturday night in Orlando, where he and other leading black business owners were honored. "I'll leave it to younger ones to celebrate," he says. "I expect to see great things from them."

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May 1999

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Re

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DAILY NEWS

450 W. 33rd St., New York, N.Y. 10001

MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN, *Chairman & Co-Publisher*FRED DRASNER, *Chief Executive Officer & Co-Publisher*HAROLD EVANS, *Vice Chairman & Editorial Director*DEBBY KRENEK, *Editor In Chief*ROBERT SAPIO, *Executive Editor* ARTHUR BROWNE, *Senior Managing Editor*BILL BOYLE, RICHARD ROSEN, *Managing Editors* THOMAS RUIS, *Design Director*MICHAEL GOODWIN, *Editorial Page Editor*

NY Daily News 5.7.99

Finally, Ed Board makes the grade

SAY GOODBYE TO social promotion. The most foolish and fraudulent practice in New York education is headed for history's scrapheap. Shed no tears, except in joy, for the thousands of children who now have more hope of learning.

Starting now, all students in the third, sixth and eighth grades who fail to make the grade after summer school will be held back. Previously, most had been passed on to the next grade regardless of their performance.

"The policy will be enforced," Deputy Schools Chancellor Judith Rizzo said yesterday. "It will not be arbitrary, subjective at the whim of a principal or teacher. This policy is firm."

PROMOTING SUCCESS

Thank goodness. In honor of the historic moment, the billboard box to your left has been changed. Until now, it said "Promoting Failure."

For two years, this page has faulted the Board of Education for its soft approach to ending social promotion. Everybody talked about ending it, but no-

body did anything. Mayor Giuliani, as part of his sudden war of words with Chancellor Rudy Crew, lately had demanded that the board develop a comprehensive plan, one that would start partly this year. Late yesterday, the result of all that pressure came into clear and happy focus.

The plan Rizzo outlined requires the 68,000 students in those three key grades who fall below the 15th percentile in reading to attend summer school. If they fail to pass that red-flag area at the end of a six-week course, they must repeat their grade.

Students in all other grades who fail to meet the 15th percentile, which is laughably low, must attend summer school but will not necessarily be held back. However, Crew's plan calls for the retention policy to be expanded to all grades next year. The required minimum reading score also will be raised.

The change will be a godsend to so many kids who have been put on a cycle of failure. For years, the board has had a policy on the books that said kids who score in the 15th percentile — meaning 85% of students did better on the citywide tests — would have to repeat. But the policy was not enforced, and only about one-third of eligible kids actually have been held back.

THAT'S A DISSERVICE to children, one that forces them to play a hopeless game of catchup. It's also an injustice to teachers and principals, who must educate a child who has fallen behind. The solution is to not promote kids who fail.

"We're making sure that everybody understands that we mean business," said Rizzo. "We'll know at the end of summer which kids will have to be kept back, and that must happen. Superintendents will be accountable if it doesn't."

Accountability. If hordes of kids have to be kept back, the bright light of accountability will shine on teachers and principals, and they will have to answer to parents.

For real success, this policy needs money to support the summer school programs and Project Read. The mayor has vowed to do his share. The governor must also pitch in.

But money has never been the real issue. Will has. Now that that hurdle has been cleared, kids can be saved.

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11 May 1999

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Re Gazette article about Zogby 5.11.99

Memorandum to

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Harold Ickes

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Pollster: N.Y. Senate run by Hillary unwise

By CHERYL CLARK
Gazette Reporter 5-11-99

ALBANY — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton probably will run for the U.S. Senate in New York, but she shouldn't, according to political pollster John Zogby.

Clinton vs. New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani would be the "race of the century," said Zogby, during a speech in Albany on Monday before members of the New York State Credit Union League. But Clinton has far too much to lose to make a Senate run smart or worthwhile, said Zogby, the founder of Zogby International, a polling firm.



"When you're first lady of the United States, you don't need to be a senator," Zogby said. Clinton already has access to the media to advance her agenda and influence public policy, and as a former first lady she can expect to command substantial fees for speeches.

If Clinton runs in 2000 for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, she runs the risk of diluting the financial support for Vice President Albert Gore's presidential run, Zogby said. She and President Bill Clinton need Gore to win to "legitimize the Clinton years" and create a legacy of the Clintons' eight years in the White House, according to Zogby.

If Clinton loses in New York, it would look bad for her, and if she and Gore both lose, it would be a dramatic indictment of what the Clinton administration stood for, the pollster said.

The safer course would be for Clinton to spend the next four years collecting good will and admiration in the role of an eloquent and elegant former first lady, Zogby said. That would give some time for the sexual scandal issues surrounding

her husband's presidency to die down and become old news. It would also give her time to establish residency in Illinois and run for a Senate seat there.

That being said, Zogby said he thinks Clinton has reached "the point of no return" and will have to run for the New York Senate seat now to avoid losing face.

Against Giuliani, "She has a very good chance of winning," in spite of the fact that she had a 40 percent unfavorable rating compared to Giuliani's 24 percent unfavorable rating in March in a Zogby poll. Her unfavorable rating dropped to 32 percent in April.

Zogby said Clinton's celebrity could give her problems in New York. In his March poll, Zogby asked likely voters what they would most like to ask Giuliani. The majority wanted to ask the mayor what he'd do for education, health care and upstate New York. Asked the same question, about a third of the participants wanted to ask Clinton "Why are you running in New York state?" and "Why do you stay with him?" Zogby said.

Giuliani has lost support in New York City for his handling of the shooting by police officers of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed West African immigrant, Zogby said. But outside the city, the mayor is seen as someone who knows what to do about cleaning things up, fighting crime and lowering taxes.

A race between Clinton and Giuliani would be a clash of giants, pitting the two best minds and eloquent speakers of their parties against each other, Zogby said.

"It would be way too close to call, but on Hillary's part, I think it would be way too risky for the reasons I mentioned."

Zogby is
convinced by
many to
be a
"republican"
pollster -

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If first lady shuns Senate race, what would she do?

BETH J. HARPAZ**Associated Press Writer**

NEW YORK (AP) _ Speculation has been going on for months now that Hillary Rodham Clinton will declare her candidacy soon for U.S. Senate in New York.

But what if she doesn't? Or what if she runs and loses? What sort of future would the career-minded first lady be likely to pursue?

"People have wondered if maybe she would go to the U.N., whether she'd run a foundation, or teach, or practice law," said Marsha Berry, her spokeswoman. "But all those things are in other people's minds. It's more what other people assume she'd want to do."

Ms. Berry said Mrs. Clinton's post-White House career wouldn't be an issue yet "if the Senate race hadn't presented itself. Her natural inclination would not be to think about that right now at all."

Mrs. Clinton is unusual among contemporary first ladies, both because she is relatively young _ she'll be 53 when her husband leaves office _ and because she had her own career before the White House, as a corporate lawyer in Arkansas and staff attorney for the Children's Defense Fund.

Opinions vary as to what she would do if the Senate does not work out. One would be as a high-level figure in the United Nations, and Carol Bellamy, director of the U.N. Children's Fund, acknowledged rumors associating Mrs. Clinton with her agency.

"Every now and then I hear that she'd be great at UNICEF," Ms. Bellamy said, adding wryly: "I hope to serve another term."

Ms. Bellamy knows firsthand about life after politics. She went from president of the New York City Council to work in investment banking, then returned to public service as director of the Peace Corps and later, UNICEF.

She said Mrs. Clinton could be sought after by the corporate world.

"I think she would be an extraordinary catch for a private-sector company," Ms. Bellamy said. "This is a woman who is smart, strategic, can make decisions and can act, and has a good understanding of the global society."

Mrs. Clinton's office has also been approached by several large, general-interest foundations seeking to gauge whether she might want to join them, according to Dorothy Ridings, president of the Council on Foundations.

"A truly thoughtful and well-prepared foundation president can make a dramatic impact on public policy," she said.

The proposals did not lead anywhere, but the foundation world remains a likely option for Mrs. Clinton.

"If the political venture does fail in some way, my guess is the foundation field would be the next place she would turn," said Avery Russell, director of publications for the Carnegie Corp., one of the nation's largest grant-making organizations.

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"Of public figures," she said, "Hillary Clinton probably knows more about the foundation field than anybody who's not already running one, because of her long-standing interest in health, education and the welfare of children."

College president is another possibility. "It's the kind of job that, in a given day, sometimes in a given hour, your focus shifts from the highest level policy issue to haggling over parking and everything in between," said Diana Chapman Walsh, president of Mrs. Clinton's alma mater, Wellesley College. "It's life in its infinite complexity. I think she enjoys that."

The job also entails fundraising _ just like politics, except "the motivation for giving is a bit purer and more pleasant to deal with," she added.

Mrs. Clinton has said she may announce whether she is running for Senate in June. "She has not yet made a final decision, but all indications are that she's leaning toward it," said Judith Hope, who heads the state Democratic Committee.

The first lady's repeated visits to New York, three in just the past month and three more scheduled before June 9, suggest she is paving the way for a campaign.

One upcoming visit will be a fund-raiser May 24 for U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey, who has announced she'll make the Senate run if Mrs. Clinton doesn't. The money raised for Mrs. Lowey, D-Westchester, could be used for her next congressional campaign if the first lady does run for the Senate.

And could Mrs. Clinton beat her likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani?

"This would be a very tough race for her," said pollster Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion. "She is below 50 percent in the numbers ... and you have a majority (in a recent poll) saying she should not run. What we have right now is celebrity Hillary Clinton trying to transform herself into candidate Hillary Clinton."

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13 May 1999

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Re *Press Clips*

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From

Harold Ickes

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Rodham Clinton's visits to state appearing more like a campaign

► First lady changes plans, will attend party dinner. **45**

The Associated Press **4/28/99**

NIAGARA FALLS — Calling for a war on the "culture of violence infecting the lives of our children," Hillary Rodham Clinton put the wraps on a swing through New York that has persuaded some she is more serious than ever about running for the Senate.

In Thursday night's speech before the state's largest teachers' union, Rodham Clinton said the nation must tighten its gun laws and provide more psychological support services for troubled youths.

"No school security system can keep society out of the school house door," she said to rousing applause from teachers waving small American flags at the Niagara Falls Convention Center. "We can no longer shut our eyes to the impact the media is having on all of our children and on the potentially violent impact it is having on some."

"We also need to stand up and say what needs to be said about guns and firearms and bombs," she said.

The first lady said she had planned to speak about strides in education, but altered her remarks after the massacre at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo. Tuesday that left 16 dead.

She made no references to the state's Senate race she may enter, but her comments — sketching a broad plan to combat school violence — had the ring of a stump speech.

And she'll be back in the state

she may call home in days. Rodham Clinton will attend a major state Democratic Party fundraising dinner next week in New York City, an invitation she had initially declined. Her change of plans could signal a stepped-up interest in the Senate race.

State Democratic Party Chairwoman Judith Hope said she was "thrilled" Rodham Clinton would be on hand.

"SHE LOVES New York." Hope said Thursday night.

The dinner will be Rodham Clinton's first major political event in New York since she announced in February that she was considering running for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The first lady is expected to make a decision on the 2000 race sometime this summer.

The Clinton camp has, in fact, been careful to keep her largely away from overly political events in New York and focus instead on what can be presented as non-partisan attractions.

"She goes to a Democratic dinner like that, she may as well announce," one adviser, speaking on condition of anonymity, said last week when word was spreading from supporters that she wouldn't attend the party dinner.

Asked Thursday if the change in plans was a sign of increased interest in the Senate race, first lady spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Thursday that "whenever she goes to New York it gets a lot of attention and piques people's interest and I can certainly see why that happens."

In fact, one top New York Democratic operative, who has

long maintained that Mrs. Clinton would not run for the Senate seat, said Thursday that her decision to attend the party dinner "moves me a lot" toward believing she will run. The operative asked not to be identified.

Tickets to the Democratic dinner next Thursday cost \$160 each. There is also a \$1,000-a-person private reception. Proceeds go to the state party.

SOME 2,000 teachers attended the convention Thursday in the "Honeymoon Capital of the World." Attendance is always high at the convention but received a boost because of Rodham Clinton's appearance. The union gave her an award named after union activist Albert Shanker.

The Niagara Falls stop came after a whirlwind of candidate-like appearances Monday and Tuesday in New York City and on Long Island. There, she toured schools and parks and headlined fund raisers.

Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, said her travels seem to have breathed "new life" into her poll numbers.

The latest statewide Quinnipiac poll, released Thursday, had Rodham Clinton favored by 49 percent of voters questioned to 41 percent for New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a possible Republican opponent. Both are considering the race.

A QUINNIPAC poll released Feb. 23, a week after the first lady first said she was considering the race, had Rodham Clinton leading the mayor, 54 percent to 38 percent. A March 23 Quinnipiac poll showed her still leading Giuliani, but only by 50 percent to 39 percent. A follow-up poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based institute released a week ago, had Rodham Clinton at 47 percent and Giuliani at 42 percent.

The latest telephone poll of 1,123 registered voters was conducted April 14-20 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Wednesday, Giuliani was endorsed by three prominent GOP senators in Washington, including Arizona's John McCain. Giuliani has not yet said whether he will run for the Senate seat.

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13 May 1999

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Re AP report - by Mark Humbert

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Hillary Clinton raising even more funds for others in New York<

Eds: Moving on news and political circuits<

By MARC HUMBERT

AP Political Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom advisers say is edging closer to running for the Senate from New York, is adding to her fund-raising efforts for Democrats across the state, officials said Tuesday.

"I'm delighted," Carolyn Maloney said after learning the first lady had agreed to be the guest of honor at June 2 event in New York City for the congresswoman from Manhattan.

"We haven't even found a place yet," Maloney added.

The Maloney event is the latest evidence the first lady is trying to curry favor with influential New York Democrats by helping boost their bank accounts.

Last week, Mrs. Clinton was the guest of honor at a major state party fund-raiser in New York City and had earlier done one for U.S. Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a Manhattan Democrat.

On May 24, the first lady is helping raise money in New York City for Nita Lowey, a Democratic congresswoman from Westchester County who is poised to run for the Senate seat if Mrs. Clinton does not. The first lady also plans a fund-raising event for U.S. Rep. Maurice Hinchey in Binghamton on June 9.

Maloney, who said she has talked several times with Mrs. Clinton about the race for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, said she believes there is a "60-40 chance" she will run.

One top adviser to the first lady, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Tuesday that "I think she's concluded she wants to run," but has not yet made the decision to do so.

"She really has to mull through this balancing" of whether she can continue to serve as first lady and run for the Senate seat, the adviser said. "I'm not sure she's concluded she can do both."

One problem Mrs. Clinton may not face is finding enough volunteers and experienced campaign operatives for a New York Senate race that may pit her against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

"People are volunteering," Harold Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's top New York political adviser, said Tuesday.

"I take their names down, make a running list and I get that over to Hillary," Ickes said. "People that I don't know very well, I just ask them to send me a letter ... and we're sort of holding it."

Matthew Hiltzik, a spokesman for the state Democratic Committee, said he has been getting numerous calls and messages from potential campaign volunteers for Mrs. Clinton.

"I've been getting calls from as far away as Oregon," he said.

"We are not soliciting or accepting resumes," the state party operative added.

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Still Undeclared, Still Highly Visible

First lady being vocal on issues dear to NY

Monday 5.5.99

By William Douglas

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — Sounding like an all-but-declared candidate yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton took a firm stance on another issue that resonates in New York.

Joining President Bill Clinton, the first lady echoed his call for an overhaul in the nation's banking laws to guard consumers' privacy and to give them more information about introductory low interest rates offered by credit card companies.

Two weeks ago, in a powerful speech at a teachers convention in Niagara Falls, Hillary Clinton called for a battle against the "culture of violence" that ripped into the public consciousness after the shooting deaths at Colorado's Columbine High School.

"She's making all the moves a political candidate would make," said one former White House official. "Her great advantage is she already knows what she believes in. The rest is just tactics and strategy."

Though she has not officially declared that she will run for retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat next year, several political experts say campaign strategy is already at work.

Through her six visits to the state since January and her highly visible participation in a number of issue-oriented events recently alongside her husband, Hillary Clinton has done what a candidate — particularly one who hasn't lived in the state — needs to do: articulate who she is and what she stands for.

While members of her staff maintain that her visits to New York have been on official business, she has managed to give potential voters a flavor of her views as a potential Senate candidate.

In Manhattan last month, she professed her love for the state, using "we" in referring to New Yorkers. At a health-care conference at Hofstra University, she ad-

mitted she made mistakes in 1993 when she headed efforts to change the nation's health-care system, vowing that she would not make the same errors again.

"She's doing the dry-run thing," said Steve Pigeon, Democratic Party chairman for Erie County. "She's clearly interested in issues of the state. I think she would be an advocate for things like Medicare reimbursement [for hospitals], the things that are singular to New York."

And Hilary Clinton was front and center yesterday on another matter that resonates in New York: banking laws. She spoke of the need to protect senior citizens, young people and low-income people who get credit cards in the mail and use them, not fully aware that the introductory interest rate will

increase in a matter of months.

"We have a high percentage of bankruptcy, and the credit card industry has targeted New York in terms of dumping free credit cards in New York," said Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.). "She was well into this issue last year before Senator Moynihan announced his retirement."

One consumer group that opposes her position charged that the first lady's role in yesterday's White House event smacked of New York politics. "Today's announcement is an example of President Clinton using the White House to launch his wife's political career at the expense of consumers," said Frances Smith, executive director of Consumer Alert, a 2,000-member, nonpartisan consumer group.

NEWSPAP, WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1999

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13 May 1999

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Re 5/6/99 New York Post web article about "Ed. Board Sides with Mayor Against its own Rudy."

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NEW YORK POST

NEWS

ED. BOARD SIDES WITH MAYOR
AGAINST ITS OWN RUDYBy DAVID SEIFMAN and SUSAN
EDELMAN

The Board of Education was in turmoil yesterday after four members split with Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew and agreed to enact a \$7 billion construction plan - as pushed by Mayor Giuliani.

The unprecedented act of defiance - in a vote set for today - puts the chancellor in a squeeze: battling the mayor on one front, and a majority of the board on the other.

It also showed that Giuliani controls the seven-member board, which could make Crew's job increasingly difficult in coming months.

One City Hall source outside the administration speculated that Crew, who has never lost a vote at the board in 3 years, would soon pack it in.

"He never wanted a fractionalized board. This is it for Rudy Crew," said the source.

But Crew's closest ally, board President Bill Thompson of Brooklyn, said the chancellor is staying put.

"He will not leave over this," Thompson said. Still, he conceded the snub "clearly doesn't aid the chancellor's ability to plan for this system."

He charged that Queens and Staten Island are getting more than their fair share of the money.

"This appears to be more about political trading than what's good for kids," he said.

Last year, Crew proposed a \$10.9 billion, five-year capital plan to rebuild the schools. In his State of the City speech in January, Giuliani

said the plan was "very, very ambitious - but it should be."

When Queens complained its share was based on uncertain funding, school officials revamped the plan to provide that borough a bigger share of a new \$8.17 billion "low risk" proposal.

But Monday, in the first meeting between Crew and Giuliani since their widely publicized split, mayoral aides questioned if any number above \$6.99 billion was realistic.

Bob Harding, the mayor's budget director, said it made sense to be conservative because money could always be added later if it materialized.

Others saw darker motives.

"It's a political deal, which is really shocking," charged Norcen Connell of the Educational Priorities Panel, a watchdog group. "One borough that really doesn't need the funds is sort of being paid off."

She was referring to Staten Island, which was to receive 4.82 percent of the funds in Crew's plan and is now getting 5.95 percent, according to Thompson's analysis.

Siding with the mayor were his two appointees, as well as those from Staten Island and Queens.

Board member Terri Thomson of Queens insisted the new allocation "is more reflective of the children of our city and not based on a borough allocation."

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Re Daily News 5/6/99 web posting about NY Boxing

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City Beat

Gov, Spitzer Tout Boxing Reforms

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM
Daily News Staff Writer

Gov. Pataki and state Attorney General Eliot Spitzer yesterday announced a series of boxing reforms, including disclosure requirements for judges and promoters, and new rules for the alphabet soup of sanctioning bodies.

The Republican governor and Democratic attorney general held a joint news conference at Madison Square Garden — site of the controversial Lennox Lewis and Evander Holyfield draw decision that they said lent urgency to the reforms.

"At the end of that fight, it wasn't either of the boxers who got KO'd," Pataki said, "it was the fan." He said "the decision was indefensible."

Of the three judges, one scored the bout a tie, one gave it to Holyfield and the other to Lewis. Many of those attending thought Lewis clearly won.



Davis NEWS

The controversial Lewis-Holyfield fight, March 13 at the Garden.

Spitzer compared boxing's credibility with that of professional wrestling, saying the "sweet science has turned sour." He blamed the problems on "a corrupt relationship between promoters and sanctioning bodies."

The March 13 championship fight was supposed to mark the triumphant return of big-time fights to New York, but instead sparked protests and several investigations.

Some boxing experts dismissed the reform plan as political rhetoric, with one calling the overhaul "a lot of nothing" and labeling the state Athletic Commission, which will oversee the reforms, "a Republican political patronage pot."

Thomas Hauser, vice president of the Boxing Writers Association of America, said some planned reforms simply underscore the depth of the problems.

One measure requires the sanctioning bodies — which Hauser called blatantly corrupt organizations — to provide three candidates for each judge spot and says the commission can reject them and select its own. Hauser said the commission can do that now.

Other reforms include:

- Greater disclosure for judges, including financial and background information, as well as any criminal convictions or pending civil litigation, such as bankruptcy, to guard against conflicts. The information will be made available to the boxing media.
- The state — rather than the promoter — setting fees and reimbursement levels.
- Tougher training of judges and a written test.
- Filing contracts between a promoter and boxer with the state. Promoters will not be able to tie up a fighter for more than three years, with a two-year option.

The state also will seek reforms within sanctioning bodies, requiring each to file with the state its constitution and bylaws, along with agreements it may have with promoters in connection with specific bouts.

Long-time fight trainer Teddy Atlas questioned who at the Athletic Commission would veto the judges,

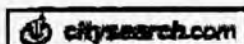
"What criteria will they have available to them to know these are the proper judges?" he asked. "They're talking about little Band-Aids. But if the whole body is bad or most of the body is bad, Band-Aids aren't going to do any good."

Original Publication Date: 05/06/1999

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THE CITY POLITIC MICHAEL TOMASKY

Not in Service

Reasonable people may concur with Mayor Giuliani's vow to dismantle the Board of Education, but the timing smacks of politicking elsewhere, not leadership here.

RUDY GIULIANI IS NOT THE SORT who usually feels compelled to defend his motives, so when he does, it's worth noting. Last week, as the pitched battle with his last remaining black ally reached its apex, Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew publicly wondered whether Giuliani's latest education proposals—or pipe bombs, depending on your perspective—were motivated by the mayor's calculations about his own future. Giuliani riposted that he'd prefer that Crew "not attribute improper motivation to me." Later, to City Hall reporters, Giuliani reiterated: "Let's try to get the partisan politics and the talk about the Senate and all this stuff out of here. This is a debate that I've been engaged in for ten years. It's about the good of the children, and it's only about the good of the children."

He's right about that ten years bit. He first ran for mayor exactly a decade ago, and after he lost that election, he understopped, as he confessed to me once over lunch and I'm sure to thousands of others, that he'd lost in part because (he actually said this; Rudy!) he deserved to. He realized after the fact that, going in to that election, he didn't know much about municipal government and, out on the hustings, it showed. He spent the next four years cramming for his finals, and by 1993, that showed, too.

So give him that. And it's not that his proposals are necessarily wrong. The legislation he and Council Speaker Peter Vallone have proposed, to abolish the Board of Education and create a schools CEO who would be appointed by and answerable to the mayor (not Giuliani, since he'd be long gone by the time such legislation ever kicked in), is at the very least one of those ideas of which we can say, "It couldn't hurt to try." Vouchers are more complicated—there is no question that using public-school money to

send a comparatively very small number of kids to private schools isn't a boon to children overall; on the other hand, when majorities of poor parents say they support vouchers, as they often do, liberals ought to listen.

The ideas deserve serious debate. And if Giuliani had proposed them *last* spring, when instead he was trying to whip the

ness—as compared to the Abner Louima case, when he was sweetness itself and instructed cops who couldn't see the difference between good police work and sociopathy behind a badge to find new jobs. Of course, the circumstances of the tragedies were different, but something else was different, too: As the Louima tragedy hit, Giuliani was running for reelection in a city stuffed full of Democrats and people of every hue; when the Diallo shooting happened, he was gearing up to run in a state where, just maybe, taking no guff from black rabble-rousers in the city carried political advantages elsewhere.

It's hard not to see the schools contretemps similarly, especially with respect to vouchers. There aren't many things the wobbly, post-Monica GOP agrees on, but school vouchers are very near the top of the list. All over the country, wealthy conservatives—the kind who finance campaigns—pour their dollars into privately funded voucher programs. Republican presidential candidates speak of them constantly. Vouchers are the GOP education platform. All of which makes it difficult to imagine that Giuliani picked this issue out of a hat. (And why, incidentally, did Governor Pataki pile on the Board of Ed. last week? Pataki, who fancies himself a presidential dark horse if George W. and the others bumble and stumble, doesn't want the vouchers constituency to think he lacks resolve on the matter.)

The political rationale is clear. "Look, he had to give the national Republican Party something," says Democratic political consultant Phil Friedman. "He's not going to change on abortion. He's not going to change on gun control. He's not even going to change much on gay rights. So here it is."

It makes sense—for someone who's grown tired of being the mayor and has his mind on other things. But it might be argued that if Giuliani wants to go into next year's Senate race in a strong position, then the best way to do that is to be



Quackery: Being a lame-duck mayor has freed Giuliani to concentrate on his next move.

city into a tizzy about purveyors of past-the-sell-date hot dogs, there's a slim chance we might have had it. But coming now, after he's spoken to GOP moneybags in Arizona and Texas and elsewhere and put up a Website called HillaryNo, well, motive seems a reasonable concern.

Increasingly, Giuliani is governing as a candidate, when in fact he'd be better off trying to run as a mayor. The first half of that equation scarcely seems open to dispute. After the shooting of Amadou Diallo, for example, lots of people noticed how differently Giuliani handled that tragedy—with a vinegary defensive-

an effective mayor.

That's how incumbent presidents run—not as candidates but as sleeves-up chief executives. Giuliani should be acting out his own Rose Garden strategy. Imagine a second term that wasn't based on rebuking taxi drivers and push-cart vendors and street artists but on completing some of the more meaningful unfinished work of the first term. The school system would have been at the top of that list, and Giuliani would have done far better to have spent 1998 working with Crew on, for example, toughening up the curriculum, phasing out social promotion, and reforming bilingual education—"conservative" aims, in the superficial sense, and ones that very few constituencies can credibly oppose (and by the way, these unsolved problems do more harm to education than the school system's form of governance). And suppose the mayor had made dramatic public gestures to acknowledge the city's (and his) racial fissures and dedicated

Targeting the Board of Education makes sense—for someone who's grown tired of being mayor and has his mind on other things (namely the upcoming Senate race).

himself, even if merely rhetorically, to closing them. That Giuliani is the mayor who's widely admired—smart, competent, tough, commonsensical, not too ideological—and that Giuliani, even with the Diallo shooting, would still have been sitting at 60 percent popularity and getting a universally favorable press. He might have been in such a strong position, in early 1999, that Hillary-for-Senate talk wouldn't even have started.

But the lame-duck mayor decided on a different, and predictable, tack. It may yet work for him—Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf calls his Crew-bashing "smart tactically, if only because it gets him off the cops thing." And yet: The City Council is almost certain to kill the vouchers plan, and the state legislature is simply not going to pass the governance bill. If Giuliani loses both of those battles, and Crew is chased out of town under these circumstances, will it still look so smart?

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13 May 1999

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Re Dick Morris article on women
running for office in NY

Memorandum to

The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

The President

By Fax 202-456-6703

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Susan Thomases
By fax 202-327-4327

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Liz Holtzman: She lost in 1980, 1992 and 1993. In the 1980 Senate election, Jacob Javits divided the liberal vote and Al D'Amato was elected. In the 1992 Senate primary, she came to be seen as too aggressive and negative, particularly when she dared to attack Ferraro, a fellow woman.

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In 1993, she lost her post as city comptroller in the primary election because of a scandal invented by The New York Times. (She allegedly had borrowed money for her Senate race via a phony loan from a bank she had favored as comptroller. Ultimately, she was cleared by the U.S. attorney and was cited only for a potential conflict of interest by a city board stacked with her political opponents. Too late to save her career, she has paid back every dime at full market interest rates.)

But, of course, none of these defeats had a thing to do with her gender. Hey, this is New York.

Carol Bellamy: When she ran against Mayor Ed Koch, she acquired a reputation for being too negative and aggressive. Gender stereotyping had nothing to do with it.

Bella Abzug: A frontrunner, she lost to Pat Moynihan in the 1976 Senate primary because she was too strident and strong. Sexism had no role in her defeat.

Betsy McCaughey: She lost her race for governor in 1998 because she was disloyal to her boss Gov. Pataki and had a reputation for being wildly inconsistent and unable to get along with her staff. Gender, again, was irrelevant.

Mary Anne Krupsak: Defeated by Hugh Carey in 1978 Democratic gubernatorial primary, she also was disloyal, erratic and high-strung. Funny coincidence.

Ruth Messinger: Too liberal and negative, she lost badly to Rudy in 1997. Her gender played no role.

Karen Burstein: Defeated by Dennis Vacco for attorney general in the 1994 general election, she was too liberal and soft on crime.

If you listen to the conventional wisdom, each of these women was uniquely flawed in her own way. Sexism had no role in their defeats.

Baloney.

New York is the first place to stereotype a

woman candidate. They are always seen as too strident, negative, harsh, vindictive, unpredictable, disloyal and unable to get along with their staffs or their colleagues. It comes with the territory. Hillary can expect similar treatment by the New York media.

I doubt that Hillary will run. She clearly wants to go for it, but the polls will likely show her down by seven to 10 points by the time she has to make her decision in the fall of 1999. She's too much of a professional to get into a race under such adverse circumstances.

The Marist Poll shows her tied with Giuliani at 43 percent each. But Hillary's 43 reflects her maximum level of name recognition. Nobody is going to learn anything about her they don't already know as she campaigns.

Rudy's 43, on the other hand, reflects full recognition in the New York metropolitan area but not upstate. Voters north of Westchester cast half of the vote in a New York general election. People in small towns like Binghamton, Rome, Utica, Elmira and Plattsburg don't know much about Giuliani. As they come to know him, he will pull ahead.

Hillary will be hurt in the fall when her former law partner Web Hubbell goes on trial. While Starr is not releasing the witness list, you can bet that she is on it. As the Rose Law Firm "billing partner" for the land deal in question, she is mentioned more than 30 times in the indictment.

Right now, it makes all kinds of sense for Hillary to act as if she were set to run. It gives her a place to stand without Bill. With her husband mired in Kosovo and recovering from the damning interviews with Juanita Brodderick and Monica Lewinsky, the safest place for Hillary to be is far, far away from his side. Anyplace she goes outside of New York, she is Mrs Clinton. But here, she is Hillary, the Senate candidate, a much better moniker. But when push comes to shove, she won't run.

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13 May 1999

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Re AP article about "Hillary Clinton raising
even more funds for others in NY."

Memorandum to

The First Lady

By fax 202-456-6244

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Melanne Verveer

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Harold Ickes

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T.R.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1999

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Hillary Clinton raising even more funds for others in New York

By Marc Humbert

The Associated Press

ALBANY — Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom advisers say is edging closer to running for the Senate from New York, is adding to her fund-raising efforts for Democrats across the state, officials said Tuesday.

"I'm delighted," Carolyn Maloney said after learning the first lady had agreed to be the guest of honor at June 2 event in New York City for the congresswoman from Manhattan.

"We haven't even found a place yet," Maloney added.

The Maloney event is the latest evidence the first lady is trying to curry favor with influential New York Democrats by helping boost their bank accounts.

Last week, Clinton was the guest of honor at a major state party fund-raiser in New York City and had earlier done one for U.S. Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a Manhattan Democrat.

On May 24, the first lady is helping raise money in New York City for Nita Lowey, a Democratic congresswoman from Westchester County who is poised to run for the Senate seat if Clinton does not. The first lady also plans a fund-raising event for U.S. Rep.

Maurice Hinchey in Rinehart on June 9.

Maloney, who said she has talked several times with Clinton about the race for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, said she believes there is a "60-40 chance" she will run.

One top adviser to the first lady, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Tuesday that "I think she's concluded she wants to run," but has not yet made the decision to do so.

"She really has to mull through this balancing" of whether she can continue to serve as first lady and run for the Senate seat, the adviser said. "I'm not sure she's concluded she can do both."

One problem Clinton may not face is finding enough volunteers and experienced campaign operatives for a New York Senate race that may pit her against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

"People are volunteering," Harold Ickes, Clinton's top New York political adviser, said Tuesday.

"I take their names down, make a running list and I get that over to Hillary," Ickes said. "People that I don't know very well, I just ask them to send me a letter — and we're

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13 May 1999

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Re Friends of Rudy Giuliani Campaign
Support Letter

Memorandum to

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By fax 202-456-6244

The President
By fax (202) 456-6703

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Melanne Verveer
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202-887-6726

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And I am counting on your support in this endeavor based on the fact that, should I choose to run for the U.S. Senate, my platform will be established very strongly on my record and the issues I have advanced as Mayor of New York.

I'm sure you've heard at least some of the statistics about what I have accomplished in New York City. Crime is down 50%...the murder rate has been reduced by 70%...welfare rolls cut by 40%...\$2.3 billion in tax reductions...the FBI's statistics showing that New York City is the safest large city in America...massive reduction in red tape and unnecessary regulation...the creation of more than 325,000 private sector jobs... In short, one "impossible" achievement after another.

I'm very proud of my record as Mayor, and I would hope that my record of proven leadership would speak for me. And now I want to explore whether or not I can best execute that leadership from the Senate.

One very important point I want to make to you is this: I could not have accomplished what I have as Mayor without the support of individuals like you, the people of New York.

We did it together. What I did was listen. I took what the people were saying very seriously - and together, we made things happen.

And that is how I want to approach this bid for the U.S. Senate. With you -- working together as a team. Because that is the way - the only way - it can succeed. And that is why I am reaching out to you.

I sincerely hope you will be among the first to fill out the enclosed **PLEDGE OF SUPPORT**.

And at the same time I need you to do something equally important: I need you to back up your **PLEDGE OF SUPPORT** with a contribution of \$25, \$50, \$100, \$250, \$500, \$1000, or whatever you can afford to send at this time.

Believe me, I know I'm asking a lot of you. But I want you to understand what I will be up against...

→ Love me or hate me, I don't think there is anyone in our state who would ever accuse me of not having the interests of the people of New York absolutely first and foremost in my mind. To me, New York is not a political "stepping stone." New York is my life.

The Democrats are ready to wage an all out war to hold the New York Senate seat, and the National Democratic fundraising machine would love it if Hillary Clinton enters the race.

She proved in the 1998 elections that she could raise millions of dollars in our state, and she is already rounding up support for her potential Senate bid. Many people believe that the New York Senate seat would be a launching pad for her political ambitions.

My candidacy would not be based on what New York and the people of New York can do for me. My candidacy would be based on my record of what I can do for the people of New York.

It is obvious that this Senate contest could shape up to be one of the biggest political battles ever fought. To be sure the road to the Senate would be a long and challenging journey. The politics would be intense and the media hurdle high - and one of the greatest obstacles to overcome is money.

A serious race for a U.S. Senate seat in our state costs a minimum of \$15 million. It's outrageous, but it's a fact of political life. And if Mrs. Clinton gets into the race, the stakes will be even higher.

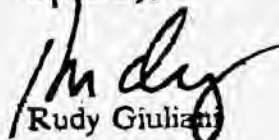
That is why it is critical for me to know now if I will have the support to fund a U.S. Senate race in the next 90 days.

So if you, and enough New Yorkers send me back your PLEDGE OF SUPPORT, and back up your pledge with a contribution to my campaign...and I do raise the seed money I need to get this race off the ground...

...I believe this state will experience the most exciting, most powerful, and what I hope will be the most inspiring political race in recent history.

Please sign the enclosed PLEDGE OF SUPPORT and return it with your most generous contribution of \$25, \$50, \$100, \$250, \$500, \$1000, or whatever you can afford TODAY. We've not a moment to lose.

Sincerely,


Rudy Giuliani

P. S. Based on my proven leadership as the Mayor of New York City, I think I can bring true leadership to the U.S. Senate for the state of New York. But before I can commit to a full-scale campaign, I'm asking for your personal support as well as your help in financing a Senate campaign.

Please act today to return the enclosed PLEDGE OF SUPPORT, along with your check for \$25, \$50, \$100, \$250, \$500, \$1000, or whatever you can send in the enclosed postage-paid envelope. Thank you.

Friends of Giuliani

PLEDGE OF SUPPORT

Dear Rudy,

Yes, I join with those who feel you would make a great addition to the United States Senate and wholeheartedly encourage you to get actively involved in the race for the Senate in 2000.

I firmly believe that your outstanding record of leadership as Mayor of New York City, combined with the dedication and commitment that you have exhibited throughout your public life, is exactly what New York, and America needs in its leaders today.

Signature

Date

☐ I am pleased to sign my Pledge of Support and sincerely hope that you will decide to run for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

☐ Understanding that it is crucial to get the maximum financial support to help cover the massive expenses associated with an all out campaign operation, I am pleased to include my most generous contribution of:

☐ \$1,000

☐ \$500

☐ \$250

☐ \$100

☐ \$50

☐ \$25

☐ Other \$ _____

Please make check payable to: **Friends of Giuliani**

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13 May 1999

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Pataki Assails Clinton's Policy on the Balkans as Weak and Indecisive

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Gov. George E. Pataki of New York assailed President Clinton's policy in the Balkans tonight for "weakness and indecision," arguing that Mr. Clinton's troubles in Kosovo were the result of unsteady Democratic leadership in foreign affairs extending back to the Vietnam War.

The Republican Governor offered his harsh review of Mr. Clinton's record in what Mr. Pataki's aides said beforehand was a major foreign policy address at Georgetown University. While offering extensive criticism of the Democratic President's foreign policies, Mr. Pataki declined to say what Mr. Clinton might have done differently to halt the attacks against Albanians in Kos-

ovo, or how he should proceed now to counter President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia.

Instead, Mr. Pataki called on Mr. Clinton to offer a clear statement of his objectives in the Balkans. Mr. Pataki argued that Mr. Clinton's vacillation in his dealings in the Balkans to date — combined with what Mr. Pataki said was the President's wobbly approach in Iraq and Somalia — had emboldened Mr. Milosevic to defy NATO now.

"If the 20th century teaches us anything, it's that America cannot lead from a position of weakness and indecision," Mr. Pataki told an auditorium filled with students gathered on a warm spring evening here. "The image of this administration as leading a weak and indecisive America

must be replaced with an America of clarity and strength."

Mr. Pataki repeatedly drew sharp comparisons between the Balkans and Vietnam, where, he said, the United States "failed to act decisively, and consequently we failed to win the war." He said he saw evidence of "Vietnam-style gradualism" in the approach to Kosovo, adding, "The parallels between President Clinton in Kosovo and President Johnson in Vietnam are frightening."

For three months, the Governor has sought to raise his national profile with a series of speeches across the country, and today's address was his first devoted to foreign policy, an attempt to establish himself as someone more than the state Senator who defeated Mario M. Cuomo in

1994. He has strongly suggested he would like to be known instead as someone who should be considered for national office.

In preparing for the speech, Mr. Pataki consulted a number of leading foreign policy figures in his party, including Henry A. Kissinger, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the former United Nations Delegate, and Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the former Secretary of State.

With his speech, Mr. Pataki joined what has been a far from unified chorus of Republican opposition, ranging from Senator John S. McCain, the Arizona Republican who has urged the commitment of ground troops, to Patrick J. Buchanan, who has called for the United States to withdraw entirely from the region.

Mr. Pataki was as forceful as those Republicans in critiquing Mr. Clinton, but was spare in offering his own view of what should be done.

Mr. Pataki contrasted this conflict and the way President George W. Bush had confronted Iraq after it invaded Kuwait. "In Kuwait, our objective was clear: Expel the Iraqis and restore the legitimate government," Mr. Pataki said. "In Kosovo, what is our objective?"

Mr. Pataki did not answer the question. "It is the obligation of President Clinton to let the American people know what our goals are, how he intends to achieve those goals and how American military forces will ultimately be able to disengage once those goals have been achieved," he said.

Pataki Pounds Clinton on War

By Liam Pleyen

ALBANY BUREAU CHIEF

Washington — Gov. George Pataki has stressed his record of cutting taxes in New York and stiffening the state's penalties for violent criminals, and argued that similar policies should form the core of the Republican campaign for the White House.

But if Pataki is to be taken seriously as a possible bearer of his party's standard in 2000, his aides believe, he must stray from that familiar ground, at least long enough to show he has a vision for American foreign policy.

And so, Pataki delivered a speech last night at Georgetown University — chosen because of its vaunted School of Foreign Service and location in the nation's capital — and attacked President Bill Clinton for conducting a conflict in Kosovo that he said increasingly resembles the war in Vietnam.

The opinions Pataki expressed were not entirely new. He has criticized Clinton several times in the past, and also raised questions about the president's approach to fighting the war in Kosovo, most recently while speaking at a Republican dinner in New Hampshire earlier this month.

The comments Pataki made yesterday, however, were harsher and more far-reaching. He assailed Clinton for "Vietnam-style gradualism," and for "telegraphing" strategy by ruling out ground troops at the outset of the battle.

Pataki also said Clinton needs to articulate his goals in Kosovo. But he scrupulously avoided offering his own opinion about those goals, an effort to make sure that the focus of responsibility stays with Clinton, not Republicans.

"The image of this administration as leading a weak and indecisive America must be replaced with an America capable of acting with clarity and with strength," Pataki said to an enthusiastic, but substantially below capacity, crowd in the 320-seat auditorium.

Pataki's aides had hoped he would not be forced to address the war in Kosovo. The speech at Georgetown was set up months ago, well before the bombing campaign began, as Pataki was scheduling the appearances that have taken him to four other states this year. The original plan was for a broader policy speech, but the ongoing conflict in the Balkans could not be ignored.

At times, the difficulty of the topic showed. Pataki said during his speech that turning NATO from a defensive mission to an offensive mission "has put the unity of NATO itself in serious jeopardy," but he did not acknowledge the solidarity of purpose officials put on display at the recent NATO summit here.

Pataki also said Clinton's inability to define clear

goals in Kosovo was most clear in contrast to President George Bush's execution of the Gulf War in 1991, ignoring the criticism often leveled at Bush for leaving Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in power to bedevil the United States.

The governor sought hard to establish the Vietnam theme. He argued there are "frightening" parallels between Clinton and President Lyndon Johnson, saying both fought wars to satisfy political aims, not to achieve foreign policy goals.

NEWSDAY, THURSDAY APR. 29, 1999

TIMES UNION ■ Albany, New York

CRISIS IN KOSOVO

Thursday, April 29, 1999

A7

Pataki accuses Clinton of 'indecisiveness' in Yugoslavia

"Milosevic did not fear us, ... which is one of the reasons we're in this crisis," governor says

By MARK HELM

Times Union Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — Gov. George Pataki on Wednesday blasted President Clinton's foreign policy and his handling of the war in Kosovo, saying the administration's "track record of indecisiveness"

helped create the Balkan conflict.

"(Yugoslav President) Slobodan Milosevic did not fear us, and he had no reason to fear us ... which is one of the reasons we're in this crisis in the first place," Pataki told a crowd of several hundred people at Georgetown University here.

The governor said the administration's pattern of repeatedly issuing threats against foreign dictators such as Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and then backing down led the Serbian leader to believe the

United States would not act forcefully to prevent ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

"It was clear in my mind that this administration's track record of indecisiveness would endanger the very people we set out to help," he said.

Pataki said the President's lack of leadership in the Balkans has resulted in a complete failure to achieve the original goals laid out by the administration when the bombing began March 24, namely to protect the Kosovars and to

weaken Milosevic's hold on power.

"Instead of deterring atrocities in Kosovo, the bombings are intensifying the atrocities ... and instead of eroding support for Milosevic, the bombings have rallied the Serbian people around him," the governor said.

Pataki urged Clinton to follow President George Bush's example in the Gulf War and define what the country's goals are in the Balkans and how he intends to achieve them.

He also said the President should

stop escalating the war with "Vietnam-style" gradualism and should instead be prepared to act boldly to achieve victory if military action is required.

"The parallels between President Clinton in Kosovo and President (Lyndon) Johnson in Vietnam are frightening," Pataki said.

The governor's appearance here was part of a series of speeches he has made around the country in recent months intended to bolster his national stature.

Pataki has been actively flirting

with the possibility of running for higher office the entire year, flying to Illinois, Florida, Missouri and New Hampshire, site of the nation's first presidential primary.

The governor has not said whether he will seek another office, and the only race he has ruled out is the U.S. Senate.

Wednesday night's speech appeared to be aimed at showing Washington insiders that the governor has the mastery of foreign policy issues to be considered for president.

Westchester

4A Thursday, April 29, 1999 The Journal News

NEW YORK

www.nytjournalnews.com

Pataki says Clinton fuzzy on Kosovo goals, objectives

Governor, speaking at Georgetown, unfavorably compares crisis with Bush's handling of Gulf War

JOHN MACIACER
Connecticut News Service

WASHINGTON — Gov. George Pataki, who is flirting with running for national office, sharpened his attack yesterday on President Clinton's handling of the Kosovo crisis. "Weakness and indecision in foreign policy leads, not to peace,

but, as we see in Kosovo, to war," Pataki said at Georgetown University, where he delivered his first full-blown speech on foreign affairs.

Pataki, echoing congressional Republicans and already declared GOP presidential candidates, charged that Clinton doesn't have the "clearly defined set of goals" that former President Bush, a Republican, had during the Persian Gulf War.

"In Kuwait, our objective was

clear — expel the Iraqis and restore the legitimate government," Pataki said in prepared remarks. "In Kosovo, what is our objective? Restoration of its pre-Milosevic regime? Autonomy? Partition? Independence?"

Pataki's comments came as the Republican-led House of Representatives voted to restrict Clinton's ability to expand the Balkan conflict. The House-passed measure would require Clinton to get congressional approval before committing ground troops in mili-

tary action against Yugoslavia.

Georgetown sophomore Matthew Payne asked Pataki if it wasn't unusual for a governor to speak on foreign policy and whether in doing so he was indicating he was going to run for national office.

Pataki replied that national policy decisions affect states, noting that Secretary of Defense William Cohen called him and other governors Tuesday to tell them which National Guard units from their states were being

called up for actions in the Balkans.

Pataki said he still had concerns about the decision to start the NATO airstrikes. But he didn't fully oppose use of ground troops if NATO decides to use them.

He said Clinton's decision to rule out the use of ground forces before the start of the conflict allowed Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to step up his "ethnic cleansing" assault on eth-

nic Albanians.

"One of the reasons these kinds of strategic mistakes are being made is that this war is being fought by civilian planners — political people with political objectives instead of military people with strategic objectives," he said.

The political fray in Washington was among several Pataki has made or is planning as he tries to decide whether he wants to seek a spot on the GOP national ticket in 2000. He has not formed an exploratory committee.

Rochester Democrat & Chronicle

Pataki strikes at Clinton policy in crisis over Kosovo

7-29-99

WASHINGTON BUREAU

JOHN MACHACEK

WASHINGTON — Gov. George Pataki, who is flirting with running for national office, yesterday attacked President Clinton's handling of the Kosovo crisis.

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Pataki said Clinton had an obligation to "let the American people know what our goals are, how he intends to achieve (them) and how American military forces will, ultimately, be able to disengage once those goals have been achieved."

The political foray to Washington was among several Pataki has made or is planning in the next few months as he tries to decide whether he wants to seek a spot on the GOP national ticket in 2000.

He has not formed a presidential exploratory committee.

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13 May 1999

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Re Buffalo News, press clip

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By fax 202-456-6244

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

~~Susan Thomases~~
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The Buffalo News/Saturday, April 24, 1999

Top Democrats believe Mrs. Clinton wants to run

By ROBERT J. MCCARTHY
News Political Reporter

After Hillary Rodham Clinton made three days of campaign-style appearances and back room political discussions throughout New York this week, the state's top Democrats are convinced the first lady wants to run for the U.S. Senate next year.

Now, they say, she must figure out a way.

That means devising some path allowing her to fulfill her White House duties over the remainder of her husband's term, while devoting the necessary time to campaigning and raising the millions of dollars needed to finance a statewide contest.

After all the advice, counsel and opinions, her closest New York associates say it all boils down to a decision she must make in her own mind.

"I believe Hillary Clinton really wants to run and really believes she can win," Mayor Massimo said Friday after evaluating pros and cons with the first lady and others in Niagara Falls on Thursday. "But she's not there yet."

"It's clear to me she wants to do this, she's very, very attracted to the challenge," said state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope. "The question she has before her is about finding a valid way to do it."

Mrs. Clinton, who in February acknowledged she is exploring the possibility of running for the seat to be vacated by the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000, has substantially ratcheted up her New York presence in recent days. That has raised speculation to a fever pitch, resulting in hordes of national press trailing her around the state and dozens of phone calls and meetings with New York's Democratic brain trust.

While "officially" performing White House duties at every stop, it's the spectacle of a sitting first lady campaigning for such a high-profile post that attracts the national press and sets political junkies seething. And her recent appearances put no damper on that speculation, including:

■ Two days of appearances throughout New York City and Long Island earlier in the week, followed by her Thursday night before 3,000 teachers at the New York State United Teachers convention.

■ A one-hour meeting in Niagara Falls late Thursday that included Massimo, Rep. John L. Faller, Deputy Assembly Speaker Anthony O. Eze, Erie County Executive Charles G. Sirois, as well as several members

with Niagara County officials.

■ Her first openly political event — a state Democratic Party dinner — set for Manhattan Thursday, plus another Buffalo visit this one slated for May 7 in conjunction with a national series of labor round-tables on the economy sponsored by the AFL-CIO.

■ A continuing lead in the polls over potential rival Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican mayor of New York. The latest Quinnipiac College poll released Thursday shows her leading Giuliani 49-42 percent.

LaFalce, a long time associate of President and Mrs. Clinton who traveled with the first lady to Niagara Falls on Thursday, said he truly believes he does not yet know what choice she will make. Like Ms. Hope and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver — other confidantes in her decision-making process — he puts the chances at "50-50."

"She loves the idea of being part of the U.S. Senate and being an influence for good," he said. "But she's aware of the residency problem, and very concerned about being a representative for New York State while fulfilling the duties of the White House."

It is that concern, say those around her, posing the biggest obstacle to a Senate run. With talk of a trip to the Balkans in the near future, discussions about other ventures abroad, and the packed schedule surrounding her first lady duties — her associates say the questions are valid ones. And they are complicated by the fact that nobody has ever faced such a unique dilemma before.

There are other downsides. Many point to the slings and arrows guaranteed to fly in such a high profile campaign. Others say the first lady must be willing to accept the pain of defeat, while still others indicate her position allows her to make contributions on her own terms.

And even her closest supporters worry about a "carpetbagger" image for a New York candidate who hails from Illinois and who spent most of her life in Arkansas, though many dismiss the issue's impact.

Giuliani, the Democratic challenger, says Mrs. Clinton's silent campaign has now entered a new phase. The "war-torn" of a first lady running for office is now being replaced by the idea of her taking on the role of a senator.

In the meantime, sources said, Mrs. Clinton is considering her options, as well as separate meetings