

The Ickes & Enright Group

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13 May 1999

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Re The Jewish Week, press clip

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

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From

Harold Ickes

(2) pages including this page

THE JEWISH WEEK, APRIL 23, 1999

Hillary Cultivates Jewish Elite

First lady softens on Palestinian state, hobnobs with Bronfmans at UJA gala; Jerry Nadler hits paydirt.

In the strongest indication yet that she is seeking Jewish support for her Senate bid here, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton chose a premier organizational event to publicly embrace a more moderate stance on Palestinian statehood.

"[Leaders] must forsake any unilateral steps that would undermine the peace process," said Clinton at UJA-Federations' Keeper of the Flame banquet Tuesday night at the Waldorf. "If peace is to be lasting it has to be negotiated. ... We must oppose any unilateral steps that prejudice the outcome."

POLITICAL MEMOS

BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS



That position had previously been stated in a private White House meeting with local rabbis in February. It does not contradict a controversial declaration she made last year to Palestinian children that it is in the "long-term interests of the Middle East" for Palestinians to have their own state. Indeed, she called on Jewish leaders Tuesday to "stand behind" the outcome of the negotiations, even if they do not like it. But it does identify her with a position taken by a majority of American Jews.

On a busy trip filled with quick appearances and speeches, Clinton spent nearly 90 minutes at the UJA event. Alongside Jewish Sen. Charles Schumer, she hobnobbed with New York's Jewish philanthropic elite, known as much for funding liberal Democratic candidates as for its charitable largesse. The dinner honored billionaire brothers Edgar and Charles Bronfman. In her speech, she conveyed warmth and familiarity with hachosos such as Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and real-estate mogul Lewis Rudin, who introduced her.

The dinner, and one the previous evening for the Jewish Child Care Association, a UJA-Federation beneficiary, were Clinton's first appearances before New York Jewish audiences since she began encouraging speculation that she will run for a Senate seat here in 2000. Organizers of both dinners say she accepted

the invitations prior to Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's announcement that he would not seek re-election, and she did not directly allude to a campaign at either event. The closest Clinton came to acknowledging a Senate bid was when Rudin offered his help finding her an apartment.

"Let's talk," she said.

But the intense public interest in her campaign, whether in support or opposition, was evident in the talk and the clinking cocktail glasses at both events.

"She's so smart," gushed Peggy Tishman, a past president of UJA-Federation, prior to Clinton's JCCA speech. "Nobody can speak like this woman. Have you ever heard her give a 40-minute speech without notes?"

A Marist College poll released Monday suggests that 57 percent of Jews would support Clinton in a race against Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who also has yet to declare his candidacy. Giuliani was supported by 37 percent of Jews polled. Those numbers are statistically unchanged from the last Marist poll in February.

Jews are the third largest supporters of a Clinton candidacy, after blacks (96 percent) and Latinos (71 percent). But in an interesting twist, a majority of Jews, 49 percent, said she should not run. Only 40 percent think she should.

"Some think this is not a good move for her, but they will support her if she makes it," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion.

Tishman questioned whether the first lady should find easier pursuits. "My only question is, can she afford it? It's a big sacrifice. She can have any job she wants."

Clinton continued to fuel speculation that she will run this week, by using the pronoun "we" in referring to New Yorkers, and by stressing her opposition to the private-school voucher program championed by Giuliani.

And as she basked in the spotlight, she had clearly succeeded in igniting passions for and against her candidacy. She had barely finished her address at the Jewish Child Care Association dinner Monday night when Suzanne Dreifuss rose from her table and rushed to the velvet ropes, hoping to shake the first lady's hand.

"She's articulate and extremely dedicated to children, so I feel very passionate about her," said Dreifuss, a Manhattan second-grade teacher, after getting her wish.

But while a small crowd at the Cipriani Wall Street gathering wished the speaker well, Howard Rubin stayed in his seat. "Why should we support someone who has no connection to New York, and the only thing on her foreign affairs agenda is support of a Palestinian state, which I think is a threat to Is-

rael?" asked Rubin, a lawyer from Old Bethpage, L.I.

Clinton's New York junket was a boon for Rep. Jerrold Nadler, whose stalwart support of President Clinton and endorsement of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr during the impeachment brought the first lady to his fund-raiser Monday night.

The Yeshiva of Crown Heights graduate, who represents parts of Brooklyn and Manhattan, more than doubled his campaign war chest, netting close to \$400,000. The dinner was planned for March, but moved to accommodate the first lady's schedule, Nadler said.

After briefly considering his own bid for Moynihan's seat, Nadler now says he is preparing only for his 2000 re-election.

"One should always be prepared," said Nadler, who faced no primary challenger in 1998 and won handily in the general election.

Gov. George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani made a rare appearance together recently at the Holocaust memorial at Temple B'nai El, sitting side by side with no indication of their ongoing feud over such issues as the use of tobacco settlement money, school construction and police brutality.

The harmony didn't last. On Sunday, Giuliani announced that the city would pay \$22 million toward the expansion of the Museum of Jewish Heritage-Living Memorial to the Holocaust in Battery Park City at the museum's director. Pataki didn't attend the event, and Giuliani avoided any mention of the state's contribution of land for the expansion, instead paying tribute to De-

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THE NEW YORK OBSERVER

THE FRONT PAGE

Waiting for Hillary Is a Stale Pastime; Democrats Get Antsy

by Tish Durkin

Even for the hardest-core of New York political addicts, it is getting ever so slightly stale to wait for Hillary Rodham Godot.

"How many conversations can you have with somebody saying, 'I heard from somebody who knows Harold Ickes that she's definitely thinking she may or may not run?'" mused Jay Rabinowitz, a Democratic Party operative who showed up at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, hosted by the New York State Democratic Committee at the Grand Hyatt on April 29.

On the other hand, for those who buy tickets for rubber chicken, the fact that something is slightly stale is no reason not to devour it ravenously. And so it was at the Grand Hyatt, with all present dissecting all possible inferences to be made from all possible hints: from every shoulder pat or cheek peck bestowed by Mr. Ickes upon this or that supplicant; from the brilliant blue-eye flashes beamed by the First Lady at every word that fell from the lips of State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, seated to her left; from the level of coughs and murmurs during her speech, which was flatteringly low, considering that the sentiments she expressed, perfectly wholesome but bland as beige, went down just like cream of wheat.

Mr. Ickes is, of course, the legendarily loyal Clinton confidant who has stuck with the First Couple through crises ideological, personal and, considering his Alps of legal bills, financial. But this evening, he was, for all intents and purposes, God. Displaying what his friends called an unusual ease and sociability, the universally acknowledged guru and gatekeeper to the Undecided One worked the room, sitting only briefly to take short, efficient sips of wine and bites of salad. From the back of the ballroom, behind the velvet rope and the iron barrier where the press had been herded à la cattle, one could get only the faintest whiff of Mr. Ickes' vindication, but an unmistakable whiff it was: He had, after all, been one of the first to back Bill Clinton in the earliest days of 1992 over the objections of his New York liberal friends, who were rooting for Senator Tom Harkin or some such



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Mr. Ickes is widely, and perhaps somewhat overemphatically, depicted as the only person apart from the First Lady who really knows a single thing about her thinking. But pending his decision to unburden himself to *The Observer*, as he has thus far declined to do, a few crystals of consensus were beginning to form.

The first, and most obvious, is that the First Lady wants to run. "When she came back from Africa, she figured that she could lose, but she could cope with losing, which everyone regards as a major step in the decision-making process," said a source close to Team Hillary.

"She is clearly running when she's leaving the big room to go to the small room to talk to the Young Democrats," said Assembly member Herman (Denny) Farrell, chair of the Democrat Party in New York County; a variation on the she-is-clearly-running-when theme that has been sounded by the otherwise unfathomable frequency of her travel to Buffalo; her recent address to the Giuliani-despising New York State Union of Teachers; and her recently developed fascination with the May 25 special election to replace Joe Holland, the retiring Republican State Senator of Rockland County, whose seat the state's Republicans have pledged more than \$1 million to save.

"She knew all about the race—more than a lot of local politicians in New York," said State Senator Eric Schneiderman, chair of the Democratic State Senate Campaign Committee. "She had her own ideas on how she could help."

"She's concerned about the mechanics," added Mr. Farrell.

Indeed, Mrs. Clinton has reportedly voiced fears of experiencing technical difficulties involving everything from how to run while tethered to the Secret Service to how to announce herself an enthusiastic New Yorker without seeming to distance herself from the baffling marriage based in Washington, D.C. One has not heard, but would not be at all surprised to hear, of a further apprehension on the First Lady's part as to how she could ever distance herself, however slightly and respectfully, from any aspect of the Administration that might flare unflatteringly in the course of a campaign. Even in a state that has consistently demonstrated a near-unconditional love for both Clintons, a candidate can sometimes use a little wriggle room from the Vatican. Small example: Local 1199 of the National Health and Human Service Employees Union was among those who sued the Clinton Administration over its attempt to exercise the line-item veto in a way that the plaintiffs, including Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, deemed deleterious to the health care system in New York. Yet New York City's largest hospital workers union is now among those in the forefront of the draft-Hillary movement. In the end, such little ironies may turn out to be evidence that intraparty policy fissures are easily subsumed in the face of an opponent—or evidence that every little crack can be exploited by that opponent.

But for the moment, at least, the feeling is that such considerations are obstacles for Mrs. Clinton to negotiate, not roadblocks to turn her back.

"They're getting to the point now that they are identifying the lines of an attack in a campaign," said a Democrat in the state government. At a recent dinner with Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, Mr. Ickes discussed leadership (read: personality) issues, an enormous gender gap, the Mayor's own problems with upstaters, and education as points for Mrs. Clinton to exploit against Mr. Giuliani. "He went on and on about what an extraordinary mistake that Giuliani is making going after the school board," said the source. "Ickes thinks this will make the liberals and the blacks turn against [Mr. Giuliani]."

Needless to say, the combination of the fact that liberals and minorities have not lately been feeling themselves in need of another reason to turn against the Mayor, with the fact that they already adore the First Lady, is a potent plus for her candidacy. In light of the huge get-out-the-vote efforts that the Democrats' Presidential nominee will no doubt mount in communities of color, this formula becomes even more favorable. Still, the desire that Mrs. Clinton not supply those eager to paint her as a wild-eyed liberal with brush, oils and canvas is beginning to be expressed. "The advice to Hillary and to Ickes from [State Comptroller Carl] McCall and Spitzer has been to broaden the context," said the government source.

Perhaps surprisingly, given recent quibbling between national and state Republicans as to the desirability of crowning Mr. Giuliani their candidate, every calculation of Mrs. Clinton's camp seems to be predicated entirely on the assumption that Mr. Giuliani will be their opponent. This assumption is based less on a sense that the Mayor could not lose a primary to a candidate such as Representative Rick Lazio of Long Island, than on a sense that Mr. Lazio will probably not enter the primary. Anyway, a Lazio upset is seen as making the First Lady's task, or at least the math of it, simpler than a run against Mr. Giuliani would be: She would revert to the traditional Democratic math of an easy win downstate, and a sufficient showing upstate.

Whatever his recent problems, Mr. Giuliani remains a Republican twice sent to City Hall by an overwhelmingly Democratic city, and that throws all the old numbers out of whack. "Giuliani can be dangerous for us and we know it," said Mr. Farrell. "Our battle is to win New York City overwhelmingly over someone who has been the Mayor."

As for the particulars, the nascent Team Hillary, like the old Soviet Union as seen by Winston Churchill, is "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma"—or trying very hard to be. Clearly, the campaign's shots would be significantly called by Mr. Ickes, but that is it for clarity. The assumption that Washington, D.C.-based consultant David Doak had a lock on the media contract was complicated by rumors that New Yorker Hank Morris had been contacted; Mr. Morris refused to comment. Pollster Tom Kiley, who is based in Boston but works for both Mr. McCall and the Assembly's Democrats, was getting frequent mention as the pollster. On the level of organization closer to the ground, strong scuttlebutt had it that Democratic National Committee vice chair Bill Lynch, Housing and Urban Development representative Bill DeBlasio and Jennifer Cunningham, executive director of the New York State Council of Unions and a confidante of Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, have been sending out just-in-case feelers to the reputed

cream of the young-Democrat crop. That includes Peter Vallone's fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff; Andy Grossman, director of the 1998 statewide campaign; Karen Persichelli Keogh, director of operations for the City Council, and her assistant, Kevin Wardally. ("Not me," demurred Mr. Lynch. "I'm not in that loop. I'm just one of the colored guys, and she's already got us." Ms. Cunningham declined to comment. Mr. DeBlasio did not return calls by press time.)

"There are a lot of discussions going on with the proviso that the First Lady has got to make a decision," said Cindy Darrison, finance director to Mr. Spitzer. Speaking of Mr. Spitzer, his recent 45-minute White House meeting with the First Lady presumably went some way toward assuaging any impression that, given the position of the Hillary-hated Dick Morris as Spitzer family friend and campaign consultant, he would be cast forever out of the magic loop. That is, of course, assuming that the First Lady will run. For no particular reason that *The Observer* could discern, most interested parties seemed to peg mid- to late July as the moment of truth; the suggestion that the May 24 fund-raiser for Nita Lowey at which Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to appear would be the perfect time and place to anoint or be anointed met with general snorts of dismissal.

But maybe it shouldn't: Even for the First Lady, it will be no mean feat to raise \$15 million at a rate not more efficient than \$2,000 per donor, especially given that the Presidential race will be sopping up some of the soft money and dividing the energies of major finance-committee folk. Back in February, Senator Chuck Schumer told *The Observer* that a decision date somewhere around April 15 "balances the needs of both people," referring to Mrs. Clinton and Representative Nita Lowey of Westchester, waiting in the wings. Now he's giving H.R.C. an extension: "The First Lady needs the time to make the decision that's right for her," said Mr. Schumer through his spokesman. "She has the best intentions of New York Democrats at heart, and will do everything she can to make sure that the next senator from New York State is a woman."

But if she keeps not fishing and not cutting bait, that "woman" might be a Mayor who has been known to don a dress.

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May 4, 1999

Giuliani Aims Gibes at Hillary Clinton at an Upstate Dinner

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By RICHARD PEREZ-PENA

AMSTERDAM, N.Y. -- Hillary Rodham Clinton supplied Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani with some of his best material Monday night as he drew cheers from Republicans here with jabs at her as an interloper with no connection to New York.

The word "carpetbagger" has crept into Giuliani's speeches as he and Mrs. Clinton crisscross the state, each exploring a run for the same United States Senate seat next year, and he used it again at the Fulton County Republican Party's annual dinner in Amsterdam, which is 30 miles northwest of Albany.

The Mayor reminded his audience that Mrs. Clinton, who grew up in Illinois, has lived most of her adult life in Arkansas, and signaled that he sees resentment of her as a powerful issue for New York Republicans.

"It really does make sense in New York to have somebody representing us in the Senate, let's start off, who's from New York," the Mayor said.

"I may announce for the Senate in Arkansas," he joked. And in an arch reference to that state's political scandals, he added, "Given the experience of the last several years, maybe they would elect me."

* * Giuliani gave his usual account of taming the untamable city, cutting crime and shrinking welfare rolls, but his barbs at Mrs.

• HRC
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Clinton brought the most enthusiastic response from his audience of 200.

His comments were even more pointed in a session with reporters before the dinner, when he said that in a campaign, there would be raised "a very valid question of how do you represent a state in which you have no connection at all," an issue that he said would be particularly potent upstate. "The idea of her being a carpetbagger in New York City does not have the same impact as it does outside of New York City."

→ The Mayor asserted that her candidacy would be "a real plus" because "she would galvanize support for the Republican side in a way that few people could do."

Here in central New York, one of the state's most staunchly Republican regions, that may well be true. In Fulton County, 19 of the 20 county legislators are Republican, and the other is an independent.

When asked what he thought of Giuliani, Allen Bohne, a former county party chairman, said, "I can tell you one thing, I don't think too much of Hillary."

Several people at Monday night's event said that they did not know much about the Mayor -- though what they knew, they said, was positive -- and that they were reserving judgment about a possible primary between Giuliani and Representative Rick Lazio of Suffolk County.

✓ "We had Lazio speak to us not long ago, and we really liked him," said Dexter Risedorph, a County Election Commissioner. "Tell you the truth, I'll go with whoever can win."

The Mayor, who takes pains to appear nonpartisan at home, where most voters are Democrats, wears his party identification far more proudly upstate.

"The things that New York City gets credit for turning around all have to do with Republican philosophy and Republican programs," he said.

Giuliani also took swipes at President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, and said that any of the Republicans running for President would be preferable to Gore. He also praised Gov. George E. Pataki, a highly popular figure here but a fellow Republican with whom Giuliani has clashed repeatedly.



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"They're getting to the point now that they are identifying the lines of an attack in a campaign," said a Democrat in the state government. At a recent dinner with Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, Mr. Ickes discussed leadership (read: personality) issues, an enormous gender gap, the Mayor's own problems with upstaters, and education as points for Mrs. Clinton to exploit against Mr. Giuliani. "He went on and on about what an extraordinary mistake that Giuliani is making going after the school board," said the source. "Ickes thinks this will make the liberals and the blacks turn against [Mr. Giuliani]."

Needless to say, the combination of the fact that liberals and minorities have not lately been feeling themselves in need of another reason to turn against the Mayor, with the fact that they already adore the First Lady, is a potent plus for her candidacy. In light of the huge get-out-the-vote efforts that the Democrats' Presidential nominee will no doubt mount in communities of color, this formula becomes even more favorable. Still, the desire that Mrs. Clinton not supply those eager to paint her as a wild-eyed liberal with brush, oils and canvas is beginning to be expressed. "The advice to Hillary and to Ickes from [State Comptroller Carl] McCall and Spitzer has been to broaden the context," said the government source.

Perhaps surprisingly, given recent quibbling between national and state Republicans as to the desirability of crowning Mr. Giuliani their candidate, every calculation of Mrs. Clinton's camp seems to be predicated entirely on the assumption that Mr. Giuliani will be their opponent. This assumption is based less on a sense that the Mayor could not lose a primary to a candidate such as Representative Rick Lazio of Long Island, than on a sense that Mr. Lazio will probably not enter the primary. Anyway, a Lazio upset is seen as making the First Lady's task, or at least the math of it, simpler than a run against Mr. Giuliani would be: She would revert to the traditional Democratic math of an easy win downstate, and a sufficient showing upstate.

Whatever his recent problems, Mr. Giuliani remains a Republican twice sent to City Hall by an overwhelmingly Democratic city, and that throws all the old numbers out of whack. "Giuliani can be dangerous for us and we know it," said Mr. Farrell. "Our battle is to win New York City overwhelmingly over someone who has been the Mayor."

As for the particulars, the nascent Team Hillary, like the old Soviet Union as seen by Winston Churchill, is "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma"—or trying very hard to be. Clearly, the campaign's shots would be significantly called by Mr. Ickes, but that is it for clarity. The assumption that Washington, D.C.-based consultant David Doak had a lock on the media contract was complicated by rumors that New Yorker Hank Morris had been contacted; Mr. Morris refused to comment. Pollster Tom Kiley, who is based in Boston but works for both Mr. McCall and the Assembly's Democrats, was getting frequent mention as the pollster. On the level of organization closer to the ground, strong scuttlebutt had it that Democratic National Committee vice chair Bill Lynch, Housing and Urban Development representative Bill DeBlasio and Jennifer Cunningham, executive director of the New York State Council of Unions and a confidante of Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, have been sending out just-in-case feelers to the reputed

cream of the young-Democrat crop. That includes Peter Vallone's fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff; Andy Grossman, director of the 1998 statewide campaign; Karen Persichelli Keogh, director of operations for the City Council, and her assistant, Kevin Wardally. ("Not me," demurred Mr. Lynch. "I'm not in that loop. I'm just one of the colored guys, and she's already got us." Ms. Cunningham declined to comment. Mr. DeBlasio did not return calls by press time.)

"There are a lot of discussions going on with the proviso that the First Lady has got to make a decision," said Cindy Darrison, finance director to Mr. Spitzer. Speaking of Mr. Spitzer, his recent 45-minute White House meeting with the First Lady presumably went some way toward assuaging any impression that, given the position of the Hillary-hated Dick Morris as Spitzer family friend and campaign consultant, he would be cast forever out of the magic loop. That is, of course, assuming that the First Lady will run. For no particular reason that *The Observer* could discern, most interested parties seemed to peg mid- to late July as the moment of truth; the suggestion that the May 24 fund-raiser for Nita Lowey at which Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to appear would be the perfect time and place to anoint or be anointed met with general snorts of dismissal.

But maybe it shouldn't: Even for the First Lady, it will be no mean feat to raise \$15 million at a rate not more efficient than \$2,000 per donor, especially given that the Presidential race will be sopping up some of the soft money and dividing the energies of major finance-committee folk. Back in February, Senator Chuck Schumer told *The Observer* that a decision date somewhere around April 15 "balances the needs of both people," referring to Mrs. Clinton and Representative Nita Lowey of Westchester, waiting in the wings. Now he's giving H.R.C. an extension: "The First Lady needs the time to make the decision that's right for her," said Mr. Schumer through his spokesman. "She has the best intentions of New York Democrats at heart, and will do everything she can to make sure that the next senator from New York State is a woman."

But if she keeps not fishing and not cutting bait, that "woman" might be a Mayor who has been known to don a dress.

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This column ran on page 1 in the 5/10/99 edition of The New York Observer.

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13 May 1999

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Re *Education issues - NY*

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The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

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Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

~~Susan Thomases~~
By fax 212-327-4327

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QUICK SEARCH



Rudy's Secret School Plan

How he would ax Ed Board, revamp system

By MICHAEL R. BLOOD
Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

The Board of Education, the schools chancellor and the city's 32 community school boards would be wiped out under Mayor Giuliani's wide-ranging plan to give City Hall a more powerful hand in running the public school system.

Draft legislation, obtained by the Daily News, details for the first time Giuliani's vision of how the overhaul would work.

"The mayor must have a more direct role in the selection of a manager for the city school district comparable to the mayor's authority over municipal agencies," the proposed legislation states.

The draft legislation, being circulated by the mayor's office, comes on the heels of Giuliani's stepped-up campaign of reforms targeting the Board of Education, which he has said he wants "blown up."

It also came amid the mayor's first meeting with Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew since Giuliani's calls for massive reforms chilled their once warm working relationship.

The proposed legislation, described as a work in progress, is being hammered out behind closed doors by Giuliani and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone to give the mayor and Council more authority over the troubled school system.



Albans NEWS
Under his new plan, Mayor Giuliani would appoint a new education commissioner ...

It would replace the Board of Education and chancellor with an education commissioner, who would report to the mayor and Council.

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The city's 32 local school boards, each with nine elected members, would be dismantled, under the legislation, which calls them "generally ineffective." In some districts the panels have become "a source of corruption and mismanagement," the bill asserts.

The local boards were set up in the 1960s, after parents and community leaders demanded more control over their schools.



Carroll NEWS
... and current
Chancellor Rudy
Crew would be
looking for a new
job.

In 1996, after longstanding complaints about patronage and corruption, the Legislature stripped the local boards of their power to hire and fire principals and district superintendents, handing that authority to the chancellor.

Approval of Giuliani school legislation, which must clear the Legislature in Albany, is uncertain at best. Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, a Manhattan Democrat, has left little doubt he would oppose the mayoral plan.

The Board of Education also signaled opposition on a day when Crew and

Giuliani met for the first time in two weeks. "We are not in agreement over this legislation," said Crew spokeswoman Karen Crowe.

Reform legislation passed in 1996 "recognizes that the decisions affecting schools, like budget allocations and curriculum design, are best discussed at the local level. We support this model."

Vallone spokesman Michael Clendenin didn't rule out the plan to eliminate local boards, but said the speaker wants to concentrate on dismantling the Board of Education "so that [the school system is] directly accountable to City Hall."

In a day of mixed signals on the frayed relations between the mayor and Crew, the two sides reached a loose agreement on ending so-called social promotions, the practice of advancing students from grade to grade even if they flunk the coursework.

Even so, the mayor continued to express impatience with Crew and the board, and Giuliani loyalists kept up a fierce attack on the chancellor's leadership.

"The chancellor has no new ideas," a City Hall insider said after Crew and the mayor yesterday met for 90 minutes.

A stone-faced Crew entered the mayor's office shortly after

9:30 a.m., four days after Giuliani demanded the chancellor "explain" a fiery letter he issued last week attacking the mayor's school policies.

Aides said the meeting began with a handshake, but was cold and businesslike.

Once cigar-smoking buddies, the two Rudys parted company last month over the mayor's plans to use public-paid vouchers to send kids to private schools and to eliminate the Board of Education.

The dispute has raised questions about Crew's hold on his job running the 1.1-million student system — but he has repeatedly insisted he's not resigning.

"I want the chancellor to present an agenda for change," the mayor said.

Crew spoke warmly of the mayor, but there was uncertainty in his voice as he alluded to the bitter words that have passed between them.

"I look forward to working with the mayor harmoniously on the issues that are still before us. I think that all of that other rhetoric is over at this point — at least I hope it is," Crew said.

With JoAnne Wasserman

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Top News

Pataki proposes modest easing of Rockefeller-era drug statutes

Sports

Lotteries

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) - A proposal would make as many as 250 state prisoners eligible for court review of their 15-year-to-life sentences received under the Rockefeller drug laws.

International

National

A long-awaited sentencing reform plan from Gov. George Pataki would allow the Appellate Division of state Supreme Court to reduce the sentences of people serving time for possessing at least four ounces of narcotics. Their new sentence would be a maximum of 10 years to life.

Washington

Business

Wall Street

The governor also called Monday for a significant change in the law that requires mandatory prison sentences of 4 1/2 to 9 years for a two-time felon. Critics have said that law often sends drug addicts to state prisons for possession of even small amounts of narcotics.

Entertainment

Health/Science

Regional

Pataki called for repeat nonviolent offenders caught with drugs to be eligible for placement in a drug treatment program for up to 18 months, if prosecutors agree. Upon completion of the program, the charges would be dismissed. Drug sellers would not be eligible.

5-5-99

Hallway - This
was reading -
(over)

* About 22,000 of the state's 70,000 prison inmates are serving time for drug offenses.

Pataki, a Republican who takes credit for the significant decline in violent crime New York has experienced since he took office in 1995, was careful Monday not to categorize the Rockefeller-era drug statutes as failures.

In fact, he portrayed his sentencing proposal as a significant toughening of the law as it applies to major drug dealers. Under his plan, people promoting drug-selling conspiracies involving three or more people would face the 15-year-to-life penalty. Under current law, they can get a sentence as low as 1 to 3 years if they aren't caught possessing the drugs.

The centerpiece of Pataki's proposal would extend a determinate sentencing system, based on the model used by the federal courts, to people convicted of nonviolent felonies. Pataki had earlier convinced the Legislature to virtually end parole for violent felons.

Judges would choose from a range of prison sentences based on the severity of the nonviolent felony, under the latest Pataki plan. The inmate would then have to serve at least six-sevenths of that sentence, although they could earn an additional one-seventh reduction for good behavior.

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau, who joined Pataki at a state Capitol news conference where the governor's plan was unveiled, said he has favored determinate sentencing for 20 years. By allowing parole boards to release inmates, "you are training defendants to be good actors," Morgenthau said.

The state Assembly's Democratic majority, no friend of determinate sentencing in the past, left its options open.

"Our first priority this session is school safety with a ban on assault weapons and safety trigger devices, but we'll take a very close look at the governor's sentencing bill," Patricia Lynch, a spokeswoman for Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, said. "It's not our top priority, but we'll take a look."

The Assembly stand could leave room for compromise between the Republican governor and Democratic speaker, if the Democrats can get the assault weapon ban and trigger lock requirement into law. Pataki is on record as favoring those provisions, but there is opposition in the Republican-controlled state Senate.

Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno said Monday his house would pass Pataki's sentencing proposal.

But the head of the anti-Rockefeller drug law Correctional Association, Robert Gangi, condemned the Pataki proposals as an ineffective way of preventing thousands of nonviolent drug addicts from getting sent to state prison.

"They are woefully inadequate in terms of providing any real drug law reform," he contended.

Gangi said requiring prosecutorial approval for diverting repeat felons into drug programs would prevent that tool from being widely used.

"As long as the prosecutors control the outcome of the cases, we will only get very limited use of diversion programs," Gangi said.

The 15-year-to-life sentence for drug possession was established in 1973 at the urging of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who said heroin and other drugs were ruining

Pataki proposes modest easing of Rockefeller-era drug statutes

inner cities across New York. Rockefeller's opponents argued at the time that he was trying to bolster his standing in the law-and-order wing of the Republican Party.

Critics of Pataki's reform proposal make much the same argument that Pataki is not going further because of his desire to become a GOP candidate for national office and his desire to please conservative Republicans.

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Re New rules - Tall of Town 5-17-99

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THE TALK OF THE TOWN 5. 12. 99

COMMENT

Capitol Hillary.



EVEN as it goes nowhere, Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign continues to make progress. Last week, the First Lady was once again in New York, where she participated in an A.F.L.-C.I.O. women's forum in Buffalo, among other activities. It was her third trip to the state in as many weeks, and, like the others, it was indistinguishable from a campaign swing except, of course, that she is not a candidate—or, at least, not yet. Mrs. Clinton's reticence about her plans has made even slight gestures on her part seem suggestive—her presumptuous use of the word “we” when referring to New Yorkers, her photogenic sharing of a private joke with the New York City Schools Chancellor, Rudy Crew—and on some level she is clearly toying with the electorate. But no one who has followed her in this period of deliberation could accuse her of taking the decision lightly.

Mrs. Clinton has approached her potential candidacy, which began as a puckish suggestion from Senator Bob Torricelli, of New Jersey, on “Meet the Press,” back in January, as a subject for intense and earnest examination. As she started to work her way through Harold Ickes’ Rolodex, making exploratory phone calls, distinctly minor New York officials suddenly found themselves summoned by the White House switchboard. David Alpert, the Westchester County Democratic chairman, spoke with her for nearly an hour, and, like many others she has sought out, he was impressed by the scope of her inquiries. “She was curious

about why there was a large Jordanian population in Yonkers,” he told the *Times*, in amazement. “I did not know the answer.”

In her recent travels around the state, Mrs. Clinton has exhibited a similarly dutiful interest in the details of its politics and geography. During one of her visits, she sat through the entire, grindingly dull program of the New York State Democratic Party’s Jefferson-Jackson dinner, clapping enthusiastically for achievements that included electing one Democrat to the Suffolk County

the type of person who could present a thirteen-hundred-page health-care bill to Congress and regret only that she hadn’t been more thorough. This image of her has not changed even when circumstances have. On more than one occasion, the meticulously prepared First Lady has been made to appear out of touch on matters of considerable personal significance, like the whereabouts of those billing records that mysteriously materialized in the White House living quarters.

As Hillary Clinton considers a run for the Senate next year, her conscientiousness is again at odds with the circumstances: what she is contemplating is a classic example of what actual New Yorkers like to call *chutzpah*. She has already been accused of carpet-bagging, and, given the hostile nature of New York elections, if she runs she will probably be charged with much worse. No amount of research into the distribution of ethnic minorities in lower Westchester is going to alter that fact.

Right now, her poll numbers in New York aren’t bad, but they aren’t particularly good, either. The past several weeks have been far and away the roughest of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani’s career, yet surveys suggest that, despite the almost daily protests against him, his standing in a hypothetical matchup with Mrs. Clinton has improved. This trend confirms a basic rule about politics: candidates tend to be most desirable when they are least available (think Colin Powell).

There is reason to believe that in Mrs. Clinton’s case this effect would be particularly punishing. As the health-care-plan fiasco demonstrated, public opinion is easily turned against her when she tries to exert her formidable will on behalf of a cause she sup-



Legislature and two to the Village of Hempstead Board of Trustees. During another visit, she told reporters that they might be “surprised” by some of the crops that “are actually grown right here in New York.”

Mrs. Clinton’s effort to connect with New Yorkers by boning up on the state’s lesser-known vegetables fits, almost too well, the public perception of her as a policy wonk extraordinaire—

ports. Indeed, in our not yet fully emancipated times, it has never been what she did but, rather, what she didn't do—fall apart, leave her husband—that has made her popular.

Of course, it's possible that the First Lady can escape this bind. Her political commitment is, by all accounts, genuine, and she may yet find a role that is somewhere between *Vogue*-cover wife and Beltway shrew—a third way, as it were. But one of Mrs. Clinton's most striking characteristics is the curious way she keeps being made over without ever really changing.

—ELIZABETH KOLBERT

DEPT. OF ICONS

A little bit of Audrey for everyone.



IT wasn't break-fast at Tiffany's, but one recent evening, across the street at Bergdorf Goodman, they were passing around champagne and hors d'œuvres in celebration of a new book entitled "Audrey Style." Audrey Hepburn, whose regal neck and doe eyes—not to mention twenty-inch waist—were the envy of every woman, would have turned seventy last week. The birthdays of late, lamented icons provide the perfect marketing opportunity for misty-eyed reappraisals, and Pamela Clarke Keogh, the author of "Audrey Style," seated at a table amid the department store's cosmetics counters, couldn't sign copies of her gorgeous-looking book fast enough.

Billy Wilder, who directed the actress in "Sabrina," once remarked, "This girl, single-handedly, may make bosoms a thing of the past." And, after sporting her in her first major movie, "Roman Holiday" (for which she won an Academy Award for best actress), women rushed to copy every aspect of her guileless style, from her breezy haircut to her white cotton shirts with the sleeves rolled up. Still, Hepburn was known to refer to herself—with the entrancing modesty that was as much a trademark as her ballet flats—as "just a skinny broad."

Keogh's book is short on substance and a bit muddled on the details (did Hepburn wear a size-8½ shoe? or was it

a size 10?), but it is gratifyingly long on photographs, fashion sketches, and gushing print-bites. The word "grace" appears on about every third page, and we learn that the determinedly svelte actress (Hepburn, who was five feet seven, kept her weight at a firm hundred and ten pounds) liked pasta and an occasional chocolate fix. Of course, she had trained as a dancer, which gave her enviable posture in addition to a formidable will. ("She's disciplined, like all those ballet dames," Humphrey Bogart is quoted as saying.)

"Audrey Style," published by HarperCollins, contains the briefest of introductions—no more than an im-

primatur, really—by the reclusive Hubert de Givenchy, the seventy-two-year-old couturier who helped create Hepburn's signature style, beginning with "Sabrina." In 1953, he agreed to see her in his Paris atelier, under the misapprehension that she was Katharine Hepburn; since he was busy preparing a collection, she whisked through his workrooms, plucking outfits off the racks. They became lifelong friends, and whether Audrey Hepburn's sophisticated-schoolgirl look owes everything to Givenchy or is a reflection of her own taste, as well, is the stuff of bitchy speculation.

At Bergdorf, the crowd dined on miniature hot dogs, Roquefort-covered

POSTSCRIPT

Remembering a Renaissance human.

TWO years ago, the historian Daniel Boorstin, who was then eighty-two, delivered a lecture to an audience of young computer experts, entertainment experts, and design experts. The talk celebrated what Boorstin called "the amateur spirit."

According to Boorstin, "The rewards and refreshments of thought and the arts come from the courage to try something, all sorts of things, for the first time. An enamored amateur need not be a genius to stay out of ruts he has never been trained in. . . . In the long run, the ruts wear away, and adventuring amateurs reward us by a wonderful vagrancy into the unexpected."

Today, Boorstin's words read like an epitaph for a man who happened to have attended that 1997 lecture. Tibor Kalman, who perfectly embodied that brave, ferocious, big-hearted amateur spirit, died last week of cancer.

Tibor, whom everyone called Tibor (partly, I think, because it's a fun word to say—his son's middle

name, after all, is Onomatopoeia), was not yet fifty. Nevertheless, he managed to distinguish himself in more careers in twenty-five years than any dozen other people do in fifty. The Tibor Kalman aesthetic DNA lives and flourishes all over the place, in the work of his former protégés and of people he influenced but never met.



Tibor Kalman

His nominal job description was graphic designer, and his legendary design firm, M&Co, was a truly communistic entity—a collective filled with subversive spirit and run by a charismatic, sometimes infuriating dictator. (This isn't just metaphorical: although his parents escaped Communist Hungary

in 1956, when Tibor was seven, more than a decade later he joined S.D.S., and until he died he remained a kind of Yippie-ish, Euro-style socialist.) Although he had no formal design training, he was the art director of *Artforum* and of *Interview*—yet it was the M&Co ideas that became so influential, the most important of those ideas being a kind of impudent, life-affirming irony. In the eighties, he and M&Co helped transform the palette of sophisticated design by incorporating charmingly unsophisticated images and typefaces—sometimes faux-naïf ones,

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14 May 1999

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Re Wash Tax article of 5.12.99 about Peter King
possibly naming the Senate

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From Harold Ickes

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The Washington Times

Pete and Rudy

It was 32 years ago, the summer of 1967, and British model Twiggy arrived in New York, wowing the Big Apple in her short skirts and boots. Among the admirers, perhaps, were two interns toiling at former President Richard Nixon's Manhattan law firm.

"We even lived next door to each other," Rep. Peter T. King, New York Republican, tells *Inside the Beltway* in an interview, referring to none other than New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"We even took the same train to work together," says Mr. King, 23 at the time. "We were even assigned to the same project, some sort of bond issue for Mississippi. After that, we went in different directions."

Now, so many years later, Mr. King is considering rejoining his old friend, even working again toward the same goal: capturing the New York Senate seat being vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan — perhaps from the outstretched arms of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"I'm thinking about it more seriously than I was a few months ago," says Mr. King. "Business and labor people have approached me. I think perhaps the support is there. But if I'm serious, I've got to get out and raise money."

Both Mr. King and Mr. Giuliani are Republicans. But Mr. King says voters will have to choose between two entirely different New York politicians if he decides to run ("I'll make up my mind by the end of the summer").

"He's a very smart guy, you've got to give Rudy credit," Mr. King acknowledges. "I think that he's done a good job as mayor. But I also think that, personality wise, he's too heavy-headed at times. And for the Republican Party he's

INSID BELT

pretty liberal, for instance on abortion and gay rights.

"Certainly far more liberal than I would be," he adds.

Rep. Rick A. Lazio, New York Republican, also is considering taking a stab at the seat. And Mrs. Clinton, of course, still can't make up her mind.

More Clinton

Now that impeachment isn't weighing heavily on his mind — if it ever was — President Clinton is going to be asked to spend more time in the Fourth Estate.

"The president came through a tough year last year," Susan Page, the new president of the White House Correspondents' Association, tells *Inside the Beltway*.

As a result, the president "had less contact with reporters than in previous years. We will do whatever we can to encourage [Mr. Clinton] to hold more press conferences and briefings with those reporters who cover the White House every day."

Miss Page, USA Today's White House correspondent, says two other major issues fill her plate in the coming year: increasing travel costs for news agencies covering the president — "particularly as the 2000 campaign heats up," she notes — and retaining close proximity with the West Wing of the White House during scheduled renovations.

"The long-term plan for the White House calls for a lot of construction," Miss Page says. "We want to keep direct access to the

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14 May 1999

Re *re: questions -*

Memorandum to

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By fax 202-456-6244

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Melanne Verveer

By fax 202-456-6244

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To: The Fund Lending

by fax 202-480-6244

Helen -

Perhaps you should send Betty Miller a note promising
her assistance in pursuing the NYC questions.

See attached last part dated 5.13.99

With thanks -

Henri

Plot Twist: \$4.2 Million Saves New York Gardens

Bette Midler Joins in Rescuing Community Oases

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 12—Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) canceled his controversial garden sale today after two environmental groups—with a Divine intervention by Bette Midler—agreed to pay the city \$4.2 million to save 115 community gardens from the auction block.

City officials planned to sell the popular gardens to the highest bidder Thursday, but they agreed to today's deal after a judge ruled they had violated state law by ignoring the environmental impact of the auction. Now the Trust for Public Land will cough up \$3 million for 63 gardens and Midler's New York Restoration Project—with a \$250,000 donation from the songstress and comedienne—will buy the rest for \$1.2 million.

For months, community activists and gardeners had described the dispute as a scene out of "Ruthless People," dressing up like sunflowers and tomatoes for protests, blasting Giuliani as a bully who cares only about the bottom line. They are still angry the mayor demanded so much money for 11 acres worth that were once trash-strewn lots, especially because the city owns more than 10,000 other abandoned properties that no one would miss. But today's deal will protect the gardens from development in perpetuity, preserving urban oases in a city with the nation's lowest percentage of green space.

"We're thrilled!" Midler said in a statement. "Today I'm prouder than ever to be a New Yorker."

The revenue will barely make a dent in the

city's \$35 billion annual budget, but Giuliani had insisted he would not give away the gardens for less than their market value, taunting the gardeners that the era of communism was over. City officials had pointed to the rising demand for housing in New York, where there is an eight-year waiting list for public housing, and had discussed the urgent need to return undeveloped properties to the tax rolls. In any case, the mayor made little effort to disguise his disdain for the gardeners, many of whom espouse the kind of hippie-style liberalism that he believes almost destroyed New York.

But after State Supreme Court Justice Richard Huttner ruled that the city could not hold its auction until it could prove there would be no environmental harm, Giuliani decided to let the gardens remain gardens, even though they will produce no tax revenue for the city. Deputy Mayor Randy Levine said Giuliani still considers the deal a "win-win scenario."

"This is a good day for everyone," Levine said. "The mayor always said he had no objection to these lots being gardens, if the price was right. ... We're very satisfied with this price."

It was an especially good day for Hernan Pagan, the driving force behind The People's Garden in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Pagan has turned the garden into an outdoor community center and a home base for two Little League teams he manages. He has also turned the garden into a shrine to nature for kids more accustomed to asphalt, and he declares it is the most beautiful in the city.

Earlier this spring, Pagan planted an apri-



BY HELENE SEDMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Hernan Pagan, keeper of Brooklyn's The People's Garden, said "I can't wait to tell the kids!" after being told of \$4.2 million settlement that allows city's green spaces to remain.

cot tree, a raspberry bush and a blueberry bush in pots, because he thought The People's Garden was doomed. Now he plans to transfer them into the soil. This weekend, he will host a picnic to celebrate the garden's survival, and his trees will continue to grow in Brooklyn.

"I can't wait to tell the kids!" Pagan shouted. "I just feel bad that the mayor had to hold these gardens hostage for all that money. He ought to be ashamed of himself."

In a way, the steep price the groups were willing to pay for the gardens is a tribute to Giuliani, tangible proof of the city's revival during his tenure. These days, with crime plunging and the economy booming, developers will pay top dollar for vacant lots in New York, even in once-downtrodden neighborhoods like Harlem and Manhattan's Lower East Side. Back in the 1970s, when most of

the gardens were started, the city was flirting with bankruptcy.

Still, cities such as Boston, Seattle and San Francisco are enjoying good times as well, and mayors in those cities have preserved many gardens without demanding compensation. In New York, about 150 gardens will be protected from development, but 600 others have no guarantees, most of them in minority neighborhoods. Activists hope that in the future, they will be able to save gardens for less than \$400,000 an acre.

"This certainly is not the process we would have preferred, but we're happy," said Andy Stone, director of New York programs for the Trust for Public Land, speaking from a Save the Gardens party in Soho. "It's a victory. Hopefully next time the process will be different."

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Crew: It's Politics

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Alternate construction plan OK'd

By Sarah Kershaw
STAFF WRITER

New York 5/7/98

After the Board of Education shot down his school construction plan yesterday in a vote backed by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew said he was paying the price for bucking the mayor.

Asked whether the mayor was retaliating for Crew's pointed criticism of Giuliani's school-voucher proposal and his statement that the school bureaucracy should be "blown up," Crew responded: "I do know that you pay a price if you say no."

Crew blamed "a heavy dose of politics" for the 4-3 defeat of his proposed \$11.2-billion plan in favor of a \$6.9-billion plan that shifted millions of dollars to Queens and Staten Island.

On the heels of a feud between Giuliani and Crew, the Queens and Staten Island representatives teamed up yesterday with Giuliani's two appointees to the board and tore up Crew's elaborate five-year blueprint for fixing and building schools.

Crew's budget staff now has to come up with a new document by Monday night detailing which school projects will be included in the five-year plan, beginning in 2000. A vote on that document is expected Wednesday.

Under the plan approved yesterday, Queens and Staten Island will get a larger share of the money slated for new schools. Queens will get 65 percent and Staten Island 4 percent. Crew's plan would have allotted them 62 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively. Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn took a hit on new construction, with additional cuts made across the city in technology and building repairs.

Queens officials had complained for months that Crew's plan shortchanged the borough, which faces a massive shortage of classroom seats. Even under the new plan, in which Queens gets \$1 billion, it is expected to be short 19,000 seats by 2004.

The Board of Education's majority trimmed the overall plan because, it said, Crew had included billions of dollars that would probably not materialize.

Because the new plan is based on fewer available dollars, Queens comes out with about 9,000 fewer classroom seats than under Crew's plan. But its share of construction money rose by almost 4 percent in the new plan, which would allow the borough to recoup seats later if school officials secure additional revenue.

Yesterday's vote was a victory for Queens Borough President Claire Shulman, who fumed at suggestions that Giuliani had gone to bat for Queens to buy the vote of her appointee on the board, Terri Thomson.

With an ally in the Staten Island member, Giuliani already has three votes on the board. If the foursome that tossed out Crew's plan becomes a permanent alliance, Giuliani will have a majority on the board.

"This is about children," Shulman said. "This is not about politics, it is not about what the mayor wants."

Balking at speculation that the mayor, a Republican, was rewarding the Democrat Shulman for endorsing him in his last election, Shulman said, "The mayor has never said I owe him or he owes me. That's nonsense."

Giuliani also denied having a political motive for backing the new construction plan. He said Crew's plan was driven by politics because it ignored anticipated enrollment growth in Queens and Staten Island and funded the other boroughs to "buy their votes."

The mayor also criticized school budget officials for a plan that counted on "play money," including a projected \$750-million savings in the board's expense budget that school officials may not deliver.

"We had to inject reality into the budget," Giuliani said. "It was based on need, and it was not a signal of anything other than how to get this job done."

But Crew, who had enjoyed strong support from the board, said yesterday he was concerned about a "pattern" of the mayor holding sway over the board.

"It's important for me to make sure this doesn't become a pattern," Crew said. If it does, he added, "then I've got a serious problem on my hands."

Staff writers Robert Polner and Liz Willen contributed to this story.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING

Notable quotes yesterday about the fight over school construction:

Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden: "He [Rudolph Giuliani] is wielding the capital budget as a political weapon to divide the five boroughs . . . The school buildings in Brooklyn are the oldest and most deteriorated in the city. Furthermore, overcrowding remains a serious problem in many of the borough's school districts. This new construction plan only serves the mayor's future political interests."

Queens Borough President Claire Shulman: "This is not a coup against Chancellor [Rudy] Crew, for whom I have the utmost respect. This is not a political deal. This is an effort to concentrate spending in the places with the most dire need."

Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer: "City Hall's plan is simply the wrong plan. City Hall has once again lost sight of the issue of equity. What it shows is that while the mayor claims to have no authority over New York City's education system, he in fact controls it and continues to fail our children."

Manhattan Borough President C. Virginia Fields: "I am extremely displeased . . . The plan before the board was developed behind closed doors and will have a very serious negative impact on the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan."

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani: "We had to inject reality into the budget. I think what was done was right. It was correct. It was based on need, and it was not a signal of anything other than how to get this job done."

City Council Speaker Peter Vallone: "I have an enormous problem with power plays being used on a sectional basis. That is something that should not exist, but unfortunately that is the way the school board exists, so there's something very wrong with it. It just doesn't work."

Mario Pucicchio, public school parent, PS 98, Queens: "The mayor and chancellor need to get along."

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12 May 1999

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NEW YORK POST

NEWS

PATAKI, SCHUMER BILLS TARGET GUNS

By GREGG BIRNBAUM and ADAM MILLER

New York lawmakers took aim at gun and school violence yesterday, with Gov. Pataki seeking to make schools safer, and Sen. Chuck Schumer going after Internet gun sales.

Pataki unveiled a broad plan that would stiffen the penalty for having a gun in school, give teachers more disciplinary muscle, and beef up security on school grounds.

"Tragedies like last week's sadistic attacks in Littleton must renew our determination to protect our children, to help them grow up healthy and safe," Pataki said.

Pataki's legislation would:

- *Require all schools to adopt a code of conduct and dress code.

- *Allow teachers to remove unruly students from the classroom for 10 days.

- *Create a state reporting system to track violent incidents at schools.

- *Toughen penalties for possessing, using or selling a gun on school grounds and for assaulting a teacher.

Many of the proposals have been introduced before, winning passage in the Republican-controlled state Senate, only to be killed in the Democratic-led Assembly. The Senate tomorrow will again approve Pataki's plan, officials said.

One of Pataki's new initiatives would permit retired cops to work in schools as security guards without losing their pension benefits.

Another would give whistle-blower protections to school officials who report violent incidents or identify dangerous students.

The Assembly last month OK'd a package of bills dealing with school violence, but Pataki blasted it as "weak."

A task force will continue to study school violence and come up with additional recommendations.

Schumer called yesterday for passage of a federal bill that would crack down on the sale of guns over the Internet.

"It's as easy as child's play to buy a gun on the Internet," Schumer said.

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DAILY NEWS
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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | City Beat |
Monday, May 10, 1999

Rudy: No Chancellor Hunt Sez he's not recruiting, but contingency plans made

By FRANK LOMBARDI
Daily News Staff Writer

Mayor Giuliani yesterday doused some water on his hot feud with Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew, asserting that his administration is not actively recruiting potential successors for Crew's \$245,000-a-year job.

"The city has not talked to anybody about being chancellor," Giuliani said of reports attributed to his unsalaried education adviser, Herman Badillo, that the mayor is chancellor-hunting.



Erwitt NEWS

But Giuliani acknowledged that his staff had begun contingency planning two months ago when Crew first threatened to resign if the mayor imposed a school voucher program through the Board of Education.

Mayor Giuliani (third from right) marches with Sen. Schumer at the Salute to Israel parade yesterday.

The mayor has since proposed a pilot voucher program to be run by City Hall, and Crew has vowed to stay on the job "no matter what they do or say."

After marching in a Salute to Israel parade yesterday, the mayor said of the chancellor's future: "That's really up to Rudy Crew. He said that he wants to stay. His contract lasts until, I believe it's June of 2000. So, I think we can put all those questions off."

The mayor said Badillo was mistaken in saying that the city had reached out to Paul Vallas, chief of Chicago schools.

"That is not correct," Giuliani said. "No one has reached out to him."

The mayor said the only contact with Vallas was to arrange a fact-finding visit by Giuliani aides to review how Chicago is faring since its mayoral takeover of public schools.

Giuliani declined to comment on Crew's new plan to take over control of nearly 100 schools that the state has cited as the system's worst.

"I think I'll wait until the chancellor describes that to me first," said Giuliani, who has dared the chancellor to come up with "radical reforms" of the school system that he said should be "blown up."

"But it's something that I would very certainly want to take a look at," Giuliani said.

Although the two have had cordial relations in past years, the mayor in recent weeks has pummeled Crew as a defender of the status quo.

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Editorial

The New York Times
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May 14, 1999

Miss M's Divine Intervention

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There are many people who deserve praise for saving 112 community gardens that were due to be auctioned by New York City for other purposes. The gardeners themselves have earned a nod for weeding and cleaning and watering these odd-sized plots for years. The Trust for Public Land began earnestly negotiating a few months ago to try to buy some of the gardens. Activists planted lawsuits in recent days, stalling the date of the auction long enough to allow for a deal. Protesters converted themselves into ladybugs or sunflowers and marched off to jail for a good green cause. Even Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's administrators, the very ones readying these patches for auction to the highest and perhaps unsympathetic bidder, deserve thanks for agreeing to sell the land to those who wanted to develop little more than grassy triangles, bordered by nasturtiums or tomato plants.

Still, the clincher was a last-minute Saturday-matinee-style rescue by Bette Midler. The organization that she founded in 1994, the New York Restoration Project, agreed Wednesday to put up about \$1 million to buy the less desirable gardens not covered in the Trust for Public Land's offer of \$3 million for the better plots. The combined package saved the 112 gardens and may make it more difficult for the city to bulldoze other gardens in the future. The self-proclaimed Queen of Trash, known for her exuberant music, movies and costumery, this week adds another title -- the Queen of Green.

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Opinion

Gardens Are Green, Mayor's Red Plan to seize plots worthy of Fidel, Mao and Stalin

When Mayor Giuliani declared war last January on the workers and peasants who have magically transformed vacant, garbage-strewn city lots into flowering gardens, he famously declared, "This is a free-market economy; welcome to the era after communism."



LARS ERIK NELSON

And with that, he set out to seize the gardens from their creators on behalf of the government and auction them for the benefit of the public at large.

The auction is off now, thanks to a green coalition that includes actress Bette Midler. But Giuliani's words and deeds cannot pass without comment, for what he set out to do is the very definition of Marxist-Leninist communism — using the power of government to steal from the people in the name of the people.

The last government official to seize beautiful flowering gardens from those who created them was Fidel Castro. Like Giuliani, he claimed to be acting in the name of the public and for the public good.

And before Castro, there was another government official who seized gardens from the people in the name of the people. His name was Mao Zedong.

And before Mao, another government official appropriated the best and most fertile plots from their cultivators. His name was Josef Stalin, and he pioneered the strategy that Giuliani has now seized upon.

Ah, Giuliani will tell you, but those neighborhood gardens were created on land that belongs to the city.

True, the lots were city property, but city property that had gone to ruin. If a private citizen abandoned his property and allowed it to become a filthy eyesore and public nuisance, the government would move in to confiscate it. In real life, the government was the offender, and the people removed the eyesore in their midst.

And before Giuliani calls the garden builders Communists, he might remember who encouraged the American people to become activists, to initiate their own efforts to improve their neighborhoods and brighten their lives without waiting for government bureaucrats to step in.

It was that well-known Bolshevik Ronald Reagan. In 1981, his first year as President, Reagan urged us to lift ourselves up, to help our neighbors through our own efforts instead of relying upon big government. It was part of the great American tradition, Reagan told us, going back to Colonial times.

"There's something strange in the United States," Reagan said, paraphrasing the French visitor Alexis de Tocqueville. "Some individual sees a problem. They walk across the street to a friend or a neighbor, and they tell them of a problem, and they talk about it. And pretty soon a committee is formed, and the next thing you know, they are solving the problem. And you won't believe this, but not a single bureaucrat was involved."

Reagan never said that if we actually succeeded in doing something well — if we stepped in where government had failed, if we created beauty out of neglect, if we built ourselves little oases to be filled by the laughter of children and the easy conversation of grandparents out for an afternoon in the sun — the government would steal it in the name of the people.

I do not believe that is what Reagan had in mind. Reagan would have put the garden builders in the balcony of the House of Representatives and introduced them during one of his State of the Union speeches as examples for the rest of us to follow.

Reagan would not have ordered bulldozers onto the plots and seized them to raise more revenue for government. Reagan was no Communist.

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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | City Beat |
Wednesday, May 12, 1999

Crew Says He's Had It With Mayor

By NANCIE L. KATZ
Daily News Staff Writer

The two Rudys have split up. Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew said yesterday his once warm friendship with Mayor Giuliani is now history. But he insisted he won't be driven out of town.

"I don't think we really have a relationship anymore," Crew told reporters yesterday after a speech to the American Jewish Congress.

"It's deteriorated to the point where whatever sort of innuendos are being said are being said purposefully."

"I don't want to play that game. I'm not very good at it," he continued. "I choose not to engage. . . I don't want all my attention and energy going to that."

Crew's comments followed weeks of rancor and sparring between him and Giuliani triggered by the mayor's insistence on giving low-income students vouchers for private schools and Giuliani's demands that the Board of Education be abolished.

Crew threatened to resign if Giuliani forced a board vote on the voucher plan.

Instead, Giuliani mustered a four-member majority of the panel to nix Crew's five-year capital spending plan. The four imposed another plan to pay for repairing and building new schools based on a smaller budget and their own priorities. The board is expected to approve the plan, 4 to 3, today.



Albans' NEWS

Rudy Crew reads to kids at St. Vartan Park on E. 35th St. yesterday.

Giuliani was at a fund-raiser in San Francisco and could not be reached for comment on Crew's remarks yesterday. But as the mayor's aides planned a trip to Milwaukee to explore that city's voucher program, Crew continued a media blitz touting his efforts to reform the school system.

Taking aim at the revised capital plan, Crew vowed to turn to state and federal officials to restore \$110 million to build and upgrade science labs in 50 schools.

Board officials say tens of thousands of city students are stuck in middle and high schools with outdated, decrepit or nonexistent science labs. Under new state standards, students in the class of 2003 must pass a rigorous science exam to graduate.

"We are about to bottom out in terms of our ability to really prepare kids for science Regents exams," Crew said. "We are absolutely about to bottom out. My only option is: I will find the money somewhere else. There are other people in government who want to try to do this."

Despite his rift with the mayor, Crew suggested he would seek to remain after his contract expires in June 2000.

"I would consider staying as long as it takes me to finish what I am trying to do," Crew said. "I am [nowhere] near leaving."

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**City Beat**

Crew Blasts Sports Cuts

By MICHAEL R. BLOOD

Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew yesterday attacked a Mayor Giuliani-backed capital budget that he said has cuts so deep it threatens the success of schoolyard athletics.



Mages' NEWS

Rudy Crew

"There are lots of young men and women in this city, many of whom have been on statewide and nationwide championship teams, who have played on some of the most abysmal places that we have the audacity to call fields," Crew told City Council members.

At stake in rebuilding crumbling gyms, pools and athletic fields is nothing less than "to save kids' lives," Crew said.

But a City Hall-supported school construction budget doesn't leave a penny for those vital renovations, which would cost nearly \$200 million, he said.

A day before Crew is scheduled for a face-to-face meeting with the mayor, he made clear that the differences between them — on the capital budget, on vouchers, on dismantling the Board of Education — remain wide and unresolved.

Last week, four members of the Board of Education backed by the mayor teamed up to take control of the five-year capital blueprint, resulting in a \$6.9 billion proposal that Crew says shortchanges everything from roof repairs to science labs to money for Internet-equipped classrooms.

The budget must be approved by the Council and mayor before the start of the new fiscal year in July.

"We are setting these kids up to fail," Crew bluntly told Council members, urging them to boost spending by at least \$1 billion. "We have a school system in crisis."

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Giuliani has faulted Crew and the board bureaucracy for proposing a budget based on "make-believe money" and political alliances rather than the needs of kids.

But he indicated the budget could grow in ongoing negotiations. "There's some room, but there's not room for the fantasy plan," the mayor said, alluding to the chancellor's initial spending plan.

The chancellor wanted to spend \$141 million to rehabilitate 65 school athletic fields, nearly every one in the city; \$17.7 million to fix pools; and \$24 million to repair and paint gyms, aides said.

A senior Giuliani aide said Crew's spending plan for athletic facilities was based on funding sources that couldn't be backed up by the chancellor.

Crew said he appealed to Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) and other legislative leaders Wednesday for help to raise more money, perhaps more than \$2 billion that could be used to cut class size and build more classroom seats.

Original Publication Date: 05/14/1999

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Thursday, May 13, 1999

The Future of School Boards Put mayor in charge of system

By EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN

New Yorkers should take great pride in our many superb public schools. About 30% of them are first-rate.

But about 30% of our public schools are dreadful, so we also should be frustrated and outraged about these schools that are chronically failing students. When it comes to bad schools, something must be done, now.

It's time to follow the lead of other cities around the country and replace the Board of Education with a commissioner of education who's appointed by the mayor, with the advice and consent of the City Council. Then, if voters aren't satisfied with the progress of our schools, they can hold the mayor accountable at the voting booth.

Abolition of the 32 local school boards is irrelevant to this proposal. Nothing will change whether they stay or go — they have nothing useful to do.

Mayor Giuliani has consistently pushed an aggressive school-reform agenda. He wants to end social promotion so students aren't promoted to a higher grade until they master the skills needed to succeed.

The mayor wants to end principal tenure so those principals who are doing a bad job can be replaced with school leaders up to the task of educating our children.

He's also advocating a pilot school-choice program to give poor parents with children in failing schools the freedom to choose a different public or private school. If the program works, it will force failing schools to improve — and compete — in order to retain their students.

These reforms have been on the table gathering dust for 10 to

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20 years, and the occasional promised reform from the Board of Education never happens.

The city is spending more money than ever on our public schools, and the mayor will continue to urge the board to direct that money away from administrative offices and into classrooms. But a bureaucracy that's not accountable for its performance can block the most far-reaching improvements. Today, when parents are dissatisfied with their children's schools, they have no way of holding the system's leaders accountable.

Since Chicago initiated mayoral accountability in 1995 — the year its schools ranked the worst in the nation — those same schools have made remarkable progress. Test scores are rising in every category. Truancy rates were cut in half. School construction and repairs are more efficient than ever.

It's no wonder that Detroit, Cleveland and other cities are trading their boards of education for systems based on mayoral accountability.

City Council Speaker Peter Vallone and Gov. Pataki — one a Democrat, the other a Republican — support mayoral accountability for New York City schools. They understand that the only way to enable dramatic reform is to replace the arcane current school system and give the mayor the tools and responsibility to do the job.

Mayoral accountability won't solve every problem in our schools at once, but it's a critical starting point. Under the current bureaucracy, which resists change and often fails to challenge the status quo, there's little hope for progress.

Future mayors can pledge to dramatically improve our public schools, but unless they have the power to make a difference, those promises will be hollow. Only by holding our highest elected officials accountable for the performance of our schools can we lay the proper foundation for long-term change.

Costikyan, a former adviser to Mayor Giuliani on school governance, is an adjunct fellow of the nonprofit Center for Educational Innovation.

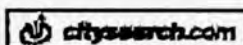
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Students give advice on how to make schools safer

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WHITESBORO, N.Y. (AP) - Susan Dodge never thought about school as a dangerous place. Places like Jonesboro were far away. Dodge was friendly, capable, alert. She was always in control.

Dodge sees the world differently now. Her outlook was suddenly changed last September when she was attacked by another student on the way home from a football game, without provocation, without warning.

"Violence found me on that evening last fall and it has affected my sense of safety and self-reliance. I was fortunate that my injuries were not severe," Dodge said Thursday as she related her experience for Lt. Gov. Mary Donohue and members of the Governor's Task Force on School Violence.

Dodge was one of nearly two dozen witnesses who offered their insights and advice about how to curb the violence that has invaded America's schools. It was the first in a series of statewide hearings scheduled by the task force, which was appointed in January by Gov. George Pataki to develop aggressive new ways to make New York schools safer.

Pataki already has proposed a 17-point plan intended to enhance school safety. The panel's work has taken on greater urgency since the massacre last month at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., where two students killed 12 classmates and a teacher before shooting themselves.

Pataki's proposals include toughening penalties for gun crimes, establishing new violence prevention programs and encouraging retired police officers to work in schools.

Dodge's said her assailant was eventually convicted of harassment, but not until the case dragged out in city court for five months. Had her parents not both been attorneys, Dodge said she likely would have given up on the case and dropped the charges.

While the case was pending, though, Dodge's attacker continued to harass her at school, and even assaulted three

of her friends.

"The delay of five months created more conflict and tension, and ultimately more violence," she said.

Dodge recommended establishing student-administered courts in New York's high schools.

"If my attacker had faced a student panel within two weeks, it is my belief that the violence that followed the attack could have been avoided," she said. "If we can control the small conflicts, they won't turn into bigger problems."

Dodge was one of three students who testified. Rebecca Goldin, a junior from Ilion High School, was another.

Goldin, too, said students need to be part of the solution. She told the panel her school has used peer mediation and mentoring programs with success.

"One of the common characteristics in all of these cases was that the attackers felt alone, isolated and misunderstood," Goldin said. "If a student has someone to talk to and trust, they might not feel so isolated."

Programs to bolster children's self-esteem at an early age is another needed step, Goldin said. That point also was made by several guidance counselors and professionals who testified Thursday.

"We have to start early before students feel they have no other choice but to strike out," said Jan D'Onfrio, a New Hartford School District counselor.

Witnesses agreed there was no quick-fix, and no simple answers. Teachers, administrators, parents and communities must all be involved.

"We are seeking input and insight from the broadest possible range of New Yorkers - parents, students, faculty and others - so we can find the smartest and most effective ways to reduce violence in our schools," said Donohue, who on Wednesday had to be hurried from a meeting with two dozen students at Schenectady High School because of bomb threats.

The task force will hold its next hearing Monday in Syracuse.<

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15 May 1999

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Re *AP antitrust 5.14.99*

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By fax 202-456-6244

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~~Melanne Verveer~~
By fax 202-456-6244

~~Susan Thomases~~
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Fri May 14, 1999 13:26 EDT

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Hillary Clinton to use vacation with prez to decide on Senate race

MARC HUMBERT

AP Political Writer

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to use a Florida vacation with her husband late this month to decide whether to continue her pursuit of a possible run for the U.S. Senate, New York Democrats said Friday.

The New York Democrats, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Mrs. Clinton's advisers have begun telling top party members in the state that sometime in June, after the Florida break, she will make an announcement.

"She will either announce she is not running or possibly announce formation of an exploratory committee," one New York Democrat with knowledge of the situation said.

Should an exploratory committee be formed, a formal announcement of her candidacy, if she decides to go ahead with it, would likely come in September or later, the Democrats said.

One top New York Democrat said the timetable had been conveyed by one of Mrs. Clinton's closest advisers.

There was no immediate comment Friday from the first lady's advisers. Mrs. Clinton was in Macedonia on Friday visiting refugee camps.

Formation of an exploratory committee would allow the first lady to begin raising money to pay for her political travels and other preparations for a possible campaign. She has already come under fire from some quarters for traveling at public expense to New York for what are campaign-like visits.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is also considering a run for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Also eyeing the race for the GOP are two congressman from Long Island, Rick Lazio and Peter King.

On the Democratic side, U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester County is preparing for a Senate run, but only if Mrs. Clinton decides against joining the race.

There has been concern in state Democratic Party circles that should Mrs. Clinton wait until late this year and then decide she was not running, it would put the eventual Democratic nominee at a huge disadvantage against Republicans in terms of fundraising and organization.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said Thursday that President and Mrs. Clinton would spend May 25 to May 30 at the White Oak Plantation conservation center in Yulee, on Florida's north Atlantic coast. The first lady's office said daughter Clinton was not expected to accompany them.

Bjt

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15 May 1999

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Re NYC Commuter tax repeal

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14 May, 1999

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

cc Melanne Verveer
 by fax 202-456-6244

 Marsha Berry
 By fax 202-456-7805

Re proposed repeal of the NYC commuter tax

Attached are several articles regarding the proposed repeal of the NYC commuter tax. Repeal will be very popular in the suburbs (where the senate race will, in large measure, be decided, but the actual amount of tax paid by the average commuter is small, -- about \$180/year according to Newsday -- especially when contrasted with the benefits of being a suburb of NYC.) My very strong sense is that this is entirely politically driven and you should stay out of it.

Joe Bruno, the Republican Senate leader has moved this initiative in order to strengthen the hand of the Republican candidate in the special election in the 38th senate district set for 25 May. That district takes in part of Rockland, and Orange counties.

Democrats are all over hells half acre on the issue, depending in large measure upon the geographic location of their respective districts. Speaker Silver is for repeal. Speaker Vallone is against repeal. Nita Lowey is for repeal. Suburban Democratic legislators reportedly are generally for repeal. The Randi Weingartens of the world are reportedly against repeal. Senator Schumer is not going to get into it.

The legislation is supposed to move through the state senate next week-- the senate first and then the assembly.

Finally, this commuter tax is also paid by those who live in NJ and Conn and who work the City. It is estimated that all commuter tax (including that from NY and Conn residents, as well as from NY suburbs, amounts to about \$360 million annually, of which some \$210 million is from the NY suburbs and some \$150 is from NJ and Conn. Why would New Yorkers want to give up \$150 million annually in revenues?

The First Lady

5.14.99

This is obviously a big political issue for the suburbs. My view is that while repeal may be good short term politics, it is bad policy.

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FORUM: Should the tax be repealed?

Lazio Decries Commuter Tax

Stance places him at odds with Giuliani

By Ellen Yan and Matthew Cox
Staff Writers

Washington -- Republican Rep. Rick Lazio joined a chorus of New York State lawmakers whose call for a repeal of New York City's commuter tax forced Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Lazio's potential opponent in a Senate primary next year, into a political box.

Giuliani was left with the choice of either watching the city lose as much as \$360 million in revenues or fighting the repeal and thereby losing suburban voters he will need if he decides to run for Senate.



Newsday File Photo
Lazio

"The commuter tax drains income from the wrong people: the hard-working New Yorkers who cannot afford to live in New York City," wrote Lazio of Brightwaters in a letter mailed yesterday to key state Republicans.

"Unfortunately, the mayor of New York City opposes repeal even though he currently has a budget surplus of nearly \$2 billion."

The issue forces Giuliani to fight for New York City at a time when he has traveled the country raising his profile for a possible national political role.

Giuliani was isolated not only by his fellow Republicans. State Democrats, too, delighted in a divided state Republican Party, and they spoke out also for the tax repeal. With support from both Republican and Democratic state lawmakers, the repeal is likely to pass.

"Rudy Giuliani has been picking the pockets of commuters for too long," said Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), the likely Democratic senatorial candidate if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton does not run.

The mayor held a news conference yesterday to stress that he's still working in the city's interests. "I think I am being a leader as opposed to being a pandering

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politician," the mayor said. "The message I am trying to send is: 'Don't mess around with the city,' because I'm still going to be doing the same things for the city of New York until I leave this job, however I leave it, whether I leave it getting elected to another one, or I leave it because my term of office is over, or I leave it because I drop dead."

Neither Lazio nor Giuliani has officially announced his candidacy for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but this may be the first direct sign that there could be a Republican primary in 2000. Giuliani is seen by many to be the Republicans' best chance, but Lazio has held frequent meet-and-greet sessions around the state.

"It could be a bloody primary," said John Zogby, a pollster based upstate.



By sticking to the commuter tax, political observers said, Giuliani may be hurting potential votes where he is the strongest: in the suburbs around New York City, which produce the majority of votes in a Republican primary. Giuliani's crackdown on crime and squeegee men made him very popular in the suburbs, where he wields a double-digit lead over Clinton, the pollster said.

"Long Island is a hypertaxed area, and it could hurt him," Zogby said. "But I don't know whether it would be enough to drive people into the Democrats' corner or Lazio's corner."

For Lazio, who is not known as a risk-taker, the commuter tax is a safe issue. The city accounts for only 15 percent of the votes in a Republican primary. By raising the repeal, political observers said, Lazio appears to be writing off New York City in a Republican primary.

Wednesday night, Lazio and former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato plotted strategy in the capital. Yesterday, the congressman issued a statement on Giuliani's commuter-tax stance: "It's the Mario Cuomo way. Punishing work. Killing jobs. Hiking taxes."

To allies close to Giuliani, who supported Cuomo against Gov. George Pataki, capitalizing on the tax issue is just a sign of a "Stop Giuliani Movement" directed by those close to Pataki. The two men have been sniping at each other more intensely in the past few months.

Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari said a few county Republican heads have sent the mayor

similar-sounding letters blasting him for supporting Cuomo over Pataki in the 1994 elections. Molinari said such division could break the state Republican Party for years to come and hurt the state's chances of winning the Senate seat.

"You want to put Giuliani in a box? It's a very expensive way to do it," Molinari said. Criticizing those around Pataki, he said, "To me, it's rank amateurs. It's people who don't understand long term what may happen."

He said some Republicans in Congress have sounded upset over state Republicans' lack of unity behind Giuliani, who they believe has a better chance than Lazio to beat Clinton or Lowey.

Pataki and Giuliani have feuded for years, and a conversation Giuliani had in November with a high-ranking Republican Party official did nothing to cool tensions. A well-placed source said Giuliani told the party official he is more interested in running for governor than for U.S. Senate. He made the comment without consulting Pataki, who has said nothing about stepping down at the end of his current term.

Giuliani told the party official "that his real interest was in the governor's race, that that's what he wants to do," the source said.

Molinari said the mayor is keeping his options open and warned that any favors accorded Lazio by Pataki's camp will backfire. "If the party is going to be not supportive and appear to be scuttling the race, when you win," Molinari said, meaning Giuliani, "you have to consolidate your power and that means getting rid of the people who gave aid and comfort to the enemy."

Staff writer Liz Willen in New York contributed to this story.

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comptroller eventually bucked the issue to the Justice Department, which took no action. The bank's present head says that's because the bank did nothing wrong.

Maybe. More may come out from the Senate investigation. But as Fed official Herbert Biern wrote in his 1996 letter to the comptroller, "you may want to take steps to assure that even the appearance of preferential handling is avoided." That's exactly what Congress should do, by assigning regulation of newly expanded banks to the Fed.

EDITORIAL / Yugoslavia's Mini-Pullout Doesn't Count for Much

The Yugoslav army is making much ado about the measly pullout of 120 troops from Kosovo, the first such withdrawal since NATO began the air war seven weeks ago. Does this mean that Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic is finally blinking? Maybe. But probably not. It's more like a twitch of an eyebrow than a blink. A convoy of 120 Serb soldiers-barely two infantry companies-out of a force of 45,000 deployed in Kosovo is hardly a military exodus.

And for the Serbs to say that the pullout is being slowed down by NATO's intense bombing is almost laughable. This scant Serbian pullout should in no way affect NATO's bombing strategy. On the contrary, NATO must use this first indication of softening to put even greater pressure on Milosevic by intensifying the air attacks.

More significant than the much-ballyhooed pullout is Yugoslavia's official admission of casualties resulting from the air strikes: 1,200 dead and 5,000 wounded, or roughly double the previous estimate. That shows that NATO's campaign finally is starting to hurt deeply. Withdrawing a small number of troops from Kosovo means very little at this point. It may simply be concrete evidence of an assertion made last week by the Yugoslav government that its army has achieved its main objective in Kosovo: defeating the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army, denying it its base of operations and expelling or killing most of its guerrillas.

That this was accomplished mostly through a brutal policy of ethnic cleansing that has resulted in more than a million refugees was irrelevant to Milosevic.

But it shouldn't be irrelevant to NATO. The bombing must not be suspended unless there is evidence of a large-scale pullout from Kosovo-to include heavy weapons and tanks. And for the bombing to stop, Milosevic must first agree to a large international peacekeeping force being deployed in Kosovo to prepare the way for refugees to return. Until then, NATO has no choice but to intensify the air campaign.

EDITORIAL / NYC Commuter Tax Too Crucial to Repeal Now

Like a Long Island Rail Road train leaving the station, a Republican proposal to eliminate New York City's income tax on commuters is picking up speed. It should be derailed.

Handwritten:
Nassau
5/14/99

Compared to the income tax city residents pay, the 33-year-old levy takes only a sliver-about \$180 a year on average-from the paychecks of suburbanites who hold jobs in the five boroughs. Still, it generates \$360 million for the city, most of that from out-of-staters. Since these workers benefit from city services, this small contribution is justified.

The \$110 million that Long Island's 230,000 commuters pay seems a relative bargain compared with the high city incomes commuters bring home to Nassau-Suffolk. And keeping the city healthy helps the local economy.

Besides, while the city may be running a big surplus, it still is deeply in debt and has a heavy demand for services. It needs the money now and, more important, in the future.

Suburban lawmakers, such as Deputy Majority Leader Dean Skelos (R-Rockville Centre), argue that the commuter tax should be eliminated because taxes on city residents are being cut. Skelos' reasoning might support a proportional reduction in the commuter tax, but not getting rid of it entirely. Skelos also says suburban commuters shouldn't pay the tax because city residents who hold jobs on the Island don't pay one. But people who commute from the city earn far less than those who commute to it, and Long Island already is having a hard time luring workers to fill jobs here.

Frankly, this proposal is more about politics than equity. It earned the support of Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno (R-Brunswick) because he thinks it's a good issue in a May 25 special election in Rockland County. Gov. George Pataki has jumped on the train.

Although Mayor Rudolph Giuliani opposes the cut, it's too bad the Democratic Assembly leadership-unwilling to risk seats in the pivotal suburbs to help a Republican mayor's budget-is letting him stand on the tracks alone.

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May 14, 1999

Experts Say Repeal of Commuter Tax Seems Valid

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By RICHARD PEREZ-PENA

ALBANY -- Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani vowed again Thursday to challenge in court a plan by state lawmakers to end the city's commuter tax, but the legal objections he raised would probably not be enough to overturn the repeal, legal experts said.

The Mayor argued that under state law, the state cannot repeal the commuter tax without the city's permission. State law provides that before the state passes a law directly affecting a local government, it usually needs a request from that government -- a so-called "home rule message" -- to make the change.

But legal scholars, along with lawyers for the State Legislature and some city officials, said Giuliani would probably lose that argument in court, because the home-rule principle does not apply when the issue is not purely local, or when there is an overriding state interest involved. They say taxation is probably such a state interest, though cases provide no clear precedents on the issue.

"The State Constitution presumes that taxes are a state matter, so I think the state would prevail," said Richard Briffault, a professor at Columbia Law School.

The state first enacted a law allowing New York City to impose a tax of 0.25 percent on the incomes of people who work in the city but live elsewhere in 1966. Five years later, the state increased the tax to 0.45 percent by passing a law that expires periodically and has been renewed several times, and is set to expire again in December.

This week, leaders of the Legislature and Gov. George E. Pataki said they would let the 1971 increase lapse for all nonresidents of

the city, and would also repeal the 1966 nonresident tax for New York State residents. Their measure would leave the original tax in place for residents of other states who work in New York City.

The Mayor contends that while the state is free to let the 1971 increase lapse, it cannot repeal the original tax without a home rule message from the city.

It was on that home-rule theory that the Mayor won a lawsuit against the state in 1996, getting the courts to void a state law that allowed police officers and firefighters to appeal contract disputes to a state arbitration panel, the Public Employee Relations Board, rather than to a city panel. The Court of Appeals, New York's highest court, overturned the law. In December, the Legislature and the Governor approved a different version of that law, one that has not yet been tested in court.

"There is no question that you need a home-rule message in order to do this," Giuliani said of the tax cut. "We litigated this issue with the state just a few years ago, when they attempted to do the same thing with PERB, and we won."

But legal experts said one difference in this case is that while city contract negotiations with its police officers and firefighters are solely a city concern, the commuter tax is not. "This is obviously not a purely local matter, because the tax applies to people outside the city, so it is a state concern," said Vincent Bonventre, a professor at Albany Law School.

Giuliani also argued that the United States Constitution prohibits the state from applying a tax to people from other states that is not also applied to New Yorkers. The experts say he is clearly correct on that point, but it will not help him salvage the tax.

"It is highly likely that a commuter tax that applies only to nonstate residents would be found unconstitutional," said Professor Briffault of Columbia.

Twice in the last 25 years, the United States Supreme Court has found that discrimination between residents and nonresidents of a state imposing a tax violated Article IV of the Constitution, which states, "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states."

In 1975, the court struck down a New Hampshire income tax that applied only to commuters who lived in other states.

Last year, it held that New York could not allow its residents to deduct alimony payments from taxable income, but prohibit out-of-staters from doing so.

The authors of the commuter-tax bill currently before the Legislature had thought of this problem. The bill provides that if the tax imposed only on out-of-state commuters is struck down by the courts, it would be voided for all commuters, rather than reinstated

for in-state commuters.

[In that case, rather than losing \$209 million in revenue from New York State commuters, the city would lose all \$360 million generated by the tax.]



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Rudy Vows to Battle Ax of Commuter Tax

By TRACEY TULLY and LISA REIN
Daily News Staff Writers

Warning them not to "mess around with the city," Mayor Giuliani yesterday declared political and legal war on Gov. Pataki and state lawmakers poised to scrap the city tax paid by commuters.



Watts NEWS
Mayor Rudy Giuliani

The mayor said elimination of the commuter tax — cutting \$360 million from the city budget this year alone — would jeopardize hundreds of millions in tax cuts promised to New York City residents on everything from co-op and condo mortgages to car registration fees.

"Maybe it will hurt me politically, but the message I am trying to send is, 'Don't mess around with the city,'" Giuliani said. He promised a court battle to fight a repeal he slammed as a "useless political exercise" by lawmakers appealing to suburban voters.

Giuliani joined City Council Speaker Peter Vallone in denouncing the proposed repeal, although he risks alienating suburban voters crucial to his likely Senate bid.

Defending the commuter tax, Giuliani insisted that suburban workers should be glad to pay it to shoulder the cost of police, transportation and other city services. But his comments infuriated suburban legislators.

"We who commute are the ones who are generating jobs, income, all the things New York City gets, and we have our own tax problems," said Rockland County Executive Scott Vanderhoef.

But Vallone (D-Queens) said the surprise



But Vallone (D-Queens) said the surprise deal among Pataki, GOP leaders and the state's top Democrat, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, "takes \$400 million out of every vital service in the City of New York."



Corkery NEWS
Gov. George
Pataki

Council leaders and Giuliani aides would not specify what city services, if any, would suffer or be cut.

Mayoral aides, meanwhile, frantically sought to reverse a deal that arose unexpectedly in maneuvering over a special election in Rockland County.

The mayor said he could turn the issue to his advantage by telling angry suburban voters on the campaign trail that his effort to maintain the 33-year-old tax shows he fights for his constituents.

The fee, a flat tax that's now .45% of taxable earnings for about 800,000 commuters, was imposed in 1966 and raised in 1971 to help bail the city out of a financial crisis. A repeal would save a commuter earning \$50,000 about \$225.

Silver, of Manhattan, lined up behind Pataki and state Senate Republicans Wednesday and vowed to pass a bill to wipe out the tax.

The repeal would apply only to those who live in New York State — infuriating politicians in New Jersey and Connecticut, thousands of whose constituents pay the tax.

New Jersey Gov. Christie Whitman said the state would pay for any lawsuit brought by a New Jersey resident against New York City. "The instant that New Jersey taxpayers are treated differently from New York," the state will fund the suit, Whitman spokesman Pete McDonough said.

City officials predicted that the courts would force the repeal to apply to out-of-state commuters.

The repeal originally would have been retroactive to last January, costing the city an additional \$180 million this year. But GOP lawmakers amended it late yesterday to take effect at the start of the city's fiscal year in July.

Original Publication Date: 05/14/1999

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Giuliani to state: 'Don't mess around with the city' on commuter

NEW YORK (AP) - Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said he will fight efforts to scrap the commuter tax, despite possible opposition from suburban voters he may need if he runs for the U.S. Senate next year.

"People always want a reduction in their taxes, so maybe it will hurt me politically, but the message I'm trying to send is, 'Don't mess around with the city,'" he said Thursday. "I have the common sense and good judgment to put my job ahead of everything else."

The tax is levied on commuters who earn income in New York City. A person earning an annual salary of \$100,000 is taxed about \$450.

If, as expected, the state repeals the commuter tax, Giuliani said he will fight the plan in court - which would pit him against key fellow Republicans, including Gov. George Pataki and Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno.

"If we go to court, we will win," said Giuliani. "This is not an idle boast."

Giuliani claimed he could even turn the potentially disastrous issue to his advantage by telling angry suburban voters on the campaign trail next year that his effort to maintain the 33-year-old tax is proof he fights for his constituents.

"Assuming that I run, what I'll say to them is 'Wouldn't you like to have me fighting for you to see how effective I am? Wouldn't you rather have me fighting for you because I can get things done, (rather) than somebody who's going to pander to you, slop all over you, and not accomplish a darned thing in a 20-year political career?'"

While Giuliani avoided mentioning names, the barb was almost certainly directed at Rep. Rick Lazio, a Long Island Republican and potential Giuliani Senatorial opponent who represents commuters and has voiced his support for the repeal of the tax.

On Thursday, Lazio declined to respond to the pandering

charge, but compared Giuliani's support of the tax to the policies of former Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo.

"It's the Mario Cuomo way," Lazio said through a spokeswoman. "Punishing work, punishing jobs, hiking taxes."

At a rare joint news conference Thursday, Giuliani and Council Speaker Peter Vallone, a Democrat, said the commuter tax brings in about \$400 million annually - and even with a projected \$2.1 billion budget surplus, the city cannot afford to have it repealed.

Further, the tax repeal would throw off Giuliani's budget and jeopardize a series of proposed city tax cuts that need approval from the legislature.

"The modest taxation is more than compensated by the high level of service that's given," said Giuliani, referring to police, fire and emergency services. Suburban voters would realize that the commuter tax was beneficial to everyone, he added.

The repeal of the .45 percent tax could save commuters of Rockland County about \$11 million annually; Nassau County residents \$88 million; and Westchester commuters \$70 million, according to state Republicans. Out-of-state commuters would still pay the tax under the current proposal, although New Jersey Gov. Christine Whitman said Thursday she would fight that provision.

(*) →

The long-dormant issue was revived recently by state Senate Republicans seeking to bolster Thomas Morahan, running for a fiercely contested state Senate seat that represents portions of suburban Rockland and Orange counties. Democrats unexpectedly also backed the plan and Pataki has said he would sign the bill if passed.

The city's Corporation Counsel maintains that a repeal of the tax would be illegal because the state failed to get a "home rule message" from the City Council, which would grant the legislature the authority to act. State leaders say such a message is not necessary.

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Newsday Photo/Robert Micca
Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, left, and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone announce their opposition to talk of eliminating the .45 percent city commuter income tax.

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FORUM: Should the tax be repealed?

Fighting Back

Mayor wants to keep the tax on commuters

By Liz Willen and Matthew Cox
Staff Writers

MAYOR RUDOLPH GIULIANI took on Gov. George Pataki and state legislative leaders from both parties yesterday, vowing he'd go to court to prevent them from scrapping a city tax on commuters.

Plunging into treacherous political waters for a New York City politician who'll need suburban votes if he runs for the U.S. Senate, Giuliani lashed out at the effort to wipe out the commuter tax, which is 0.45 percent on wages and 0.65 percent on net earnings for the self-employed.

If the tax is struck down, he said, "we will oppose them in court, and we will beat them in court."

The unexpected agreement among Pataki, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno to end the 33-year-old levy imposed on 800,000 commuters to the city is "a mistake" that punishes city residents, Giuliani said, adding that he won't be swayed by his need for suburban support in a possible U.S. Senate bid next year.

Giuliani tempered his remarks by noting that he grew up in Nassau County and "even commuted on the Long Island Rail Road" - certainly not a point highlighted in his mayoral election campaigns. With his trademark "tough love" message, he insisted that the commuters would see the tax as fair and "understand."



Newsday Photo/Ken Sawchuk
Rush hour commuters enter an eastbound train in Jamaica, Queens yesterday afternoon.

"They should realize I have the common sense and good judgment to put my job ahead of everything else . . . If someone wanted to elect me to another office, maybe I would be more effective in fighting for them than somebody that would pander to them," Giuliani

said.

The tax brings in about \$210 million a year from commuters who live on Long Island and in Westchester, Orange and Rockland Counties, fiscal experts said. An additional \$150 million comes from New Jersey and Connecticut commuters, who would not be affected by the proposal in Albany.

Giuliani said the tax, begun in 1966, goes toward police, fire and medical services. A surcharge was added in 1971.

While the mayor portrays the tax as "about as reasonable as it gets," suburbanites and the politicians who represent them have argued for a repeal at a time when New York City has a budget surplus of more than \$2 billion.

Suburban commuters have already "done their fair share in helping New York City during their numerous fiscal crises," said Sen. Dean Skelos (R-Rockville Centre), adding that the repeal would save Nassau commuters an estimated \$88 million per year.

A threatened showdown on the commuter tax puts another strain on an already touchy relationship between Giuliani and Pataki. A top Republican said yesterday that the governor has made no attempt to use the commuter tax to hamper the mayor's efforts to woo suburban voters. "This is going to hurt him because he handled it poorly," the source said.

Republican sources said yesterday that Abe Lackman, one of Bruno's top aides, had contacted city officials three or four months ago and told them the Republican-led state Senate was seriously considering ending the surcharge - but that Giuliani never took the warnings seriously.

When the mayor spoke with Silver on Monday, after Bruno said the Senate wanted to end the tax, Giuliani apparently told Silver, "I'm not going to tell Joe not to do it," a Democratic source said. Giuliani yesterday said he told Silver on Monday that he strongly opposed the move.

The potential loss of at least \$210 million a year, while affecting a small part of the \$35-billion city budget, raised some concern among fiscal experts because of the possibility that the stock market will eventually cool off, ending the city's run of record surpluses.

"New York City already faces billion-dollar structural budget deficits in the years immediately ahead," City

Comptroller Alan Hevesi said. "Eliminating the commuter tax will substantially add to this looming problem."

Claire Cohen, vice chairman of Fitch Investors Service, which rates city bonds, called the move in Albany "a little alarming . . . The lack of cooperation between the state and city always sets some alarm bells."

"It's a significant amount of money for the city," said Richard Raphael, executive managing director at Fitch. "The concern is to provide tax relief to non-city residents at the expense of the city. If it's politically popular, you wonder what's next."

City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, who joined Giuliani yesterday in opposing efforts to nix the commuter tax, insisted that talk of a surplus is beside the point.

"If you hurt the driving economy of the city of New York, you are hurting the entire state of New York," Vallone said, adding that his and Giuliani's tax-cut plans would be threatened.

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From: News and Views | City Beat |
Monday, May 10, 1999

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Union Leaders Pushing Mass Rally

For the first time in more than a decade, a broad coalition of city union leaders — ranging from teachers to doormen to construction workers — has called for a mass rally at City Hall aimed at pushing a new labor agenda.



TOM
SOBINSKI

If successful, the rally could be a launching point for a new group of young, aggressive union officials.

If it fizzles — and organizers are warily refusing to say how many are expected — it will be an embarrassing dud.

The rally, scheduled for Wednesday at 4:30 p.m. outside City Hall, is being organized under a call for a "Fair Share for Working Families" — a slogan leaders hope is broad enough to bring out unions with different needs, and yet sharp enough to prod politicians to take notice.

The main focus, organizers say, is to push city and state officials to use budget surpluses on job creation, health care and schools.

While organizers insist the rally isn't intended as an attack on Mayor Giuliani or Gov. Pataki, its City Hall location and the tough rhetoric from some union officials suggest otherwise.

"We want to say you have to band together to focus on a positive economic agenda" said teachers union President Randi Weingarten, a driving force behind the rally. "Here you have a booming economy and the biggest surplus in a generation. Where is the fair share for all New Yorkers?"

There is another, largely unspoken, mission as well: to show that a labor movement wounded by corruption scandals can still flex its muscles.

"Everybody has to understand the labor movement is alive and well," said Denis Hughes, the new head of the state federation of AFL-CIO unions.

Two of the unions hoping to turn out big numbers at the rally are trying to recover from wrenching corruption scandals.

The participation of the 125,000-member municipal employees union, District Council 37, and the 50,000-member building service employees Local 32B-32J marks a major political shift from two years ago when now-ousted leaders of both unions endorsed the mayor's reelection.

Former District Council 37 Executive Director Stanley Hill, who was removed after aides admitted they had rigged a citywide contract vote, had said Giuliani was good for his union.

Ex-schools cafeteria union President Charles Hughes, indicted last week for stealing more than \$2 million from his union, was such an enthusiastic Giuliani backer that he squeezed the mayor in a tight embrace as Giuliani emerged to declare his victory.

Giuliani lost another backer with the removal of Gus Bevona, the former boss of Local 32B-32J who made a rare public appearance to endorse the mayor in 1997.

Those endorsements are a far cry from the approach of the new leaders.

"We have major policy disagreements with him on issues that impact on our members. The administration's current direction is completely contrary to what we need," said new District Council 37 administrator Lee Saunders.

The trustees of Local 32B-32J already have broken with Bevona's laid-back style by staging their own rally against the Port Authority for using a nonunion contractor.

→ The rally also marks a shift for Dennis Rivera, head of health care workers Local 1199. A long-time Democratic activist, Rivera made no endorsement in 1997 but appeared at a friendly, pre-election press conference with Giuliani.

"There is a growing displeasure on the part of the trade-union movement with what is happening at the state and city level," Rivera said.

Another former Giuliani backer pushing hard for the rally is Brian McLaughlin, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO. "There is no doubt there will be a message to the mayor here," he said, "that people need to have

an improvement in their paychecks and in their economic quality of life."

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From: News and Views | Beyond the City |
Wednesday, May 12, 1999

Hillary's Lecturing In Ireland

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday began a three-day trip that will take her to Ireland, Belfast and London. Today, Clinton will inaugurate a lecture series on the millennium at the National University of Ireland at Galway — and be made an honorary citizen of the city.

Later, the would-be Senate candidate from New York heads to Belfast for the groundbreaking of a playground for children exposed to violence in Northern Ireland. She also plans to meet with female members of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

Tomorrow, Clinton is scheduled to address a Vital Voices Conference of women involved in efforts to curb tensions between Protestants and Catholics. Afterward, she is off to London to speak at a conference about human rights for children.

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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | City Beat |
Wednesday, May 12, 1999

It's Not Too Late For Rudy to Bud

The official sign is propped against the trunk of a fruit tree, partly concealed by the sproutings of the lushest spring in Brooklyn memory.

"Beautify Your Neighborhood Through
Community Gardening

Children's Garden

City of New York

Parks and Recreation."

The last part is just visible above the new, bright green shoots:

"Rudolph W. Giuliani

Mayor"

Two other, unofficial signs stand on either side. The one on the left has big black letters brushed on a piece of white cloth and is festooned with blue, yellow and green plastic ribbons.

"Dear Mr. Mayor

Don't Sell Our Garden"

The sign on the right is a Tempera painting encased in clear plastic. The painting is bordered with red and shows three faces: one brown, one white, one blue.

"I Want My Garden," it says.

This sign was among those that students of Public School 287



carried to City Hall in February. The 17 second-graders traveled there by subway from Fort Greene for a hearing on the city's decision to sell off 115 community gardens as surplus. Their particular concern was their 105-by-45-foot Eden next to Spike Lee's shuttered store on DeKalb Ave.

The day's first lesson in democracy in the age of Giuliani came when the children's painted signs were impounded by the cop at the side entrance to City Hall. The children then passed through the metal detector and trooped upstairs to plead their case.

Of course, the mayor himself was not present at the big table behind the nameplate reading "Mayor." He is busy these days flying off to places like Austin and Boston, trying to make real his fantasies of seeing his name on signs that read "U.S. Senator" or even "Vice President of the United States."

Instead, a stand-in listened to the youngsters argue why their garden was anything but surplus. Seven-year-old Jatima Floyd echoed the message on the sign that bears the mayor's name.

"My class can make the neighborhood look very nice," she said.

On the way out, the youngsters were given back their signs. The Tempera painting with the brown, white and blue faces went up at the garden to the right of the official sign.

As spring arrived, new life began erupting through the barrenness of winter. The flowers were especially bright. The tips of the undergrowth sprang up to tickle the name of the one man who could save the garden.

But in the heart of Rudolph W. Giuliani, it is forever November, that blustery month of fallen leaves and elections. The spring for him only meant he had to start getting really serious about his next race.

And Giuliani was not going to ingratiate himself with his fellow Republicans by ceding public land to a bunch of plant lovers. The garden on DeKalb Ave. remained officially designated as surplus, to be auctioned May 13 as Parcel 363, Lot 43, Block 2099. The minimum price was set at \$24,000.

Yesterday, as Giuliani was in San Francisco attending a fundraiser for the person he would most like to see go on to higher office, advocates for the gardens were in Manhattan Federal Court. The advocates contended that the auction would unfairly impact minority communities. The argument had enough weight that the city allowed it might be willing to compromise, after all.

At day's end, the city was suggesting it could cut the number of gardens slated for auction by selling 63 of them to a public

land trust. These would remain gardens.

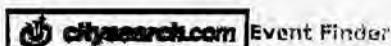
The rest would be sold at the auction that is still scheduled to commence tomorrow at 1:30 p.m., New York time. A big white tent is being erected for the event in St. Andrew's Plaza in downtown Manhattan, across from the building where Giuliani first tasted glory as the U.S. attorney who took on the mob. He can still save himself from becoming the mayor who took a garden from some school kids.

Meanwhile, on DeKalb Ave., robins swoop and chirp among a dozen trees that our mayor's parks commissioner, Henry Stern, apparently feels no compulsion to hug. Red and yellow tulips stand resplendent in the May sun, and the new, green shoots of this lushest spring in memory threaten to rise right over the name Rudolph W. Giuliani.

*E-mail Michael Daly
at MDaly39127@aol.com*



- [City Mulls Pruning Garden Hit List](#) (05/12/1999)
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From: News and Views | City Beat |
Thursday, May 13, 1999

Young Leaders Behind March

By TOM ROBBINS
Daily News Staff Writer

The roots of yesterday's massive City Hall rally began with a crew of new, young labor leaders eager to flex long-unused union muscle.

Teachers union President Randi Weingarten, new municipal union leader Lee Saunders and Local 1199 health care workers leader Dennis Rivera — each confronted with looming contract talks and government budget cuts — hatched the idea of a large demonstration aimed at city and state officials.

"We wanted a way to say all the budget surpluses have not translated into better lives for working people," Rivera said.

The idea got a warm reception from city Central Labor Council President Brian McLaughlin and New York State AFL-CIO federation chief Denis Hughes.

"I said if we can identify common threads on powerful issues, we can turn out a major event," McLaughlin said.

Organizers also were encouraged by last year's surprise demonstration by 40,000 hardhats, who stormed through midtown Manhattan in protest of a nonunion construction firm hired by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority.

"A lot of labor officials looked at each other and said, 'Hey, if they can do that . . .'" one union official said.

Yesterday's event also was made unique by the participation of several law enforcement unions, including the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.

"This is where we belong, with labor," said PBA President James Savage.

The presence of the cops' union was noted by labor veterans.

"This is historic," said Chick Donahue, a long-time activist with Local 147 of the sandhogs union. "The cops was always there at our rallies, but with their nightsticks," he said. "This is better."

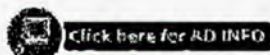
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From: News and Views | City Beat |
Thursday, May 13, 1999

25,000 Rally for Their Share Demand city, state surplus for workers

By FRANK LOMBARDI, BILL EGBERT and TOM ROBBINS
Daily News Staff Writers

One of the largest union rallies since the heyday of organized labor jammed the streets around City Hall yesterday as speakers challenged Mayor Giuliani and Gov. Pataki to use huge budget surpluses to improve workers' lives.

The sprawling rally was organized by a broad coalition of unions, including many that have not worked together previously.

Teachers and civil servants stood alongside hardhats, cops and firefighters in an event that stretched a dozen blocks from City Hall Park to White St., hemming in commuters who struggled past police barricades.

Rally organizers — who earlier hedged on the numbers they could muster for the event — said more than 50,000 were present.

Police, who kept tight control with several hundred officers and a helicopter, said the real number was lower, estimating there were 25,000 to 30,000 in the crowd.

Speaking from a stage at the corner of Broadway and Barclay St., a huge stadium-style diamond-vision screen looming behind them, labor officials issued some of the toughest rhetoric since Giuliani took office.



Simrich NEWS

A view of
yesterday's Union
Rally from
Chambers St.



"This is what the new labor movement is all about," said Gerald McEntee, president



Simmons-NEWS
Union members
rally on Broadway
near City Hall.

all about," said Gerald McEntee, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "And Mayor Giuliani, if you can hear me, you'd better get used to it."

Transit workers leader Sonny Hall summoned the memory of labor militancy in bygone days by quoting the late subway workers leader Mike Quill.

"We're going to tell the mayor, we'll beat your a-s," bellowed Hall, drawing thunderous cheers.

The sentiment was echoed by rank-and-file members who came to the rally sporting buttons and T-shirts enscribed with the slogan, "A Fair Share for Working Families."

Firefighters and police union members bore signs stating: "No more zeros for the heroes" and "We shared the pain, now let's share the gain."

They stood alongside members of the municipal workers union, District Council 37, whose posters were aimed at upcoming contract talks: "We deserve a raise in 2000."

"We have to make teachers' salaries competitive with [those in] the suburbs," said Ellen Sherman, a guidance counselor at Intermediate School 33 in Brooklyn who marched across the Brooklyn Bridge with a balloon-carrying contingent of several thousand members of the United Federation of Teachers.

Teachers union President Randi Weingarten attacked Giuliani's call for school vouchers, asking: "Don't all of our kids deserve good teachers, smaller classrooms?"

Earlier in the day, the mayor called the event political and he needed productivity improvements in upcoming contracts.

"The rally that I would like to see happen are the people of the city, the taxpayers, saying, 'Okay, we'll give you more money, but you've got to be more productive,'" Giuliani said.

Several potential mayoral candidates addressed the rally, including city Controller Allan Hevesi, Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer and Council Speaker Peter Vallone.

But rally organizers denied the event was pushing partisan politics.



Erwit NEWS
A demonstrator is arrested
after breaking through
police barricades on Park
Pl.

"To the cynics who say this is about politics," Weingarten said, "we say, 'We aren't waiting for the next mayoral election, we have to start now.'"

The unions behind yesterday's City Hall rally banded together under a broad general demand for a "Fair Share for Working Families."

→ The slogan, organizers said, reflects a demand for city and state governments to share their billion dollar-plus surpluses by improving city services, building schools and creating jobs.



ROCA NEWS
The scene on Broadway near City Hall yesterday

But there were many other issues as well. Among them:

New City Contracts: Cops and city Civil Service workers are still smarting from their last five-year contract, which began with two years of no wage increases. The city must negotiate new contracts by March, and union leaders have vowed to bring home the bacon.

School Vouchers: New teachers union President Randi Weingarten has denounced Mayor Giuliani's call for an experimental program for school vouchers.

Construction: Building trades unions see the budget surpluses as an opportunity for big-ticket, job-spawning government projects. They also are ticked at some agencies, such as the School Construction Authority, for allowing nonunion contractors into building jobs that often don't pay required prevailing wages.

Medicaid Cuts: Health care workers union chief Dennis Rivera is taking aim at huge Medicaid cuts proposed by Gov. Pataki. The union says the cuts will shut some hospitals and throw thousands out of work.

Anti-Corruption: For several unions, especially the scandal-scarred District Council 37 municipal employees, the rally represented a chance to show that they have bounced back from corruption scandals and again are able to take on City Hall.

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City Beat

Rudy Ratings Dive Among Hispanics

By FRANK LOMBARDI
Daily News Staff Writer

Mayor Giuliani's popularity has plunged among the city's Hispanics, who helped make him mayor and will be critical to his shot at becoming a U.S. senator.



Erwit: NEWS
Mayor Rudy Giuliani

His job-approval rating dropped from 65% to 39% in the span of a year, according to the annual survey of Hispanic New Yorkers released yesterday by the Hispanic Federation.

That thumbs down cut across the board among the 1,002 adult Hispanics interviewed April 8-22. Giuliani fared only slightly better among men than women and among residents of Queens and Staten Island.

In another measure, 68% of those polled rated Giuliani unfavorably on serving the Latino community — compared with 49% last year.

Douglas Muzzio, a Baruch College pollster who assisted in the survey, said the mayor's popularity plunge among Hispanics could hurt his likely bid for the U.S. Senate in 2000.

Measured against First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — who like Giuliani has yet to say if she is running — 78% of Hispanics prefer Clinton, with 10% choosing Giuliani. But 37% of those sampled weren't voters.

"I don't pay that much attention to polls," Giuliani commented. "You can't just look at one part of the state."

Federation President Lorraine Cortes-Vasquez attributed some of the mayor's slide to the fallout from the police slaying of

Amadou Diallo, the mayor's push for school vouchers and his clash with Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew. Details of the poll's findings on how Hispanics feel about police issues will be released next week.

Other recent polls have reported a drop in Giuliani's job-approval rating among all city voters.

A Daily News poll in late March found that 40% of voters approved of Giuliani's job performance — down from a high of 65% when he was reelected in November 1997. Among Hispanics in that poll, only 24% approved. Hispanics made up 21% of the voters in the '97 mayoral election; 43% supported Giuliani.

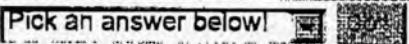
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Thousands call for city to up union pay, reinvest in schools

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NEW YORK (AP) - More than 30,000 cops, teachers, nurses and clerks; construction, transit and sanitation workers crowded the streets outside City Hall and shouted a message to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani: We can stop this city if we want to, so you had better listen up.

They demanded the mayor use a portion of the city's \$2.1 billion surplus to increase their pay, and improve New York's schools and hospitals.

Wednesday's "Fair Share for Working Families" protest, billed as the city's largest in recent memory, was spurred in part by Giuliani's decision against proposing an increase in union wages at a time when the city is flush.

"They're essentially asking for more money without more productivity," Giuliani said. "The age and the day of the giveaway should be over."

But standing amid a sea of T-shirts imprinted with the slogan "Fed up? Stand up," sanitation worker Joseph Larosa issued a warning.

"They can't run this city without us," he said. "We could stop the subways, the hospitals, the garbage pickups, the schools, just by calling in sick one day."

And Brian McLaughlin, president of the Central Labor Council, called for a fundamental change in the city's economic landscape.

"The choices are simple: a future of low-paying jobs, of crumbling schools and hospitals; or a city with well-paying jobs, that invests in our schools and health care and building roads and bridges," McLaughlin said.

"New York's working families have shouldered the majority of the burden of painful cuts in public services," he said.

The mayor said there's nothing wrong with raises, but unions should be willing to reexamine work rules and disciplinary rules in exchange.

"The rally I would like to see happen are the people of the city, the taxpayers saying, 'OK, we'll give you more money but you've got to be more productive,'" he said.

In addressing the crowd, however, Local 1199 President Dennis Rivera, said the mayor should heed unionist calls or face trouble at the ballot box.

"We know you have your eye on Washington D.C.," Rivera said in reference to Giuliani's anticipated candidacy for the U.S. Senate next year.

"But you've got to go through New York City to get there," he said.

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← from Syracuse - HRC



TALK



the full story

Herald American POST-STANDARD HERALD JOURNAL

100 Kosovo refugees will make their homes in Syracuse

By Mike McAndrew

Approximately 100 refugees from war-torn Kosovo are expected to arrive in Syracuse within two to three weeks.

The U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington notified Catholic Charities late Tuesday that it would be arranging for a group of Albanian Kosovars at Fort Dix, N.J., who do not have relatives in the United States to settle here, said Felicia Casticone, director of Catholic Charities' resettlement program.

"We're currently looking for apartments. Our plan is to set up apartments for them. If people want to help, we are looking for furniture and household items. And help setting up those apartments," said Casticone.

She said Catholic Charities hopes to place the Kosovars on Syracuse's North Side, near the agency's settlement office.

Catholic Charities is seeking volunteers who can speak Albanian and who can teach English as a second language to adults and children.

"They'll come with some financial assistance. Typically Catholic Charities pays their rent for the first month. After that they'll receive some assistance in refugee resettlement funds, and will be looking to go to work soon," Casticone said.

"All of our refugees have to become self-sufficient and employed within 4 1/2 months of arrival. We know they've been through a lot so it may be a little more difficult."

Wednesday May 12, 1999

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Top News

Finger Lakes county gets new prison, youth treatment center

Sports

WATERLOO, N.Y. (AP) - A struggling county in the Finger Lakes area is getting a new prison and a treatment center for troubled youths that will employ nearly 1,000 people starting next year.

Lotteries

International

National

Construction of the \$180 million, 750-cell prison in Seneca County is already under way at the old Seneca Army Depot, an 11,000-acre base that stored nuclear weapons during the Cold War but is slated to close in 2001.

Washington

Business

Wall Street

The prison, due to open in summer 2000 near the village of Ovid, is designed to hold as many as 1,500 inmates. It will have 638 full-time employees and a payroll of \$25 million, state officials say.

Entertainment

Health/Science

At the northern end of the depot, in the town of Varick, the Seneca Woods Youth Residential Treatment Center will treat New York children with clinical emotional problems and a history of delinquency.

Regional

The center, employing more than 350 people from a payroll of \$12 million, will be operated beginning next spring by KidsPeace Inc., a nonprofit group that runs 25 such children's centers around the nation.

"We can look with confidence to our future," Gov. George Pataki told county employees and officials gathered here Thursday. "It's happening. Those jobs are going to be here in Seneca County."

The jobs will provide an economic shot in the arm for this Finger Lakes region, where the Army Depot served as an anchor for more than half a century.

From 1956 to 1993, "special weapons" believed to be ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons were kept in a 624-acre corner of the depot, 50 miles southeast of Rochester.

Nearly two-thirds of the depot's 800 civilian workers were laid off in 1993, and 500 soldiers were transferred, leaving just a base commander and fewer than 100 other

employees.

"I can vividly recall the days when more than 1,000 people were working at the Army Depot," said state Sen. Michael Nozzolio, a Republican from Seneca County who campaigned for the prison.

Assembly Democrats have said that inmate incarceration trends do not justify the need for the prison. The Pataki administration and Senate Republicans maintain that additional beds are needed for violent criminals.

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Re *various articles about Tennant*

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By fax 202-456-6244

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By fax 212-327-4327

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From

Harold Ickes

2 pages including this page

Hillary v. Rudy: We Are Keeping Our Powder Dry, But.....

It is far too early to seriously get into the probable U.S. Senatorial contest in New York between First Lady Hillary Clinton and New York's Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Mrs. Clinton, although obviously inching toward running for the post, has not yet announced her candidacy. And

in any event, the election — and even the campaign — is many months away. Yet we were intrigued by some comments in the press as to how Mayor Giuliani had a virtual lock in some quarters of the Jewish community.

Principally, some feel that Mrs. Clinton's positive comments about Palestinian statehood would make her somewhat of a pariah in certain circles, as would her identification with "pressure on Israel," affirmative action, burgeoning budgets, opposition to aid to non-public schools, and a general left-of-center orientation as a result of the policies of President Clinton.

In addition, several commentators have pointed to Mayor Giuliani's famous refusal to allow Yasser Arafat to attend a New York City reception at Lincoln Center, his generally pro-Israel security statements, his cultivation of Jewish leaders, and until most recently, his unyielding championing of tuition vouchers.

But we question whether the Mayor has a lock. While he certainly has many credits, he may well have to earnestly plead his case after all. It will be recalled that several years ago, the Mayor removed from office a *Shomer Shabbos* 20-year veteran judge of the NYC civil court, despite almost universal objections and importunings from community leaders. And this was a judge who had been recommended for reappointment by the Chief Judge of New York State and the Chief Administrative Judge of New York State!

Then there was the unfortunate episode involving the crown jewel of the Jewish community, the Hatzalah Volunteer Ambulance Corps. It took many long months of persistent effort to bring under control the Giuliani Administration's ticketing of and restrictions upon the movement of Hatzalah vehicles, including ambulances, even after the legal basis for the practice relied upon by the Mayor's office was fully discredited by then Attorney General of New York State Dennis C. Vacco.

We have also written about that incredible time, one morning several years ago, when, in unprecedented fashion for this type of assignment, the street on which the COJO of Boro Park offices were located were sealed off and armed officers marched in commando-like, with guns drawn, to seize records and computers.

The Jewish Press from disgruntled residents of Flatbush, Boro Park and other Jewish areas, regarding extraordinary levels of police activity involving road blocks engaging in random detection, predatory regulatory practices such as meter maids lying in wait to affix tickets the second a violation flag pops up, and traffic patrols lined up and waiting impatiently to ticket cars the very moment the clock strikes the "No Parking" time, as well as a proliferation of unmarked patrol cars literally swooping down on hapless motorists in "by the book" enforcement. Similarly, we wrote about a purported special program of targeting motorists in Boro Park for sheriff's towing.

There were also a lot of eyebrows raised when it was learned that money earmarked for the Boro Park community through the defunct COJO of Boro Park community was never recycled back into the community.

More recently, the Mayor ruffled some feathers when he engaged in verbal fisticuffs with Governor George Pataki over who had promised what with respect to the construction of New York City's Holocaust Museum. In an editorial entitled, "We Suggest A Different Political Football," we expressed our own dismay that the Mayor and the Governor had seized upon funding for the City's Holocaust Museum to continue their nasty, high-profile war of words. As we said at the time, it seemed undisputed that there was a planned infusion of \$22 million in public funds to finance the long-awaited expansion of the Holocaust Museum. However, Mayor Giuliani maintained that the city and state had each agreed to contribute \$11 million. Governor Pataki insisted that the plan had always contemplated that the City would provide the full \$22 million, but that the State would cede the land upon which the expansion would be built.

Doubtless, the controversy reflected the potentially conflicting national ambitions of both political leaders. But the public spectacle highlighting the fact that \$22 million and public land will be made available to what is widely perceived — and in the worst possible circles — as a "Jewish" project is not at all helpful. To be sure, we expect politicians to act according to what they learned in politicians school. However, we rather wish that the Governor and the Mayor had reserved their public sparring for less incendiary issues.

This latter instance is perhaps more subtle than those aforementioned, but it makes the same point. While we and others have proudly supported the Mayor in past elections, we think a dialogue is in order in the upcoming campaign.

Editorial

Hadassah Plan to Honor Hillary Brings a Question on Jerusalem

Where Would This Szold Laureate Put the Embassy?

FORWARD STAFF

WASHINGTON — Does the 85th recipient of Hadassah's Henrietta Szold award consider Jerusalem to be the "indivisible eternal capital of Israel?"

That's what the president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Dr. Mandell Ganchrow, wants to know. Dr. Ganchrow is writing to the woman upon whom Hadassah will bestow the award, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Dr. Ganchrow's letter seeking to pin down the first lady on the Jerusalem question comes amid concern across a broad spectrum of the leadership that her husband is preparing to cite national security in deciding to delay yet again construction of an embassy in the Israeli capital. It also comes as Mrs. Clinton announced her intention to form a committee to explore running for the seat that will be vacated in 2001 by one of the key sponsors of the legislative efforts to move the embassy to Jerusalem, Senator Moynihan, also a Democrat. The Hadassah event will be one of two Jewish affairs in which the first lady is scheduled participate on July 27; the other is a fund-

raiser for the National Jewish Democratic Council. Those events will follow a trip to Israel the first lady is scheduled to take later this month.

"Senator Moynihan has long been the Senate leader on the issue of Jerusalem, the eternally indivisible capital of Israel," Dr. Ganchrow wrote. "Do you consider Jerusalem to be the indivisible eternal capital of Israel and secondly, do you favor moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem?...If you were the United States Senator today or in the year 2001, would you vote to remove the President's ability to waive the law's requirements?"

"Are you prepared to assure New Yorkers that were you to replace Senator Moynihan in the Senate you will take his place as leader on the Jerusalem Embassy and Jerusalem capital issues?" Dr. Ganchrow asked. Dr. Ganchrow explained that his group has a long relationship with Mr. Moynihan and is honoring him at an October 11 dinner.

If Hadassah shares the concerns Dr. Ganchrow is raising, it wasn't evident in a statement issued by the

Please turn to Page 2

Hadassah Will Honor Mrs. Clinton

Continued from Page 1

women's Zionist organization's president, Marlene Post. In response to questions about the award named after its founder, Hadassah provided the Forward with a three-point statement in the name of Ms. Post. Mrs. Clinton "was nominated to receive Hadassah's highest honor, the Henrietta Szold Award, for her vision and commitment to children's welfare, women's health and human rights issues," according to the statement. Hadassah noted that Mrs. Clinton had visited one of the group's hospitals in Israel. "As a longtime promoter of peace, [Mrs. Clinton] was impressed with our hospital's humanitarian aspects as a bridge to peace."

Mrs. Clinton praised Hadassah's hospital in her syndicated column. "Religious differences have no place. Muslim, Jewish and Christian children share the same wards. And no one asks 'Are you Jewish or Christian?'" Mrs. Clinton wrote in a December 1998 column.

The national president of the Zionist Organization of America, Morton Klein, objected to Hadassah's award to Mrs. Clinton. "To have a Zionist organization honor a woman who has sat on the board of an organization that funded the pre-1993 pro-terror PLO and has publicly called for an unrestricted sovereign state of Palestine simply doesn't make sense," Mr. Klein said.

Mr. Klein was referring to Mrs.

Clinton's call last year for Palestinian statehood, a call the first lady has since somewhat stepped back from, and Mrs. Clinton's chairmanship, prior to the 1992 election that elevated her husband to the White House, of a group called New World Foundation, which granted funds to Grassroots International, which in turn funneled the money to two PLO-affiliated groups.

A longtime friend of Mrs. Clinton and lifetime member of Hadassah, Sara Ehrman, praised Hadassah for giving the award to the first lady. "Hillary Clinton certainly emulates Henrietta Szold in her concern for the needs of others and her commitment to better health care, and her interest in furthering opportunities for women," Ms. Ehrman said. She added, "Hillary Clinton has a longtime association with Hadassah. I am proud that my organization is recognizing Hillary Clinton."

The assistant executive director of Americans for Peace Now, Lewis Roth, also praised Hadassah. A former executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Morris Amitay, said, "This is another example of the first lady's shameless courting of the Jewish community to make up for unqualified support of a fully independent Palestinian state."

A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, Marsha Berry, said that she hadn't spoken with Mrs. Clinton about the Hadassah event. "I'm sure she's

Forward 6/11/99

Dear To Back Rudy Senate Bid

Bill Clinton supporter and fund-raiser won't back Hillary, sources say; Democrats defend first lady's anointment without a primary.

Councilman Netch Dear, an ardent backer of President Bill Clinton in New York, will not back Clinton's wife for Senate here, The Jewish Week has learned.

Dear is planning to support Mayor Rudolph Giuliani should he enter the race to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000, according to sources close to Dear.

POLITICAL MEMOS



Dear has raised millions of dollars in the Orthodox community for the two Clinton campaigns and is likely to do the same for Vice President Al Gore in 2000. He traditionally backs Democratic candidates, but supported Giuliani's re-election in 1997.

Dear, who represents Borough Park and Midwood in Brooklyn, said he had yet to make an official announcement of his endorsement. The councilman, who hopes to launch a second bid for the House of Representatives at the same time the Senate race is being waged, may be hoping for a return endorsement from Giuliani, who won Dear's district overwhelmingly in all three of his bids for City Hall. Backing the first lady, who is unpopular among many Orthodox Jews, might also harm Dear's prospects.

The director of Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee, Bruce Tritelbaum, said "We've enjoyed a close working relationship with the councilman, and should the mayor decide to run we would welcome his support, like we would welcome the support of any elected official."

Dear's reputed endorsement is only the latest sign that should the first lady run here, as is increasingly likely, she would face concerted opposition in some segments of the Jewish community. This week, right-wing supporters of Israel were up in arms that Hadasah, the women's Zionist organization, is honoring Clinton — who has called for Palestinian statehood — with its Henrietta Szold Award (see Capital column, page 30). And another Borough Park pol, Assemblyman Dov Hikind, has been blasting Clinton as pro-Palestinian.

"A lot of people will be concerned about her statement about a Palestinian state," said Abraham Biederman, a former city commissioner and well-connected Orthodox activist. "It definitely indicated a mindset that people find troubling. A New York senator should be at the forefront of the pro-Israel community."

The impact of this opposition is unclear. "I



Brooklyn Councilman Netch Dear raised millions to make Hillary Clinton first lady, but won't aid her Senate bid.

don't think she's writing off the Orthodox community," said Ester Fuchs of the Center for Urban Policy at Columbia University. "The question is whether Orthodox leaders give her an opportunity to present her agenda and her stands on the issues, or fall lockstep behind Rudy Giuliani, if he runs."

Sheldon Silver, the Orthodox speaker of the state Assembly, said Clinton was likely to find plenty of Orthodox support. "The polls say that this is a horse race," said Silver, of the Lower East Side. "Her [Palestinian] statement dealt with something she perceived she had heard from Yitzhak Rabin. She has to explain to the public what her position is."

While Giuliani is sure to have ardent Jewish backing — as evidenced by hundreds of yarmulkes and kosher meals at his recent fund-raiser — polls show his overall popularity among the city's Jews on the wane.

During the recent Amadou Diallo police shooting controversy, Jewish approval of Giuliani's job performance fell to 64 percent from 76 percent in 1997, according to a Marist College poll. A Quinnipiac poll last month found only 58 percent approval among Jews.

Last year, there were so many Democrats running for statewide office that it was hard for reporters to keep track of them all, with four contenders for governor, four more for attorney general, three for lieutenant governor, and three for Senate.

But when it comes to next year's Senate race, there is a massive deviation from politics as usual. The withdrawal of Rep. Nita Lowey last week paves the way for Clinton, the ill-

Continued on page 45

Jewish Week 6/18/99

NEW YORK

MEMOS *Continued from page 10*

nois-born Arkansan, to sweep up the nomination primary-free. Critics say this not only deprives the party's members of their right to choose their nominee, but it also deprives the public of a spirited debate on issues that can inform the general election.

At last week's legislative breakfast of the Metropolitan New York Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty, some of the city's most prominent Democrats scrambled to defend this turn of events.

"Democrats have had a lot of primaries over the years," said Rep. Jerrold Nadler of Manhattan. "The Republicans have had fewer. It will be an interesting change to see it the other way around this year. Sometimes a primary really hurts a party by diverting a lot of money and embittering things."

Nadler, who began his career in the state Assembly and flinched with his own Senate bid, said Clinton's dedication was more important than her resume. "The question is not whether you work your way up ... but. Can you persuade people that you're the best person to do the job and care about their problems?"

Public Advocate Mark Green, a candidate

in last year's Senate race, said "what the party might lose in a primary debate we would gain in having a unified voice in debating this fall."

Manhattan Rep. Carolyn Maloney, a prominent Hillary booster who benefited from the first lady's presence at her fund-raiser last week, said that although Clinton had no elective track record, she was a behind-the-scenes fighter for New York's interests. "Those of us in the Women's Caucus have a saying that if all else fails, call Hillary," said Maloney. "Then things that have been taken out of the budget reappear, legislation that has been stalled gains momentum."

Arguably placed in an awkward position as a Hillary defender is Sen. Charles Schumer, who last year ran heavily on his proven record of delivering for New York constituents as a state Assemblyman and congressman. In campaigning for Clinton, he would be arguing that someone never elected to office, who is heavily insulated from ordinary citizens, is equally qualified to join him in the Senate.

"She has lots of experience in many different ways," said Schumer on Sunday as he dashed from the breakfast to an appearance on ABC's "This Week" to bolster the Clinton candidacy. □

Jewish Week 6/11/99 cont'd.

NEW YORK

Can Hillary Handle New Yawk?

With the Jewish vote up for grabs and the Palestinian state issue looming, the first lady's in for a bruising fight.

Rabbi Jacob Goldstein is one of those scrappy Brooklyn politicians that reporters love to call for a good wisecrack. A top political operative in the Lubavitch chassidic community, he was recently named chief chaplain of the New York National Guard in recognition

of service to the state Republican machine. Not one to duck a fight, he flew into Israel during the 1991 Gulf War as chaplain of the U.S. Army unit manning the Patriot missiles.

He favors tough-guy quotes like, "We took down Dave Dinkins and we're gonna take down Mario Cuomo, and don't

forget who told you that," delivered with a wry grin and a poke in the eye. If that's the beard and fedora, you'd swear he was John.

Ask him about Hillary Clinton's all-but-official campaign for U.S. Senate from New York, though, and he turns deadly earnest. "This could bring out a lot of people, this campaign," he says, his voice darkening. "She should be held accountable."

Americans have been dazzled for decades by the glamour of a Senate race pitting the first lady against Rudolph Giuliani, much-admired mayor of the Big Apple. They're both larger than life, both pro-choice, pro-business, both social liberals with a mean streak. It's a pundit's dream race.

But this is New Yawk, not Hollywood. There's grumbling about Clinton never having lived in state. Her husband's scandals may yet explode in her face. Then there's her comment favoring Palestinian statehood last year.

Goldstein doesn't like Palestinian statehood. But that's not what ~~gives~~ exercised. "I worry about local stuff," he says, ticking off a list of beefs that mainly involve Clinton administration indifference to chassidic suffering: Janet Reno's reluctance to pursue the killers of Yankel Rosenbaum, murdered in the Crown Heights riots of 1991; FBI director Louis Freeh's statement that "road rage," not terrorism, was behind the 1994 killing of a Lubavitch youth by an Arab cabdriver.

His voice rising, Goldstein adds Hillary's reported hiring of a top aide to David Dinkins, the black ex-mayor whom chassidim blame for the Crown Heights riots. "I'd like to hang him around her neck with a noose," Goldstein snaps.

And Palestinian statehood? "That's a valid issue, too," says Goldstein, still warming up. "She needs to have answers that aren't in a briefing book."

As Clinton starts sounding out New Yorkers, Jake Goldstein should have her worried. No, he isn't the whole state. Lubavitchers number barely 20,000 in a state of 17 million. But the chassidim loom large in the popular Jewish mind. And Jews, all 1.7 million, 10 percent of the state's population, loom very large in New York politics.

Goldstein only needs to swing a few Jews to hurt Clinton. Conventional wisdom says a Democrat can't win with less than two-thirds of the state's Jewish vote. Case in point: ex-Sen. Al D'Amato. He won in 1992 with 40 percent of the Jewish vote, while fellow Republican George Bush lost the state with 15 percent. Six years later D'Amato dropped to 20 percent of the Jewish vote and lost in 1998, while Republican Gov. George Pataki won with nearly 40 percent.

New York elections consistently turn on that crucial Jewish swing vote of 25 percent, some 200,000 voters. They're a crucial bloc. Not many blocs of votes up for grabs. Most voters have their minds made up. Clinton will try to reach women and minorities. That said, next year's New York Senate race will turn largely on the Jewish vote.

Clinton's supporters think she can capture it. Her husband has a famous way with Jewish voters. He took over 80 percent in New York in 1992, and nearly that in 1996. The first lady, lacking his messy baggage, should do even better. "I think people are tired of him and curious about her," says feminist author Letty Cottin Pogrebin, a longtime friend of Hillary.

But that's not what the polls show. Most give Clinton just

J.J. Goldberg is author of "Jewish Power: Inside the Jewish Establishment."

Hillary Clinton will need the Jewish vote to capture New York. Polls say she does not have it.

over half the Jewish vote, compared to one-third for Giuliani. That's not good enough. One poll, by Republican pollster John Zogby, shows Giuliani besting Clinton among Jewish voters by the same five-to-three margin. Among voters as a whole, they're neck and neck.

It's early, of course. The real race begins next year. But Clinton's entry was based on her magic appeal to voters. Right now the magic isn't even working on Jews, her first line of support.

This standoff guarantees a no-holds-barred slugfest for the Jewish swing vote next year. Giuliani can't wait to start. He has close ties to Likud and local Orthodox leaders. He once threw Yasser Arafat out of a UN benefit concert. He'll hit Hillary hard, not just on Palestinian statehood but on the whole Clinton Middle East tilt. He — or his surrogates — will hammer the Likud line that Clinton favors the Palestinians.

The big loser will be Ehud Barak, Israel's incoming prime minister. He plans to enter the final stage in talks with the Palestinians next spring. He'll be pushing hard for painful concessions, both from the Palestinians and from his own coalition partners. He'll be counting on the Clinton administration for rock-steady backing.

Barak won't want the world's most closely watched election turning into a shouting match between the president's wife and traditional Jewish leaders. She'll be under intense pressure to answer her attackers or forfeit the Jewish swing vote. Whatever she says will be inevitably interpreted as reflecting administration thinking. If she denies sympathy for Palestinian aspirations, Arafat will be insulted and demand compensation. If she admits it, Barak will come under pressure from the right. Either way, the peace process will suffer.

It's still possible that Clinton won't run. She's supposed to announce formal candidacy next fall. Some Democrats want her to wait four years and then run from her home state of Illinois, for the Senate seat won last year by Republican Peter Fitzgerald.

Late as it is, her quitting wouldn't necessarily leave New York Democrats in the lurch. Rumor has it former treasury secretary Robert Rubin has been making sounds about a Senate race. Insiders say he's asked Wall Street friends to hold off making financial commitments until the fall, when Clinton's plans are clear.

The first lady would do better against Fitzgerald in Illinois than against Giuliani in New York. Fitzgerald will be a vulnerable conservative freshman in a moderate state. Clinton wouldn't face carpetbagging charges. The White House scandals would be long gone.

And she wouldn't face Jake Goldstein. □



Jewish Week 6/11/99

First Lady's Tricky Trip

Seen by some as the 'pro-Arab voice' in White House, Clinton walks difficult line in crafting Israel itinerary.

JAMES D. BESSER

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

Pace process opponents are hoping her upcoming trip to Israel will prove a political and diplomatic misadventure for first lady Hillary Clinton, not a boost to her expected 2000 Senate campaign in New York.

But supporters say Clinton, burned once over her support for Palestinian statehood, is a skilled politician who will tread very lightly during her trip to Israel and Jordan, which begins on June 26.

Administration officials, aware that every public event and private meeting will be taken as a signal about U.S. policy in the region, are working to make sure her itinerary offers the fewest possible opportunities for generating headlines.

Clinton, they say, will visit women's groups, social service agencies and what are being described as "coexistence type" organizations. The goal is to avoid anything that could be interpreted as a shift in administration position on key Israeli-Palestinian disputes.

At the same time, Clinton's political supporters want the trip to provide a political bounce with New York's critical Jewish electorate.

But the usual media ops for visiting pols — flights over the Golan Heights, visits to historic sites in Jerusalem and meetings with generals — may be off limits because of the political and diplomatic risks.

"This trip reflects the complications of being both the first lady and a Senate candidate," said Jess Hordes, Washington director for the Anti-Defamation League. "People will be watching very closely. It will be a difficult line for her to walk."

Last May Clinton angered some Jewish leaders by stating that lands in Gaza and the West Bank that are the objects of ongoing negotiations "should be considered and will evolve into a functioning modern state."

The White House quickly announced that Clinton was speaking only for herself, but her comments, along with her willingness to invite Arab-American and Muslim groups into the White House, continue to be a sore point with right-of-center Jews.

A Jewish Democrat who has been critical of the administration's peace process policies predicted that many Jews in New York will spurn her candidacy no matter what she does in Israel because of her sympathy for Palestinian statehood "and the fact that she is seen widely as the 'pro-Arab voice' in the White House."

This source said that Clinton's Israel trip will be rife with opportunities for new gaffes.

"People will ask her about a Palestinian state, about settlements, about the Golan Heights, about Arafat. She can't go around Israel saying absolutely nothing, can she?"

But supporters say Clinton, a deft politician, has demonstrated she can field such questions in public and private meetings with Jewish groups since the Palestinian state flap.

Political scientist Benjamin Ginsberg of John Hopkins University said that "it's a very easy trip for her. Jews in New York are so eager to vote for her that she doesn't have to do much more than set foot in Israel to get them to overlook her Palestinian state remarks."

Ginsberg said he would like to see "serious questions raised about her views on Israel as part of this trip. But I don't see that happening. The Jewish vote is hers for the taking, except among a small minority."

Hillary And Hadassah

Right-of-center groups are also mobilizing to fight plans by Hadassah to award Clinton their "Henrietta Szold Award" at the group's annual convention in Washington at the end of July.

Officials of the 300,000 member Zionist group stress that the decision to give Clinton their highest honor — which was approved overwhelmingly by Hadassah's lay leadership — is based on the first lady's extensive humanitarian efforts, especially her advocacy on behalf of children and women.

Previous recipients have included former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel.

But the Zionist Organization of America sees the award as another slap at Israel.

"We've expressed our concern that we don't think a Zionist organization should be giving an award to someone who has called for a PLO State with unrestricted sovereignty and who sat on a board that gave grants

the pre-1993 PLO," said Morton Klein, ZOA's president, referring to Clinton's work with the leftist New World Foundation.

"We think Henrietta Szold would not have supported giving an award named in her honor to Ms. Clinton."

Budget Blues

Jewish organizations with a stake in the federal budget — which means just about every group that provides a vital health or human service — are watching with dismay as the Republican Congress and the Democratic administration play a game of partisan chicken over the Fiscal Year 2000 budget.

That battle could come to a head this week or next as House Speaker Dennis Hastert tries to impose order on his feuding forces and mollify conservative rebels, who insist the government abide by 1997 budget caps that guarantee sweeping cuts despite the new federal surplus.

On Tuesday, Hastert, in a closed session, urged Republican lawmakers to put their differences aside and pass critical spending bills. There were reports some funds could be shifted back to domestic spending programs — but even under the best case scenarios, Jewish leaders are worried about significant cuts.

"If the budget caps aren't raised, some very important programs for our community are going to be cut in a very serious way," said Diana Aviv, director of the Washington Action office of the United Jewish Communities.

She pointed to programs for senior citizens — housing health and nutrition programs, in particular — as vulnerable.

"And that's the best case situation," she said. "When you add to that the defense increases before Congress and the tax cuts, the reductions in vital programs could be even worse."

Jewish groups, she said, are focusing their efforts on raising budget caps restricting health and human service spending. □



First lady's upcoming trip to Israel could prove to be a political minefield.

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Schumer, Pataki Maintain Hard Line

Jerusalem, Palestinian statehood bigger issues in NYC than Israel

By WALTER RUBY

Two of New York's most powerful public officials, Gov. George Pataki and Sen. Charles Schumer, signaled last week that while Israel's election may be over, the nuances of Israeli politics continue to roil the politics of the Empire State.

In remarks to reporters after a June 6 appearance at the annual legislative breakfast of the Metropolitan Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty, Schumer vowed to press ahead with legislation to force the Clinton administration to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Schumer said this pledge would not be affected by his close personal and political relationship with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the possible Democratic candidate for an open New York Senate seat next year.

Hours later, Pataki brought his audience at the Orthodox Union Centennial Anniversary National Dinner to its feet with an unsavory swipe at Rodham Clinton for her onetime advocacy of a Palestinian state. The governor urged the pro-Israel community "to examine the credentials and allegiances of the candidates (in the Senate race) to make sure they stand with Israel before any other party in the Mideast negotiations," and to also make sure that they support "the sanctity and unity of the City of Jerusalem."

These intense comments contrast sharply with the current mood in Israel, where the unity of Jerusalem is taken by most Israelis as a matter of course, few seem to care if and when the U.S. moves its embassy to the capital, and where even right-wing figures like Likud leader Ariel



At the Met Council breakfast, Sen. Charles Schumer renewed his pledge to force the U.S. to move its embassy to Jerusalem.

Sharon have acknowledged that a Palestinian state is inevitable. It seems that the continued focus on these issues in New York may have more to do with the struggle for political traction than with the present state of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Prior to the Israeli election, Schumer had promised to introduce legislation that would remove a waiver in current law allowing the administration to defer moving the embassy if it feels that doing so would harm U.S. security. Pressed by reporters at the Met Council breakfast as to whether he plans to keep that pledge, Schumer responded, "We are working hard at passing our new legislation which should hopefully have no waiver, so that within a period of time they will finally move the Embassy. The waivers have been abused in my opinion.

This is not a national security issue."

At the same time, however, Schumer admitted that it may not be easy to gain sufficient support for his legislation in the Senate. Speaking in somewhat elliptical phrases, Schumer stated, "If we can pass a law with no waiver, which is my hope—I'm still trying to convince my colleagues—we can achieve it."

Schumer also appeared to put some distance between himself and Rodham Clinton, who campaigned enthusiastically for him in his successful election campaign against then-incumbent Sen. Al D'Amato. Asked if Rodham Clinton shares his position on Jerusalem, Schumer responded carefully, "I have talked to her a little bit, and I think she does, but you should ask her directly."

If Schumer's position vis a vis the 2000 Senate race appears at once clear and opaque, the same can be said for Pataki, who seems unlikely to relish a contest between Rodham Clinton and Giuliani, his blood rival for dominance in the New York GOP. For a time, Pataki appeared to be considering throwing his own hat into the Senate race but, at least for the present, has thrown his support to Rep. Rick Lazio (R-L.I.).

In his speech to the OU, Pataki seemed intent on delivering a message that, whatever the nature of his feud with Giuliani, he will not tacitly support Rodham Clinton's entry into New York politics, and that he believes one of the areas where she is most vulnerable is on the Israel issue. Conservative Jewish voters have not yet forgiven Rodham Clinton for her 1998 endorsement of

Hard line

Continued from page 3

a Palestinian state, and the loud applause of the OU audience was a clear signal they will continue to hold those remarks against her even now that her views jibe with those of Israel's new prime minister, Ehud Barak.

Pataki called on his listeners to "accept and respect" the Israeli election verdict the way he has, despite his own personal closeness to defeated Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the policies of the Likud. Still, said Pataki, the election results reinforce his belief that "Israel and Israel alone must decide what is in its best interests.... We are now at a very critical stage in the peace process...when decisions will be made that will determine the extent of Israel's security for generations to come. It is more important than ever before that the [administration] and our elected representatives in Washington not be permitted to pressure the Israeli government...."

Perhaps attempting one last swipe at the first lady, Pataki remarked, "In my view, anyone who is not a strong supporter of Israel should not serve in the U.S. Senate, let alone [represent] the Empire State."

Pataki closed with a ringing affirmation that "Jerusalem must remain the eternal, undivided capital of Israel and it is long overdue that the United States Embassy be located in the City of Jerusalem."

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