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Press Office
Files of Lissa Muscatine**

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27 April 1999

Memorandum to

Cc

The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

Maggie Williams
By fax 011-331-4764-9560

Cheryl Mills
By fax 202-456-6279

Susan Thomases
By fax 212-237-4327

Diane Blair
By fax 501-521-8373

Mandy Grunwald
by fax 202-338-7554

Lyn Utrecht
by fax 202-293-3411

Tom Friedman
By fax 202-456-7431

From

Harold Ickes

Re

4.23.99 Daily News online article on "City Hall Steps Up Rules for Protest"

G. ...
- HCL -



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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | City Beat |
Friday, April 23, 1999

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City Hall Steps Up Rules for Protests

By LISA REIN
Daily News Staff Writer

Groups that want to hold press conferences on the steps of City Hall may be way behind the news cycle by the time they get the go-ahead from the city.

Under new rules proposed by City Hall in the ongoing controversy over public access to the building, the public will have to apply in writing for a Police Department permit — and then wait up to 10 days for a yea or nay.

"It's an opportunity for you to apply in advance and get your position locked in," said Daniel Connolly, special counsel to the city's Law Department, which drafted the regulations.

The rules — opposed by civic and civil libertarians at a public hearing yesterday — would be the city's first permanent restrictions on gatherings on the steps.

Last summer, the city imposed a security crackdown on the popular spot for protests and news conferences, citing security concerns. Facing legal challenges to the crackdown, the city gradually has scaled it back. This month, it announced that during a 90-day trial period, gatherings will be limited to two a day for an hour each, with a maximum of 50 people.

But during the trial period, groups wanting to gather on the steps have needed only verbal approval from the police — not a permit, which could take 10 days to get.

Exempted from the new rules are celebrations, public ceremonies and other events "traditionally organized or sponsored by the city" — such as parades for champion sports teams. The City Council and other elected officials are exempt "because City Hall is a government building."

Connolly said.

Critics say breaking news can't wait for a permit.

"In a fast-paced city with breaking events, advance notice isn't possible," said Gene Russianoff of the New York Public Interest Research Group. He called the proposed permit system "onerous" and an "abuse of power."

Connolly said the 10-day wait could be cut to two days in an "extraordinary circumstance." But in that case, the permit could be denied if the city can't find enough cops to police it.

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27 April 1999

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Cheryl Mills
By fax 202-456-6279

From

Harold Ickes

Re

4.23.99 Forward articles on First Lady's senate bid.

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TO: _____

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FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT
202-887-6726
PAGES: 7

Hillary Hits Campaign Trail in New York, Boca Raton In Effort to Shore Up Jews' Support for Senate Race

By REBECCA SPENCE

FORWARD STAFF

NEW YORK — In making three appearances before Jewish groups in the past two weeks, Hillary Rodham Clinton is working hard to shore up support in a community whose backing will be pivotal in the race for Senate she is considering.

The first lady spoke last week at the Jewish Community Relations Council of the South Palm Beach County Jewish Federation's annual Holocaust Remembrance Day event, and this week she accepted an award from New York's Jewish

Child Care Association and spoke at the UJA-Federation's Keepers of the Flame dinner. Mrs. Clinton received a warm welcome in New York, but she angered some members of the Jewish community in Boca Raton, Fla., with what some



AP/WIDEWORLD
CLINTON;
Candidate

called a "politically motivated" appearance at their Holocaust Remembrance event.

Mayor Giuliani, who is considering a run as a Republican for the same Senate seat Mrs. Clinton is eyeing, has criticized her for supporting a Palestinian state. Her appearances in front of Jewish groups are being interpreted as an attempt to allay the concerns of those Jews who took the first lady to task for the comments on statehood she made last year. With Jewish support seen as crucial to winning a

Please turn to Page 4

Hillary Clinton Hitting Circuit

Continued from Page 1

New York political race, an effort to reach out to the Jewish community is a sign that Mrs. Clinton is serious about a bid for the office being vacated by Senator Moynihan, who is retiring.

At the UJA-Federation of New York event Tuesday night, Mrs. Clinton lauded the charity's efforts to help Jews settle in "their homeland," Israel. "We know that if Israel is to have security and strength, she needs to have a secure peace, and that means that we can never give up on the peace process," Mrs. Clinton said. "It has been this administration's position that we will stand behind any agreement negotiated between the parties and we will oppose any unilateral step that presupposes the outcome of the negotiations," Mrs. Clinton said.

On one level, this was a backing away from her prior statements, in which she said she personally favored creating a state called "Palestine." She stopped short, however, of directly warning PLO chairman Yasser Arafat from declaring a Palestinian state unilaterally on May 4, as he has threatened to do and as wide bipartisan majorities in Congress have warned him against. The "any unilateral step" formulation is often used by administration officials to refer to both Israeli settlement building and the potential for a unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood.

But the crowds that greeted Mrs. Clinton warmly in New York — with the exception of about 30 protesters outside the UJA-Federation event at the Waldorf-Astoria — seemed less concerned with the fine points of Mrs. Clinton's Middle East policy than with the excitement of her potential move to New York and entry in the Senate race.

The real estate mogul who intro-

duced Mrs. Clinton at the UJA-Federation event, Lewis Rudin, said that when he was first asked to introduce her, he thought he was being asked to find her an apartment.

"Let's talk after we finish," Mrs. Clinton replied, to laughter.

Another New York real estate magnate, Jewish Child Care Association trustee Alan Tishman, said that the first lady's presence at the JCCA event "probably indicated that she is running for Senate." "I think maybe it all ties in. I don't know which came first, the chicken or the egg," Mr. Tishman said, referring to whether Mrs. Clinton decided to speak to the JCCA before or after she began considering a Senate bid.

The executive vice president of the JCCA, Paul Gitelson, said that their organization approached the first lady more than a year ago, prior to any talk of her running for office. "She agreed to speak a week ago, but she had already agreed to be an honorary chairperson," Mr. Gitelson said. "Whatever else is going on, this is not related," he said.

All the talk of politics spurred questions about whether Mrs. Clinton's travel ought to be underwritten by a campaign exploratory committee subject to federal campaign-finance laws, rather than by the taxpayers.

Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Marsha Berry, responded: "These are all events that she's attending as the first lady...She is not a candidate."

Others viewed the first lady's appearances as a good move,

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Forward 4/23/99

Hillary Hits Campaign Trail in N.Y.

Continued from Page 4

whether she is running or not.

"It's a smart way to keep her options open," said a Democratic political consultant, Henry Sheinkopf. Mr. Sheinkopf said that while he wouldn't take her appearances as a sign that she is running, he also wouldn't take them as a sign that she is not. "If you reduce potential problems, you leave room to go either way," Mr. Sheinkopf said.

"Her appearances certainly indicate her need to rebuild support within the Jewish community — she's done enough to damage it," said one of Mrs. Clinton's detractors, Jeff Scler, the vice chairman of the Young Jewish Leadership Political Action Committee, a Republican Pac. Mr. Scler said that the first lady is waging an uphill battle to gain the support of the Jewish community. "Her problems are deeper than something that just giving a speech can solve," Mr. Scler said. "She needs to discuss policy."

The first lady's previous comments regarding a Palestinian state were enough to cause a flap in Boca Raton over her appearance at the Holocaust Remembrance Day event of the Jewish Community Relations

Council there. The chairman of the council, Spencer Levine, boycotted the event, saying that a day as sacred as Holocaust Remembrance Day should not be used for Mrs. Clinton's political gain. "This was not the proper place for the first lady to speak," Mr. Levine said. "The Palestinian authority is one of the leading Holocaust deniers in the world, and now we have a leading world spokesperson who supports the Palestinian Authority speaking on Holocaust Remembrance Day," Mr. Levine said.

A spokeswoman for the Jewish Federation of South Palm Beach County said that Mrs. Clinton's appearance on Holocaust Remembrance Day was not a political event. "Most of the community was excited to see her," said the spokeswoman, Debbie Stern.

Rep. Robert Wexler, a Democrat from Florida, suggested that the first lady attend the event after Mrs. Clinton put in a request to make a community appearance on the day that she would be fund-raising with Mr. Wexler, said Mr. Wexler's press secretary, Josh Rogin. "From our perspective, the event was beautiful," Mr. Rogin said.

Forward 4/23/99 contd.

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-Federation's 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."

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.



POLITICAL MEMOS

ADAM DICKTER

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 honchos 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 Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Rep. Joned Nadler at a fund-raising dinner given on Nadler's behalf. The first lady's appearance reportedly raised some \$400,000.

AP-Wide World

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 amid 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-

Jewish Week 4/23/99 contd.

NEW YORK

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 denouncement of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr during the impeachment brought the first lady to his fund-raiser Monday night.

The Yeshivah 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 Emanu-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 dinner. 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-

mocratic Speaker Peter Vefone for his help in securing the funds.

The Museum of Jewish Heritage was one of five Jewish causes supported by the mayor and his wife, Donna Hanover in 1998, according to tax documents made public this week. The first couple gave \$12,815 to charity in 1998. Their joint income was \$507,646. Aside from the \$100 donation to the Holocaust museum, Giuliani and Hanover gave \$200 to the Anti-Defamation League; \$100 to the Hatzolah volunteer ambulance corps; \$100 to the National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education and \$250 to UJA-Federation.

Gov. Pataki and his wife, Libby, made \$1,597 worth of charitable contributions, \$899 in cash and \$698 in items donated to the Salvation Army. Their joint income was \$246,417. □

TIM BOXER

him to survive?" the doctor asked.

So Naphtali saved his brother's life a second time by admitting Yisrael was only 7.

The Czech doctor turned to the left, then the right, and when no one was looking he squeezed out half the injection on the ground.

Only In America

Politicians wear diverse hats. At the Bnai Zion dinner at the Grand Hyatt, Charles Schumer told how he helped in Congress to ease the way of Irish immigrants to America, and consequently was named Hibernian Man of the Year.



Rep. Nita Lowey: Made seder for 21 people.

His Irish friends told him about the time Yogi Berra was introduced to Sir Ben Briscoe.

"Yogi, Sir Ben is the first Lord Mayor of Dublin who is Jewish." The Yankee great put his arm around the mayor and marveled, "Only in America."

Bnai Zion president Alan Hevesi, the city comptroller, said he marched in the Bangladeshi Muslim Parade even though he's of Jewish Hungarian extraction. "If you're Episcopalian, you

march in the back," he quipped.

Executive vice president Mel Parness presented an award to longtime Zionist activist Ruth Popkin. Hevesi presented an award to Rep. Nita Lowey, who has aspirations of running for the Senate when Patrick Moynihan retires.

"When I met Hillary Clinton recently," Hevesi said, "I told her I thought it was a great idea that she's thinking of running in New York for the U.S. Senate. But I assured Nita Lowey that I wasn't sincere."

"I've been in Congress 11 years," Lowey said. "I haven't done much cooking in all that time. But I made a seder for 21 people. And I cooked the whole thing. I had to show them I can still make matzah balls."

It Takes A Jewish Community

Hillary Rodham Clinton praised the Jewish Child Care Association for being "on the cutting edge as a pioneering organization with programs for child welfare and adoption."

She spoke at JCCA's 175th anniversary celebration at Cipriani Wall Street, where Stephen Sokoloff and Alan Tishman were honored for their support. The first lady peered into the audience and singled out columnist Art Buchwald as a prime example of the many children who received life-saving help.

"It does take a community to help the child," she said. Buchwald was brought by his father to the organization's

Hebrew Orphan Asylum during the height of the Depression. He was 6 and terrified; Buchwald stayed six weeks before social workers placed him in several foster homes in Hollis, Queens.

JCCA president Joyce Kramer pointed out that the organization was created in 1822 to care for impoverished families and children among New York's 500 Jews.

"Today," she said, "we've opened the doors to all children in New York."

Mother And Son In Tune

Marilyn Michaels called with news of her new CD, "A Mother's Voice." The title song was composed by Marvin Hamlisch. Marilyn's 15-year-old son, Marc, joins her on one of the cuts.

"I was afraid Marc's voice would change, so I made the record fast," she said. "Now that it's out, his voice is changing."

The only way she could get Marc to sing with her was to allow him to bring his class from Riverdale Country School. So the mother-son duo is accompanied by 40 of Marc's schoolmates.

Marilyn sings "Unter Boime" (Under the Tree) in Yiddish, with Marc and his pals singing along in English.

"That's the song my uncle, Moishe Oysher, sang in his film, 'A Cantor's Song,'" she said.

Tales Of The IRS

At the Friends of Yeshivat Shaalvim dinner at the Grand Hyatt, I sat with Dennis Frank, whose son Gerald, a sophomore at Yeshiva University, is going to Israel in September for a year's study at Shaalvim.

Dennis described life as an appeals auditor at the Internal Revenue Service. He once audited an elderly gentleman on his Medicare expenses. The man wanted to deduct the cost of his dentures, which is permitted in the year they are purchased.

"Do you have a receipt?" Dennis asked.

"No," the man said, "but I'll show." He took his teeth out and placed them on Dennis' desk.

"I have to know when you bought them," Dennis said, "not that you have them."

Another man being audited produced a check made out to a doctor. Dennis turned it over and noticed DVM.

"Who is this doctor?" he asked.

"Oh, he's my wife's gynecologist."

"You must be married to a cocker spaniel," Dennis cracked.

He was auditing two chasidic men, in black coats and black hats with full beard and payes. As the sun sank, they asked for time out for mincha, the afternoon prayers.

As they davened with vigorous shuckling (swaying), a gentle woman in the next room exclaimed, "What are they doing to those poor men? They're beating their heads against the wall!" □

Jewish Week 4/23/99

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27 April 1999

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From

Harold Ickes

Re

4.19.99 NY Post article on "Gov's going out to trip up Rudy
Sensile Bid."

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TO: _____

FAX #: _____

FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT

202-887-6726

PAGES: (2)

Gov's guy out to trip up Rudy Senate bid

my post 4.19.99

A POWERFUL aide to Gov. Pataki has been working behind-the-scenes to block Republican support for Mayor Giuliani's likely U.S. Senate campaign, The Post has learned.

The Pataki aide, chief patronage dispenser and longtime personal friend Thomas Doherty, conceded he has been discouraging Republicans from backing Giuliani.

Doherty, who said Giuliani's decision to back then-Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo in 1994 "still sticks in my throat," said that if Giuliani wants Republicans tied to the governor to support him, he should pick up the telephone and ask Pataki.

"The governor of Texas seems to know [Giuliani is] running for the Senate, but the governor of New York, the leader of our party, doesn't know he's running?" asked Doherty, referring to Giuliani's high-profile visit last week to Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the current GOP presidential front-runner.

"If you were interested in running for office in New York, and you have a leader of our party being the governor, I would think it would be natural to make a phone call out of common courtesy."

"It's funny that many Republicans have looked to us for some type of direction in this situation, and my feedback to them is, 'My boss, who is the governor, and nobody else that I know of, has heard that the mayor is running for the Senate.'"

Three prominent Republicans say Doherty instructed GOP leaders to, in the words of one, "stay away from Rudy Giuliani."

The message from Doherty is:

The governor doesn't want you to do anything to help the mayor of the City of New York," said the Republican official, who claimed firsthand knowledge of the situation.

"The message comes with the obvious threat: If you help Rudy, we — the governor's office — may hurt you, cut off patronage jobs, fire people with jobs, or the like."

Tensions between Pataki and Giuliani have been high for months and are largely rooted in the mayor's endorsement of Cuomo in

FREDRIC U. OXCKER
INSIDE ALBANY
EXCLUSIVE



1994.

Giuliani spokeswoman Cristyne Lategano said she was surprised by Doherty's comments because, "as everyone knows, the mayor is considering entering the race for Senate."

"The mayor is also trying very hard to improve his relations with the governor, and Mr. Doherty may not be aware of that either," she said.

State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope says she's "very disturbed" by the disclosure that Pataki's wife, Libby, has taken a second high-paying job with a company linked to her husband.

"This is a very disturbing situation," Hope said, referring to the disclosure in the Pataki's jointly filed tax returns that Mrs. Pataki is now a \$90,000-a-year marketing consultant with Oregon-based Premier Heart LLC.

Mrs. Pataki is also paid \$80,000 per year as a marketing



ENEMIES FROM WITHIN: Mayor Giuliani, discussing the Saffir situation yesterday, faces GOP roadblocks. N.Y. Post Editor Andrew

consultant to New York cosmetics billionaire and longtime Pataki and Republican Party contributor Ronald Lauder.

"The question is: Are these indirect campaign contributions, rewards for past or future favors?" Hope said.

"The governor and Mrs. Pataki should fully explain how these jobs were arranged and what the duties are for both of them."

Mrs. Pataki and Lauder have rejected requests for detailed information on her job.

Premier Heart official Richard Hayden, a friend of Gov. Pataki's since their college days at Yale, says the governor's wife will deliver speeches on behalf of his company's products and help develop marketing strategies.



SHELDON SILVER
Speaker

PAT LYNCH

Press Secretary to the Speaker
Room 349, State Capitol
Albany, New York 12248
518-455-3791

To: Marsha Berry

From: Pat

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WATERTOWN DAILY TIMES

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Silver Says Mrs. Clinton Sounds 'Very Interested' in Senate Bid

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton kept talk of her could-be Senate candidacy alive on Friday, huddling in the White House with the New York Legislature's top Democrat and the state's party chief.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and state Party Chairwoman Judith Hope joined the swelling ranks of New York Democrats journeying to Washington to meet with the first lady about a possible Senate bid.

"I'd say she's very interested. That's what I'd say," Silver said after a more than one-hour meeting with Mrs. Clinton in the White House Map Room.

Former Clinton administration advisers Harold Ickes and Mandy Grunwald also breezed into the White House early Friday afternoon for a meeting with the first lady. Both are allies of Mrs. Clinton's with strong connections to New York.

Asked about a possible Senate race, a smiling Ickes said, "I don't know anything about it."

Mrs. Clinton has still not said whether she will run

for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But she is apparently considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making and allow her to avoid questions of impropriety in fund raising.

Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Friday Mrs. Clinton was continuing to meet and talk with New Yorkers; other associates say she may not decide until late summer or early fall.

Silver said Friday that timetable would still give her plenty of opportunities to raise the needed cash for a campaign.

"She's magic. She's a terrific candidate," Silver, from Manhattan, said.

Silver said he and Mrs. Clinton discussed the New York political geography and issues over coffee. He said he urged her to "seriously consider running."

Silver, an Orthodox Jew, said he had also asked Mrs. Clinton about statements attributed to her advocating an independent Palestinian state. He said Mrs. Clinton

had clarified on Friday that the statements were made after conversations with the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"It's an issue that needs clarification as to what her position is. I've heard her position. I respect that and I understand the context in which it was made," Silver said.

Jewish voters are a crucial block in any New York race and Mrs. Clinton's most likely Senate race rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, has already attacked her remarks as seemingly pro-Palestinian.

Hope, an Arkansas native, has been one of the primary boosters of a Clinton candidacy. She met with the first lady late Friday afternoon.

"Judith had a very productive meeting with the first lady. While there were no new developments, the process of making a careful educated and an informed decision is continuing," said Matthew Hiltzik, a spokesman for the state Democratic Committee.

Mrs. Clinton has already held White House meetings with Moynihan and Sen. Charles Schumer.

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DUTCHESS EDITION)KINGSTON, NY
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Top Dems, first lady meet about Senate run

WASHINGTON (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton kept talk of her could-be Senate candidacy alive on Friday, huddling in the White House with the New York Legislature's top Democrat and the state's party chief.

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and state Party Chairwoman Judith Hope joined



Clinton

the swelling ranks of New York Democrats journeying to Washington to meet with the first lady about a possible Senate bid.

"I'd say she's very interested. That's what I'd say," Silver said after a more than one-hour meeting with Mrs. Clinton.

Former Clinton administration advisers Harold Ickes and Mandy Grunwald also breezed into the White House early Friday afternoon for a meeting with the first lady. Both are allies of Mrs. Clinton's with strong connections to New York.

Asked about a possible Senate

race, a smiling Ickes said, "I don't know anything about it."

Mrs. Clinton has still not said whether she will run for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But she is apparently considering forming an exploratory committee that would cover any costs of her decision-making and allow her to avoid questions of impropriety in fund raising.

Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Friday Mrs. Clinton was continuing to meet and talk with New Yorkers; other associates say she may not decide until late

summer or early fall.



Silver

Silver said Friday that timetable would still give her plenty of opportunities to raise the needed cash for a campaign.

Silver said he and Mrs. Clinton discussed the New York political geography and issues over coffee. He said he urged her to "seriously consider running."

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26 April 1999

NEW SET

IGNOR PRIOR FAX

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

Cc Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

From Harold Ickes (u)

Re New York City School system

Randy Greenwald 338-7554

Tom Friedman 452-7491

FAX DATE: _____

TO: _____

FAX #: _____
FROM: **ICKES OR ENRIGHT**
202-887-6726
PAGES: 13 14
15

Attached are the very recent news clips about Giuliani's proposal to abolish the NYC Board of Education. I expect to talk with Randi Weingarten tonight or tomorrow about her position.

As I told you, Speaker Silver's person called me today saying she did not understand why NYC Council speaker Vallone was siding with Giuliani on this issue. Apparently some feel that Giuliani is proposing the elimination of the Board in order to either draw attention away from his controversial voucher proposal or to prompt the voucher proposal. There are also those who think that Silver is against the Giuliani proposal because the United Federation of Teachers is against it.

Vallone's people also called me today to say that, for years, Vallone has advocated the elimination of the Board, and the fact that Giuliani is in favor of elimination the Board is no reason not to join ranks on this issue.

Randi Weingarten, in yesterday's NY Times (article attached), called Giuliani's proposal a "diversionary tactic" and criticized him for not concentrating on educational policies that would improve the lives of students, including reducing class sizes, improving teacher training, building new schools and reassign academic standards.

The First Lady

4.26.99

As we discussed, this issue of control of the public schools in NYC is very divisive, and has its "modern" roots in the decentralization movement of the 1960s, which came to pit Blacks and Puerto Ricans against the primarily Jewish teaching and other professionals. That fight very much "colored" the politics of NYC and still is a potential force with much destructive power barely below the surface of the City's politics.

Given the recent Diallo issue, this proposal by Giuliani may well increase racial tensions and acrimony in the City.

You need to proceed very cautiously in this area.

THE NEW YORK TIMES METRO SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1999

Giuliani and Vallone Pursue Law To Abolish Board of Education

By DAN BARRY

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After years of criticizing the Board of Education from separate corners in City Hall, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and City Council Speaker Peter F. Vallone have agreed to pursue legislation that would abolish the board and replace it with a system more beholden to the Mayor and the Council, representatives of both sides said yesterday.

They have not yet ironed out the details of a specific proposal, but are looking at various options, including systems already in place in Chicago and Detroit. But Anthony P. Coles, a senior adviser to the Mayor, said Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone agreed that any new system would probably include a commissioner of education, appointed by the Mayor with the advice and the consent of the City Council.

Mr. Coles said that Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew would be the Mayor's first choice for commissioner. A spokeswoman for Dr. Crew said yesterday that the Chancellor's office was unaware of the plan by Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone.

The consensus in City Hall hardly insures that the plan from Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone will receive the approval it needs from the State Legislature. Although both sides said that they had the general support of Governor George E. Pataki, they acknowledged that they would have a difficult time convincing the Democratic-controlled Assembly of the merit of their plan.

Pat Lynch, a spokeswoman for Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, who is not an ally of either the Mayor

or the Speaker — confirmed yesterday that Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone had reason for concern, saying that the Assembly was predisposed against any plan to give the Mayor control of the school board.

"It doesn't matter who is sitting in City Hall," Ms. Lynch said. "It is just a philosophical approach to education. It should be an independent school board."

There is another political dynamic at play for the two proponents, both of whom are prohibited by law from seeking re-election to their current positions. Mayor Giuliani is leaning toward running for the United States Senate in 2000, and Mr. Vallone is contemplating a run for the Mayor's office in 2001. By pushing the joint

legislation, they could minimize any criticism they might receive for a system that is plagued by poor student test scores, overcrowded schools and a crumbling infrastructure.

The Board of Education is a semi-autonomous body that oversees the education of the 1.1 million children in more than 1,100 schools throughout the city. Its seven members in-

clude two mayoral appointees and a representative from each of the city's five boroughs. Its Chancellor is appointed by the board, but mayors, including Mr. Giuliani, have traditionally played a significant role in the selection.

Although Mr. Giuliani has often been careful not to criticize Dr. Crew, whose hiring the Mayor helped arrange in 1995, he has not minced words in criticizing the school system overall. He has portrayed it as a "job protection" operation, in which board members poorly serve schoolchildren by fighting for the interests of their individual boroughs. The Mayor argues that there is insufficient accountability in the system and that tenure gives principals no incentive to improve student performance.

During his budget address on Thursday, Mr. Giuliani went so far as to suggest that the entire school system be "blown up," a statement that disturbed Dr. Crew, who read it as a comment on his own performance, and angered Steven Sanders, the chairman of the State Assembly's education committee, who said it was "inappropriate and offensive."

Mr. Vallone — who, like the Mayor, called for an overhaul of the Board of Education during his State of the City address in January — took issue with some of the Mayor's budget proposals on Thursday, but he made a point of saying that he shared Mr. Giuliani's disgust with the school system.

"Anyone with an objective approach has to come back with the answer that this board, as presently structured, does not respond to the needs of children," Mr. Vallone said yesterday. He echoed Mr. Giuliani's complaint that board members too often allocate money by the geographies of their boroughs, rather than by where the most children with the greatest needs are.

Mr. Vallone said that his aides and those of the Mayor have been working on the language of the legislation for the last few weeks. He provided a rough outline that would call for a commissioner, appointed by the Mayor with the consent of the Coun-

cil, as well as a deputy commissioner in each borough to insure "local input." Mr. Coles, however, suggested that the new system might be similar to a corporate structure, with a chief executive officer and a board.

Neither Mr. Vallone nor Mr. Coles provided other specifics, choosing instead to express their excitement over what they clearly considered to be a bold proposal. They both said that the backing of the Mayor and the Council should give the legislation the necessary gravity to earn the support of state legislators.

"That would have a significant amount of influence in Albany and send a clear message," Mr. Coles said. Nevertheless, he added, the fight might last several years.

If the Mayor and the Council succeeded, they would not be the first to secure stronger mayoral control over a city's school board. Last

Although two men in City Hall agree, the Legislature may not.

month, the Michigan Legislature approved a plan to replace Detroit's elected school board with a panel that includes six mayoral appointees and a superintendent appointed by the governor.

And in 1995, the Illinois Legislature gave Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago the right to appoint a five-member corporate board and a chief executive officer to oversee that city's school system. Last year, in fact, Mr. Giuliani met with school officials in Chicago to discuss the new system.

But political reality — and recent history — in New York suggests that city officials face a hard sell in Albany.

First, the teachers union, which is very influential with the Legislature, has traditionally favored the status quo; the union works well with the seven-member Board of Education and therefore is not likely to support its abolition.

Randi Weingarten, president of the union, the United Federation of

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City Hall Accord Would End School Board

Continued From Page A1

Teachers, did not return telephone calls requesting comment.

Second, there is partisan politics. Why, politicians in Albany ask, would Mr. Silver hand Mr. Giuliani a victory that the Mayor could use if he runs for the Senate?

Third, there are the memories of 1996, when the Legislature approved a plan that curtailed school decentralization in New York City by taking away the hiring powers of the city's 32 community school boards, which had become patronage operations, and broadening the powers of the Schools Chancellor. But the measure came only after years of partisan squabbling, and despite complaints that it was robbing communities of local input into the education of their children.

And yesterday, a spokesman for State Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno seemed to suggest that the Republican-controlled Senate shared the apparent reluctance of the Assembly to revisit questions of control in the city's school system.

"We have always been cautious about total elimination of the board and have pursued other reforms," said the spokesman, John McArdle. "We have always taken a more cautious approach about total mayoral control."

The spokesmen for both Senate Majority Leader Bruno and Assembly Speaker Silver said that they were unaware that City Hall was drafting legislation to overhaul the city's school system.

Lately, Dr. Crew has not responded well to the Mayor's comments, including those delivered during Thursday's budget address. Instead, he expressed displeasure with the Mayor's reference to "blowing up" the system, his refusal to release \$6 billion in capital funds to the board, and his decision to press forward with a school voucher plan, over which the Chancellor had previously threatened to resign.

When asked whether the Chancellor and his aides had heard of the joint legislative effort by the Mayor and the Speaker, Dr. Crew's spokeswoman, Chiara Coletti, paused before answering.

"No," she said. "We have not heard that."

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Rudy: Don't Blame Me For Schools

By Dan Janison
STAFF WRITER

Shifting tacks on school governance as he eyes a U.S. Senate run, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said yesterday he can't be held accountable for the state of the city's public schools.

As a result, Giuliani is tactically distancing himself from a school system plagued by many of the same troubles — from overcrowding to poor test scores — that he inherited when he became mayor more than five years ago.

"A mayor can honestly say if it [the system] is falling apart. You can't hold me accountable for it because you don't give me enough control of it in order to really affect it," Giuliani said, repeating his argument for direct mayoral control of the Board of Education.

The mayor's remarks in lower Manhattan yesterday followed his call last week for a program popular with Republicans: a voucher plan that would subsidize private and parochial schools. He also revised his 1993 call for state legislation abolishing the board.

"I think independence sounds good, but independence has become unaccountability," he argued, saying future mayors could change the system only with the board's breakup.

Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew, whose alliance with Giuliani has publicly frayed in recent months on the voucher issue, said Saturday he would leave the job if the board were "blown up," the words used by the mayor last week.

But Crew spokeswoman Chiara Coletti added yesterday that since Crew "knows" the measure won't be enacted, "he's not the least bit concerned about being pressured to leave."

Past calls for the board's breakup — which long preceded Giuliani's tenure as mayor — have gone nowhere in the state Legislature. And Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan), who along with the mayor attended a ceremony yesterday to rename West Side Highway after the late Yankee slugger Joe DiMaggio — didn't signal he would support legislation now.

"We prefer to be concerned about children — the education of children — and we don't want to make their education a political football," Silver said yesterday. Having mayors appoint education commissioners would "lack continuity," he said.

Silver, who is expected to meet with Giuliani later this week, nonetheless added, "There are reforms necessary. There's no question about it."

Despite Silver's resistance, Giuliani claimed yesterday that "one of the major changes now is that the speaker of the City Council, Peter Vallone, is now in favor" of replacing the board with a commissioner appointed out of City Hall.

Vallone (D-Astoria) could not be reached for comment yesterday. But the speaker has not been a fan of the board's structure either.

The bill's future could be clouded by what is known to be a chilly relationship between Vallone and Silver, who is one of three state officials empowered to block legislation. For example, Silver did not support Vallone's bid for governor in last year's Democratic primary.

One insider who declined to be identified yesterday theorized that both Vallone — who is considering running for mayor in 2001 — and Giuliani want to insulate themselves against bad news coming out of the schools by making clear they don't run them.

Giuliani's latest drive to kill the board marks another in a long series of political shifts on education.

In August, 1993, Giuliani first called for replacing the Board of Education, but with separate borough boards instead. At the time, Mayor David Dinkins also said he wanted control of the public schools.

But in 1996, at the mayor's urging, both legislative houses and Gov. George Pataki gave the chancellor more power over the city's 32 community school districts.

The following year, as he ran for re-election and was faulted in polls for the state of city schools, Giuliani reversed two years of heavy budget cuts, acknowledging the need to reduce class size, renovate schools and build more classrooms.

Giuliani said his confidence in Crew had created the turnaround.

NEWSDAY MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1999

Quell

Crew threatens to quit

By MICHAEL O. ALLEN
and DAVE SALTONSTALL
Daily News Staff Writers

Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew said he would resign if a new plan aimed at bringing the Board of Education under tighter control of the mayor and the City Council were passed in Albany.

If it happens, Crew said yesterday, "I'm gone . . . I'm going salmon fishing."

"I don't frankly think any of this is going anywhere," Crew said of the plan, hatched in recent weeks by Mayor Giuliani and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, and unveiled by both men yesterday.

The proposal, still being hashed out, would abolish the Board of Education and replace it with an education commissioner, who would be chosen by the mayor and approved by the City Council.

Raps plan to abolish board

Five borough-based, deputy commissioners also would be named to replace the city's 32 local school districts.

The plan would require the approval of the state Assembly, which as recently as 1995 — and with Crew's urging — changed the Board of Education's governance in a way that gave more authority to the system's chancellor.

Crew stressed yesterday that he would not want to work under any plan that tied his job to the whims of any mayor. As it is, the chancellor is appointed by the seven-member Board of Education.

"I don't want to work in a dependent environment where I am subject to the ebb and flow of one party's ideas," Crew

said. "You would have no independence [as chancellor]. Your role would be minimized as a leader, and maximized as a talking head."

Both Giuliani and Vallone yesterday defended their plan as a long overdue and politically viable step toward streamlining the Board of Education and funneling more money to children and teachers, rather than bureaucrats.

"The Board of Education, which is supposed to be educating our kids, is not doing the job," said Vallone, who has established a committee to run for mayor in 2001. "You have an \$11 billion budget which still doesn't get enough money to the schools to edu-

cate our children."

Added Giuliani, who is himself eying a Senate bid: "Most people that are not connected to one special interest or another believe that the Board of Education is an anachronism, that it doesn't work well and that we need a more direct, more accountable system."

Giuliani insisted the plan would be supported by the state Senate and by Gov. Pataki. But Assembly insiders, as well as the head of the city teachers union, yesterday made it clear that the proposal would face stiff resistance.

"I think it is a nonstarter at the moment," said Randi Weingarten, head of the United Federation of Teachers. "But I also never underesti-

mate the mayor."

A spokeswoman for state Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-N.Y.) also made it clear yesterday that any proposal which diluted the independence of the board would be looked upon with suspicion.

"Philosophically, we believe that the Board of Ed should be an independent body," said Silver spokeswoman Pat Lynch. "And it doesn't matter who is sitting in City Hall."

Many others dismissed the Vallone-Giuliani plan as campaign politics, a way to make them look like aggressive educational reformists. Crew noted that even though he spoke with both men earlier this week, neither mentioned the plan.

"To be taken seriously," Crew said, "I would think you would want to have a conversation with me."

NEW YORK POST, SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1999

Schools boss: I'll fight mayor's plan to can Board of Education

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew said yesterday a plan by Mayor Giuliani and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone to abolish the Board of Education would reduce him to a "talking head."

Crew, who has recently been at odds with Giuliani over school vouchers, came out swinging against a push by Giuliani and Vallone to dump the Board of Ed and most likely replace it with a schools commissioner who would report directly to the mayor.

Giuliani has said Crew would be his first choice for that post — but the chancellor said he wants no part of it.

"I wouldn't want to work under that kind of a system where you're basically being asked to be a talking head for somebody else," Crew said.

"I need to have my sense of autonomy. And I would not view as appealing... any kind of environment where someone else does the thinking and all I do is sort of parrot it."

Crew said he wants to



RUDY CREW
"I need autonomy."

make the system more accountable, and would be open to finding a new model for the board — but not this way.

"It essentially would convert [the school system] into a mayoral agency," he said, charging it would "politicize" the education system. He said he hasn't been a part of the Vallone-Giuliani talks.

Board of Ed president



PETER VALLONE
Speaker backs Giuliani.

Bill Thompson also blasted the plan, calling it political.

Vallone, who's eyeing a run for mayor in 2001, and Giuliani, who's flirting with the 2000 Senate race, started working on the plan in January, after both said in State of the City addresses that the Board of Ed needs to go.

The details are murky, but both Vallone and Giuliani said they're inter-

ested in having a schools commissioner appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the City Council.

Vallone and Giuliani said Gov. Pataki likes their plan. A Pataki spokesman did not return calls seeking comment.

Vallone said he and Giuliani hope to have legislation drafted by the end of the year. Such a bill would face an uphill battle in Albany, where the Democrat-controlled Assembly will probably knock it down before it reaches the Senate.

Pat Lynch, a spokeswoman for Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, said: "We've always believed strongly there should be an independent Board of Education."

Marcia White, a spokeswoman for State Senate Majority Leader Joe Bruno, a Republican, said the senator would be open to listening to the plan, but said she wasn't aware that he knew about it.

Albany Budget Clock Runs Down for City Schools

Chalk up a direct verbal hit for city schools Chancellor Rudy Crew as the public debate over vouchers grows increasingly rancorous. Won't public schools get better, Crew was asked last week, if they are forced to compete for students with private schools? And won't this competition bring some business-world discipline to the public-school bureaucracy?

Crew's answer: He would love to run the schools like a business. But how can that be possible when Albany — a major school-funding source — has missed its April 1 budget deadline for 15 years? What corporate honcho would put up with that sort of craziness?

Please understand, we still think a voucher

program targeted to poor urban pupils would help break the system's resistance to reform. But education administrators shouldn't take all the heat for failed urban school systems. The state's political system is culpable, too.

The state, for example, usually comes up with about 43 percent of New York City's public-school budget, an amount that should weigh in at about \$4.47 billion this year. When the money is late and the amounts unsettled, Crew and his people don't know how many teachers they can hire. And they are hard-pressed to meet June deadlines for financial allocations to the city's 32 districts.

But that's not the worst of the shambles that

a lardy Albany creates. Much of the state's money comes with strings attached for specific programs. So, right now, school officials are wondering if a \$30-million reading program will be folded into another package or whether it will survive as before. If it changes, what new conditions will the State Legislature attach? And can a system of 1.1-million students, 68,000 teachers and 1,100 schools make the necessary changes by the start of school in September? It's madness.

This should be the public's mandate for Crew: Make your schools competitive, or else. But why does a doddering Albany make him work with one hand tied behind his back?

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1999

CLASS WARFARE

GIULIANI: NEXT MAYOR
MUST FIX SCHOOL MESS

By TOM TOPOLIS

Barred from running for another term, Mayor Giuliani yesterday said education reform should be the central issue in the next mayoral election — just as he made crime the focus of his campaign.

Giuliani, facing term limits, has revived his earlier effort to dismantle the city's Board of Education. The sweeping proposal would replace the board and chancellor with a schools commissioner appointed by the mayor.

"When I campaigned for mayor in 1993, I made the key to my campaign reducing crime and improving the quality of life of New Yorkers," said Giuliani. "I think I fulfilled most of my promises and certainly the core promise that I made to the people of the city."

Giuliani has teamed up with City Council Speaker Peter Vallone to draft state legislation that would redraw the way schools are run. Vallone in January had made education reform part of his State of the

Says board will
be top city issue

City speech

Both Giuliani and Vallone have made similar proposals in the past. A bill drafted by Giuliani four years ago never made it out of committee in the state Legislature, which must approve any changes to the Board of Education.

Like Giuliani, Vallone is facing term limits, and he's actively eyeing a run for mayor in 2001. Giuliani is moving closer to a Senate bid. In speeches to Republicans around the nation, he has pitched his call for education reform and school choice.

"I think the next mayor could campaign on the grounds that they're going to change the educational system and make it a lot better," said Giuliani.

Ironically, the system allowed Giuliani to deflect criticism over his education record during the 1997 mayoral campaign, when challenger Ruth Messinger

made schools and crowded classrooms one of her top issues.

The reform proposal is more likely to gain the support of Gov. Pataki and the Republican-controlled Senate. But it faces its biggest challenge among Democrats in the Assembly, where Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) has vowed to kill the measure.

"We don't want to make their education a political football," Silver said yesterday of the city's 1.1 million public-school students.

The proposal, including a schools commissioner named by the mayor, "would lack continuity" with the changes in administrations at City Hall, said Silver. "We want education out of the political atmosphere."

Chancellor Rudy Crew, who vehemently opposes the changes, gave the latest call for reform little chance of passing.

"He doesn't believe it's a realistic proposal and he doesn't believe it's ever going to happen," said spokeswoman Chiara Colletti.

Giuliani to Crew: You're not my target

By LISA REIN

Daily News Staff Writer

The rhetoric between Mayor Giuliani and Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew heated up yesterday.

A day after Crew threatened to quit if the Board of Education is scrapped, Giuliani said the chancellor was taking the debate too "personally."

"I know that the chancellor takes this personally," Giuliani said. "I really wish that he wouldn't."

A Crew aide shot back that the mayor is playing politics, putting his Senate aspirations ahead of school reform.

"Despite the nobility of the priority, the strategies around it are very superficial and very politically expedient rather than deeply reformist," board spokeswoman Chiara Coletti said of Giuliani's suggestion the board be junked and cash vouchers be given for parents to send kids to private schools.

With his usually warm relationship with the popular schools chief apparently worsening, Giuliani continued to push his vision for education.

He's enlisted the support of City Council Speaker Peter Vallone (D-Queens) to bring the Board of Education under control of the mayor and the Council.

Crew strongly opposes the move and school vouchers.

Responding to suggestions his reform ideas play well as campaign issues, Giuliani noted that several years ago, he proposed replacing the Board of Education with a mayor-picked education commissioner — but the plan went nowhere.

"This is nothing that I haven't said to [Crew]. It's nothing that I haven't said to everyone," the mayor said.

"The chancellor is doing the very best you can do with a system that doesn't work."

Giuliani predicted that reforming the school system would be the key issue in the race to succeed him in 2001.

And with the school system beholden to City Hall, the next mayor could be "held accountable" for the performance of the schools.

Monday, April 26, 1999

DAILY NEWS

Rudys go from alliance to defiance

By TOM TOPOUSIS

By declaring an all-out war on the Board of Education, Mayor Giuliani appears willing to jettison one of his closest allies — Chancellor Rudy Crew.

Giuliani, positioning himself for a likely Senate run next year, has eagerly embraced GOP education policies.

First came vouchers. Then over the weekend there was news of Giuliani's plan to ask state lawmakers to ditch the entire Board of Education and replace it with a schools commissioner appointed by the mayor.

Yesterday, Giuliani continued to turn up the heat on the board, describing it as "an unaccountable morass of people" and a "dysfunctional system."

"It's fair to say the chancellor believes he and the mayor have been partners in education reform in the public school system. He believes they were partners right up until practically the present," said Crew's spokeswoman Chiara Coletti.

"He has expressed his sadness that the mayor seems to be washing his hands now and saying the system is hopeless," said Coletti.

When the mayor first proposed using tax dollars to pay for private schooling, Crew threatened to quit until a hasty truce was called 10 days later.

But that didn't stop Giuliani from launching a retooled version of the voucher plan last week. While Crew argued bitterly against, Giuliani was in Washington collecting endorsements from Republican senators and meeting party donors.

ANALYSIS

Just a few months ago, Giuliani and Crew were standing together in defiance over Gov. Pataki's call for a Moreland Act Commission to investigate the city schools.

Now, Crew says he isn't being

told of some of the mayor's major policy initiatives that his spokeswoman is describing as "radically different beliefs about education."

Giuliani, after railing at the Board of Education, said, "I know that the chancellor takes this personally. I really wish that he wouldn't."

Giuliani Defends Proposal To Disband School Board

NYT 4-25-99

Chancellor Warns of Political Interference

By DAVID M. KERSZENTHORN

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani vowed yesterday to forge ahead with his proposal to abolish the Board of Education in the face of resistance from the State Legislature, describing the plan as an "altruistic" effort to eliminate a bureaucracy that hampers the instruction of children and ultimately benefit future city leaders.

But the Schools Chancellor, Rudy Crew, who was not informed of the plan until it became public on Friday, said he would oppose the proposal, which would make the school system more beholden to City Hall. Dr. Crew called it "an overly simplistic model" that would make the educational system a victim to "the political ebb and flow of things."

The Mayor and City Council Speaker, Peter F. Vallone, who have both been critical of the school board, are pursuing legislation that would disband the Board of Education and replace it with commissioners appointed by the Mayor in conjunction with the City Council.

Dr. Crew said he believed that the board should be restructured. But, he said, he favored "a more corporate body" that would retain a degree of independence from elected officials and politics.

"When somebody else is doing the educational thinking and all you are is a puppet, that would never work for me," Mr. Crew said in a long interview in which he expressed frustration with the politics of New York and Albany. Politics, he said, often deter, rather than encourage, educators. "Not in a million years would I work in an environment like that," he said.

Mr. Giuliani, speaking at a news conference yesterday morning, championed his proposal as an effort to give the Mayor enough control of the city's school system so as to be truly accountable to voters on education issues.

And he said disbanding the Board of Education, which currently has one member appointed by each of the borough presidents and two members appointed by the Mayor, would speed school reforms.

"It would mean that you could bring about the changes much more quickly," Mr. Giuliani said. "You wouldn't have this large tremendous layer of bureaucracy and boards to

work through. You could take each one of the schools, you could give each one a budget, you could hold them accountable for the spending of that money. You could do for principals what the Police Department does with precinct commanders."

Criticism of the plan came from others besides Dr. Crew yesterday. The Queens Borough President, Claire Shulman, expressed support for an independent school system that would not be subject to change in the wake of every mayoral election. "You never know who is going to be elected in the future," Mrs. Shulman said.

William Thompson, the president of the Board, criticized the plan saying it would completely politicize public education in New York City. "I absolutely believe in an independent Board of Education," he said. "I

think it creates a certain buffer and allows people to focus on education and not have to deal with politics directly."

Randi Weingarten, the president of the United Federation of Teachers, called the proposal a "diversionary tactic" by the Mayor and criticized him for not concentrating on educational policies that would improve the lives of students, including reducing class sizes, improving teacher training, building new schools and raising academic standards.

Mr. Giuliani, a Republican who is considering running for Senate next year, and Mr. Vallone, a Democrat considering a run for Mayor in 2002, said they have the support of Gov. George E. Pataki in their joint effort on state legislation to abolish the school board. Mr. Giuliani said that he expected the greatest opposition to come from the State Assembly, which is controlled by the Democrats.

But the Mayor said he would not be deterred and that enough support could be generated in the city to force the Legislature's hand.

"My sense is that the Legislature will resist it," he said. "But if I stopped pushing for reforms that the Legislature resisted, New York City would be exactly the same way that it was six years ago."

Referring to Yogi Berra, he said: "This is almost in the words of my hero, who I had the honor of sitting

with yesterday at the Joe DiMaggio memorial: 'This is déjà vu all over again.'"

The Mayor made it clear that both he and the Speaker saw the proposal

In the pursuit of education reform, divergent opinions on restructuring management.

as something that they could leave behind for future city leaders. (Both Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Vallone are precluded from seeking additional terms in their current positions.)

"Every single reform that I have made — when I write my book there will be a whole chapter about this — but every single reform that we have made has been met with all of the people who were exalting failure in the past trying to resist it."

With reporters at his news conference focused almost completely on the education plan, Mr. Giuliani sought to elaborate his position.

"I am talking about the central Board of Education," he said. "We don't need that board anymore. And the 32 other local school boards, the people of this city have told us they don't want them anymore, since, when we have elections, only 5 percent of the people show up to vote, which leaves tremendous room for mismanagement, corruption and everything else."

But Chancellor Crew said he believed that the educational system had to retain independence from city government and that in terms of restructuring the board, he would advocate as few political entanglements as possible. And he said educational issues had to be addressed before the structural question of who controls the board.

"We have to be more competitive," he said. "We have to produce predictable, high quality results in terms of kids' ability to read and write and do mathematical calculations, in terms of science and the arts. There is no lack of clarity about this. The question becomes what's the best government structure under which to do that. I would argue that this is one that depoliticizes the issues and forces compromise out of a clear demonstrable understanding of the issues."

1/82

Dr. Crew said he agreed with the Mayor's assertion that Board of Education members' allegiance to their home boroughs is a constant obstacle to educational improvements. He said he would prefer "a more corporate body" akin to a university's board, in which members are appointed because of their expertise in a range of areas, including finance, health issues and marketing.

Dr. Crew suggested that the school system be led by a chief executive who would report to the board at quarterly meetings, rather than twice monthly. "In the final analysis, one person has to drive" the system, he said. "And it can't be a function of some split loyalty of politics to education."

Dr. Crew criticized the Mayor and the Speaker for not including him and other educators in the process of writing the legislation for the creation of a new school system. "This is being crafted by politicians," he said. "But how it will impact a kid who is taking the fourth-grade test, in terms of what they need — that's not woven into this conversation at this point in time."

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4.22.99

TO: HRC

Melanne Vaneer

456-6244

Flanka Berry

456-7800

Patti Sals Dwyer

456-5340

From: Ickes

FAX DATE: 4.22.99

Re: A newspaper culture poll

TO: ~~IC~~ HRC

So much for polls!

FAX #:

FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT

202-887-6726

PAGES: 5

Hated

Also attached is the line up of speakers

for the evening JS in NY -

I don't suggest any changes, otherwise it
will be blamed on HRC -

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Thu April 22, 1999 09:45 EDT

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Pollster: Hillary visit may have stopped poll slide

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) _ Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign-style foray into New York this week may have halted a slide in her poll numbers, an independent pollster said today.

"First lady Hillary Clinton comes barnstorming through New York, the media provides extensive coverage and it breathes new life into those poll numbers," Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute said.

The latest statewide Quinnipiac poll, released today, had Mrs. Clinton favored by 49 percent of voters questioned to 41 percent for New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a possible matchup for next year's Senate race in New York. Both are considering the race.

The poll, conducted in part during Mrs. Clinton's event-crammed visit Monday and Tuesday to New York City and Long Island, did appear to halt a downward trend in her numbers.

A Quinnipiac poll released Feb. 23, a week after the first lady first said she was considering the race for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, had Mrs. Clinton leading the Republican mayor, 54 percent to 36 percent. A March 23 Quinnipiac poll showed her still leading Giuliani, but only by 50 percent to 39 percent. A follow-up poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based institute released a week ago, had Mrs. Clinton at 47 percent and Giuliani at 42 percent.

The latest telephone poll of 1,128 registered voters was conducted April 14-20 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Mrs. Clinton was expected in Niagara Falls today to deliver a speech to the politically powerful New York State United Teachers union's annual convention.

Education

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First lady to address school violence; attend party dinner

SHANNON McCAFFREY

Associated Press Writer

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton resumed her campaign-style barnstorming through New York on Thursday, planning a speech to the state's largest teachers' union on the timely topic of school violence.

And, in a change of plans that could signal a stepped-up interest in the New York Senate race, Mrs. Clinton will now attend a major state Democratic Party fund-raising dinner next week in New York City.

"Her schedule cleared up and now she's going," Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman Marsha Berry said.

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

Word of Mrs. Clinton's change in plans came as she prepared to head for Niagara Falls and a speech to the politically powerful New York State United Teachers' annual convention.

Berry said the first lady felt the need to talk about school violence in the wake of the deadly shooting Tuesday at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo. that left 15 dead. Berry said the first lady was deeply troubled by the event.

Some 4,000 teachers were expected at the convention in the "Honeymoon Capital of the World." Attendance is always high at the convention but has received a boost due to Mrs. Clinton's appearance.

The Niagara Falls stop comes after a whirlwind of campaign-style appearances by the first lady on Monday and Tuesday in New York City and on Long Island, where she toured schools and parks and headlined fund raisers.

Mrs. Clinton comes to Niagara Falls as anti-abortion protesters continued a week-long vigil in nearby Buffalo. The clinic of slain abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian, fatally shot by a sniper at his suburban home last fall, was among those being picketed by protesters.

A handful of demonstrators were expected to travel to Niagara Falls to protest Mrs. Clinton's appearance. She supports abortion rights.

Mrs. Clinton's jam-packed schedule earlier this week seemed to breathe life into what had been sagging poll numbers. In a Quinnipiac College survey released Thursday, Mrs. Clinton was favored by 49 percent of voters questioned to 41 percent for New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential Republican opponent.

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

Bjt

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New York State
Democratic
Committee

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Fax number: 202-223-0358

From: Judith Hope
State Chair

Our phone: (212) 725-8825

Our fax: (212) 725-8867

of pages including cover page: 2

Harold,

Enclosed is a suggested program for the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner next Thursday, April 29th. Let me know what you think. We can simplify it down to two or three speakers, if you think that's best. NO ONE HAS BEEN ASSIGNED ANY ROLE AS OF YET.

If she is coming, I need to let Marc Humbert know before it gets out into the general press, or he will be really pissed.

Thanks,
Judith

Tentative Program For Jefferson-Jackson State Committee Dinner

6:00 PM Founders Committee private reception begins

6:30 PM General Reception begins

7:15 PM Guests asked to take their seats

7:30 PM Reverend James Forbes of Riverside Church gives invocation and brief remarks

Off stage mike introduces Executive Chair Mike Schell
Mike welcomes guests and introduces Judith Hope

Judith Hope makes acknowledgements and introduces Event Chair Mel Weiss

Mel Weiss introduces Attorney General Eliot Spitzer
Eliot Spitzer gives remarks

Judith makes acknowledgments and introduces Charles Rangel
Congressman Rangel gives remarks

Judith Hope presents Mayor David Dinkins with his award
Mayor Dinkins gives remarks

Judith Hope introduces Sheldon Silver

Sheldon Silver introduces Nita Lowey

Nita Lowey gives remarks and introduces First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

First Lady gives remarks

Judith Hope closes program

8:15 PM Dinner is served

THIS PIECE CAN BE MOVED
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EVERYTHING ELSE IS EXPENDABLE.

The Ickes & Enright Group

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21 April 1999

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Memorandum to

✓ The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

✓ Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

✓ Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

Maggie Williams
By fax 011-331-4764-9560

Diane Blair
By fax 501-521-8373

Susan Thomases
By fax 212-327-4327

✓ Mandy Grunwald
By fax 202-338-7554

From

Harold Ickes

Re

1. AP story of 4.19.99 by Mark Hamblett (2 pages)
2. AP story of 4.20.99 by Betty Hampton (2 pages)
3. Lambaugh This is a Bad Day for Hellany 4.20.99 (3 pages)
4. NYTimes 4.20.99 re protests in Buffalo (1 page)
5. Article of 4.17.99 from The Advocate by Paul Schindler (5 p)

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Mon April 19, 1999 13:48 EDT

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Poll: Majority say Hillary Clinton shouldn't run

MARC HUMBERT

AP Political Writer

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) _ In a sign New York voters may be cooling to the idea of a Hillary Rodham Clinton candidacy, a majority now think the first lady should not run for the Senate next year, a statewide poll reported Monday.

Two months ago, barely more than a third said she shouldn't run.

The latest poll from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found that 52 percent of voters said Mrs. Clinton should not seek the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, up from 37 percent in Marist's February poll. Forty-two percent of voters in the latest poll said she should run, down from 56 percent in February.

In the new poll, just under 50 percent of voters predicted Mrs. Clinton would go for the Senate seat, down from 64 percent in February.

The poll came as the first lady began a multi-day trip to New York that advisers have said is important as she considers the pros and cons of running for the Senate seat.

On the other side of the political aisle, there were new rumblings about tension between Republican Gov. George Pataki and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a possible GOP opponent for Mrs. Clinton in the Senate race. According to a published report, the governor's top patronage dispenser has been discouraging New York's Republican leaders from lining up behind Giuliani.

As with several other recent independent polls, the Marist poll found voter preference almost evenly split between Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani. Forty-four percent said they favored Mrs. Clinton while 43 percent opted for the Republican mayor. Both are considering the race.

A February poll from Marist had Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 49 percent to 38 percent.

Marist pollster Lee Miringoff said that after the "initial flurry and wave of speculation" about a possible run by the first lady, "clearly there's a feeling she's an outsider."

The Poughkeepsie-based pollster said occasional trips into New York like the one she began Monday wouldn't help dispel that notion.

"The fly-by campaign only heightens the fact she's not here," the pollster said.

In fact, Giuliani has already been using the carpetbagger issue against Mrs. Clinton, noting repeatedly that she has never lived in New York. The Marist poll found that 51 percent of voters questioned expressed at least some concern that Mrs. Clinton wasn't from New York.

"No one said this was going to be a cake walk," New York Sen. Charles Schumer, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton, said during a Monday morning stop with the first lady in New York City. "This is going to be a tough, tough race, but I think as the voters get to know her she'll do better and better."

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- NV
- NB
- NW
- PS
- SPT
- MC

Schumer said Mrs. Clinton was still "in a period of introspection. She's thinking about whether this is the right choice to make."

Marist's telephone poll of 512 registered voters was conducted last Tuesday and Wednesday and has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. (S" S" S" < (1Normal.ThisDocument @d

✓ On the Giuliani-Pataki front, the governor's appointments director, Thomas Doherty, told the New York Post that the mayor's 1994 decision to cross party lines and back then-Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo against Pataki "still sticks in my throat." Pataki won that race.

The Post said Doherty was discouraging GOP leaders from getting behind the mayor now. Doherty grumbled to the Post that the mayor hadn't even called Pataki to talk about the Senate race.

"If you were interested in running for office in New York, and you have a leader of our party being the governor, I would think it would be natural to make a phone call out of common courtesy," Doherty told the tabloid.

While Doherty didn't respond immediately Monday to a telephone call seeking comment, Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said: "These were Tom's personal comments and we're certain that if and when the mayor decides to undertake a Senate run, that he'll inform us."

Giuliani spokeswoman Cristyne Lategano said that at a private meeting in New York City late last month, the mayor had informed Pataki of his interest in the Senate race. Lategano said that at that meeting, the mayor had also "absolutely" told Pataki he wanted the governor's support if he ran.

Bjt

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Tue April 20, 1999 10:26 EDT

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Mrs. Clinton starts 2nd day of NY road trip, examining frogs.

ll ac
nu
cs
at a**BETH J. HARPAZ**

Associated Press Writer

NEW YORK (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton for the first time explained why she's considering running for Senate in a state where she has never lived. But she refused to commit herself to becoming a candidate.

"I love New York to start with — I always have," she said Monday as she jam-packed eight events around Manhattan into a 14-hour day. "I am very interested in a lot of the issues I think will ~~continue~~ to be important for New York and America into the next century. New York is truly a microcosm of America."

She said she's always been excited by the diversity of New York, from its big cities to what she described as "rural areas that provide some of the crops you might be surprised are actually grown right here."

As for her potential candidacy for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, she would say only: "I'm obviously still considering and exploring and am very interested."

Mrs. Clinton won't decide on a Senate run before July, said her adviser Harold Ickes.

Mrs. Clinton began the second day of her New York road trip at the Village Elementary School in Syosset, examining African dwarf frogs and plant life with some third-graders.

Mrs. Clinton visited the school because it is an example of educational excellence. She has two other Long Island stops, delivering a health care speech at Hofstra University and a Long Island Women's Agenda luncheon in Woodbury — followed by appearances at New York University Law School and at a United Jewish Appeal fund-raiser.

She returns to Washington on Wednesday but comes back to New York on Thursday with stops in Niagara Falls and again on Long Island.

Her itinerary is considered part of her work as first lady and is being paid for by U.S. taxpayers.

"This is not an exploratory trip," she said. "This is a trip filled with events and occasions, some of which I agreed to do months ago."

A new poll out Monday from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion indicates that New Yorkers may be cooling to her. The telephone poll of 512 registered voters showed her and the likely Republican candidate, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, in a dead heat. Half of those polled said Mrs. Clinton should not run.

In a poll just two months ago, Mrs. Clinton led Giuliani, 49 percent to 38 percent. Each poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

"No one said it was going to be a cakewalk," said Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., who attended an event with Mrs. Clinton on Monday in Central Park. "This is going to be a tough, tough race, but I think as people get to know her, she'll do better and better."

The park event highlighted an effort to link hiking trails around the country. Mrs. Clinton was introduced to the audience by U.S. Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-Manhattan, who said: "I want to wish her all the best as she hits a

different kind of trail right here in New York state."

Mrs. Clinton started the day meeting with foundations about humanitarian aid for the Kosovar refugees, and said she intends to visit Albania and Macedonia.

She also appeared at events hosted by the Ukrainian Institute, the Jewish Child Care Association and Teachers College, where she gave a speech criticizing the use of taxpayer dollars to subsidize private school tuitions.

She ended the day at a fund-raiser for Rep. Jerry Nadler, D-N.Y., who supported President Clinton during the impeachment.

"He ... defended with great vigor, intelligence and energy the Constitution when it was in the view of many Americans being misused during the battles in the Congress, the last Congress, that took place in the Judiciary (Committee) and on the floor of the House," she said.

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Limbaugh: This is a BAD NEWS DAY for Hillary

April 20, 1999 was a banner day for talk radio coverage of Mrs. Clinton.

RFA provides the following is the transcript regarding how Rush Limbaugh treated the various news stories regarding Mrs. Clinton.

Topic: Hillary

"A new biography of Hillary Rodham Clinton. Funny! Washington Times details it today. Also, Hillary Clinton herself in New York revving up the interest in her Senate run starting to use the word 'we' while in New York to discuss her life and her campaign. Also, it is reported, ladies and gentlemen, she has been refused by a New York Co-op, a building she wanted to move into and the Co-op board said, 'No. We don't want you here. Too much attention. Too many protesters. Too much, uh, you have too high a profile.' By the way, its, it's not uncommon for celebrities, famous people, controversial people to not be approved by a New York Co-op board. It happens to a bunch of people, Madonna and all that. There are places she could get in if she wanted to, but very few.

"But it's interesting. One of the reasons given were her financials. Not just the fact that if Hillary lives there, there's going to be a constant parade of press people camped outside, photographers on the roofs of nearby buildings. All of that will happen. But they don't mention that, well, they do mention that but they don't mention it as much as her financials. Her financials are part of the problem as well. That could mean anything. It could mean she doesn't have enough, she doesn't make enough, they're worried she may not be able to make payments. I don't know what it means, but its not, it's not good when the Co-op board says your financials don't cut it."

Topic: Hillary

"First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made a marathon campaign-style swing to the Big Apple yesterday declaring, 'I Love New York.' However, a new poll suggests New Yorkers don't love her as much as they once did. Get this; this cannot be comforting news for the First Lady. A majority of New York voters, 52% now think the first lady should not run for the Senate from New York. 42% think that they, think that she should. This is the latest from the Marist College poll. It also found Mrs. Clinton has lost the 10 point lead she held in January over the, the mayor, Rudolph, 'Rudy' Giuliani. And now is virtually tied with the mayor at 43.5% to his 42.8. Yup, that's a statistical draw.

"Also, the carpetbagger issue is rising with a majority of New Yorkers. Mrs. Clinton said at the US mission to the United Nations yesterday, she was asked why, uh, why she would want to be the Senator of a state where she has never lived. She said, 'I love New York, to start with. We have everything in New York that we have in America.' Now, this is Mrs. Clinton, this is, you know, the woman who back channels with uh, with uh, Eleanor Roosevelt. Notice the use of the word 'we' here. She's never lived there. She doesn't live there now. She visits New York.

"Her quote: 'We have everything in New York that we have in America.' What does that mean? I mean, even if she were a New Yorker. Even if she'd lived there all her life, what does this mean? 'We have everything in New York that we have in America.' I mean, I, I thought that was America. You know, the thing that gets me is, about this quote, that I thought New York was America. In many people's minds, New York is America and anything outside of New York is a foreign country. But the way, I mean, you can read this to sound like, well there's America and then there's New York. This statement, I'm going to tell you, once New Yorkers stop and think about it, this is not going to go over well. And it's going to make this number, this 52% in the Marist poll who think she shouldn't run, its going to jump. 'We have everything in New York that we have in America?'

"She then continued, 'I have always been very excited about the dynamism of the people here and the real cutting-edge approach.' This is the first time, make a note, the first time she's answered any questions from the New York press corps. This is, this is, this is not the sort of stuff that a brilliantly run campaign is made of."

Topic: Hillary

"You know, this is not a good news day for the first lady. I mean, there's a mountain of news today that is just devastating for her. First, we have story of the Marist poll in New York. 52% of the American people say she shouldn't run, or 52% of the people in New York say she should not seek a Senate seat there. She is in a statistical dead heat with her supposed opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph 'Rudy' Giuliani. She has been rejected by a New York Co-op. She wanted to buy a place and the Co-op board, let me, by the way... goes on to explain the co-op system in New York City...

"... It really is, is unlike anything anywhere else. And so the news is out today that Mrs. Clinton wanted to buy an apartment in a co-op building and was rejected. And the news also is that in addition to the fact that as a public figure she would attract constant press, a lot of protesters raising hell outside her building, that her financials didn't quite meet up.

"Now, there are a lot of people today who are speculating that this is nothing more than BS, that there's nothing to it, that the whole thing is a crock. And so, as a matter of fact, I got an e-mail note from somebody that said, 'Yeah, I don't believe it. I don't believe the Co-op story for a minute.' I said, 'Well, why put it out? Why put the co-op story out?' Well, there are obvious reasons. One of the primary reasons that Mrs. Clinton would put out a phony co-op story—and by the way, no co-op is ever going to confirm or deny that it happened, so she can take liberties all she wants. Uhm, but it is a great way to build a bridge of relatability with the little people. See, even the most powerful woman in the world, even the most intelligent woman in the world runs up against obstacles that she can't overcome. Just being a powerful first lady doesn't guarantee you anything, doesn't get you anything. So, it's a way to show that, that she's just like everybody else. She was rejected by the rich. She was rejected by the elites. She was rejected by the snoot-nosed upper crust. And in this way, too, she builds that bridge of relatability to the little people.

"Uhm, another angle here, in putting out this financial story would be to gain sympathy. Oooh, Mrs. Clinton, these people. She's done so much for America. She doesn't even care for herself. She's devoted her life to charity and look it. They kicked her out of the building or wouldn't let her in because she doesn't have enough money,'—another bridge of relatability. See, Mrs. Clinton's just like you scrimping and saving, doing everything she can, paycheck to paycheck, eking out her meager existence. And then these, obviously these Republicans in this buildings, without any compassion whatsoever, just said, 'Get out of here. We don't want you.' And, so there could be some reasons why you'd put out the phony co-op story. It could very well be. I don't know, but it's possible. It's also possible that it's true, too, either way."

"Well, in addition to all of this news, the bad electoral news and then we had news yesterday that she's bent out of shape that Elizabeth Dole beat her to Kosovo. Word is out now that she saw Elizabeth Dole in Kosovo on TV. 'Why is she there? I'm supposed to be there first!' she said to her staff. So, her staff is now arranging a trip. Plus, 'Limbaugh on the radio Friday!' And I did this. I said, 'You know, Eleanor would've been there by now. We all now that Eleanor would've been there. A lot of first ladies would've been there by now.' But Hillary, nope. She's not there. Where is she? So, the pressure's been brought o bare.

"Now, there's another story on top of all this. There's a new biography coming out on Mrs. Clinton that hits the store shelves tomorrow. Or, if you don't want to mess around with the store shelves, you can simply call Amazon.com or get on-line and go to Amazon.com and get the book. It is entitled The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton and it's written by a historian named Joyce Milton. 'It has arresting moments.' The biographer, the author, 'Joyce Milton contends that the first lady hired detectives to trail her husband as early as the 1980s' because she felt that he was stepping out on her, two-timing her. This book also claims that 'it was the first lady that banned Barbra Streisand from overnight stays at the White House after hearing that Streisand had dallied with the president. The author also names a dozen other of Bill Clinton's paramours and calls Mrs. Clinton a connection for various questionable campaign donations.

"Joyce Milton said from her home in Brooklyn yesterday, 'I was surprised the entire time I was writing this book Whenever something surfaces which I thought was merely some canard set forth by the Clintons' enemies, it turned out to be true.' Uhm, this book approaches the first lady as a canny media entity who gained insight even through the death of Princess Diana. It 'crystallized Hillary's appreciation of the power of celebrity. It was Diana's face on the cover of a thousand magazines, not her resume, that had been the source of her power.'

"Mrs. Clinton is a practical kind of celebrity. She's a survivor. She saw what happened to Princess Di. She knew how she could make it happen for herself. Publisher's Weekly has called this a revealing and withering portrait. Uhm, this book, folks, there's 13 pages of footnotes. It is scrupulously documented. Campaign finance gets a thorough going-over. The author of the biography calls long-time Clinton ally John Huang 'a spy' for either the Riady family or for China. Well, we've known this. But now, here it's going to be in Hillary's biography. The author said that Huang's job at the Department of Commerce was courtesy of Mrs. Clinton herself that she set it up.

"The book offers detailed connections between Mrs. Clinton and Mark Jimenez, a campaign contributor now under indictment, the Riady family, Johnny Chung, government officials in Guam, among other places. There's a cavalcade of excruciating details about life with Bill. One of these little details is that Hillary cusses a lot. I mean, she swears like a sailor. The author said she was most disturbed by early accounts of Mrs. Clinton role-playing with the daughter Chelsea, to prepare the child for the rigors of political life.

"It's not all negative, though. There's, there's quite a lot of positive stuff in the, in the book as well. The book touches on the Monica Lewinsky matter. And she says, by the way, that January 7th, 1998, when the first couple announced the new day-care initiative, was Hillary Rodham Clinton's last truly happy day in the White House. Later concluding that the first lady must be held accountable for her bad judgment in believing her husband's private flaws did not impact on his office.

"It's a 448-page biography, sixteen chapters. The author says, 'I can't get over the fact that Hillary Clinton's greatest public feat was to help her husband lie to the rest of us.' Whew! What a cut! What a slam! That her 'greatest public accomplishment, the smartest women in the world, her greatest public, public accomplishment was to help her husband lie to the American people.

"This is not what they're going to call a good news day for the first lady. Which lie was she talking about? I assume she was the Monica Lewinsky lie, but pick a lie. I mean, the over-all behavior pattern of the White House is to lie and, uhm, the first lady here, furthered it, made it possible, made it happen.

"In the end, though, in this book, so it says, Hillary wins. Whatever her shortcomings, no one can deny that Hillary Rodham Clinton is resilient. Doubtless she will be with us, testing some new role or other long after Bill Clinton has faded from the scene. At any rate, time to take another commercial time-out."

Protests in Buffalo Continue, With Police and Media Outnumbering Abortion Opponents

By DAVID W. CHEN

AMHERST, N.Y., April 19 — Braving blustering rain and whistling winds, more than 80 abortion protesters fanned across the suburbs of Buffalo this morning in the second day of a highly publicized week of demonstrations, delivering their message at high schools, public thoroughfares and at the area's biggest bookstore, which they said was promoting child pornography.

As was the case on Sunday, there were no reports of violence or arrests, only a few tense exchanges between abortion-rights supporters and participants in Operation Save America, the series of events organized by Operation Rescue, the national anti-abortion group.

Traffic in Buffalo, not a major headache to begin with, did not suffer, either.

And with a fortified presence outside abortion clinics and other locations, police officials said that they did not expect much disorder for the balance of the week, a serene contrast to the raucousness of 1992, when more than 600 people were arrested during a series of demonstrations against abortions called the Spring of Life.

Indeed, for the first two days at least, there has been little difference

between Operation Save America and peaceful demonstrations in other cities on more mundane subjects, with people holding homemade signs, talking among their ideological brethren and waving to bonking drivers. Little difference, that is, except for the intense news media and law enforcement attention.

It was only six months ago that Dr. Barnett A. Slepian, an Amherst obstetrician and gynecologist who performed abortions, was killed in his home by a sniper in a case that made national headlines and still remains open.

So at some locations today, the protesters were outnumbered by the police, or outnumbered by television reporters doing live broadcasts, giving the whole spectacle the aura of a much-anticipated Broadway show opening to a less-than-packed house.

That may change on Tuesday, when the first of several demonstrations will be held outside the Buffalo GYN Womenservices clinic, where Dr. Slepian used to work.

For now, advocates on both sides have been content to interpret it all to their advantage. "We're happy that so many of them didn't show up," said Karen Nicholls, a 28-year-old administrative assistant from Brooklyn who is taking the week off

to participate in counterdemonstrations organized by the abortion-rights group Refuse and Resist. "This is a very small circus. A flea circus."

For abortion opponents, though, the mission of Operation Save America is not about attendance, or expectations. It is not even really about

A serene contrast, so far, to the spring of '92, when more than 600 were arrested.

abortion, they say; it is, instead, about strengthening a society weakened by immorality.

"We take a stand, and we declare this city belongs to Jesus," said Joe Hermiz, a minister who, with his wife, Tina, drove five hours from Columbus, Ohio, to participate. "I call this a spiritual war, and that's the way the Scriptures describe it."

With a grab bag of issues like abortion, child pornography, teen-

age sex and school violence, today's activities had been billed by organizers as a move to broaden their agenda. But with the exception of one large sign accusing Barnes & Noble of promoting child pornography by selling books by the photographer Jock Sturges, most of the signs, the discussion and the pamphlets during a long day of protests dwelled on abortion. The day was capped by a Spring of Life reunion dinner attended by more than 200 people.

Throughout the day, there were the occasional flashes of righteous passion so common to the abortion debate. At the Barnes & Noble, protesters clashed verbally when Rusty Thomas, a minister who lives near Waco, Tex., spoke thunderously about America's problems.

"We are drowning in a sea of blood," said Mr. Thomas, his voice slicing through the drizzling rain. He said "evil has opened up like a Pandora's box" and talked about the need for freedom.

"Yeah, freedom from religion!" an abortion-rights supporter yelled back.

At Kenmore East High School, Bill Nelson, 18, a senior, took exception to the graphic posters that showed the bodies of Jews in concentration camps side by side with a picture of

an aborted fetus, and that described both as Holocausts.

"Pro-choice!" he yelled from a distance, pumping his fist to the applause of some classmates.

"Pro-death!" an abortion opponent fired back.

"It's a woman's issue!" Mr. Nel-

son continued.

"Yeah, to go to bed with a guy!" the opponent yelled back.

About 30 minutes later, Mr. Nelson, his ire quelled, talked about how he was annoyed, mostly, that the protesters showed up at his school. "They've got no life," he said.

Despite Criticism, US Airways Increases Fares in New York

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

ROCHESTER, April 18 — The only airline with jet service within New York State quietly raised ticket prices over the weekend, pushing fares as much as 67 percent higher than a year ago. The airline, US Airways, is already under intense criticism from corporate and political leaders for charging high fares within the state.

At the same time, the airline is cutting one daily flight and ending all jet service between La Guardia Airport and Syracuse, instead using smaller turboprop planes starting May 4, Richard Weinraub, an airline spokesman, confirmed.

US Airways increased last-minute business fares between New York City and Albany to \$450 for a round trip, \$60, or 15.4 percent, higher than the price a year ago. That raises the cost to \$1.65 per mile. US Airways reports that it breaks even when its revenue is about 12 cents per mile for each seat on its planes.

US Airways' round-trip business fares from New York City are now \$458 to Buffalo, \$416 to Rochester and \$438 to Syracuse.

The biggest percentage increases were on the cheapest advance-purchase tickets, which are nonrefundable and require a Saturday night stay. The round-trip fare between La Guardia Airport and Rochester, for example, was raised on Friday to \$224 from May through August. The same ticket cost \$134 for the comparable season a year ago, an increase of 67 percent. That fare rise was cut back slightly Saturday to \$204, a 52 percent increase.

Even before the latest fare increases, Rochester had the nation's fourth-highest fares, United States Department of Transportation data show, while Buffalo and Syracuse had among the 20 most expensive.

Lawrence M. Nagin, general counsel for US Airways, said the increases were part of an industry-wide rise in fares last week. "No one market was targeted," he said, but

he declined to discuss fares for specific cities. Over all, the airline industry has raised business fares about 3 percent this year and leisure fares 7 percent.

The fare increases were denounced by political figures and business leaders, many of whom described them as "price gouging" and called for Government intervention to encourage competition or regulate late prices.

United States Senator Charles E. Schumer, Democrat of New York, said US Airways "is pushing the envelope when it comes to abusing their monopoly status" and that its fares "are throttling the economy's upstate."

Representative John J. LaFalce, a Democrat whose district stretches from Buffalo to the Rochester Airport, said "the fare increases are outrageous," adding that US Airways "has a virtual monopoly in upstate New York."

Anthony M. Mastello, the Mayor of Buffalo, said, "punitive high air fares are causing serious economic problems for upstate New York, and its decline will seriously affect the whole state, and make us less competitive." He said reduced service worsened the economy.

The increases come barely a month after US Airways' only significant competitor within the state, Business Express Airlines, was acquired by the AMR Corporation, parent company of American Airlines. US Airways and American Airlines have a marketing alliance for their frequent-flyer and airport club programs, and upstate officials expressed skepticism that the two would become vigorous competitors.

But as US Airways is reducing its jet service, Business Express, which operates only turboprops, is acquiring up to 60 Brazilian-made jets that seat 37 passengers. In response, Mr. Nagin said, US Airways is considering replacing its turboprop service within the state with 50-seat Canadian regional jets.

ON LINE Forecasts and conditions for 1,500 cities are available from The New York Times on the Web. www.nytimes.com

Weather Report

Meteorology: Pennsylvania State University

Washington Forecast

The day will begin dull and damp in some sections as low pressure moves east of New Jersey. A drier air flow from the northwest will bring breaks in the clouds by midday. Some sunshine this afternoon will raise temperatures toward seasonal levels. The evening will be pleasant and mainly clear. Clouds will increase later tonight and tomorrow will become mainly overcast. A low shower or even a thunderstorm will arrive tomorrow afternoon as milder, moist air returns from the South.

TODAY Morning clouds, perhaps an early shower, some afternoon sun. High 63. Tonight, clear early. Low 51.

TOMORROW Becoming cloudy, afternoon showers possible. High 66.

THURSDAY, FRIDAY Very mild air should reach the area on Thursday, but with a few showers. A push of chilly, moist air from the Atlantic will spread southward on Friday causing a drop in temperatures along with some drizzle.

Today's High Temperatures and Precipitation



Hillary Clinton Begins Non-Campaign Offensive

Hectic 2 Days of New York Appearances

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Presenting herself as a New Yorker in spirit and in politics, Hillary Rodham Clinton began a two-day tour through Manhattan and Long Island yesterday, praising the state's history and culture as she expounded for the first time on why she might want to be the Senator from a state she has never called home.

"I love New York," she proclaimed. "I always have."

In the course of a rigorous 12-hour day of speeches, dinners, photo sessions and a news conference, the First Lady also strongly assailed the idea of private school vouchers as a threat to the nation's public education system. In so doing, Mrs. Clinton drew a strong, though unstated, contrast to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is also considering running for Senate, and has enthusiastically embraced the idea of private school vouchers.

The First Lady, who will be spending three days in New York this week, said that her visits were all part of official White House business. As such, they are being financed almost entirely by taxpayers.

Still, Mrs. Clinton kept to a schedule that would have been considered heavy even for a declared candidate entering the final week of a difficult contest. Her choice of stops was reminiscent of a typical Democratic candidate's campaign itinerary, from an environmental event in Central Park in the morning to a fund-raiser for

Representative Jerrold L. Nadler, where she praised the Manhattan Democrat's "vigor, intelligence and energy" in defending her husband during impeachment proceedings.

Mrs. Clinton seemed to take pains to reply to a criticism that Mr. Giuliani has repeatedly raised about her potential candidacy: that if she ran, she would be a political opportunist, because she has never lived in New York.

Mrs. Clinton declared her affection for the state, instructing a roomful of reporters about the diversity of the state's agricultural crops and, by using the word "we" in discussing the state, all but implying that she was a New Yorker.

"New York is truly a microcosm of America," she said, adding that it had "everything from our biggest, most dynamic city to rural areas that produce some of the crops that you might be surprised to know are actually grown right here in New York."

"So we have everything in New York that we have in America," she said.

Mrs. Clinton, who grew up in Illinois, recounted her frequent visits to New York as First Lady, and said that she felt politically comfortable in the state. She suggested that representing New York would allow her to work on issues she had hoped to tackle as First Lady.

"The way that New York handles a lot of issues, and the challenges that



At Teachers College of Columbia University, Hillary Rodham Clinton received a painting yesterday from the choir of the Margaret Douglas School in Manhattan. Mrs. Clinton spoke out against private school vouchers, in contrast to her equally unannounced Senate rival, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

are going to be facing America in the next century, are ones that are of deep interest to me," Mrs. Clinton said. "So in my many visits to New York, I have always been very excited by the dynamism of the people here and the real cutting-edge approach to a lot of what I consider to be the important issues."

The First Lady's trip marked another chapter in what has become a very active, if not quite-declared campaign between two not-quite-de-

clared candidates to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring next year. For all the tentativeness of Mrs. Clinton's intentions, her mere arrival drew a huge press contingent, including eight television cameras and a pack of reporters from Washington.

In this campaign netherworld, Mrs. Clinton and her staff seemed unsure whether she was a potential candidate or just a First Lady. They seemed flummoxed by questions

about the appropriateness of taxpayers' financing the trip; the First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, wearily suggested that a reporter who pressed her on who was paying for the travel was "a pinhead," though she said that the First Lady would address the question if and when her candidacy became more concrete.

While the schedule seemed designed to encourage press attention, the First Lady declined to provide routine transportation for her sizable press corps, apparently concerned that such a gesture might undercut her portrayal of the trip as business as usual.

Mr. Giuliani was anything but tentative in his treatment of a Democrat who even his aides acknowledge would be a formidable rival. Outside of New York City, "I do note, as I travel around the state, a very strong reaction against her running," he said. "I have people coming up to me, saying to me, and not just Republicans, why don't you go run in Arkansas?"

A schedule considered heavy even for a declared candidate.

He also criticized Mr. Clinton's handling of Kosovo. "From the very beginning, this should have been thought out better and the purpose should have been stated better," he said.

Yesterday marked the first time that the First Lady had publicly discussed a Senate race, at least on American soil. (She had answered questions about it during a visit to Cairo.) The First Lady did nothing to discourage the speculation; her remarks, in fact, suggested that she is exploring ways to deal with problems she might confront as someone who does not live in New York.

PUBLIC LIVES

Condo Roadblock For an Agnelli

Was it all because of a powder room?

SUSANNA AGNELLI is not buying a second apartment in the Upper East Side apartment house where the talk-show host JOAN RIVERS also lives.

The seller, ELLIOTT KASTNER, a film producer whose credits include "Farewell, My Lovely" and "Angel Heart," maintains that the deal hit a snag because Ms. Rivers, the president of the condominium board, tried to block the deal, saying, "I don't want to turn this into

In Congo or Kosovo, a Compulsion to Help

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

THEY tell each other it's because of the "3Ms" — in other words, they're convinced they have the characteristics of martyrs, misfits and masochists. They see each other at the world's most horrific disasters. They dig wells, rehydrate children with intravenous fluid and live on adrenaline. Kosovo (and Rwanda and Uganda and Congo) are how they make their living.

So when Gerald Martone, a registered nurse, was talking to refugees over the weekend in northern Albania, he wasn't all that stunned when a fellow nurse worker ran up behind



U.S. Not Seeking Extradition In Queens Killing of Reporter

By GINGER THOMPSON
Officials at the United States Jus-

home in Puerto Rico, Ms. Sánchez added, "Even though the Colombian Government may want to apply jus-



Doug Case @ sdsu.edu
04/13/99 04:51:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides

cc:

Subject: Is Rudy Giuliani the new Bill Weld?

The Advocate

April 13, 1999

<http://www.advocate.com>

Is Rudy ready for his close-up?

© Paul Schirdler

Written exclusively for Advocate.com

The March 19 press release announcing the Log Cabin Republicans' annual Liberty for All leadership conference in August left no room for doubt. In the gay Republican fashion world, Rudy Giuliani is the new Bill Weld.

The former Republican governor of Massachusetts, Weld was a Log Cabin dream, outclassing all other state governors in his strong support of gay and lesbian civil rights. Including marriage. Weld's warm embrace provided succor to foot soldiers engaged in the often thankless task of out gay Republican activism.

Named as Democrat Bill Clinton's nominee for ambassador to Mexico in 1997, however, Weld ran into a brick wall named Jesse Helms, who blocked confirmation hearings in the Senate. Weld resigned the governorship to battle Helms to the bitter end and has been out of public life since.

Potential heirs to Weld's mantle surfaced quickly. In a July 1998 piece in Out, Jonathan Capehart, a gay African-American editorial page writer at the New York Daily News, identified two from among America's mayors-Giuliani in New York and Richard Riordan in Los Angeles.

Capehart argued that gay and lesbian voters "did something revolutionary. We voted to reelect Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the tough guy, law-and-order darling who, along with a booming economy, has helped bring back the polish to the Big Apple." He concluded that Giuliani and Riordan were big-city examples of "gay men and lesbians junking ideology and in the process shunning Democrats in favor of Republicans."

As Giuliani moves inevitably toward a national stage, his success could have a crucial impact on the relationship between gays and the Republican Party. Prevented by term limits from seeking reelection in 2001, the mayor is widely expected to vie for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Pat Moynihan.

Two hurdles face Giuliani and his ambitions. The better known of the two is

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the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom New York Democrats are begging to run. The president remains enormously popular in New York State, and his wife is probably his single strongest asset here. Rodham Clinton was practically a fixture here last fall campaigning for Brooklyn Democrat Chuck Schumer, who defeated incumbent senator Al D'Amato. One of her appearances was at a Tavern on the Green gay fund-raising lunch for Schumer, who went on to capture an estimated three quarters of the gay vote, despite D'Amato's endorsement by the Human Rights Campaign.

Though polls indicate that Rodham Clinton could run a competitive, perhaps even successful race against the mayor, Giuliani, increasingly visible on the talk show circuit, welcomes the opportunity to talk about Hillary rather than address a more immediate crisis. On February 4 an unarmed West African immigrant stopped for questioning in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building was fatally shot by four police officers, members of an elite street crimes unit, who fired 41 shots. The death of Amadou Diallo, the top local news story for almost two months now, poses a mortal threat to Giuliani's chief mayoral legacy as crimebuster without parallel.

Outrage followed in the wake of Diallo's killing, and the mayor's reaction has reinforced popular notions that he is aloof, arrogant, and unfamiliar with the problems faced by many neighborhoods. In three weeks of civil disobedience held at police headquarters demanding action against the cops-indicted this week on second-degree murder charges-more than 1,000 protesters, including the New York State comptroller, labor officials, and Jewish leaders, were arrested. All five of the elected lesbian and gay officials who serve Manhattan in the city council and in Albany participated in the actions Giuliani dismissed as "silly." Only when New York's Republican governor, George Pataki, suggested that the mayor could listen better, did Giuliani betray signs of getting the message.

Belatedly, Giuliani has begun to reach out to African-American leaders. One of them is Philip Reed, a city council member who represents Harlem, upper Manhattan, and parts of the south Bronx and is also gay and openly HIV-positive. At a meeting with about ten members of the council, Reed said he told Giuliani that he is critically wounded and "that your response to this incident will be the defining part of your mayoralty."

For New York's gays, the Diallo tragedy caps a year of growing concern about the adequacy of the city's response to an alarming rise in hate-motivated attacks that runs contrary to otherwise impressive reductions in crime. Coupled with long-standing suspicions about Giuliani among gay political activists and elected officials, concern about the equal treatment of all New Yorkers is causing the mayor something of a political "compassion gap."

Polling indicates that Giuliani faces this problem among many groups citywide, but recent protests and election results suggest it might be a particular problem among lesbian and gay voters.

Giuliani has never shied away from using confrontation as a leadership tool, and his relationship with gays is no exception. During his first term, clashes occurred most frequently over the delivery of AIDS services, but at least among some gay activists there was also strong opposition to

Giuliani's zoning reforms, which are driving adult businesses out of Manhattan. He staunchly defended an appointee's free speech rights, even to voice deeply homophobic views, and was widely seen as gay-baiting a foe who was schools chancellor. During the 1997 reelection contest, all of his Democratic opponents signed on for gay marriage rights, but Giuliani would not go there.

1993 Even with the controversies, however, Giuliani made progress during his first term in attracting gay and lesbian voters. He polled less than 30% of the gay vote when he defeated David Dinkins in 1993, but four years later cut the Democratic advantage to 56%-39%. Most significantly, exit polls indicated that the mayor captured a solid victory among white gay voters and that he scored as well in traditionally gay neighborhoods-the Village, Chelsea, and Brooklyn's Park Slope, for example-as he did citywide. Gay voters followed patterns prevalent among New Yorkers generally-white voters signaled their appreciation for a safer city, while minorities retained significant reservations about the means to that end.

Giuliani opened his second term with a broad expansion of domestic-partnership rights accorded city employees, suggesting the importance of the gay vote in his political calculations. But tensions with gays have also increased since his reelection. Last spring police resisted for months efforts to classify an attack in which a gay man was called "faggot" and lost an eye as a bias crime. By September a wave of bias attacks and murders led the police department to acknowledge that antigay crime had risen by more than 75% over the previous year, a stark contrast to continued declines for the city as a whole.

The crime wave led some gay leaders, especially city council member Tom Duane and Christine Quinn, who headed the Anti-Violence Project, to demand that the police department and the mayor address the problem more forcefully. Criticism of the police became more widespread in the wake of the October 19 vigil held for Matthew Shepard. Organizers, who had not sought a permit for their demonstration, were caught off-guard when a crowd of roughly 7,000 turned out. Police, dressed in riot gear, were called in to contain the crowd, resulting in nearly 100 arrests and allegations of brutality that are being litigated.

A month and a half later, the mayor did himself no favor when his administration resisted the World AIDS Day effort by Housing Works, an HIV advocacy group, to march up Broadway's Canyon of Heroes, host weeks before for ticker tape parades honoring the Yankees and John Glenn. Demonstrators, who instead won a permit to assemble in City Hall park only after going to court, were stunned to discover New York's venerable civic center protected by cops on the rooftop.

Amid this growing tension with the police and the mayor, gay and lesbian leaders have forged a high profile in the recent Diallo protests. On March 18 police arrested 59 people in a demonstration that garnered wide media attention because Kweisi Mfume, the former congressman who heads the NAACP, was present. Most of the demonstrators that day, however, were lesbian and gay activists and politicians.

The participation of labor, Jewish, and gay leaders in the Diallo matter is

all the more remarkable given that protests have been led by the Rev. Al Sharpton, a figure who has often been a lightning rod in New York race relations. Sharpton's conflicts with the city's Jews are well-known, but activists in other groups have also often resisted his embrace of their issues. Sharpton has repeatedly been arrested protesting the exclusion of lesbian and gays from the St. Patrick's Day Parade, but when he ran for the Democratic nomination for mayor in 1997, out lesbian assembly member Deborah Glick flatly declared him unfit for the office. Glick's appearance at a press conference led by Sharpton last week, then, came as something of a surprise.

According to Reed, gay support for the Diallo cause has not gone unnoticed among African-Americans. The Rev. Calvin Butts, an influential Harlem minister who has typically taken traditionalist positions of social issues including sexuality, said he "will never forget" the role played by gays. Reed also relates the story of a close friend—a white gay man—employed by a large city agency, who was arrested and faced a hero's welcome from black colleagues, many of whom he did not know, some of them in tears, when he returned to work.

A recent special city council election also provides evidence that Giuliani's stature among gay voters has taken some hits, at least for the moment. When Tom Duane advanced to the state senate this January, four candidates, three of them openly gay or lesbian, scrambled to succeed him in the council's so-called gay seat representing Chelsea and the West Village. The race, of course, was not per se a referendum on Giuliani. It is significant, however, that a district the mayor won comfortably in 1997 was captured handily—with 53% of the vote in a field of four—by Christine Quinn, among Giuliani's most vocal critics on the response to antigay crime. Christopher Lynn, a gay man who served Giuliani as commissioner of transportation and ran as the "Quality of Life" candidate, scored an anemic 11%, fourth-place finish. The election came just two weeks after the Diallo incident, and Lynn later privately complained that the shooting compounded his problems in turning out more conservative voters in the district.

Reversals of fortune aside, Giuliani remains a formidable political force in New York. A Senate run against Hillary Clinton would likely rivet the nation. And as the mayor moves center stage, gay Republicans are excited about the prospect of him altering the conversation in the national party about gay rights.

Kevin Ivers, a Log Cabin spokesman, argues that Giuliani's role could be critical and points with satisfaction to his willingness talk about gay issues even to inhospitable audiences outside of New York. Ivers credits him with a consistency he finds lacking in Bill Clinton.

"Giuliani never waivers, he never panders," Ivers says, whether to the right or to the left. He argues that many gays and lesbians are reluctant to give Giuliani the credit he deserves, but Ivers is confident that his straight shooting—if you'll pardon the expression—will serve him well in the long run.

"I've never had any doubt that he what he was saying was true, even when I disagreed with him," Ivers says. "I can't fault him for that."

It remains to be seen whether Rudy Giuliani's famously brash candor will count for more than serious doubts that have reemerged among lesbian and gay New Yorkers.

Schindler is the editor in chief of LGNY, the biweekly newspaper for lesbian and gay New York, a post he has held since 1997. At LGNY he has forged a national reputation for the newspaper as an astute and aggressive observer of New York City's gay community and the local political scene. Schindler has also been a contributor to a wide variety of other publications, including Out and Poz. He lives in Brooklyn's Park Slope with his lover, Bert Vaccari, and their two Basenji hounds, Ajax and Paris.

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By fax (202) 456-6244

Patricia Solis Doyle
By fax (202) 456-5340

Marsha Berry
By fax (202) 456-7805

Susan Thomas
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21 April 1999

Memorandum to

✓ The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

✓ Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

✓ Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

Maggie Williams
By fax 011-331-4764-9560

Diane Blair
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Susan Thomases
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✓ Mandy Grunwald
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A6

First Lady Addresses Health Care

Admits approach in '93 didn't work, advocates 'smaller steps'

By William Douglas
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Hillary Rodham Clinton took on an issue yesterday that could prove an Achilles' heel if she runs for the Senate: her lead role in President Bill Clinton's failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health-care system.

On her second day of a campaign-type tour of New York, the first lady also delivered a veiled dig at New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani — another potential Senate candidate — for delaying Medicaid applications to the poor.

Clinton made her remarks at a health-care symposium at Hofstra University sponsored by a Long Island-based law firm whose partners include Harold Ickes, a former White House deputy chief of staff who is helping the first lady learn about New York politics while she decides whether she wants to run for the Senate next year.

Reading from a five-page introduction of Clinton, Ickes broached the subject of her hand in what is regarded as one of the largest setbacks of her husband's presidency.

"Yes, the 1993 health-care initiative was flawed in many ways," Ickes said.

"But because of it, an important national debate was focused on a continuing set of critical issues."

In explaining why 43 million Americans — including 3.1 million New Yorkers — don't have health insurance, Clinton harked back to the administration's health-care plan.

"Some of you may recall I had an idea or two about the topic back in 1993," she said. "Now clearly that approach did not work, and we're not going to try that, that's for sure."

In 1993, the president appointed his wife to head a task force to draft a comprehensive proposal to overhaul the nation's health-care system. The plan would have provided permanent health-care coverage to Americans by requiring employers to pay 80 percent of the cost of a basic package of benefits. The Clinton plan also sought to cap the amount insurance companies could increase prices annually, and it called for Americans to buy their insurance through large purchasing groups called alliances. The plan died in Congress.

In 1994, Republicans used the Clinton plan — and the first lady's role in it — as an issue that helped them win a majority in the House of Representatives. And



Newsday Photo / Don Jacobsen

During her visit to LI, Clinton gave a speech at the Village Elementary School in Syosset.

now Giuliani is using it against the first lady. The www.hillaryno.com Web site, sponsored by the mayor's political action committee, reminds viewers of the first lady's "failed health-care experiment."

Clinton said working on the health-care plan taught her a valuable lesson: Smaller steps are easier than big ones.

"When people ask me if I was discouraged after the defeat of health-care reform, I say yes," she said. "But I've learned . . . about what is possible in a political environment. That there may

be small steps we can take . . . I come from the school of smaller steps now. The belief in making smaller changes, incremental changes, that will help some people is better than walking away and saying, 'If it isn't a solvable problem, then there's nothing we can do about it.'"

Turning her attention to Medicaid, Clinton praised the efforts of some cities and states to reach out to poor people who may not know they are eli-

Please see CLINTON on Page A18

Mayor Critic Urges End to Race Rift

Newsday New York 4.21.99

4-21-99

N. J. Meyer

J. J. Meyer

show is how your department or agency has furthered tolerance and racial understanding."

Bradley was speaking in a city where the shooting death of an unarmed African immigrant by four white police officers has ignited a storm of protests.

Bradley did not join the chorus of criticism of the officers. He called the shooting "a grievous error by those charged with protecting the very person that they shot." But he added that on a broader level, the case shed light on twin phenomena — "white indifference and black suspicion."

Bradley recited a litany of prejudices

West, author of the 1993 bestseller "Race Matters," introduced Bradley as "the worthy next president of the United States."

West praised Clinton for holding town meetings on race but said Bradley ties the topic to concrete issues like child poverty.

"Clinton tends to be more like cotton candy — bite down, tastes good, but nothing there," West said.

Race relations have been a lifelong interest for Bradley, whose choice of basketball as a passion and occupation led him to the intersection of black and white America.



AP Photo

Bradley declared "the quest for racial unity remains the defining moral issue of our time."

For Big Visit, No Detail Too Small

By Thomas Frank

STAFF WRITER

On Monday afternoon, after five months planning for Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Long Island, Erica Garay realized something was terribly wrong.

Garay needed to know — urgently — the weight of the \$4,600 handcrafted glass vase that her organization, the Long Island Women's Agenda, was going to present the first lady at its luncheon the next day.

The issue may have seemed trifling, but Garay learned that when dealing

with a White House advance team, Secret Service agents, a public relations firm, an event producer, 1,200 guests and the New York media, there is no such thing as "trifling." Even the weight of a vase mattered because after an assistant to Garay called the manufacturer, Lalique in Manhattan, and learned it was 14½ pounds, Garay knew it was light enough to hand to the first lady.

In the days before Clinton's six-hour, three-stop visit yesterday to Long Island, hundreds of people spent thousands of hours tending to behind-the-scenes details. In Syosset, technicians

stayed up until 2:30 a.m. yesterday setting up 2,000-watt white lights and audiovisual equipment in the Village Elementary School gym, where Clinton spoke at 9 a.m.

A Hofstra University construction crew rebuilt a wooden platform to fit in the middle of the Adams Playhouse so television cameras could film Clinton from a straight-ahead angle, as she prefers, instead of shooting from the side of the stage on which she spoke.

At the Crest Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, Garay was joined by scores of volunteers stuffing press kits and gift bags and selecting a lunch (grilled chicken) that could be placed on tables before guests took their seats and sit there for an hour so waiters would not have to serve them during speeches. And that's not to mention the explosive-sniffing dogs who swept every room before Clinton entered.

"This was the Godzilla of events when it came to planning," said Todd Shapiro, whose public-relations firm helped Garay's group.

Although the intense planning began Thursday when the White House advance staff arrived on Long Island, some Long Islanders had been wooing the first lady for years.

Carole Hankin, superintendent of the Syosset Central School District, has mailed and faxed letters and press re-

leases to Clinton for two years describing the district's achievements. Hankin, an energetic promoter with a long mailing list, can't recall whether the first lady ever responded. But she does remember the phone call Thursday from someone named Patti who said Clinton wanted to visit the school district. "I fell off my chair," Hankin said.

Garay, a lawyer at Rivkin, Radler & Kremer in Uniondale, was equally stunned when she approached Clinton in December after a luncheon in Manhattan and asked her to speak at the Long Island Women's Agenda, a group she had recently formed to promote women's issues. Clinton agreed on the spot. Last week, White House speechwriters interviewed Garay about the Women's Agenda to help them craft a fitting speech.

The advance planning was not enough to forestall last-minute changes yesterday. Clinton had originally intended to visit two classrooms and a teacher-training program at Syosset but visited only one class and gave a speech. The change helped accommodate the teachers, parents, administrators and media who wanted to see Clinton — as well as Secret Service, who didn't want Clinton changing locations so many times, and school officials, who worried that students would trip over wires if they shuffled between classrooms.

Hillary's Dig at Rudy

CLINTON from Page A6

gible for the health-care program. But she warned that the program is not "being given the support that it needs in many areas where it should be."

"People who are told that they must search for work to get their health benefits or led to believe that they are no longer eligible or otherwise discouraged to apply for Medicaid will not be the kind of independent, self-sufficient citizens that we want in this country. If these stories are true, they violate the provi-

sions and the purpose of the welfare law."

Clinton's comments were a veiled reference to complaints last year about Giuliani's policy of delaying Medicaid applications and food stamps to eligible people.

A federal judge in Manhattan has scheduled hearings on charges by advocates of the poor that qualified people are being steered away from applying for Medicaid and other federal benefits under the mayor's welfare policies.

Robert Polner contributed to this story.

Newsday

EDITORIALS

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

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Viewpoints

Hillary's Debut

The first lady was indefatigable and smart but hobbled by the Clinton connection.

The strengths — and the weaknesses — of a run for the Senate by the first lady were on display yesterday as Hillary Rodham Clinton toured on Long Island.

There is no doubt the first lady has star power, no doubt that she knows the issues and how to campaign. All this was obvious as she

spoke at the John F. English Symposium on Health Care at Hofstra yesterday. Clinton lights up a room more like a movie star than a politician. And her 45-minute speech on health care was a policy tour de force, if not a bit wonkish. She would hit the ground running if elected to represent New York in the Senate.

But the baggage she carries from six years in the White House was also on display. She had to painfully step around the failure of her health-care initiative in 1994, one of the more spectacular policy crashes in modern political history. She isn't going to make the same mistake twice, said Clinton. She now believes in taking smaller steps. And her prescriptions for Medicare were carefully referenced to what the president had already supported. If she is to become a candidate for the Senate, her ties to the White House will be confining. In that sense she runs with some of the burdens of an incumbent, not with the free swagger of a challenger.

In small groups and controlled settings, Clinton can be charming and gracious. She has learned to spend endless hours meeting, greeting and posing and doing it with style. But once she steps out of the cocoon of the White House and becomes Candidate Hillary, she will be subjected to the slings and arrows of New York politics. By most accounts, including George Stephanopoulos' recent book, Hillary Clinton doesn't have her husband's resiliency and, indeed, can be resentful and vindictive, especially to the press. That doesn't bode well for a campaign that could be even nastier than the 1998 D'Amato-Schumer mudfest.

Watching the first lady on Long Island just whets the journalistic appetite for a classic confrontation in 2000. Hillary Rodham Clinton vs. Rudolph Giuliani. Could it get any better than that? Still, we can't help but wonder whether it would be a terrible mistake for Clinton and a disservice to the people of this state. Is she really ready for New York and is New York ready for her?

MARLETTE'S VIEW



Russia as Slavic Peace Broker? It's Worth a Try

The bombing of Kosovo has set NATO and that he is virtually a nonfunctional figure. However, military power has been a key factor in the Balkans.

THE NEW YORK TIMES **METRO** WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1999

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Vic DeLucia/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Hofstra University yesterday in Hempstead, N.Y., where she was honored for her work in health care. With her, front row, from left, were Harold Ickes, Basil A. Paterson and William J. Cunningham 3d, all from the law firm of Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein, an award sponsor. Behind her was Anthony L. Watson of the Health Insurance Plan of New York.

Hillary Clinton Checks Out Suburbs

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Hillary Rodham Clinton made a campaign-style trip yesterday into the heart of the Long Island suburbs that would be crucial to winning a race for United States Senate, then came back into Manhattan for two more events to finish off a 13-hour day.

But in a total of six appearances before such Democratic constituencies as teachers, lawyers, women, Jews, members of minority groups and patrons of the arts, Mrs. Clinton made no teasing references to her potential Senate race, as she has in the past, and stayed within the bounds of First Lady.

Still, this First Lady's business is sometimes hard to distinguish from a candidate's stump speech. In an address at Hofstra University in Hempstead, Mrs. Clinton first mentioned her failure on pushing Congress to enact sweeping national health care reform — "Clearly that approach did not work, and we're not going to try that again, rest assured" — then described herself as a new incrementalist.

"I come from the school of smaller steps now," she said, adding that 3.1 million New Yorkers have no health insurance and that 1,500 children in New York may lose their insurance as they get older.

One notable moment of the day came at a lunch for the Long Island Women's Agenda at the Crest

Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, where Mrs. Clinton sat on the dais next to Libby Pataki, the wife of Gov. George E. Pataki. The Republican Governor has a quarrelsome relationship with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a potential opponent of Mrs. Clinton in a Senate race. The two women chatted cheerfully and praised each other in their speeches; Mrs. Pataki called herself "the warm-up act" for Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton started her day at the Village Elementary School in Syosset, where she spoke about the need for more teachers and after-school programs. "She did not seem to be playing to a broader audience," said Jeffrey Rozran, the president of the Syosset Teachers' Association. "She was playing to this audience, and I'm grateful for that."

In the afternoon at the New York University School of Law, Mrs. Clinton presented awards to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Dr. Alexander Boraine, a professor in the school's global law program. In one of the only public references yesterday to her possible campaign, Dr. Boraine told the First Lady to cheers from the law students that "who knows, we may see more of you in New York."

In the evening, Mrs. Clinton attended fund-raisers for the United Jewish Appeal and the Whitney Museum of American Art.

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Skip NY, Hillary, and Aid Other Dems

WILL SHE or won't she? Not even Hillary Clinton's closest friends know for sure — if she will run for Senate from New York.

Despite a campaign-style sweep through Long Island and New York City the past two days, despite the dozens of calls she's made to state politicians, the only thing clear is she's seriously *thinking* of a run in 2000 for the seat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is vacating.

"She wants to be a senator," said an adviser who watched her charm 1,000 people at the John F. English Symposium on Health Care at Hofstra University. "The question for her is whether this is the right seat at the right time."

She would make a great senator. As an artful advocate and politician, she'd leave her mark even if she were in the minority. She would slay the media dragon with all the style and grace she has endured crisis after crisis in the White House.

But, for all the cheering ovals that greeted her, for all the people who waited in the rain to hear her speak, I believe she should not — and ultimately will not — run.

And if she does, and her opponent is New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, I believe she'd lose.

Obviously, I am not writing from the heart. I adore Hillary Clinton. But why would she want to risk \$30 million of her party's money on what would promise to be at best a close, nasty contest?

When she began looking at the race, she was 20 points up in most polls. That lead has shrunk at a time when the mayor's popularity has hit an all-time low. Big leads lost are seldom recovered. And New Yorkers are seemingly bothered she never lived here. Run, they tell pollsters, but somewhere else.

Clinton — who at Hofstra even managed a veiled swipe at Giuliani's shabby welfare reform record — would be constantly on the defensive. She'd have to defend the administration and her own role in it, such as the health-care reform debacle. Then there's her work as a connected lawyer in Little Rock. Why would she want to spend a year talking about shredded documents at the Rose law firm or insider stock deals? I doubt she would. Why would she risk her reputation, especially when there are other, politically more useful things for her to do in her final year as first lady?

What will persuade Clinton to take a pass, however, isn't so much the fear of losing or having her



Lawrence C. Levy

image sullied. In the end, it will be her sense of duty to her party and her husband's legacy.

Think about it: What better way to show history that the people saw the Republican impeachment persecution as worse than Clinton's philandering and lying than if they elect a Democrat to succeed him and take control of the House?

And who better than Hillary Clinton to barnstorm around the country for Democrats in two dozen competitive House seats? In 1998, a year Democrats were supposed to be crushed by the Lewinsky scandal, she raised tens of millions of dollars for Democratic congressional candidates. And almost singlehandedly, she helped her husband's allies, especially in the swing suburbs, come within six seats of retaking the House.

But if she's such a superstar, why, if she ran, do I believe she'd lose to Giuliani? Simple: No Republican who can get 40 percent of the vote in New

York City is likely to lose a statewide race. And for a mayor who won with more than 60 percent two years ago, 40 percent shouldn't be hard to get.

Hillary Clinton should know that. Upstate is heavily Republican, and Democrats need to offset that by holding Republicans under 30 percent in the city. And then Democrats need to stay close in the suburbs. But the first lady is worried about Giuliani's popularity in Nassau and Westchester, where the race would likely be won or lost. Despite the raucous reception before a women's group in Woodbury yesterday, even the gender gap is not as big as she'd like.

"She knows he's their Saturday night mayor," said another adviser, alluding to how a safer and cleaner city has lured suburbanites back. "He's more popular in the suburbs than in the city."

In 2000, instead of taking a chance in one state, I bet she'll choose to be decisive in a lot of states.

Cartoon View



Handelman. New Orleans Times-Picayune

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City Beat

Hil Pushes New Approach to Health Coverage

4.21.99

By **ROBERT GEARTY** and **JOEL SIEGEL**
Daily News Staff Writers

Venturing into the crucial political turf of Long Island, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday conceded a major policy error in 1994 — and got an unwelcome reminder of her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky.

The potential senate candidate said her campaign for sweeping health-care reform early in President Clinton's first term damaged his presidency and sparked a GOP takeover of the house.

"I'm not going to try that again, rest assured. Clearly, that approach did not work," the First Lady said in a speech to 1,000 people at a Hofstra University health-care conference.



Albans NEWS
First Lady Hillary
Rodham Clinton

She said she now believes in "small steps" in trying to improve health care.

The appearance was the centerpiece of her second and final day of appearances as she weighs seeking the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan.

Later, in the city, she sat stonefaced at an awards ceremony for Bishop Desmond Tutu when he alluded to the President's affair and impeachment trial.

"When you had the extraordinary ordeal that you and your family passed, my admiration for you grew by leaps and bounds, because I think you are an extraordinary woman," Tutu said as the audience applauded.

With three stops in Long Island, the First Lady visited the terrain of moderate swing voters, including soccer moms, who often decide statewide races.

She later made three stops in the city, including at a United Jewish Appeal dinner. At times, she sounded like a candidate.

Clinton began the day at Syosset's Village School, watching third-graders studying African dwarf frogs.

→ "I think she's a formidable candidate if you get over the fact she's not from New York, but I'm not so sure that's so easy to get over," said parent Jane Wein.

At Hofstra, Clinton proposed that lawmakers focus first on providing coverage for the the uninsured, beginning with children and people over 50 who just miss qualifying for government aid.

"We need to decide what will be done about the 43 million people — 3.1 million in New York — who have no health insurance," she said.

Afterward, Clinton headlined a meeting of the nonpartisan Long Island Women's Agenda, which attracted 1,200

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Tuesday, April 20, 1999

Hil Tells Why She's Eying a Run for Senate

By FRANK LOMBARDI, OWEN MORITZ and JOEL SIEGEL
Daily News Staff Writers

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton hopped across the city yesterday on a campaign-like schedule packed with appearances, and spoke at length for the first time on why she's seriously flirting with running for Senate.

"Well, I love New York to start with; I always have," she said, when asked why she might seek the seat of retiring Democrat Daniel Moynihan.

She even used the collective pronoun "we" when talking about New Yorkers, adding, "I have always been very excited by the dynamism of the people here, and the real cutting-edge approach to a lot of what I consider to be important challenges that we face, and that's a real attraction."



Monsivais AP

First Lady Hillary
Rodham Clinton

As a brief news conference ended, a reporter asked when Clinton would decide on whether to run. She smiled, but did not answer.

With her breakneck schedule of eight appearances yesterday and five today, the visit had the style of a campaign swing, if not the substance.

Aides couldn't recall when she last crammed so many stops in one place, a pace partly designed to give her the feel of a campaign, even if the trip was largely taxpayer-funded.

→ "I guess any time we're up here, it's part of the [exploratory] process," said Marsha Berry, her press secretary. "She's thinking about this. I don't know when you turn it off and turn

| it on."

But most of yesterday's events involved the official side of First Ladydom, not the political, although Clinton appeared at various points before groups of teachers, Jews and Ukrainian-Americans.

At the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, after brainstorming with officials from blue-chip foundations on helping the Kosovar refugees, Clinton said she will visit refugees in Macedonia and Albania "as soon as I'm given the green light."

Hillary-for-Senate speculation flared at other stops, even as a new Marist Poll found that a majority of New Yorkers, 52.3%, say Clinton should not run for Moynihan's seat, up from 37% in February.

At the Matrix Awards for women in communications, "Today" show co-host Katie Couric thanked Clinton for taking "time out from apartment hunting here in New York to present this award."

At the Matrix Awards, Clinton exchanged handshakes and smiles with Donna Hanover, wife of Mayor Giuliani, who could be the Republicans' Senate nominee.

For his part, Giuliani signaled once again that he would raise Clinton's out-of-state residency if she runs.

"The whole carpetbagger issue . . . from my political ear . . . is a very big issue outside the City of New York," the mayor said.

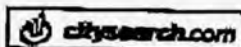
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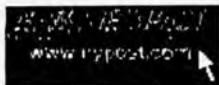
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NEWS

LIBBY'S BIG THRILL IS NOT BEING HILL

By KIERAN CROWLEY,
ROBERT HARDT Jr. and
CHARLES SUSSMAN



LADIES FIRST:
Libby Pataki confers with
Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Long Island
Women's Agenda
luncheon in Woodbury
yesterday.
NY Post:
Mary McLoughlin

The state's First Lady yesterday took a big swipe at the nation's First Lady, saying she's "happy" she's not Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"I am happy every day that I wake up and I don't walk in her shoes," Libby Pataki told reporters on Long Island, just minutes before she shared the stage with Mrs. Clinton at the Crest Hollow Country Club in Woodbury.

Mrs. Clinton had not yet arrived and was apparently unaware of Mrs. Pataki's statement. The women sat together on the dais during the event at the Long Island Women's Agenda luncheon and chatted amiably.

Hillary's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, later tried to brush off Mrs. Pataki's remarks, saying only: "I wouldn't read anything into it. She's someone Mrs. Clinton's friendly with."

Before the lunch began, Mrs. Pataki said she had no political advice for the First Lady.

"I'm sure she's quite capable of making her own decisions," Mrs. Pataki said, adding that Mrs. Clinton "never asked my advice and I doubt she ever will - she's not that stupid."

Asked who she would vote for if Mayor Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton face off for Senate next year, Mrs. Pataki said she "would vote for the most qualified candidate, but right now we don't have a clue who they are."

Mrs. Pataki also commented on Monday's Marist College poll that shows 52 percent of New Yorkers think Mrs. Clinton shouldn't run for the Senate.

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21 April 1999

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Cc

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Patti Solis Doyle
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Marsha Berry
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Maggie Williams
By fax 011-331-4764-9560

Diane Blair
By fax 501-521-8373

Susan Thomases
By fax 212-327-4327

Mandy Grunwald
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A6

First Lady Addresses Health Care

Admits approach in '93 didn't work, advocates 'smaller steps'

By William Douglas
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Hillary Rodham Clinton took on an issue yesterday that could prove an Achilles' heel if she runs for the Senate: her lead role in President Bill Clinton's failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health-care system.

On her second day of a campaign-type tour of New York, the first lady also delivered a veiled dig at New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani — another potential Senate candidate — for delaying Medicaid applications to the poor.

Clinton made her remarks at a health-care symposium at Hofstra University sponsored by a Long Island-based law firm whose partners include Harold Ickes, a former White House deputy chief of staff who is helping the first lady learn about New York politics while she decides whether she wants to run for the Senate next year.

Reading from a five-page introduction of Clinton, Ickes broached the subject of her hand in what is regarded as one of the largest setbacks of her husband's presidency.

"Yes, the 1993 health-care initiative was flawed in many ways," Ickes said.

"But because of it, an important national debate was focused on a continuing set of critical issues."

In explaining why 43 million Americans — including 3.1 million New Yorkers — don't have health insurance, Clinton harked back to the administration's health-care plan.

"Some of you may recall I had an idea or two about the topic back in 1993," she said. "Now clearly that approach did not work, and we're not going to try that, that's for sure."

In 1993, the president appointed his wife to head a task force to draft a comprehensive proposal to overhaul the nation's health-care system. The plan would have provided permanent health-care coverage to Americans by requiring employers to pay 80 percent of the cost of a basic package of benefits. The Clinton plan also sought to cap the amount insurance companies could increase prices annually, and it called for Americans to buy their insurance through large purchasing groups called alliances. The plan died in Congress.

In 1994, Republicans used the Clinton plan — and the first lady's role in it — as an issue that helped them win a majority in the House of Representatives. And



Newday Photo/Don Jacobsen

During her visit to LI, Clinton gave a speech at the Village Elementary School in Syosset.

now Giuliani is using it against the first lady. The www.hillaryno.com Web site, sponsored by the mayor's political action committee, reminds viewers of the first lady's "failed health-care experiment."

Clinton said working on the health-care plan taught her a valuable lesson. Smaller steps are easier than big ones.

"When people ask me if I was discouraged after the defeat of health-care reform, I say yes," she said. "But I've learned about what is possible in a political environment. That there may

be small steps we can take . . . I come from the school of smaller steps now. The belief in making smaller changes, incremental changes, that will help some people is better than walking away and saying, 'If it isn't a solvable problem, then there's nothing we can do about it.'"

Turning her attention to Medicaid, Clinton praised the efforts of some cities and states to reach out to poor people who may not know they are eli-

Please see CLINTON on Page A18

Mayor Critic Urges End to Race Rift

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show is how your department or agency has furthered tolerance and racial understanding."

Bradley was speaking in a city where the shooting death of an unarmed African immigrant by four white police officers has ignited a storm of protests.

Bradley did not join the chorus of criticism of the officers. He called the shooting "a grievous error by those charged with protecting the very person that they shot." But he added that on a broader level, the case shed light on twin phenomena — "white indifference and black suspicion."

Bradley recited a litany of prejudices

West, author of the 1993 bestseller "Race Matters," introduced Bradley as "The worthy next president of the United States."

West praised Clinton for holding town meetings on race but said Bradley ties the topic to concrete issues like child poverty.

"Clinton tends to be more like cotton candy — bite down, tastes good, but nothing there," West said.

Race relations have been a lifelong interest for Bradley, whose choice of basketball as a passion and occupation led him to the intersection of black and white America.



Bradley declared "the quest for racial unity remains the defining moral issue of our time."

For Big Visit, No Detail Too Small

By Thomas Frank

STAFF WRITER

On Monday afternoon, after five months planning for Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Long Island, Erica Garay realized something was terribly wrong.

Garay needed to know — urgently — the weight of the \$4,600 handcrafted glass vase that her organization, the Long Island Women's Agenda, was going to present the first lady at its luncheon the next day.

The issue may have seemed trifling, but Garay learned that when dealing

with a White House advance team, Secret Service agents, a public relations firm, an event producer, 1,200 guests and the New York media, there is no such thing as "trifling." Even the weight of a vase mattered because after an assistant to Garay called the manufacturer, Lalique in Manhattan, and learned it was 14½ pounds, Garay knew it was light enough to hand to the first lady.

In the days before Clinton's six-hour, three-stop visit yesterday to Long Island, hundreds of people spent thousands of hours tending to behind-the-scenes details. In Syosset, technicians

stayed up until 2:30 a.m. yesterday setting up 2,000-watt white lights and audiovisual equipment in the Village Elementary School gym, where Clinton spoke at 9 a.m.

A Hofstra University construction crew rebuilt a wooden platform to fit in the middle of the Adams Playhouse so television cameras could film Clinton from a straight-ahead angle, as she prefers, instead of shooting from the side of the stage on which she spoke.

At the Crest Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, Garay was joined by scores of volunteers stuffing press kits and gift bags and selecting a lunch (grilled chicken) that could be placed on tables before guests took their seats and sit there for an hour so waiters would not have to serve them during speeches. And that's not to mention the explosive-sniffing dogs who swept every room before Clinton entered.

"This was the Godzilla of events when it came to planning," said Todd Shapiro, whose public-relations firm helped Garay's group.

Although the intense planning began Thursday when the White House advance staff arrived on Long Island, some Long Islanders had been wowing the first lady for years.

Carole Hankin, superintendent of the Syosset Central School District, has mailed and fixed letters and press re-

leases to Clinton for two years describing the district's achievements. Hankin, an energetic promoter with a long mailing list, can't recall whether the first lady ever responded. But she does remember the phone call Thursday from someone named Patti who said Clinton wanted to visit the school district. "I fell off my chair," Hankin said.

Garay, a lawyer at Rivkin, Radler & Kremer in Uniondale, was equally stunned when she approached Clinton in December after a luncheon in Manhattan and asked her to speak at the Long Island Women's Agenda, a group she had recently formed to promote women's issues. Clinton agreed on the spot. Last week, White House speechwriters interviewed Garay about the Women's Agenda to help them craft a fitting speech.

The advance planning was not enough to forestall last-minute changes yesterday. Clinton had originally intended to visit two classrooms and a teacher-training program at Syosset but visited only one class and gave a speech. The change helped accommodate the teachers, parents, administrators and media who wanted to see Clinton — as well as Secret Service, who didn't want Clinton changing locations so many times, and school officials, who worried that students would trip over wires if they shuffled between classrooms.

Hillary's Dig at Rudy

CLINTON from Page A6

gible for the health-care program. But she warned that the program is not "being given the support that it needs in many areas where it should be."

"People who are told that they must search for work to get their health benefits or led to believe that they are no longer eligible or otherwise discouraged to apply for Medicaid will not be the kind of independent, self-sufficient citizens that we want in this country. If these stories are true, they violate the provi-

sions and the purpose of the welfare law."

Clinton's comments were a veiled reference to complaints last year about Giuliani's policy of delaying Medicaid applications and food stamps to eligible people.

A federal judge in Manhattan has scheduled hearings on charges by advocates of the poor that qualified people are being steered away from applying for Medicaid and other federal benefits under the mayor's welfare policies.

Robert Pulner contributed to this story.

New York Times J

EDITORIALS

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

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Publisher, President and CEO

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CAROL R. RICHARDS, Deputy Editor of the Editorial Pages

Hillary's Debut

The first lady was indefatigable and smart but hobbled by the Clinton connection.

The strengths — and the weaknesses — of a run for the Senate by the first lady were on display yesterday as Hillary Rodham Clinton toured on Long Island.

There is no doubt the first lady has star power, no doubt that she knows the issues and how to campaign. All this was obvious as she

spoke at the John F. English Symposium on Health Care at Hofstra yesterday. Clinton lights up a room more like a movie star than a politician. And her 45-minute speech on health care was a policy tour de force, if not a bit wonkish. She would hit the ground running if elected to represent New York in the Senate.

But the baggage she carries from six years in the White House was also on display. She had to painfully step around the failure of her health-care initiative in 1994, one of the more spectacular policy crashes in modern political history. She isn't going to make the same mistake twice, said Clinton. She now believes in taking smaller steps. And her prescriptions for Medicare were carefully referenced to what the president had already supported. If she is to become a candidate for the Senate, her ties to the White House will be confining. In that sense she runs with some of the burdens of an incumbent, not with the free swagger of a challenger.

In small groups and controlled settings, Clinton can be charming and gracious. She has learned to spend endless hours meeting, greeting and posing and doing it with style. But once she steps out of the cocoon of the White House and becomes Candidate Hillary, she will be subjected to the slings and arrows of New York politics. By most accounts, including George Stephanopoulos' recent book, Hillary Clinton doesn't have her husband's resiliency and, indeed, can be resentful and vindictive, especially to the press. That doesn't bode well for a campaign that could be even nastier than the 1998 D'Amato-Schumer mudfest.

Watching the first lady on Long Island just whets the journalistic appetite for a classic confrontation in 2000. Hillary Rodham Clinton vs. Rudolph Giuliani. Could it get any better than that? Still, we can't help but wonder whether it would be a terrible mistake for Clinton and a disservice to the people of this state. Is she really ready for New York and is New York ready for her?

MARLETTE'S VIEW



Russia as Slavic Peace Broker? It's Worth a Try

The bombing of Kosovo has set NATO and that he is virtually a nonfunctional figure — intervene militarily on the Serbs' side — even if

Skip NY, Hillary, and Aid Other Dems

WILL SHE or won't she? Not even Hillary Clinton's closest friends know for sure — if she will run for Senate from New York.

Despite a campaign-style sweep through Long Island and New York City the past two days, despite the dozens of calls she's made to state politicians, the only thing clear is she's seriously thinking of a run in 2000 for the seat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is vacating.



Lawrence C. Levy

"She wants to be a senator," said an adviser who watched her charm 1,000 people at the John F. English Symposium on Health Care at Hofstra University. "The question for her is whether this is the right seat at the right time."

She would make a great senator. As an artful advocate and politician, she'd leave her mark even if she were in the minority. She would slay the media dragon with all the style and grace she has endured crisis after crisis in the White House.

But, for all the cheering ovations that greeted her, for all the people who waited in the rain to hear her speak, I believe she should not — and ultimately will not — run.

And if she does, and her opponent is New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, I believe she'd lose.

Obviously, I am not writing from the heart. I adore Hillary Clinton. But why would she want to risk \$30 million of her party's money on what would promise to be at best a close, nasty contest?

When she began looking at the race, she was 20 points up in most polls. That lead has shrunk at a time when the mayor's popularity has hit an all-time low. Big leads lost are seldom recovered. And New Yorkers are seemingly bothered she never lived here. Run, they tell pollsters, but somewhere else.

Clinton — who at Hofstra even managed a veiled swipe at Giuliani's shabby welfare reform record — would be constantly on the defensive. She'd have to defend the administration and her own role in it, such as the health-care reform debacle. Then there's her work as a connected lawyer in Little Rock. Why would she want to spend a year talking about shredded documents at the Rose law firm or insider stock deals? I doubt she would. Why would she risk her reputation, especially when there are other, politically more useful things for her to do in her final year as first lady?

What will persuade Clinton to take a pass, however, isn't so much the fear of losing or having her

image sullied. In the end, it will be her sense of duty to her party and her husband's legacy.

Think about it: What better way to show history that the people saw the Republican impeachment persecution as worse than Clinton's philandering and lying than if they elect a Democrat to succeed him and take control of the House?

And who better than Hillary Clinton to barnstorm around the country for Democrats in two dozen competitive House seats? In 1998, a year Democrats were supposed to be crushed by the Lewinsky scandal, she raised tens of millions of dollars for Democratic congressional candidates. And almost singlehandedly, she helped her husband's allies, especially in the swing suburbs, come within six seats of retaking the House.

But if she's such a superstar, why, if she ran, do I believe she'd lose to Giuliani? Simple: No Republican who can get 40 percent of the vote in New

York City is likely to lose a statewide race. And for a mayor who won with more than 60 percent two years ago, 40 percent shouldn't be hard to get.

Hillary Clinton should know that. Upstate is heavily Republican, and Democrats need to offset that by holding Republicans under 30 percent in the city. And then Democrats need to stay close in the suburbs. But the first lady is worried about Giuliani's popularity in Nassau and Westchester, where the race would likely be won or lost. Despite the raucous reception before a women's group in Woodbury yesterday, even the gender gap is not as big as she'd like.

"She knows he's their Saturday night mayor," said another adviser, alluding to how a safer and cleaner city has lured suburbanites back. "He's more popular in the suburbs than in the city."

In 2000, instead of taking a chance in one state, I bet she'll choose to be decisive in a lot of states.

Cartoon View



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THE NEW YORK TIMES METRO WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1999

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Vic DeLucia/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Hofstra University yesterday in Hempstead, N.Y., where she was honored for her work in health care. With her, front row, from left, were Harold Ickes, Basil A. Paterson and William J. Cunningham 3d, all from the law firm of Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein, an award sponsor. Behind her was Anthony L. Watson of the Health Insurance Plan of New York.

Hillary Clinton Checks Out Suburbs

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Hillary Rodham Clinton made a campaign-style trip yesterday into the heart of the Long Island suburbs that would be crucial to winning a race for United States Senate, then came back into Manhattan for two more events to finish off a 13-hour day.

But in a total of six appearances before such Democratic constituencies as teachers, lawyers, women, Jews, members of minority groups and patrons of the arts, Mrs. Clinton made no teasing references to her potential Senate race, as she has in the past, and stayed within the bounds of First Lady.

Still, this First Lady's busyness is sometimes hard to distinguish from a candidate's stump speech. In an address at Hofstra University in Hempstead, Mrs. Clinton first mentioned her failure on pushing Congress to enact sweeping national health care reform — "Clearly that approach did not work, and we're not going to try that again, rest assured" — then described herself as a new incrementalist.

"I come from the school of smaller steps now," she said, adding that 3.1 million New Yorkers have no health insurance and that 1,500 children in New York may lose their insurance as they get older.

One notable moment of the day came at a lunch for the Long Island Women's Agenda at the Crest

Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, where Mrs. Clinton sat on the dais next to Libby Pataki, the wife of Gov. George E. Pataki. The Republican Governor has a quarrelsome relationship with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a potential opponent of Mrs. Clinton in a Senate race. The two women chatted cheerfully and praised each other in their speeches; Mrs. Pataki called herself "the warm-up act" for Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton started her day at the Village Elementary School in Syosset, where she spoke about the need for more teachers and after-school programs. "She did not seem to be playing to a broader audience," said Jeffrey Rozran, the president of the Syosset Teachers' Association. "She was playing to this audience, and I'm grateful for that."

In the afternoon at the New York University School of Law, Mrs. Clinton presented awards to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Dr. Alexander Boraine, a professor in the school's global law program. In one of the only public references yesterday to her possible campaign, Dr. Boraine told the First Lady to cheers from the law students that "who knows, we may see more of you in New York."

In the evening, Mrs. Clinton attended fund-raisers for the United Jewish Appeal and the Whitney Museum of American Art.

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April 1999

Memorandum to

✓ The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

Marsha Berry
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Maggie Williams
By fax 011-331-4764-9560

Diane Blair
By fax 501-521-8373

Susan Thomases
By fax 212-327-4327

Mandy Grunwald
By fax 202-338-7554

From

Harold Ickes

Re

1. AP story of 4.19.99 by Mark Fishbein (2 pages)
2. AP story of 4.20.99 by Betty Karpman (2 pages)
3. Lambaugh's Then & Now Bad Day from
Hillman 4.20.99 (3 pages)
4. NY Times 4.20.99 re protests in Buffalo (1 page)
5. Article of 4.19.99 from The Advocate by
Paul Schindler (5p)

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Mon April 19, 1999 13:48 EDT

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Poll: Majority say Hillary Clinton shouldn't run

MARC HUMBERT

AP Political Writer

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) — In a sign New York voters may be cooling to the idea of a Hillary Rodham Clinton candidacy, a majority now think the first lady should not run for the Senate next year, a statewide poll reported Monday.

Two months ago, barely more than a third said she shouldn't run.

The latest poll from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found that 52 percent of voters said Mrs. Clinton should not seek the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, up from 37 percent in Marist's February poll. Forty-two percent of voters in the latest poll said she should run, down from 56 percent in February.

In the new poll, just under 50 percent of voters predicted Mrs. Clinton would go for the Senate seat, down from 64 percent in February.

The poll came as the first lady began a multi-day trip to New York that advisers have said is important as she considers the pros and cons of running for the Senate seat.

On the other side of the political aisle, there were new rumblings about tension between Republican Gov. George Pataki and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a possible GOP opponent for Mrs. Clinton in the Senate race. According to a published report, the governor's top patronage dispenser has been discouraging New York's Republican leaders from lining up behind Giuliani.

As with several other recent independent polls, the Marist poll found voter preference almost evenly split between Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani. Forty-four percent said they favored Mrs. Clinton while 43 percent opted for the Republican mayor. Both are considering the race.

A February poll from Marist had Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 49 percent to 38 percent.

Marist pollster Lee Miringoff said that after the "initial flurry and wave of speculation" about a possible run by the first lady, "clearly there's a feeling she's an outsider."

The Poughkeepsie-based pollster said occasional trips into New York like the one she began Monday wouldn't help dispel that notion.

"The fly-by campaign only heightens the fact she's not here," the pollster said.

In fact, Giuliani has already been using the carpetbagger issue against Mrs. Clinton, noting repeatedly that she has never lived in New York. The Marist poll found that 51 percent of voters questioned expressed at least some concern that Mrs. Clinton wasn't from New York.

"No one said this was going to be a cake walk," New York Sen. Charles Schumer, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton, said during a Monday morning stop with the first lady in New York City. "This is going to be a tough, tough race, but I think as the voters get to know her she'll do better and better."

Schumer said Mrs. Clinton was still "in a period of introspection. She's thinking about whether this is the right choice to make."

Marist's telephone poll of 512 registered voters was conducted last Tuesday and Wednesday and has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. (S" S" S" < (1Normal.ThisDocument @0

On the Giuliani-Pataki front, the governor's appointments director, Thomas Doherty, told the New York Post that the mayor's 1994 decision to cross party lines and back then-Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo against Pataki "still sticks in my throat." Pataki won that race.

The Post said Doherty was discouraging GOP leaders from getting behind the mayor now. Doherty grumbled to the Post that the mayor hadn't even called Pataki to talk about the Senate race.

"If you were interested in running for office in New York, and you have a leader of our party being the governor, I would think it would be natural to make a phone call out of common courtesy," Doherty told the tabloid.

While Doherty didn't respond immediately Monday to a telephone call seeking comment, Pataki spokeswoman Zenia Mucha said: "These were Tom's personal comments and we're certain that if and when the mayor decides to undertake a Senate run, that he'll inform us."

Giuliani spokeswoman Cristyne Lategano said that at a private meeting in New York City late last month, the mayor had informed Pataki of his interest in the Senate race. Lategano said that at that meeting, the mayor had also "absolutely" told Pataki he wanted the governor's support if he ran.

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PREOR

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Mrs. Clinton starts 2nd day of NY road trip, examining frogs.

11:22
11:23
11:24
11:25**BETH J. HARPAZ**

Associated Press Writer

NEW YORK (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton for the first time explained why she's considering running for Senate in a state where she has never lived. But she refused to commit herself to becoming a candidate.

"I love New York to start with — I always have," she said Monday as she jam-packed eight events around Manhattan into a 14-hour day. "I am very interested in a lot of the issues I think will continue to be important for New York and America into the next century. New York is truly a microcosm of America."

She said she's always been excited by the diversity of New York, from its big cities to what she described as "rural areas that provide some of the crops you might be surprised are actually grown right here."

As for her potential candidacy for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, she would say only: "I'm obviously still considering and exploring and am very interested."

Mrs. Clinton won't decide on a Senate run before July, said her adviser Harold Ickes.

Mrs. Clinton began the second day of her New York road trip at the Village Elementary School in Syosset, examining African dwarf frogs and plant life with some third-graders.

Mrs. Clinton visited the school because it is an example of educational excellence. She has two other Long Island stops, delivering a health care speech at Hofstra University and a Long Island Women's Agenda luncheon in Woodbury — followed by appearances at New York University Law School and at a United Jewish Appeal fund-raiser.

She returns to Washington on Wednesday but comes back to New York on Thursday with stops in Niagara Falls and again on Long Island.

Her itinerary is considered part of her work as first lady and is being paid for by U.S. taxpayers.

"This is not an exploratory trip," she said. "This is a trip filled with events and occasions, some of which I agreed to do months ago."

A new poll out Monday from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion indicates that New Yorkers may be cooling to her. The telephone poll of 512 registered voters showed her and the likely Republican candidate, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, in a dead heat. Half of those polled said Mrs. Clinton should not run.

In a poll just two months ago, Mrs. Clinton led Giuliani, 49 percent to 38 percent. Each poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

"No one said it was going to be a cakewalk," said Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., who attended an event with Mrs. Clinton on Monday in Central Park. "This is going to be a tough, tough race, but I think as people get to know her, she'll do better and better."

The park event highlighted an effort to link hiking trails around the country. Mrs. Clinton was introduced to the audience by U.S. Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-Manhattan, who said: "I want to wish her all the best as she hits a

different kind of trail right here in New York state."

Mrs. Clinton started the day meeting with foundations about humanitarian aid for the Kosovar refugees, and said she intends to visit Albania and Macedonia.

She also appeared at events hosted by the Ukrainian Institute, the Jewish Child Care Association and Teachers College, where she gave a speech criticizing the use of taxpayer dollars to subsidize private school tuitions.

She ended the day at a fund-raiser for Rep. Jerry Nadler, D-N.Y., who supported President Clinton during the impeachment.

"He ... defended with great vigor, intelligence and energy the Constitution when it was in the view of many Americans being misused during the battles in the Congress, the last Congress, that took place in the Judiciary (Committee) and on the floor of the House," she said.

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Limbaugh: This is a BAD NEWS DAY for Hillary

April 20, 1999 was a banner day for talk radio coverage of Mrs. Clinton. RFA provides the following is the transcript regarding how Rush Limbaugh treated the various news stories regarding Mrs. Clinton.

Topic: Hillary

"A new biography of Hillary Rodham Clinton. Funny! Washington Times details it today. Also, Hillary Clinton herself in New York revving up the interest in her Senate run starting to use the word 'we' while in New York to discuss her life and her campaign. Also, it is reported, ladies and gentlemen, she has been refused by a New York Co-op, a building she wanted to move into and the Co-op board said, 'No. We don't want you here. Too much attention. Too many protesters. Too much, uh, you have too high a profile.' By the way, its, it's not uncommon for celebrities, famous people, controversial people to not be approved by a New York Co-op board. It happens to a bunch of people, Madonna and all that. There are places she could get in if she wanted to, but very few.

"But it's interesting. One of the reasons given were her financials. Not just the fact that if Hillary lives there, there's going to be a constant parade of press people camped outside, photographers on the roofs of nearby buildings. All of that will happen. But they don't mention that, well, they do mention that but they don't mention it as much as her financials. Her financials are part of the problem as well. That could mean anything. It could mean she doesn't have enough, she doesn't make enough, they're worried she may not be able to make payments. I don't know what it means, but its not, it's not good when the Co-op board says your financials don't cut it."

Topic: Hillary

"First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made a marathon campaign-style swing to the Big Apple yesterday declaring, 'I Love New York.' However, a new poll suggests New Yorkers don't love her as much as they once did. Get this; this cannot be comforting news for the First Lady. A majority of New York voters, 52% now think the first lady should not run for the Senate from New York. 42% think that they, think that she should. This is the latest from the Marist College poll. It also found Mrs. Clinton has lost the 10 point lead she held in January over the, the mayor, Rudolph, 'Rudy' Giuliani. And now is virtually tied with the mayor at 43.5% to his 42.8. Yup, that's a statistical draw.

"Also, the carpetbagger issue is rising with a majority of New Yorkers. Mrs. Clinton said at the US mission to the United Nations yesterday, she was asked why, uhm, why she would want to be the Senator of a state where she has never lived. She said, 'I love New York, to start with. We have everything in New York that we have in America.' Now, this is Mrs. Clinton, this is, you know, the woman who back channels with uh, with uh, Eleanor Roosevelt. Notice the use of the word 'we' here. She's never lived there. She doesn't live there now. She visits New York.

"Her quote: 'We have everything in New York that we have in America.' What does that mean? I mean, even if she were a New Yorker. Even if she'd lived there all her life, what does this mean? 'We have everything in New York that we have in America.' I mean, I, I thought that was America. You know, the thing that gets me is, about this quote, that I thought New York was America. In many people's minds, New York is America and anything outside of New York is a foreign country. But the way, I mean, you can read this to sound like, well there's America and then there's New York. This statement, I'm going to tell you, once New Yorkers stop and think about it, this is not going to go over well. And it's going to make this number, this 52% in the Marist poll who think she shouldn't run, its going to jump. 'We have everything in New York that we have in America?'

"She then continued, 'I have always been very excited about the dynamism of the people here and the real cutting-edge approach.' This is the first time, make a note, the first time she's answered any questions from the New York press corps. This is, this is, this is not the sort of stuff that a brilliantly run campaign is made of."

Topic: Hillary

"You know, this is not a good news day for the first lady. I mean, there's a, a mountain of news today that is just devastating for her. First, we have story of the Marist poll in New York. 52% of the American people say she shouldn't run, or 52% of the people in New York say she should not seek a Senate seat there. She is in a statistical dead heat with her supposed opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph 'Rudy' Giuliani. She has been rejected by a New York Co-op. She wanted to buy a place and the Co-op board, let me, by the way... *goes on to explain the co-op system in New York City...*

"...It really is, is unlike anything anywhere else. And so the news is out today that Mrs. Clinton wanted to buy an apartment in a co-op building and was rejected. And the news also is that in addition to the fact that as a public figure she would attract constant press, a lot of protesters raising hell outside her building, that her financials didn't quite meet up.

"Now, there are a lot of people today who are speculating that this is nothing more than BS, that there's nothing to it, that the whole thing is a crock. And so, as a matter of fact, I got an e-mail note from somebody that said, 'Yeah, I don't believe it. I don't believe the Co-op story for a minute.' I said, 'Well, why put it out? Why put the co-op story out?' Well, there are obvious reasons. One of the primary reasons that Mrs. Clinton would put out a phony co-op story—and by the way, no co-op is ever going to confirm or deny that it happened, so she can take liberties all she wants. Uhm, but it is a great way to build a bridge of relatability with the little people. See, even the most powerful woman in the world, even the most intelligent woman in the world runs up against obstacles that she can't overcome. Just being a powerful first lady doesn't guarantee you anything, doesn't get you anything. So, it's a way to show that, that she's just like everybody else. She was rejected by the rich. She was rejected by the elites. She was rejected by the snoot-nosed upper crust. And in this way, too, she builds that bridge of relatability to the little people.

"Uhm, another angle here, in putting out this financial story would be to gain sympathy: 'Oooh, Mrs. Clinton, these people. She's done so much for America. She doesn't even care for herself. She's devoted her life to charity and look it. They kicked her out of the building or wouldn't let her in because she doesn't have enough money,'—another bridge of relatability. See, Mrs. Clinton's just like you scrimping and saving, doing everything she can, paycheck to paycheck, eking out her meager existence. And then these, obviously these Republicans in this buildings, without any compassion whatsoever, just said, 'Get out of here. We don't want you.' And, so there could be some reasons why you'd put out the phony co-op story. It could very well be. I don't know, but it's possible. It's also possible that it's true, too, either way."

"Well, in addition to all of this news, the bad electoral news and then we had news yesterday that she's bent out of shape that Elizabeth Dole beat her to Kosovo. Word is out now that she saw Elizabeth Dole in Kosovo on TV. 'Why is she there? I'm supposed to be there first!' she said to her staff. So, her staff is now arranging a trip. Plus, 'Limbaugh on the radio Friday!' And I did this. I said, 'You know, Eleanor would've been there by now. We all now that Eleanor would've been there. A lot of first ladies would've been there by now.' But Hillary, nope. She's not there. Where is she? So, the pressure's been brought o bare.

"Now, there's another story on top of all this. There's a new biography coming out on Mrs. Clinton that hits the store shelves tomorrow. Or, if you don't want to mess around with the store shelves, you can simply call Amazon.com or get on-line and go to Amazon.com and get the book. It is entitled The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton and its written by a historian named Joyce Milton. 'It has arresting moments.' The biographer, the author, 'Joyce Milton contends that the first lady hired detectives to trail her husband as early as the 1980s' because she felt that he was stepping out on her, two-timing her. This book also claims that 'it was the first lady that banned Barbra Streisand from overnight stays at the White House after hearing that Streisand had dallied with the president. The author also names a dozen other of Bill Clinton's paramours and calls Mrs. Clinton a connection for various questionable campaign donations.

"Joyce Milton said from her home in Brooklyn yesterday, 'I was surprised the entire time I was writing this book Whenever something surfaces which I thought was merely some canard set forth by the Clintons' enemies, it turned out to be true.' Uhm, this book approaches the first lady as a canny media entity who gained insight even through the death of Princess Diana. It 'crystallized Hillary's appreciation of the power of celebrity. It was Diana's face on the cover of a thousand magazines, not her resume, that had been the source of her power.'

"Mrs. Clinton is a practical kind of celebrity. She's a survivor. She saw what happened to Princess Di. She knew how she could make it happen for herself. Publisher's Weekly has called this a revealing and withering portrait. Uhm, this book, folks, there's 13 pages of footnotes. It is scrupulously documented. Campaign finance gets a thorough going-over. The author of the biography calls long-time Clinton ally John Huang 'a spy' for either the Riady family or for China. Well, we've known this. But now, here it's going to be in Hillary's biography. The author said that Huang's job at the Department of Commerce was courtesy of Mrs. Clinton herself that she set it up.

"The book offers detailed connections between Mrs. Clinton and Mark Jimenez, a campaign contributor now under indictment, the Riady family, Johnny Chung, government officials in Guam, among other places. There's a cavalcade of excruciating details about life with Bill. One of these little details is that Hillary cusses a lot. I mean, she swears like a sailor. The author said she was most disturbed by early accounts of Mrs. Clinton role-playing with the daughter Chelsea, to prepare the child for the rigors of political life.

"It's not all negative, though. There's, there's quite a lot of positive stuff in the, in the book as well. The book touches on the Monica Lewinsky matter. And she says, by the way, that January 7th, 1998, when the first couple announced the new day-care initiative, was Hillary Rodham Clinton's last truly happy day in the White House. Later concluding that the first lady must be held accountable for her bad judgment in believing her husband's private flaws did not impact on his office.

"It's a 448-page biography, sixteen chapters. The author says, 'I can't get over the fact that Hillary Clinton's greatest public feat was to help her husband lie to the rest of us.' Whew! What a cut! What a slam! That her 'greatest public accomplishment, the smartest women in the world, her greatest public, public accomplishment was to help her husband lie to the American people.

"This is not what they're going to call a good news day for the first lady. Which lie was she talking about? I assume she was the Monica Lewinsky lie, but pick a lie. I mean, the over-all behavior pattern of the White House is to lie and, uhm, the first lady here, furthered it, made it possible, made it happen.

"In the end, though, in this book, so it says, Hillary wins. Whatever her shortcomings, no one can deny that Hillary Rodham Clinton is resilient. Doubtless she will be with us, testing some new role or other long after Bill Clinton has faded from the scene. At any rate, time to take another commercial time-out."

Protests in Buffalo Continue, With Police and Media Outnumbering Abortion Opponents

By DAVID W. CHEN

AMHERST, N.Y., April 19—Braving numbing rain and whistling winds, more than 80 abortion protesters fanned across the suburbs of Buffalo this morning in the second day of a highly publicized week of demonstrations, delivering their message at high schools, public thoroughfares and at the area's biggest bookstore, which they said was promoting child pornography.

As was the case on Sunday, there were no reports of violence or arrests, only a few terse exchanges between abortion-rights supporters and participants in Operation Save America, the series of events organized by Operation Rescue, the national antiabortion group.

Traffic in Buffalo, not a major headache to begin with, did not suffer, either.

And with a fortified presence outside abortion clinics and other locations, police officials said that they did not expect much disorder for the balance of the week, a serene contrast to the tumult of 1992, when more than 600 people were arrested during a series of demonstrations against abortions called the Spring of Life.

Indeed, for the first two days at least, there has been little difference

between Operation Save America and peaceful demonstrations in other cities on more mundane subjects, with people holding homemade signs, talking among their ideological brethren and waving to honking drivers. Little difference, that is, except for the intense news media and law enforcement attention.

It was only six months ago that Dr. Barnett A. Stepan, an Amherst obstetrician and gynecologist who performed abortions, was killed in his home by a sniper in a case that made national headlines and still remains open.

So at some locations today, the protesters were outnumbered by the police, or outnumbered by television reporters doing live broadcasts, giving the whole spectacle the aura of a much-anticipated Broadway show opening to a less-than-packed house.

That may change on Tuesday, when the first of several demonstrations will be held outside the Buffalo GYN Womanservices clinic, where Dr. Stepan used to work.

For now, advocates on both sides have been content to interpret it all to their advantage. "We're happy that so many of them didn't show up," said Karen Nichols, a 28-year-old administrative assistant from Brooklyn who is taking the week off

to participate in counterdemonstrations organized by the abortion-rights group Refuse and Resist. "This is a very small circus. A flea circus."

For abortion opponents, though, the mission of Operation Save America is not about attendance, or expectations. It is not even really about

A serene contrast, so far, to the spring of '92, when more than 600 were arrested.

abortion, they say; it is, instead, about strengthening a society weakened by immorality.

"We take a stand, and we declare this city belongs to Jesus," said Joe Hermis, a minister who, with his wife, Tina, drove five hours from Columbus, Ohio, to participate. "I call this a spiritual war, and that's the way the Scriptures describe it."

With a grab bag of issues like abortion, child pornography, teen-

age sex and school violence, today's activities had been billed by organizers as a move to broaden their agenda. But with the exception of one large sign accusing Barnes & Noble of promoting child pornography by selling books by the photographer Jack Sturges, most of the signs, the discussion and the pamphlets during a long day of protests dwelled on abortion. The day was capped by a Spring of Life reunion dinner attended by more than 200 people.

Throughout the day, there were the occasional flashes of righteous passion so common to the abortion debate. At the Barnes & Noble, protesters clashed verbally when Rusty Thomas, a minister who lives near Waco, Tex., spoke thunderously about America's problems.

"We are drowning in a sea of blood," said Mr. Thomas, his voice slicing through the drizzling rain. He said "evil has opened up like a Pandora's box" and talked about the need for freedom.

"Yeah, freedom from religion!" an abortion-rights supporter yelled back.

At Kenmore East High School, Bill Nelson, 18, a senior, took exception to the graphic posters that showed the bodies of Jews in concentration camps side by side with a picture of

an aborted fetus, and that described both as Holocausts.

"Pro-choice!" he yelled from a distance, pumping his fist to the applause of some classmates.

"Pro-death!" an abortion opponent fired back.

"It's a woman's issue!" Mr. Nel-

son continued.

"Yeah, to go to bed with a guy!" the opponent volleyed back.

About 30 minutes later, Mr. Nelson, his ire quelled, talked about how he was awayed, mostly, that the protesters showed up at his school. "They've got no life," he said.

Despite Criticism, US Airways Increases Fares in New York

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

ROCHESTER, April 18—The only airline with jet service within New York State quietly raised ticket prices over the weekend, pushing fares as much as 67 percent higher than a year ago. The airline, US Airways, is already under intense criticism from corporate and political leaders for charging high fares within the state.

At the same time, the airline is cutting one daily flight and ending all jet service between La Guardia Airport and Syracuse, instead using smaller turboprop planes starting May 4, Richard Weintraub, an airline spokesman, confirmed.

US Airways increased last-minute business fares between New York City and Albany to \$450 for a round trip, \$80, or 15.4 percent, higher than the price a year ago. That raises the cost to \$1.65 per mile. US Airways reports that it breaks even when its revenue is about 11 cents per mile for each seat on its planes.

US Airways' round-trip business fares from New York City are now \$459 to Buffalo, \$416 to Rochester and \$436 to Syracuse.

The biggest percentage increases were on the cheapest advance-purchase tickets, which are nonrefundable and require a Saturday night stay. The round-trip fare between La Guardia Airport and Rochester, for example, was raised on Friday to \$224 from \$134 for the comparable season a year ago, an increase of 67 percent. That fare rise was cut back slightly Saturday to \$204, a 52 percent increase.

Even before the latest fare increases, Rochester had the nation's fourth-highest fares, United States Department of Transportation data show, while Buffalo and Syracuse had among the 20 most expensive.

Lawrence M. Nagin, general counsel for US Airways, said the increases were part of an industry-wide rise in fares last week. "No one market was targeted," he said, but

he declined to discuss fares for specific cities. Over all, the airline industry has raised business fares about 3 percent this year and leisure fares 2 percent.

The fare increases were denounced by political figures and business leaders, many of whom described them as "price gouging" and called for Government intervention to encourage competition or regulate late prices.

United States Senator Charles E. Schumer, Democrat of New York, said US Airways "is pushing the envelope when it comes to abusing their monopoly status" and that the fares "are throttling the economy's upstate."

Representative John J. LaFalce, a Democrat whose district stretches from Buffalo to the Rochester Airport, said "the fare increases are outrageous," adding that US Airways "has a virtual monopoly in upstate New York."

Anthony M. Mastello, the Mayor of Buffalo, said, "punitively high air fares are causing serious economic problems for upstate New York, and its decline will seriously affect the whole state, and make us less competitive." He said reduced service worsened the economy.

The increases come barely a month after US Airways' only significant competitor within the state, Business Express Airlines, was acquired by the AMR Corporation, parent company of American Airlines. US Airways and American Airlines have a marketing alliance for their frequent-flyer and airport club programs, and upstate officials expressed skepticism that the two would become vigorous competitors.

But as US Airways is reducing its jet service, Business Express, which operates only turboprops, is acquiring up to 60 Brazilian-made jets that seat 37 passengers. In response, Mr. Nagin said, US Airways is considering replacing its turboprop service within the state with 50-seat Canadair regional jets.

ON LINE: Forecasts and conditions for 1,500 cities are available from The New York Times on the Web: www.nytimes.com

Weather Report

Metecology: Pennsylvania State University

Washington Forecast

The day will begin dull and damp in some sections as low pressure moves east of New Jersey. A drier air flow from the northwest will bring breaks in the clouds by midday. Some sunshine this afternoon will raise temperatures toward seasonal levels. The evening will be pleasant and mainly clear. Clouds will increase later tonight and tomorrow will become mainly overcast. A few showers or even a thunderstorm will arrive tomorrow afternoon as milder, moist air returns from the South.

TODAY Morning clouds, perhaps an early shower, some afternoon sun. High 63. Tonight, clear early. Low 51.

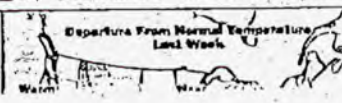
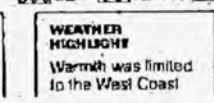
TOMORROW Becoming cloudy, afternoon showers possible. High 66.

THURSDAY, FRIDAY Very mild air should reach the area on Thursday, but with a few showers. A push of chilly, moist air from the Atlantic will spread southward on Friday causing a drop in temperatures along with some drizzles.

	High Today	Low Tonight	High Tomorrow
Washington	63	51	66
Baltimore	62	50	65
Manassas	63	49	65
Annapolis	62	49	64
Richmond	67	49	74
Charlottesville	65	48	67

Today's High Temperatures and Precipitation

Map for 2 P.M.
Eastern Time
April 20, 1999



Hillary Clinton Begins Non-Campaign Offensive

Hectic 2 Days of New York Appearances

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Presenting herself as a New Yorker in spirit and in politics, Hillary Rodham Clinton began a two-day tour through Manhattan and Long Island yesterday, praising the state's history and culture as she expounded for the first time on why she might want to be the Senator from a state she has never called home.

"I love New York," she proclaimed. "I always have."

In the course of a rigorous 12-hour day of speeches, dinners, photo sessions and a news conference, the First Lady also strongly assailed the idea of private school vouchers as a threat to the nation's public education system. In so doing, Mrs. Clinton drew a strong, though unstated, contrast to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is also considering running for Senate, and has enthusiastically embraced the idea of private school vouchers.

The First Lady, who will be spending three days in New York this week, said that her visits were all part of official White House business. As such, they are being financed almost entirely by taxpayers.

Still, Mrs. Clinton kept to a schedule that would have been considered heavy even for a declared candidate entering the final week of a difficult contest. Her choice of stops was reminiscent of a typical Democratic candidate's campaign itinerary, from an environmental event in Central Park in the morning to a fund-raiser for

Representative Jerrold L. Nadler, where she praised the Manhattan Democrat's "vigor, intelligence and energy" in defending her husband during impeachment proceedings.

Mrs. Clinton seemed to take pains to reply to a criticism that Mr. Giuliani has repeatedly raised about her potential candidacy: that if she ran, she would be a political opportunist, because she has never lived in New York.

Mrs. Clinton declared her affection for the state, instructing a roomful of reporters about the diversity of the state's agricultural crops and, by using the word "we" in discussing the state, all but implying that she was a New Yorker.

"New York is truly a microcosm of America," she said, adding that it had "everything from our biggest, most dynamic city to rural areas that produce some of the crops that you might be surprised to know are actually grown right here in New York."

"So we have everything in New York that we have in America," she said.

Mrs. Clinton, who grew up in Illinois, recounted her frequent visits to New York as First Lady, and said that she felt politically comfortable in the state. She suggested that representing New York would allow her to work on issues she had hoped to tackle as First Lady.

"The way that New York handles a lot of issues, and the challenges that



At Teachers College of Columbia University, Hillary Rodham Clinton received a painting yesterday from the choir of the Margaret Douglas School in Manhattan. Mrs. Clinton spoke out against private school vouchers, in contrast to her equally unannounced Senate rival, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

are going to be facing America in the next century, are ones that are of deep interest to me," Mrs. Clinton said. "So in my many visits to New York, I have always been very excited by the dynamism of the people here and the real cutting-edge approach to a lot of what I consider to be the important issues."

The First Lady's trip marked another chapter in what has become a very active if not quite-declared campaign between two not-quite-de-

clared candidates to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring next year. For all the tentativeness of Mrs. Clinton's intentions, her mere arrival drew a huge press contingent, including eight television cameras and a pack of reporters from Washington.

In this campaign netherworld, Mrs. Clinton and her staff seemed unsure whether she was a potential candidate or just a First Lady. They seemed flummoxed by questions

about the appropriateness of taxpayers' financing the trip; the First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, wearily suggested that a reporter who pressed her on who was paying for the travel was "a pinhead," though she said that the First Lady would address the question if and when her candidacy became more concrete.

While the schedule seemed designed to encourage press attention, the First Lady declined to provide routine transportation for her sizable press corps, apparently concerned that such a gesture might undercut her portrayal of the trip as business as usual.

Mr. Giuliani was anything but tentative in his treatment of a Democrat who even his aides acknowledge would be a formidable rival. Outside of New York City, "I do note, as I travel around the state, a very strong reaction against her running," he said. "I have people coming up to me, saying to me, and not just Republicans, why don't you go run in Arkansas?"

A schedule considered heavy even for a declared candidate.

He also criticized Mr. Clinton's handling of Kosovo. "From the very beginning, this should have been thought out better and the purpose should have been stated better," he said.

Yesterday marked the first time that the First Lady had publicly discussed a Senate race, at least on American soil. (She had answered questions about it during a visit to Cairo.) The First Lady did nothing to discourage the speculation; her remarks, in fact, suggested that she is exploring ways to deal with problems she might confront as someone who does not live in New York.

PUBLIC LIVES

Condo Roadblock For an Agnelli

Was it all because of a powder room?

SUSANNA AGNELLI IS NOW buying a second apartment in the Upper East Side apartment house where the talk-show host JOAN RIVERS also lives.

The seller, ELIJAH RASTNER, a film producer whose credits include "Farewell, My Lovely" and "Angel Heart," maintains that the deal hit a snag because Ms. Rivers, the president of the condominium board, tried to block the deal, saying, "I don't want to turn this into

In Congo or Kosovo, a Compulsion to Help

By ELISABETH BUIILLER

THEY tell each other it's because of the "3Ms" — in other words, they're convinced they have the characteristics of martyrs, milk and masochists. They see each other as the world's most horrific disasters. They dig wells, rehydrate children with intravenous fluid and live on adrenaline. Kosovo (and Rwanda and Uganda and Congo) are how they make their living.

So when Gerald Martone, a registered nurse, was talking to refugees over the weekend in northern Albania, he wasn't all that stunned when a fellow refugee worker ran up behind



U.S. Not Seeking Extradition In Queens Killing of Reporter

By GINGER THOMPSON
Officials at the United States Jus-

tiice in Puerto Rico, Mr. Sánchez added, "Even though the Colombian Government may want to apply Jus-



Doug Case @ sdsu.edu
04/13/99 04:51:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard Socarides

cc:

Subject: Is Rudy Giuliani the new Bill Weld?

The Advocate

April 13, 1999

<http://www.advocate.com>

Is Rudy ready for his close-up?

© Paul Schirder

Written exclusively for Advocate.com

The March 19 press release announcing the Log Cabin Republicans' annual Liberty for All leadership conference in August left no room for doubt. In the gay Republican fashion world, Rudy Giuliani is the new Bill Weld.

The former Republican governor of Massachusetts, Weld was a Log Cabin dream, outclassing all other state governors in his strong support of gay and lesbian civil rights, including marriage. Weld's warm embrace provided succor to foot soldiers engaged in the often thankless task of out gay Republican activism.

Named as Democrat Bill Clinton's nominee for ambassador to Mexico in 1997, however, Weld ran into a brick wall named Jesse Helms, who blocked confirmation hearings in the Senate. Weld resigned the governorship to battle Helms to the bitter end and has been out of public life since.

Potential heirs to Weld's mantle surfaced quickly. In a July 1998 piece in Out, Jonathan Capehart, a gay African-American editorial page writer at the New York Daily News, identified two from among America's mayors-Giuliani in New York and Richard Riordan in Los Angeles.

Capehart argued that gay and lesbian voters "did something revolutionary. We voted to reelect Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the tough guy, law-and-order darling who, along with a booming economy, has helped bring back the polish to the Big Apple." He concluded that Giuliani and Riordan were big-city examples of "gay men and lesbians junking ideology and in the process shunning Democrats in favor of Republicans."

As Giuliani moves inevitably toward a national stage, his success could have a crucial impact on the relationship between gays and the Republican Party. Prevented by term limits from seeking reelection in 2001, the mayor is widely expected to vie for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Pat Moynihan.

Two hurdles face Giuliani and his ambitions. The better known of the two is

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PS

the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom New York Democrats are begging to run. The president remains enormously popular in New York State, and his wife is probably his single strongest asset here. Rodham Clinton was practically a fixture here last fall campaigning for Brooklyn Democrat Chuck Schumer, who defeated incumbent senator Al D'Amato. One of her appearances was at a Tavern on the Green gay fund-raising lunch for Schumer, who went on to capture an estimated three quarters of the gay vote, despite D'Amato's endorsement by the Human Rights Campaign.

Though polls indicate that Rodham Clinton could run a competitive, perhaps even successful race against the mayor, Giuliani, increasingly visible on the talk show circuit, welcomes the opportunity to talk about Hillary rather than address a more immediate crisis. On February 4 an unarmed West African immigrant stopped for questioning in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building was fatally shot by four police officers, members of an elite street crimes unit, who fired 41 shots. The death of Amadou Diallo, the top local news story for almost two months now, poses a mortal threat to Giuliani's chief mayoral legacy-as crimebuster without parallel.

Outrage followed in the wake of Diallo's killing, and the mayor's reaction has reinforced popular notions that he is aloof, arrogant, and unfamiliar with the problems faced by many neighborhoods. In three weeks of civil disobedience held at police headquarters demanding action against the cops-indicted this week on second-degree murder charges-more than 1,000 protesters, including the New York State comptroller, labor officials, and Jewish leaders, were arrested. All five of the elected lesbian and gay officials who serve Manhattan in the city council and in Albany participated in the actions Giuliani as dismissed as "silly." Only when New York's Republican governor, George Pataki, suggested that the mayor could listen better, did Giuliani betray signs of getting the message.

Belatedly, Giuliani has begun to reach out to African-American leaders. One of them is Philip Reed, a city council member who represents Harlem, upper Manhattan, and parts of the south Bronx and is also gay and openly HIV-positive. At a meeting with about ten members of the council, Reed said he told Giuliani that he is critically wounded and "that your response to this incident will be the defining part of your mayoralty."

For New York's gays, the Diallo tragedy caps a year of growing concern about the adequacy of the city's response to an alarming rise in hate-motivated attacks that runs contrary to otherwise impressive reductions in crime. Coupled with long-standing suspicions about Giuliani among gay political activists and elected officials, concern about the equal treatment of all New Yorkers is causing the mayor something of a political "compassion gap."

Polling indicates that Giuliani faces this problem among many groups citywide, but recent protests and election results suggest it might be a particular problem among lesbian and gay voters.

Giuliani has never shied away from using confrontation as a leadership tool, and his relationship with gays is no exception. During his first term, clashes occurred most frequently over the delivery of AIDS services, but at least among some gay activists there was also strong opposition to

Giuliani's zoning reforms, which are driving adult businesses out of Manhattan. He staunchly defended an appointee's free speech rights, even to voice deeply homophobic views, and was widely seen as gay-baiting a foe who was schools chancellor. During the 1997 reelection contest, all of his Democratic opponents signed on for gay marriage rights, but Giuliani would not go there.

Even with the controversies, however, Giuliani made progress during his first term in attracting gay and lesbian voters. He polled less than 30% of the gay vote when he defeated David Dinkins in 1993, but four years later cut the Democratic advantage to 56%-39%. Most significantly, exit polls indicated that the mayor captured a solid victory among white gay voters and that he scored as well in traditionally gay neighborhoods—the Village, Chelsea, and Brooklyn's Park Slope, for example—as he did citywide. Gay voters followed patterns prevalent among New Yorkers generally—white voters signaled their appreciation for a safer city, while minorities retained significant reservations about the means to that end.

Giuliani opened his second term with a broad expansion of domestic-partnership rights accorded city employees, suggesting the importance of the gay vote in his political calculations. But tensions with gays have also increased since his reelection. Last spring police resisted for months efforts to classify an attack in which a gay man was called "faggot" and lost an eye as a bias crime. By September a wave of bias attacks and murders led the police department to acknowledge that antigay crime had risen by more than 75% over the previous year, a stark contrast to continued declines for the city as a whole.

The crime wave led some gay leaders, especially city council member Tom Duane and Christine Quinn, who headed the Anti-Violence Project, to demand that the police department and the mayor address the problem more forcefully. Criticism of the police became more widespread in the wake of the October 19 vigil held for Matthew Shepard. Organizers, who had not sought a permit for their demonstration, were caught off-guard when a crowd of roughly 7,000 turned out. Police, dressed in riot gear, were called in to contain the crowd, resulting in nearly 100 arrests and allegations of brutality that are being litigated.

A month and a half later, the mayor did himself no favor when his administration resisted the World AIDS Day effort by Housing Works, an HIV advocacy group, to march up Broadway's Canyon of Heroes, host weeks before for ticker tape parades honoring the Yankees and John Glenn. Demonstrators, who instead won a permit to assemble in City Hall park only after going to court, were stunned to discover New York's venerable civic center protected by cops on the rooftop.

Amid this growing tension with the police and the mayor, gay and lesbian leaders have forged a high profile in the recent Diallo protests. On March 18 police arrested 59 people in a demonstration that garnered wide media attention because Kweisi Mfume, the former congressman who heads the NAACP, was present. Most of the demonstrators that day, however, were lesbian and gay activists and politicians.

The participation of labor, Jewish, and gay leaders in the Diallo matter is

all the more remarkable given that protests have been led by the Rev. Al Sharpton, a figure who has often been a lightning rod in New York race relations. Sharpton's conflicts with the city's Jews are well-known, but activists in other groups have also often resisted his embrace of their issues. Sharpton has repeatedly been arrested protesting the exclusion of lesbian and gays from the St. Patrick's Day Parade, but when he ran for the Democratic nomination for mayor in 1997, out lesbian assembly member Deborah Glick flatly declared him unfit for the office. Glick's appearance at a press conference led by Sharpton last week, then, came as something of a surprise.

According to Reed, gay support for the Diallo cause has not gone unnoticed among African-Americans. The Rev. Calvin Butts, an influential Harlem minister who has typically taken traditionalist positions of social issues including sexuality, said he "will never forget" the role played by gays. Reed also relates the story of a close friend—a white gay man—employed by a large city agency, who was arrested and faced a hero's welcome from black colleagues, many of whom he did not know, some of them in tears, when he returned to work.

A recent special city council election also provides evidence that Giuliani's stature among gay voters has taken some hits, at least for the moment. When Tom Duane advanced to the state senate this January, four candidates, three of them openly gay or lesbian, scrambled to succeed him in the council's so-called gay seat representing Chelsea and the West Village. The race, of course, was not per se a referendum on Giuliani. It is significant, however, that a district the mayor won comfortably in 1997 was captured handily—with 53% of the vote in a field of four—by Christine Quinn, among Giuliani's most vocal critics on the response to antigay crime. Christopher Lynn, a gay man who served Giuliani as commissioner of transportation and ran as the "Quality of Life" candidate, scored an anemic 11%, fourth-place finish. The election came just two weeks after the Diallo incident, and Lynn later privately complained that the shooting compounded his problems in turning out more conservative voters in the district.

Reversals of fortune aside, Giuliani remains a formidable political force in New York. A Senate run against Hillary Clinton would likely rivet the nation. And as the mayor moves center stage, gay Republicans are excited about the prospect of him altering the conversation in the national party about gay rights.

Kevin Ivers, a Log Cabin spokesman, argues that Giuliani's role could be critical and points with satisfaction to his willingness talk about gay issues even to inhospitable audiences outside of New York. Ivers credits him with a consistency he finds lacking in Bill Clinton.

"Giuliani never wavers, he never panders," Ivers says, whether to the right or to the left. He argues that many gays and lesbians are reluctant to give Giuliani the credit he deserves, but Ivers is confident that his straight shooting—if you'll pardon the expression—will serve him well in the long run.

"I've never had any doubt that he what he was saying was true, even when I disagreed with him," Ivers says. "I can't fault him for that."

It remains to be seen whether Rudy Giuliani's famously brash candor will count for more than serious doubts that have reemerged among lesbian and gay New Yorkers.

Schindler is the editor in chief of LGNY, the biweekly newspaper for lesbian and gay New York, a post he has held since 1997. At LGNY he has forged a national reputation for the newspaper as an astute and aggressive observer of New York City's gay community and the local political scene. Schindler has also been a contributor to a wide variety of other publications, including Out and Poz. He lives in Brooklyn's Park Slope with his lover, Bert Vaccari, and their two Basenji hounds, Ajax and Paris.

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April 1999

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Memorandum to

The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

FAX DATE: 4-15-99

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

TO: _____

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

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FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT
202-887-6726 (9)
PAGES: _____

Marsha Berry
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~~Mandy Gronwald~~
By fax ~~202-338-7554~~

From

Harold Ickes

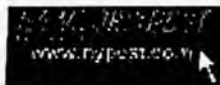
Re

New York Post Article on "Massive March Might Close
4/15/99 Brooklyn Bridge"

Daily News Article on "New York Can Cover its Uninsured"
4/14/99

Daily News Article on "Biggest Step Yet for Rudy in his
4/13/99 Bid for Senate"

Daily News article on "Laborers Union Turns to Ickes"



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NEWS

**MASSIVE MARCH MIGHT CLOSE
BROOKLYN BRIDGE**

By Tom Topousis, Frankie Edozien,
Larry Celona and Tracy Connor.

More than 1,000 cops are bracing for a mammoth demonstration today to protest the police shooting of Amadou Diallo - one that could shut the Brooklyn Bridge and wreak havoc with the evening rush hour.

The NYPD has assigned 200 community affairs officers to stick with the marchers as they make their 3 p.m. trek from Cadman Plaza to 26 Federal Plaza in lower Manhattan.

In addition, there will be another 200 cops assigned to the rally site in downtown Brooklyn and 800 cops at the federal building, officials said.

The police will keep the marchers on the bridge's walkway, unless there are too many of them.

In that case, they will open up the Manhattan-bound roadway.

The rally organizers - a coalition that includes the Rev. Al Sharpton's National Action Network, health-care workers' union Local 1199, and the NAACP - have been trying to drum up support with TV and radio commercials.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson joined Sharpton and 300 organizers yesterday to encourage New Yorkers to turn out in large numbers.

"This is about the soul of America," said Jackson, who will not be able to attend the march. "This is a national struggle, led from New York."

The demonstrators will be calling for federal action against police brutality nationwide, but

Diallo's name will be their rallying cry.

"If he had been a drug addict, we would not be here. If he had had a gun, we would not be here. Of course, if those who had killed him had been black, we would not be here," Jackson said.

"There is power in his innocent blood. Diallo was the caboose in a long train of abuses. He represents enough is enough."

The unarmed black immigrant was killed Feb. 4, and the four white cops who shot him in a hail of 41 bullets have been charged with murder.

The indictments don't end the need for protest, Sharpton said.

"Even if there are convictions in the case of the police officers that have been indicted in the murder of Amadou Diallo, in the case of Abner Louima, that will not change policing in New York," he said.

"We are determined to sustain the coalition so we can change the system, so that no Amadou will ever happen again," Sharpton added.

"We need the federal government to intervene in New York because this administration is incapable of defending all its citizens."

Mayor Giuliani, who spent two days in Texas, will be back in the city for the protest.

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**Last 6 Days**From: News and Views | Opinion |
Wednesday, April 14, 1999

New York Can Cover Its Uninsured

By DIANA FORTUNA and CHARLES BRECHER
Daily News Staff Writers

One out of four New York City residents has no health insurance. Statewide, it's one out of six.

Those are astounding numbers, particularly given the strength of the economy and the fact that the very poor have coverage through Medicaid and the elderly through Medicare.

Equally astounding: Taxpayers spend a whopping \$3.9 billion annually in federal, state and local funds for medical care for the uninsured in New York State. That's enough money to solve the problem — enough money, in fact, to provide accessible health care to New York's uninsured at a reasonable cost and *still* save hundreds of millions.

Clearly, New York must reshape its health-care system so taxpayers get full value for their money and the working poor get the coverage they need.

Right now, the uninsured — typically working men and women and children of working parents — rely on hospital emergency rooms for medical care, often at public expense. All too often, the funds are not coordinated, and much of the medical care is unnecessarily expensive.

Because the uninsured rely on emergency rooms, they often do not receive adequate preventive services and adequate care for chronic conditions. And at times, they are not given technologically advanced services that could add to the length and quality of their lives.

The state legislation that authorizes nearly half this funding, the Health Care Reform Act of 1996, is now up for renewal. It's Albany's chance to start redesigning the system. Here's

how:

- Shift public spending on behalf of the uninsured from fragmented, hospital-oriented subsidies to a new program that subsidizes the purchase of private insurance.
- Make reasonably priced insurance plans available to those who aren't able to buy into large group plans. The state might, for example, explore letting individuals and firms buy into its employee health insurance plan or establishing a separate state-sponsored insurance-purchasing mechanism for individuals or small employers.
- Give full public subsidies for health insurance to people with low incomes and require others to contribute toward premium costs on an income-related basis.

Those with incomes below the poverty level (\$8,350 for an individual in 1997) clearly need a full subsidy. At the higher end, those with incomes at triple the poverty level or greater can afford to pay full premium costs at group rates. Those with incomes of approximately 100% to 300% of the poverty threshold should make premium contributions on a graduated basis.

- Combine available funds from each of the government sources and streamline their administration.
- Carry out these changes over several years to allow necessary adjustments by hospitals and health insurance plans.

Clearly, changes of this magnitude would require significant cooperation among federal, state and local governments. Some likely opponents — including many hospitals that now get most of the funds — will say that such cooperation is impossible. But they will then have to explain why taxpayers should continue to pay billions for unnecessarily expensive medical care.

Preliminary calculations suggest that our proposal could be funded for less than the \$3.9 billion now being spent — perhaps as much as \$500 million per year less. However, some of the savings might have to be reserved for individuals — some of them homeless or mentally ill — who won't be able to adjust to this kind of system or to provide a larger subsidy to the near poor.

A hallmark of any society is how well it cares for its needy, but there is no advantage in spending wastefully. The waste just makes our city and state less competitive and less able to fund other legitimate government priorities.

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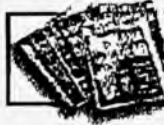
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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | City Beat |
Tuesday, April 13, 1999

Biggest Step Yet for Rudy In His Bid for Senate

By MICHAEL R. BLOOD
Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

Sending the clearest signal to date about his political future, Mayor Giuliani yesterday set up a federal committee to explore a run for U.S. Senate in 2000 — and a possible showdown with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The committee can "raise money to run for the Senate so that we can leave the option open in the future to run," the mayor said.

As Giuliani prepared to step up his fund-raising, a Long Island congressman served notice that the Republican nomination might not be handed to the mayor.

A source close to Rep. Rick Lazio said he will form an exploratory committee within a few weeks.

In a statement, Lazio said he had discussed his possible candidacy around the state and "the feedback was overwhelmingly positive, and leads me to believe I am the best person to serve the state of New York in the U.S. Senate."

In the middle of his final term, Giuliani has left open his political options beyond City Hall, even flirting with a run at the White House.

His interest in the Senate has become obvious in recent months, and in March the race began in cyberspace, where the mayor set up a Web site critical of the First Lady and sought volunteers.



Sipkin NEWS
Sen. Giuliani?

His one-page filing with the Federal Election Commission marked the first time he has formally disclosed that he might run for the seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan.

As a practical matter, the committee will allow the mayor to increase the amount of money he can raise from individual donors, to \$2,000 from \$1,000, permitted under a previous federal committee.

It also leaves little doubt that the mayor is headed for a Senate campaign, and it gives him a more visible platform to seek contributions for a race that easily could cost \$10 million.

Giuliani has several political committees, which collectively raised \$707,500 from January to March. Most of the cash — \$540,000 — was funneled into a committee that will be folded into his new organization, aides said.

Giuliani's committee plans to hire another fund-raiser to target donations from political action committees, but his bankroll to date represents little more than seed money.

"It represents 1/30th what they are going to have to raise, and in a hurry," said veteran Republican consultant Jay Severin.

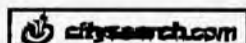
Read our special, "Rudy vs. Hillary."

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Last 6 Days

From: News and Views | Beyond the City |
 Monday, April 12, 1999

Laborers Union Turns to Ickes

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Harold Ickes, the former White House aide now advising First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on a possible New York Senate run, has again signed on to help the Laborers union.



TOM
ROBBINS

Officials of the union — which is under federal monitorship because of alleged past corruption — said they are paying \$20,000 for Ickes' help with the Federal Aviation Administration, which is considering a Pataki administration plan to let a private firm run Stewart International Airport.

The airport, in Newburgh, is state-run. Union officials fear that under privatization, airport contractors will slash construction wages, now covered under federal prevailing wage rates.

"When we had to go deal with a federal agency, we figured [Ickes] was a good one to go with," said Todd D'Orio, an official of Laborers Local 17. "Supposedly he has some political influence."

On the eve of becoming White House deputy chief of staff in December 1993, Ickes signed a \$40,000 contract to represent a Laborers union fund.

Ickes said he personally did no work for the union and signed the agreement only because he was head of his law firm's labor division.

But at the time, the union was facing a Justice Department probe of alleged Mafia ties, and leaders feared a government takeover similar to that imposed on the Teamsters.

Laborers President Arthur Coia gave speaking invitations to Hillary Clinton, a custom-made golf club to the President and shepherded \$3 million to the Democratic National Committee.

Records show Coia also wrote to Ickes about presidential politics.

Things broke Coia's way in 1995 when the Justice Department settled a lawsuit, allowing Coia to remain as president and police his own union's cleanup. Last month, an internal union review cleared Coia of corruption charges, although federal prosecutors criticized the findings, and a federal grand jury in Boston is still looking into his ownership of a \$450,000 Ferrari.

After Ickes left the White House in 1996, he rejoined his old firm, Meyer Suozzi English & Klein, which has continued to represent the Laborers, mainly through former state labor commissioner Tom Hartnett.

Ickes said it was Hartnett who asked "to see if I could arrange a meeting with people in Washington" about the airport.

Asked who the meetings were to be with, Ickes replied: "I don't want to tell you."

Meanwhile, New York City Laborers officials, who are working overtime to try and dig out from decades of mob corruption, moved last week to merge three locals representing waste-recycling and maintenance workers.

Locals 445, 958 and 970 will be merged into a new Local 108 with some 3,000 members. Heading the new unit as interim business manager is Michael Hellstrom, who has been a spark plug of new Laborers organizing in the past two years.

Two of the three locals — 445 and 958 — were notorious for being friendlier to employers than members, signing low-wage, sweetheart contracts, often without member knowledge, according to labor investigators.

One such deal signed by Local 445, said Hellstrom, was with Golden Mark Maintenance. The firm's recent takeover of cleaning operations at a midtown mall has sparked demonstrations by another union, Building Services Local 32B-J.

"This is a new day for the laborers in this jurisdiction in this city," said Hellstrom.

*E-mail Tom Robbins at
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16 April, 1999

Memorandum to

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By fax 202-456-6244

FAX DATE: 4.17.99TO: J.R.C.

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

FAX #:
FROM: **ICKES OR ENRIGHT**
202-887-6726
PAGES: 8

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

Mandy Grunwald
By fax 202-338-7554

From

Harold Ickes H.I.

Re

Giuliani

Attached is a must read 4.19.99 The New Republic article by Fred Siegel, professor of history at The Cooper Union, in NYC, about Giuliani.

I cannot stress enough the importance of the tone and substance of any comment you make about this situation, and you surely will be asked about it. If asked, I think it a mistake to duck the question. I go so far as to say that your response to this issue will be the most important of your upcoming trip to NY this coming week and may well provide the initial definition of you in the context of a possible senate race. All sides -- pro Giuliani/cops, anti Giuliani, the press -- will pay very close attention to what you say and how you say it, and all "players" will use it to criticize, or praise you and analyzes whether you are indeed sufficiently ready for what New Yorkers consider "the big time."

If asked about the Diallo killing, I suggest that you put a bit more of an edge in your response than we discussed yesterday, without engaging Giuliani and at the same time clearly restating your support for law enforcement and the police generally. The facts of the Diallo case are simply appalling. 41 bullets. It is inexplicable. Even if the

The First Lady

4.9.99

cops reasonably thought they were in mortal danger, 41 bullets is excessive in the extreme.

Interestingly, although on page 16 Mr. Siegel praises Giuliani's initial reaction to the police stationhouse torture of the Haitian immigrant Abner Louima -- Giuliani even appointed a citizens committee to investigate, as I recall, he then proceeded to completely dismiss and deride the report of that committee.

In short, these issues have come to define, in the minds of a growing number of people, a very disturbing attitude on the part of Giuliani -- and many increasingly concerned about that attitude. Your task is to articulate the legitimacy of the deep, deep concern so many New Yorkers have about these incidents without criticizing all cops and without engaging Giuliani.

What you say and how you say it -- tone as well as substance -- will be very closely watched. Not too light, not too heavy/harsh.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC**You Talkin' to Me?**

**Rudy Giuliani Battles
 His Enemies—
 and Himself**

BY FRED SIEGEL

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and have had more contacts with [the PLA] than at any other time," boasts a senior administration official.

Unfortunately, though, these contacts and visits are usually not nearly as extensive as the ones the Chinese get in America: there is no real reciprocity. While the Americans are anxious to show the Chinese the crown jewels of our military to demonstrate American superiority, the Chinese, operating from a position of military weakness, are reluctant to show the Americans much of anything. Moreover, the Communist-run PLA is inherently secretive and insular—even when it comes to dealing with Chinese civilian leaders. Transparency runs counter to the ancient teachings of Sun Tzu, who famously advised in *The Art of War*, "The formation and procedure [of] the military should not be divulged."

Not surprisingly, then, when then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General John Shalikashvili visited a Chinese military installation in 1997, he was shown a routine marksmanship demonstration—at a distance, through binoculars—and given a tour of empty barracks and mess halls. Similar things have happened to other visiting American officers. "We see the same tired old factories, the same 196th Division we've seen before," gripes a former Pentagon official. "We don't get into their crack divisions, their 'fist' troops, their rapid reaction forces, their power projection. The question has to be, 'What's the quid pro quo?'"

Another question has to be whether the United States should be playing host to some of the PLA's more odious officers—particularly those who had a direct role in

the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. Clearly a key benefit of the exchanges for the PLA is the credibility and legitimacy its officers gain when they are treated as equals by the American military establishment. Administration officials concede that the Chinese push for such recognition when they visit, and PLA General Zhang Wannian admitted as much when he recently wrote that military exchanges abroad have "established and preserved our army's excellent image in the world." That the United States is helping the PLA enhance its image is perhaps the biggest problem with the exchanges.

Consider Chinese Defense Minister General Chi Haotian's December 1996 visit. Chi was chief of staff of the PLA during the Tiananmen crackdown. But this didn't prevent him from receiving a 19-gun salute when he visited the Pentagon. It also didn't get in the way of Chi's photo-op with President Clinton. Chi's visit went off without a hitch. He toured West Point, Gettysburg, four military bases, and the Sandia National Laboratory.

The only discordant moment came during a lecture Chi gave at the National Defense University, when a Navy captain asked him if the PLA regretted the loss of life during the Tiananmen uprising. No, Chi explained, because there was no loss of life, only "some pushing." "At that time, I was the chief of the general staff," he said. "Here I can tell you in a responsible and serious manner that at that time not a single person lost his life in Tiananmen Square." And what was the American reaction to this barefaced lie? A few days later, the U.S. military took Chi to Disneyland. ■

Giuliani fights his enemies—and himself.

RUDY AWAKENING

By Fred Siegel

It's 11:30 in the morning in New York—time for the daily demo at One Police Plaza. It goes off like clockwork. Michael Hardy, the lawyer who defended the Reverend Al Sharpton when he was sued along with Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason in the recent Tawana Brawley defamation case, hands the police the list of those asking to be arrested. The demonstrators, there to protest the killing of Amadou

Diallo, an unarmed African immigrant, by four policemen, chant Sharpton's trademark slogan "no justice, no peace" or sing "We Shall Overcome." The initial arrestees were an honor roll of failed urban politicians. They include former Mayor David Dinkins, Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel, and Kweisi Mfume, who, as a congressman, once agreed to a "sacred covenant" with Louis Farrakhan.

The leader of the protests, Sharpton, looks on, joking that it "looks like my shadow Cabinet just got bigger." Sharpton has reason to smile. For him and the rest of New York's Rudolph Giuliani-haters, the Diallo tragedy is a political godsend—the first big break since Giuliani was elected mayor more than six years ago. Even former

FRED SIEGEL is a professor of history at The Cooper Union, a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, and author of *The Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., Los Angeles, and the Fate of America's Big Cities* (Free Press).

Mayor Ed Koch and Giuliani's Republican rival Governor George Pataki—hardly Sharpton acolytes—have been piling on the mayor. The New York police are now the subject of three major investigations, one state and two federal. The Sharpton-Dinkins crowd has never forgiven Giuliani for ousting Dinkins, who was not just a black mayor but the city's first black mayor. Yet, until now, Giuliani has been invincible, thanks to the simple fact that New York has thrived during his mayoralty.

Consider: Last year, for the first time in a decade, the city's economy grew faster than the national economy. Giuliani has lowered the city's welfare rolls by more than the population of Buffalo, which, in the mayor's words, means "this city has really caught up with the rest of America." It's helped that private sector jobs have been growing at a record pace. And, now that the city has finally recovered all the jobs it lost under Dinkins, lower-skilled workers are being drawn back into the economy so that 54 percent of adults are employed—a new city record.

Harlem, undergoing a "second renaissance," is bustling with new developments, including "HarlemUSA"—a \$65 million, 275,000-square-foot retail and entertainment complex on 125th Street. The South Bronx is enjoying a similar revival. A major reason for all the good news is that the crime rate has hit a 30-year low. Last year, New York actually had fewer murders than Chicago, a city that is three times smaller in population. The sharpest drops have come in minority areas like central Harlem, where overall crime has dropped 61 percent since 1994, and East New York, which went from 110 murders in 1993 (Dinkins's last year as mayor) to 37 in 1998 and had none through the first three months of this year.

Now, the shooting of Diallo and Giuliani's politically tone-deaf response to it have pierced the mayor's political invincibility. At a time when mayors like Chicago's Richard Daley Jr. and Philadelphia's Ed Rendell are basking in unprecedented African American support and overall popularity, Giuliani, who has done much more than either of those two mayors to tackle crime, finds himself under siege. Clearly, a lot of this has to do with the willingness of Giuliani's political enemies to exploit the Diallo killing, and the timely availability of Hillary Clinton as a possible Senate candidate, for their own ends. But much of Giuliani's problem is of his own making—a result both of his personality and of his misreading of the past few years as a vindication of the way he leads rather than the policies he's championed.

Flash back to the 1993 election contest between Dinkins and Giuliani. It would be difficult to exaggerate what was at stake. Although the Dow was at a then-record high, the city was losing 7,000 jobs per month—all told, 330,000 during the Dinkins years. The country was just coming out of a recession at the time. But Dinkins had made matters worse with billion-dollar tax increases. These kept his core constituencies in the social services industries funded but also sent business—already reeling from crime—fleeing.

The murder rate was at a record high, and there was a

widespread sense that the rule of law was collapsing. "Homeless activists," explained Democratic Councilman John Sabini, "treated the city like it was an urban theme park—experience a man pissing near you." When city council candidate Andrew Eristoff asked a man not to ride his bicycle on a crowded sidewalk, the cyclist shouted, "I could hit you, and that would be illegal, too, and nobody would do anything about that, either." He then punched the candidate, which produced a pool of blood and resulted in 22 stitches.

When convicted kidnapper and self-confessed "anti-white" activist Sonny Carson led a group of thugs to protest alleged racism at a Flatbush grocery, shouting "slant eyes" at the Korean owner and threatening would-be customers, the Dinkins administration stood by and did nothing for six months. When a wrestling match between a cop and a drug dealer named Kiko Garcia, who had proclaimed Washington Heights "a liberated zone," led to the latter's death, Dinkins sided with Garcia. Then there were the three days of anti-Jewish rioting in Crown Heights, where a young scholar was killed. The Dinkins administration lay back and let things vent.

Not surprisingly, the Dinkins-Giuliani race was particularly nasty. Giuliani's worst moment came at an over-the-top, obscenity-laced speech before a rally of out-of-control cops. The Dinkins campaign enlisted black nationalists and celebrities alike to warn of Giuliani's alleged "racism" and "fascism." President Clinton lent a hand, saying that only racial prejudice could explain a vote against Dinkins. All along, the Dinkins camp warned that a Giuliani election would set off riots. It didn't.

The success story that followed is well known. Giuliani and then-Police Chief Bill Bratton applied George Kelling's "broken windows" theory of policing, which had already succeed in the subways, to the city as a whole. The distinction between broken-windows policing and community policing is often blurred, but the former was one of the keys to both Giuliani's early successes and later difficulties. Community policing takes cops out of patrol cars and places them on foot patrol in neighborhoods. It reduces public hostility to the police, but not crime. Broken-windows policing—the name refers to the idea that permitting one broken window to remain unattended invites vandals to break more—concentrates on preventing small problems from turning into big ones by, for example, quickly targeting open-air drug markets before they invite even more criminal activity. Broken-windows policing is the single most important urban public policy success of the past 30 years, but its forcefulness carries the danger of increasing police-community tensions.

The success of Giuliani's first term did not satisfy everyone, of course. When Giuliani reduced the increases in the school budget and drove the popular and personable but ineffective schools chancellor, Raymond Cortines, out of town, his support plunged. But even then Giuliani's adversaries were unable to take advantage. Smarting from Giuliani's refusal to deal with them, Reverends Sharpton and Jesse

Jackson marched on Albany in 1995 to protest newly elected Republican Governor Pataki's budget cuts. But the episode produced only yawns. Sharpton's organization, the National Action Network, was treading water, despite some successful shakedowns of "bloodsucking" Korean businessmen.

But, eight months later, Sharpton, one of whose businesses is to keep business or, as he put it, "white interloper[s]," out of Harlem, showed he was still a force. Picketers from the National Action Network, led by an escaped mental patient and part-time street vendor, Morris Powell, turned a landlord-tenant dispute into a deadly incident. Egged on by the daily racial rantings about "Jew bastards," one of Powell's picketers, Abugunde Mulocko, né Roland Smith, walked into Freddy's Fashion Mart, having previously promised to "burn down the Jew store." Armed with a .38, he shot three whites and a Pakistani in cold blood. Then he set the fire that killed five Hispanics, one Guyanese, and one black—the security guard whom the protesters had taunted as a "cracker lover."

Remarkably, the 125th Street massacre only strengthened Sharpton, who by then had much of the black political class thoroughly intimidated. When the 1997 mayoral campaign began, Sharpton, a perennial candidate, taunted the press, daring them to bring up the Freddy's fire murders. When they declined, he blamed the incident on Giuliani, to the silence of his fellow candidates in the Democratic primary. His immunity from accountability intact, Sharpton went on to very nearly force Ruth Messinger, Dinkins's designated heir at the time, into a runoff.

By the time of the general election, Giuliani was so strong that not even the notorious police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima could derail the outcome. Giuliani handled the incident so deftly in expressing his clear and immediate outrage that the ACLU's Norman Siegel, usually a full-time Giuliani critic, declared that "he's had his best forty-eight hours as mayor of this city." African American Congressman Floyd Flake summed up the situation: "I would say that the level of racial tension is the lowest now that it's been in the twenty-one years that I've lived in the city."

In January 1998, Giuliani, who could increasingly see a national role for himself in the Republican Party, exuded both confidence and conservatism in a colloquially delivered "state of the city" speech. Not only did he describe fathers who don't support their kids as "bums"; he called for an end to open admissions at the City University of New York and an experiment in vouchers for the public schools. He called, in effect, for a repeal of much of the 1960s.

Giuliani's speech was a full-scale assault on the city's sclerotic bureaucracy—the vast public sector workforce in the schools and welfare organizations that lived off their own failures. (The remedial programs at CUNY, for instance, designed to make up for the city's failing high schools, are a profit center for the community colleges that hire inexpensive adjuncts to teach courses.) Yet, if

the speech quite literally left many of his critics speechless, it also betrayed an overconfidence that led Giuliani to push his agenda beyond what the public consensus would bear.

Institutional change in the mayor's office was partly responsible for this. Giuliani was the first mayor to take full advantage of a new city charter foisted on the city by civil rights advocates in 1989. The old city government included a Board of Estimate, in which the borough presidents had a voice along with the mayor and other citywide officials in approving major capital projects. With the board eliminated on the grounds that it violated the Voting Rights Act because the smallest and whitest borough, Staten Island, had equal representation with the others, the only thing left to check the mayor's power was a fractious city council.

Giuliani, in other words, had a rather free hand. And he used it, first, to push for an ill-considered plan by Yankees owner George Steinbrenner to build a new stadium in midtown Manhattan. The very idea of moving what amounts to a city shrine and economic anchor for the Bronx dismayed even Giuliani's strongest supporters.

On crime, the mayor's second-term agenda angered New Yorkers who have a strong sense of their God-given right not to obey the laws too thoroughly. His cops moved from drug dealers to jaywalkers and other assorted "miscreants," including street vendors, zigzagging cab drivers, and unleashed dogs. All the initiatives had some merit (pedestrian deaths, for instance, have gone down sharply). But each one peeled off some of his political support.

At the same time, the mayor raised eyebrows by further expanding the role of the 40,000-member NYPD. It was given responsibility for school safety, traffic enforcement, and the Taxi and Limousine Commission. Again, some of these ideas made sense. But, by turning the cops into his primary instrument of public policy, Giuliani increasingly inserted the cops into minor, but unpleasant, encounters with ordinary citizens. This, in turn, eroded goodwill toward the mayor—particularly across racial lines.

Increasingly, the mayor's outsized political personality seemed to dwarf the issues on his second-term agenda. The mayor's relentless energy was out of sync with the new mood he had helped create. New Yorkers wanted to relax a bit and enjoy the good times. The mayor, like a good prosecutor, wanted to press ahead, with or without allies.

Even before the Diallo tragedy, Giuliani's Margaret Thatcher-like political personality separated him from the others. The same convictions that allowed both politicians to take on entrenched social democratic hacks also insured that they'd largely fight alone. Giuliani even has a tough time recognizing that other officials, such as city council Speaker Peter Vallone, who agrees with him on most issues, can represent legitimate interests when they differ. When the mayor and the city council were locked in a fight over Yankee Stadium, Deputy Mayor Randy Mastro told Bruce Bender, a cen-

trist representing Vallone, "We will bring you to your knees." One moderate Democrat on the council who's sympathetic to Giuliani's policies complains that "the mayor won't let me be his ally." In part, that's because Giuliani really doesn't like other politicians. Daley and Rendell were prosecutors on their way up the career ladder, but Giuliani is a prosecutor to the bone, a guy who often sees his rivals as little better than the corrupt Bronx boss Stanley Friedman, whom he sent to jail.

Black Democrats complain that he treats them badly. That's true, but he treats all pols badly. Probably his nastiest feud has come with councilman and fellow Italian-American Stephen DiBrienza. Rather than govern through alliances with other politicians, Giuliani, a Republican in an overwhelmingly Democratic New York, runs the entire city out of the mayor's office.

For all this, the mayor might have cruised along on his way to the U.S. Senate in 2000—if not for Hillary Clinton's incipient campaign for the Senate and the police killing of Diallo. Together, these have exposed the Achilles' heel of the Giuliani mayoralty, the hyper-centralization of power in city hall. The sure touch the mayor had exhibited in the Louima affair has deserted him in the Diallo case. Rather than expressing horror at how the police could have pumped 41 bullets into an

innocent man, Giuliani, perhaps looking beyond city hall to a statewide run, responded with inappropriate equanimity, saying that he wouldn't prejudge the case. Two of the four cops involved from the special Street Crime Unit, however, had already made it clear by crying after Diallo's death that they had made a hideous mistake. No matter; the damage was done, and it was pay-back time.

When the Louima affair broke, there were claims that the cops involved shouted out, "It's Giuliani time." That proved a hoax, and the brutality could be written off to rogue cops in a bad precinct. But the Diallo case seemed to implicate the broken-windows policing Giuliani has used to build his reputation. This was the opportunity

Giuliani's enemies, deserved and undeserved, had been waiting for. And none exploited the situation more effectively than the city's leading racial demagogue, Al Sharpton. Sharpton emerged from a guilty verdict in the defamation case stemming from the Tawana Brawley hoax stronger than ever and became the primary spokesman for the Diallo family. Walking hand in hand with a city press that saw the enemy of its enemy as its friend, Sharpton announced, "Amadou Diallo will be the end of Giuliani's burgeoning political career."

In the month that followed the killing, Giuliani's approval rating in the city dropped by 20 points as the

local papers ran more than 600 stories on the shooting, all based on the same paltry set of facts. The cops thought they were pursuing a serial-rape suspect who resembled Diallo; they fired all 41 bullets in just seven seconds. It seems likely that after the first shots were fired the cops kept firing at flashes reflected on a glass pane and their own ricochets, but it's hard to know, since the four cops, who have reportedly been indicted for second-degree murder, refused to testify before the grand jury. Nonetheless, a contest quickly emerged to express the greatest outrage with the fewest facts.

Time and again, accusations of racism have been hurled at Giuliani on the grounds that racist intent could be inferred

from the outcome of the incident. The left-wing civil libertarians who had been terribly unhappy about the simultaneous decline in crime and social spending, since it undermined their argument that social conditions such as poverty are the "root causes" of crime, are glowing with vindication. Sharpton's flacks in the press, like Jim Dwyer of the *Daily News*, insisted that the cops had set out to "prey" on black people—no evidence required—while Art Spiegelman did a *New Yorker* cover in which a smiling cop takes target practice at cutouts of civilians.

Giuliani responded with evidence showing that, while the Street Crime Unit of 400 men makes up one percent of the police force, it was responsible for seizing 40 percent of the guns pulled off the streets and saving



RUDOLPH GIULIANI BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

countless lives, and that the unit had a slightly lower level of civilian complaints than the NYPD as a whole to boot. He further noted that New York's crime reduction has been accompanied by a nearly 50 percent reduction in police use of deadly force since the Dinkins years.

The numbers were all but ignored as the Dinkins Democrats looked to define the New York party's post-Giuliani future. More recently, their allies from out of state have gotten into the game. John Conyers, the Democratic congressman from Detroit, has been bashing Giuliani for some time. Last year, for example, Conyers convened an informal anti-Giuliani hearing, in which one "witness" was a man who went on an anti-Semitic rant; Conyers claimed he didn't hear it. Another witness was none other than Sonny Carson, of Korean-grocery-boycott fame. Conyers said he was "privileged" to call Carson to testify. Carson, for his part, went on to explain of the police, "Once a pig, always a pig."

After the Diallo killing, Conyers implied to a New York cable news station that Giuliani is a racist—and called New York cops the most brutal in the country. This from a man who represents a city with much higher rates of both crime and police brutality and who serves in Washington, D.C., a city where the largely resident black police department is four times more likely to use deadly force than in New York.

But the protests, particularly from individuals, go far beyond the politicians. For many they are a genuine expression of outrage on the part of innocent African Americans humiliated by the expansion of police stop-and-frisk efforts. Filmmaker Majora Carter, a resident of the South Bronx, explained that, while she liked "the message the cops were sending to criminals," she "disliked some of the messengers," particularly the special unit cops unfamiliar with her neighborhood, who had hassled her.

There is a problem with New York policing—a reason for concern—but it's a matter of policy, not racism. "There is no racism or tolerance of brutality in the NYPD," argues former Police Chief Bratton. "The racism comes from Sharpton." Bratton, author of the administration's early anti-crimes successes, was forced out of the Giuliani administration in 1996 not only because there was a clash of egos but also because the mayor's desire to run the entire show from city hall was incompatible with Bratton's plans for the police department. Bratton argued that, after street crime had been reduced through broken-windows policing, community policing should be given a bigger role.

The problem, Bratton realized, is that you can't drive crime below the level a community has set for itself without incurring considerable resentment. The only way to keep pushing it down is to establish a better rapport between police and the citizens in order to minimize understandable black ambivalence about anti-crime efforts. Most African Americans are conservative on crime until their 15-year-old nephew gets unfairly arrested. The dilemma is that, while 15- to 25-year-old minority toughs live in fear of the police, much

of the rest of the city lives in fear of those same toughs.

The key to black middle-class anger about New York policing is found in what sociologist Jan Rosenberg describes as "the failure of success model." The more the objective conditions for African Americans improve as they move up the social ladder into integrated situations, she notes, the more opportunities there are for slights, real and perceived. A similar situation is set in motion when broken-windows policing radically cuts crime. The more Giuliani's police department tried to reduce crime, the more cops came into contact with innocent people. So, as crime goes down, fruitless frisks go up and resentments multiply. Or, as Bill Stephney, a hip-hop record producer put it, "As fear from knuckleheads declines, fear from police pursuing knuckleheads has been rising."

A less isolated administration, one with a wider range of allies and more willing to listen to friendly dissent, might have picked up on the complaints and modified its tactics. But, when Bratton left, so did the primary channel for such feedback. Giuliani and his top staff are far more energetic and talented than the usual city-hall hacks. But it's impossible to run a city of 7.4 million with a small cadre of reformers operating out of the mayor's executive offices.

To be sure, Giuliani labors under a great burden. In other cities, the black politicians of the civil rights era such as Coleman Young in Detroit and Marion Barry in D.C. have given way to a new generation of black leaders, like Dennis Archer and Anthony Williams, who have replaced racial symbolism with a concern for concrete achievement. There is no such second generation in New York. One aim of the celebrity acts of scripted "civil disobedience" outside One Police Plaza is to reenact the old struggles while preserving the power of patronage politicians like Harlem's Charles Rangel.

It's not too late for Giuliani to save himself and his program for the city. He's belatedly begun to meet with black leaders, and he seems now to recognize that even good policies can be taken too far. Similarly, under the pressure of the protests, anti-crime policy seems to be moving toward Bratton's vision of community policing.

In 1989, Sharpton helped convert a genuine grievance, the killing of young black teen Yusef Hawkins by a group of white thugs, into a mayoral victory for Dinkins. Sharpton now hopes that a similar campaign of polarization can define the city's post-Giuliani future. And he may succeed. Sharpton has become the instrument of revenge for all the public sector pols and interest-group activists, who are angered as much by Giuliani's achievements as by his failings.

For all its flaws, Rudy Giuliani's crusade to make New York more like the rest of America, by reducing crime and welfare while giving the private sector economy the opportunity to do its work, has been an enormous success. The tragedy of Amadou Diallo's death would be compounded only if the racial hysteria produced by the ongoing war between Giuliani and a Sharptonized Democratic Party unraveled those accomplishments. •

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4.17.99

WEB SITE

FAX DATE: 4.17.99

TO: PARSHA BERRY

FAX #: 456-7805

FROM: **ICKES OR ENRIGHT**
202-887-6726

PAGES: 2

News Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DATE: Thursday, April 15

CONTACT: Jacquelyn Davis, Spokesperson/202-232-6151

① Watch for results posted in 1992

Hillary Clinton Supporters Launch RunHillary.Com Encouraging the First Lady to Run for the U.S. Senate in New York

Today, supporters of Hillary Clinton launched www.RunHillary.Com, a draft committee to recruit the First Lady to run for the New York U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. RunHillary.Com is the first-ever virtual recruitment committee to recruit a candidate for office via the Internet.

As a vehicle for everyday citizens to voice their support for Hillary Clinton as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, RunHillary.Com encourages participation in our democracy. The Internet is a great equalizer against Giuliani's political machine and empowers New Yorkers from all walks of life to get involved in the political process.

Preceding an official announcement of his run for Senate, Mayor Giuliani's campaign funded a web site attacking the First Lady - giving a clear indication that his message will be one of negative assaults instead of positive vision for the future. New York deserves a positive Senator with proven leadership, dignity, and class who can stand on her own record. Hillary Clinton can help lead New York into the next century.

RunHillary.Com will show the First Lady the growing momentum for her candidacy. The web site enables supporters to sign a "Draft Hillary for the U.S. Senate" petition and to contribute to the effort to recruit the First Lady. Contributions will be used to spread the word about Hillary Clinton and the importance of her candidacy.

RunHillary.Com founding members: Jacquelyn Davis (D.C., student); Mara Gottlieb (N.Y., social worker); Karen Hirschfeld (N.Y., student); Amanda Howard (N.Y., waitress); Larry Levi (N.Y., grocer); Jason Levien (N.Y., lawyer); Abby Lublin (N.Y., teacher); Kimani Paul-Emile (N.Y., lawyer); Beth Simon (N.Y., doctor); and William Springer (N.Y., public relations).

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April 1999

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Memorandum to

The First Lady
By fax 202-456-6244

Cc

Melanne Verveer
By fax 202-456-6244

Patti Solis Doyle
By fax 202-456-5340

Marsha Berry
By fax 202-456-7805

~~Maggie Williams~~
By fax ~~011-331-4764-9560~~

~~Diane Blair~~
By fax ~~501-521-8373~~

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

~~Mandy Grunwald~~
By fax ~~202-338-7554~~

From

Harold Ickes

Re

FAX DATE: 4-16-99

TO: _____

FAX #: _____
FROM: **ICKES OR ENRIGHT**
202-887-6726
PAGES: (3)

MORTGAGE

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Today's Lowest Rates

CALL ☐ PURCHASE ☐ EQUITY ☐ REFI ☐ BAD CREDIT OKTop NewsSportsLotteriesInternationalNationalWashingtonBusinessWall StreetEntertainmentHealth/ScienceRegional**Mrs. Clinton skipping state Dem event; down in poll**

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) - Hillary Rodham Clinton is skipping a major Democratic Party event later this month, a move almost certain to increase speculation she may not be interested in next year's New York Senate race.

Word of Mrs. Clinton's decision came Thursday, the same day a statewide poll provided new evidence that her once hefty lead over New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani had largely vanished.

Meanwhile, a new "RunHillary.com" Internet website appeared urging backers to raise their cyberspace voices in support of a Senate candidacy by the first lady. The Clinton camp said the website wasn't its doing.

The new poll found that the Amadou Diallo shooting is hurting Giuliani's Senate chances while the carpetbagger issue is dogging Mrs. Clinton's possible campaign.

The poll, from the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, had Mrs. Clinton as the choice of 47 percent of registered voters questioned, with the Republican mayor favored by 42 percent of voters.

In a February poll from Quinnipiac, conducted just after Mrs. Clinton announced she was considering running for the seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the first lady led Giuliani, 54 percent to 36 percent. A subsequent poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based Institute conducted in March had Mrs. Clinton leading the mayor, 50 percent to 39 percent.

"I always thought this would be a very tight race," Harold Ickes, a top adviser to Mrs. Clinton, said.

The fall off in Mrs. Clinton's numbers reflects what other independent statewide polls have found in recent weeks.

Ickes also said that due to an apparent scheduling conflict, Mrs. Clinton would not be attending Democratic state committee event in New York City on April 29. State party officials had been hoping the first lady would attend, a move that would have been viewed by many as a sure sign she was leaning toward entering the race.

Earlier this week, Giuliani announced formation of an exploratory committee to study the race while Mrs. Clinton plans a three-day foray into New York next week that aides have said should help her decide whether to run.

"Maybe Mrs. Clinton's visit to New York will reinvigorate the support for her, but so far the curve has been down since that 18-point lead when she was a magazine cover girl and the Washington talking heads were talking about nothing else," Maurice Carroll, head of the polling institute, said.

Forty-six percent of those polled said the fact the first lady wasn't a New Yorker bothered them. That is a theme Giuliani has been stressing.

But 34 percent of those questioned said they would be less likely to vote for the mayor due to his handling of the Diallo shooting. Four police officers have been charged with murder in that case which involved the shooting of the unarmed African immigrant.

The telephone poll of 1,210 registered voters was conducted April 7-13 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The latest poll found Giuliani leading the first lady in traditionally Republican

upstate New York with the first lady well ahead in heavily Democratic New York City. But in the politically crucial suburbs surrounding the city, Giuliani was in the lead, 50 percent to 40 percent.

Half of the respondents said they believed Mrs. Clinton would enter the race while one-third said she would not.

By a 63 percent to 27 percent margin, New York voters said Giuliani had a better understanding of New York's problems and issues than Mrs. Clinton.

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April 1999

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~~Maggie Williams~~~~By fax 011-331-4764-9560~~~~Diane Blair~~~~By fax 501-521-8373~~~~Susan Thomases~~~~By fax 212-327-4327~~~~Mandy Granwald~~~~By fax 202-338-7554~~

From

~~Harold Ickes~~

Re

*Trip to Niagara this coming week
Briefing memo on Peace Bridge*

FAX DATE: 4-16-99

TO: _____

FAX #: _____

FROM: ICKES OR ENRIGHT
202-887-6726PAGES: (1)

ANTHONY R. NANULA
57TH DISTRICT

RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
CIVIL SERVICE & PENSIONS

ACTING RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
TOURISM, RECREATION &
SPORTS DEVELOPMENT

COMMITTEES
CIVIL SERVICE & PENSIONS
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LABOR
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
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TRANSPORTATION



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Fax Cover Page

TO: Mr. Harold Dicks

Fax number: 202-223-0358

FROM: Tony Fauna

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Number of Pages (including cover page): 10

Note:

- Briefing memo on Peace Bridge situation.
- Followup by original memo and supporting articles to be FedEx'd to you.

MEMORANDUM TO HAROLD ICKES

From: Tony Farina/Communications Director/ Sen. Nanula
Re: Peace Bridge
Date: April 16, 1999

The debate over expansion of the Peace Bridge has intensified in recent weeks and is starting to take on the look of a border war. On the U.S. side, political and public support is growing for a signature span, literally a bridge into the 21st century for Buffalo. Meanwhile, on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, political support continues for a twin span or companion bridge. The Public Bridge Authority board is now split 5 to 5, with the five Canadian members in favor of the twin span while the five U.S. members on April 6th called for a 45-day waiting period to allow for a review of a request for an independent study of the twin-span proposal and alternatives. On April 7th, Gov. Pataki finally was heard on the issue, calling on the Canadian members to reconsider the request for an independent study by the American board members. The governor has direct or indirect control of four of the five American Peace Bridge Authority members, but he has not indicated yet which bridge concept he supports. That same day, John Maloney, a Canadian member of Parliament, expressed his strong support for the Canadian Board members, saying the decision to proceed with a twin span was made after a five-year process on both sides of the border which included extensive consideration of environmental implications and ample public consultations. He said to ignore the process and its millions in costs on the eve of the commencement of construction defies logic. Maloney said he was deeply disturbed by the last minute intervention and intimidation for no compelling, supportable or valid reason by political elements in Washington, Albany, and Western New York. On April 14, the mayor of Fort Erie, a twin span supporter, suggested a compromise by urging the Public Bridge Authority to bring closure to the debate and take steps to increase bridge traffic until a final decision can be made on the bridge design. At the same time, he called the opposition to the twin span "politically motivated," and said we "cannot sit idly by and let others dictate the economic future of the Town of Fort Erie."

Meanwhile the Buffalo Common Council's special bridge task force, recognizing the international debate, plans to hold its next meeting in Fort Erie (early May) in an effort to smooth some of the feelings that have been ruffled in the debate. But the task force is also on record as threatening a lawsuit to stop the twin span if the Coast Guard decision on the twin span is "yes." Buffalo Mayor Anthony Masiello, who initially supported the twin span, last week joined with County Executive Gorski and two private foundations to fund a \$400,000 alternative design review to be conducted during a 45-day "timeout" period in which the authority would agree to delay construction of the twin span. The Republican candidate for county executive, Joel Giambra, followed the Masiello-Gorski proposal with one of his own, saying he favors hiring an outside expert for \$50,000 to determine just how long it would take for the authority to perform a complete environmental impact study (he said he believes it would take about 12 months). He says the study could determine whether a better bridge could be built in a more timely and cost-effective manner than what the authority has proposed.

ECONOMICS: Supporters of the twin span on both sides of the river argue a second bridge is needed to keep the high level of trade and traffic that crosses between Buffalo and Fort Erie. They say not building a twin span could delay construction by as much as a decade and that could cost big dollars. It has been reported that more than 6.2 million passenger vehicles and 1.3 million commercial vehicles regularly use the Peace Bridge annually. Approximately \$1 billion in international trade and goods cross the bridge on a weekly basis. Twin span supporters argue delays could force much of that traffic away from the region. Signature span supporters say their plan will cost less, work better and look infinitely more attractive than the twin span, and be much less costly to maintain (concrete vs. steel). They also question the lengthy delay, saying it may really only amount to a few months.

SYMBOLISM: A well-read Buffalo newspaper columnist captured the essence of the argument of many who favor the signature bridge when he wrote: "To a lot of people, twinning the Peace Bridge—the practical but unimaginative solution to heavier truck traffic—symbolizes the sort of mediocrity that has plagued this area for decades. It's another creatively dead idea on a path littered with road kill. Another self-inflicted wound on an already-lacerated carcass." This is the view of the New Millennium Group

and its signature bridge focus group, Energize Buffalo. New Millennium, which has been leading the charge for a signature bridge, is a group of young managers and community leaders who see the bridge campaign as "the litmus test for Buffalo." In the last several weeks they've taken their case across the border to Canadian officials but the response has been icy at best. They've been extremely well received on the U.S. side, have mounted a petition drive, and drew 700 to a recent get-acquainted session at a Buffalo restaurant. They are well prepared, hard working and committed. Some say this is the first time in years anyone can remember an issue capturing the local spirit as this one has, clearly fueled by the information campaign mounted by this group. The American Institute of Architects has issued a statement concluding that the twin span design is a "competing, jarring mismatch" to the historic Peace Bridge." Many community activists and landscape experts claim the twin span plan will further damage Buffalo's historic Front Park—waterfront jewel of the city's Olmsted park systems—and that the focus should instead be on restoring the waterfront parkland as part of an integrated bridge-plaza design providing a signature gateway to downtown Buffalo, not a twisting maze of overpasses and thruway roads. There are also concerns from citizens groups about a six-mile detour during construction of the twin span that would send 2,500 trucks a day through Buffalo's Delaware Park. New Millennium leaders say a concrete bridge of national significance instead of the authority's three-lane replica of the existing bridge, would spare the park detour. The Public Bridge Authority's operations manager has responded he's not convinced a different design would spare the truck detour. This is clearly an issue that should receive a great deal more study, given its tremendous impact on local environment and traffic.

TIMETABLE: The strongest argument that the Bridge Authority has made is that changing their plans now and doing a single span could add as much as 5-12 years to the process. The PBA alleges that if the Coast Guard issues them a permit (and no one sues them), they will complete construction of the new span by 2002 and rehab the old span by 2003. There are several highly speculative assumptions in that timetable, however.

First, the Coast Guard may require the PBA to go back and do a full-blown Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), as opposed to the more informal Environmental Assessment Study (EAS). That is what Sen. Moynihan and AG Spitzer have been lobbying the Coast Guard to do. If the Coast Guard requires an EIS, then the PBA will be required to seriously consider other

alternatives and conduct a much more public process.

Second, if the Coast Guard does not require an EIS, several parties are likely to sue the PBA, including the Buffalo Council as previously mentioned and Jack Cullen's group, SuperSpan Niagara.

Third, many people dispute the PBA's assertion that they can complete the new bridge in just two years and rehabilitate the 72-year-old span in just a year, and this is made more uncertain given conflicting reports on the existing span's structural sufficiency. The U.S. DOT'S National Bridge Inspection Standards (NBIS) gives the bridge a sufficiency rating of 58.9 while the national average is 75.3.

Finally, there is no easy way to tell exactly how long it would take to do a single span, however, advocates believe, assuming an 18-month EIS process, that the Freschi-Lin design (UB Architecture Dean Bruno Freschi and San Francisco bridge engineer T.Y. Lin) could be constructed by 2004—well within the same time frame as the PBA twin plan. The PBA's assertion that a single span could take as much as 12 years to build is ridiculous.

COST: Until the bids for the twin span came in \$25-40 million higher than expected in December of last year, cost had been the PBA's strongest argument against a signature plan. It now appears that a signature span is the less expensive alternative! The PBA design was once thought to cost \$65 million, but is now expected to be in the \$90-100 million range, with \$15-25 million then needed to rehabilitate the old span. The Freschi-Lin design has been priced at around \$80-90 million.

Another cost issue is that of financing. The PBA asserts that they will not need to raise tolls beyond the 25-cent increase approved in 1997 to pay for the twin span, despite the fact that the price tag has risen significantly. Sounds like sales talk or wishful thinking.

LANDMARK STATUS: While the Bridge Authority has maintained the Peace Bridge has historical significance, the Landmark Society of the Niagara Frontier does not consider the bridge worthy of preservation.

Furthermore, if the only thing standing in the way of a signature span was

whether or not to demolish the old Peace Bridge, then it could be left standing and serve as possibly a pedestrian and bike crossing or one just for auto traffic.

Overview

Both the Twin Span and the Signature Span will:

- Solve the problem of increased traffic volume (commercial and passenger vehicles)
- Stimulate the local economy
- Provide thousands of jobs in the steel, concrete, and construction industries
- Cause temporary disruption to traffic patterns during the construction process

The Twin Span will:

- Probably be completed sooner because the design process is essentially complete¹
- Cost \$89.8 million to build²
- Cost approximately \$2 million annually to maintain³
- Require an additional \$21 million for re-decking the existing bridge⁴
- Possibly require more complete environmental impact studies

The Signature Span will:

- Require new concept and cost proposals
- Cost \$77.5 million to build according to engineer's preliminary estimates⁵
- Cost approximately \$0.2 million annually to maintain⁶
- Require an additional \$18 million to demolish existing bridge⁷
- Attract visitors and provide a highly visible international gateway

Time Line

- 1993** U.S.-Canada Bridge Study looked at three alternatives
- 1) Widen existing bridge
 - 2) Demolish existing bridge and build six-lane bridge
 - 3) Build twin bridge
- 1994** PBA narrowed choices to either twinning or widening
- 1995** The record does not reveal any public notice or request for input from the public during this time
- 1995-1997** PBA spent \$5 million to research, design, and promote twin span
PBA established Peace Bridge Advisory Committee
- Committee members were told that their input was limited to the plaza only. The bridge design was not open to discussion
- 1998** PBA chose twinning over widening of the Peace Bridge
PBA submitted documentation for Environmental Review
PBA hired DeLuw Cather to design the twin bridge
Buffalo News solicited bridge designs from community
- Over 400 designs were submitted
 - PBA maintained basic original design
- November 1997** Concept of signature span introduced by SuperSpan Upper Niagara, a coalition of businesses and individuals
- Fall 1997** PBA hired Collins and Co., a public relations consultant to defend Twin Span
- Spring 1998** Freschi-Lin Signature Span design submitted
- Summer 1998** PBA commissioned public opinion survey. Nowhere in survey is there reference to any alternative to Twin Span
Brian Lipke of PBA used data collected from survey to claim that Twin Span had support of 88% of Canadians and 88% of Erie County residents
- July 1998** PBA voted to build Twin Span
- November 1998** Buffalo Niagara Partnership held informational hearings for Twin Span
- December 1998** Bids for Twin Span came in. Low bid was \$89,850,000.
- January 1999** International Joint Committee held two public hearings for Twin Span. Many concerns were raised regarding environmental impact
- February 1999** Senators Schumer and Moynihan asked US Coast Guard to deny permit for the Twin Span citing several serious issues
- March 1999** Common Council of Buffalo unanimously passed a resolution urging US Coast Guard not to issue permit
Landmark Society of Niagara Frontier declared Peace Bridge not worth saving

Who's Who

Supporters of Signature Span

New Millennium Group
 Buffalo Common Council
 Baird Foundation
 Buffalo News
 Art Voice
 Super Span Upper Niagara
 Al D'Amato
 State Senator Nanula
 Attorney General Spitzer
 Barbra Kavanaugh
 County Executive Gorski
 City Comptroller Giambra
 Assemblyman Sam Hoyt
 County Legislator Pauly
 County Legislator Olma
 County Legislator Greenan
 County Legislator Marinelli
 County Legislator Fitzpatrick
 Landmark Society of the Niagara
 Frontier

Deputy Assembly Speaker Arthur O. ENE
 Assemblyman Robin Schimminger
 Assemblyman Paul Tokasz
 Assemblyman Brian Higgins
 Assemblyman Robert Daly
 State Senator George Maziarsz
MAYOR MASIELLO

Supporters of Twin Span

Public Bridge Authority
 Buffalo Niagara Partnership
 Canadian Consulate
 Fort Erie Town Council
 Port Colborne Town Council
 Arnold Gardner
 County Legislator DeBenedetti
~~Mayor Masiello~~
 Council of the Regional
 Municipality of Niagara
 Congressman John LaFalce

Often cited claims and possible responses

Claim: The Twin Span will be less costly than the Signature Span.

Response: Engineer's estimates show that the Signature Span may be the less costly option.

Claim: The Twin Span will be done sooner.

Response: The actual time to complete the project will depend on a large number of factors, including environmental impact studies. It isn't certain that the Twin Span can be completed in less time than the Signature Span.

Claim: Public opinion favors the Twin Span.

Response: The survey done by the PBA was flawed because it didn't offer any alternatives to the Twin Span.

Claim: The Peace Bridge qualifies as an historic structure and thus would be difficult to raise.

Response: The Federal Highway Administration states that the existing bridge is not eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Demolition is an acceptable option.

Claim: Bond financing will only be available for the construction of a Twin Span.

Response: There is no reason why any structurally sound bridge design cannot be financed.

Claim: The Signature Span is an incomplete plan with numerous missing details.

Response: The Signature Span is still in the concept stage, but given opportunity, the Signature Span could be as fully developed as any bridge project.

Claim: The Signature Span will shut down traffic for three to four months because the Signature Span will use the existing bridge approaches.

Response: The Signature Span could be located in a number of places that do not require the use of existing bridge approaches.

Claim: The mast and cables will interfere with waterfowl migration.

Response: Lights on the cables will make the cable visible to migratory birds.

Claim: Ice formation on cables can create hazards for vehicles and pedestrians.

Response: New cable technology will prevent ice formation on cables.

Claim: Wind and rain will adversely affect the structural behavior of the cables.

Response: These factors can be addressed in the design and the impact mitigated.