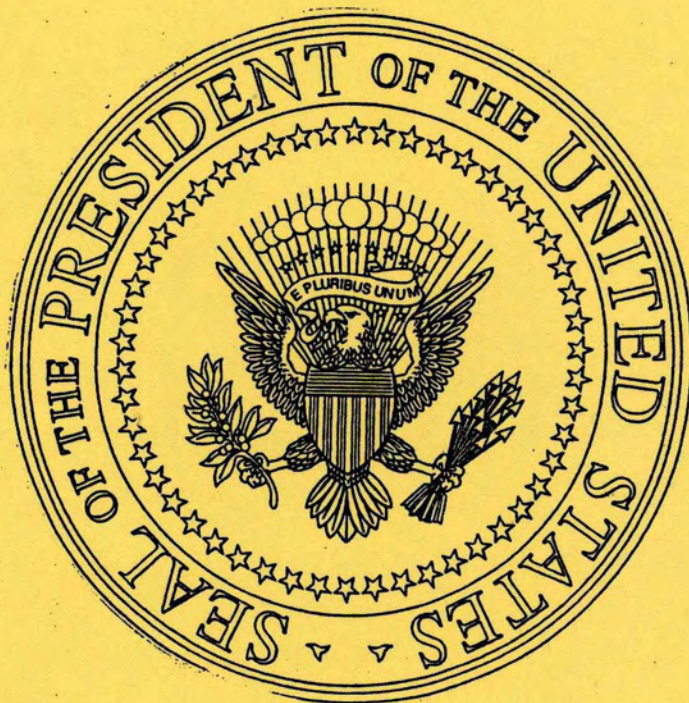


HRC Clips

Regarding Potential
New York Senate Bid



Friday, February 19, -
Tuesday, March 2, 1999

Style

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999



BY ROBERT A. STERN THE WASHINGTON POST (ARROW) THE PHOTO BY SUSAN BOBBE THE WASHINGTON POST (BOTTOM)

A holding pattern: Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), at a subcommittee hearing, says she'll probably run for the Senate if Hillary Rodham Clinton, below, doesn't.

LADY IN WAITING

New York Rep. Nita Lowey, Ready to Run if the First Lady Doesn't

By KEVIN MERIDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

All the action is taking place around her and in spite of her. She is what they call in the newspaper business "B-matter," relegated to the 12th paragraph of the main story. As in: "On the Democratic side, Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester has said she probably will run if Mrs. Clinton does not."

Waiting for Hillary, it's called.

The network talk shows can't get enough of Lowey, but all they really want to talk about is whether *Hillary* will be New York's junior senator. They treat Lowey like a political analyst, asking her about

Hillary's position on a Palestinian state. Whatever. Like she's Mary Matalin or somebody.

Lowey's congressional colleagues—indeed, Democrats everywhere—are no better. They have worked their collective saliva into a mighty river of drool. *Please run, Hillary, we're beggin' ya, please.* They have guaranteed the first lady she won't have a dollop of primary opposition next year. What about an actual home in the Apple? No problem. Rep. Charlie Rangel (D-N.Y.) says at least one good Democrat is offering a Park Avenue condo so the Arkansan who lives in Washington can establish residency in New York.

See LOWEY, C3, Col. 1



rep. Nita Lowey on Sunday

LOWEY, From C-1

And what of Lowey, the Clinton administration loyalist who's represented parts of Westchester County, Queens and the Bronx for 10 years? She's the "backup" candidate, says Rangel.

Thanks, Charlie.

"If Hillary doesn't run and if Nita does, we will all rally around Nita," explains Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.), who quickly adds, "Obviously, Hillary is a more glamorous, well-known candidate. But that's the nature of politics."

In other words, Lowey is the community playhouse and Hillary Clinton is Broadway. Thanks, Jerry. But hey, Lowey knows how to go with the bit. On Capitol Hill the other day, as a meeting between the New York delegation and Gov. George Pataki was breaking up, Democratic Rep. Jose Serrano turned to Lowey.

"Hey, how come your picture is not on the cover of Time?"

To which Lowey replied: "I'm just the understudy."

Waiting for Hillary.

Not that waiting for Hillary is a sedentary sport.

Last week, Lowey spent 25 hours phoning prospective donors. She attended a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee fund-raiser to make more donor contacts. A couple of weeks ago she met with potential big-money backers in Los Angeles. She had nearly \$850,000 in her congressional campaign chest as of the first of the year. But to demonstrate political strength for a Senate race, her goal is to get to \$1.6 million by June 30, which means raising roughly \$133,000 a month. So far, say Lowey confidants, that target is

being met.

Then there is the matter of moving around the state and building support among Democratic constituencies. Just in case. Last week, she addressed a Democratic club in Manhattan. The previous week she attended a dinner of black and Hispanic state legislators in Albany. She spoke to AFL-CIO political directors in Miami Beach and keynoted a luncheon of Democratic activists in Buffalo. Last month she trekked to Syracuse and Newburgh and has upcoming trips to Watertown, Rochester and other areas of the state.

"I'm doing what I have to do to prepare," she says.

When Lowey came to visit the first lady at the White House residence last week, a meeting she asked for, the two greeted each other with kisses. "We've always had a very warm relationship," says Lowey, whose office photo collage displays four pictures of her and Mrs. Clinton together. "Sitting around the table talking to Hillary Clinton about an issue is like talking to a friend."

Except this meeting was not about public school construction or any number of other issues they both care about. This was about brass political calculations. Harold Ickes, who is advising Clinton in her exploration, was there. And he is advising her to take her time. Orange juice and cookies were served. The first lady thanked Lowey for her graciousness, said she had been splendid in her numerous TV appearances. She asked Lowey about the concerns of people in her district. Lowey updated her on how she was preparing for a Senate campaign, should the first lady opt out. The first lady made it clear she was

pursuing the race seriously, but encouraged Lowey to move forward with her own considerations. And so on. They chatted for an hour and 15 minutes. The number one priority, they both agreed, was ensuring that Democrats keep the seat Pat Moynihan is vacating. They agreed to talk again soon.

"I have great respect and affection for congresswoman Nita Lowey and have worked with her over the years," says the first lady through her spokeswoman Marsha Berry. "She's a leader on issues affecting families, such as education. I have been in her district and know how well she has represented her constituents. I appreciate greatly her understanding of my need to consider carefully the possibility of a Senate race in New York."

But when will she decide?

The short answer: no time soon. Lowey's people say they are not expecting the first lady's decision before June. The problem is that Lowey has publicly said she will make a decision herself in early spring. And yet she is emphatic that there are no circumstances under which she will run if Hillary runs.

"So we'll have to be in touch and hopefully our schedules will coincide," says Lowey.

What if they don't?

"I think it's too early to face that. I respect her decision-making process. I think she needs the time. It's a major decision in her life."

She is being so generous. But it's certainly an awkward process.

"Every day that goes by, Hillary Clinton is making it harder for any other Democrat to raise money," says Maurice Carroll, director of the polling institute at Connecticut's Quinnipiac College, which has been conducting early surveys on the race. "If it goes on and on, that cheapens the nomination. It doesn't mean the next person can't win, but it makes that person look like second choice, damaged goods."

If that next person is Lowey, she has a huge hill to climb. Recent polling by Carroll's institute shows that only 14 percent of voters said they were very likely or somewhat likely to vote for Lowey if she were the Democrats' Senate candidate; 63



Across the aisle: Lowey with, from left, New York Republican Reps. Rick Lazio, John Sweeney and Sherwood Boehlert.

percent said they haven't heard enough to make a judgment.

"It means nobody knows who the hell she is," explains Carroll.

Charles Schumer, New York's newly elected Democratic senator, was in a similar bind when he began his '86 campaign from a comfortable seat in the House. He had low statewide name recognition and a celebrity Democratic primary opponent in Geraldine Ferraro.

"As long as Nita's getting around the state, she's not hurt," says Schumer. "She won't be the understudy anymore if Hillary decides not to run."

And if Hillary decides not to run, says former Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), who knows both women well, "The first person to do a fund-raiser for Nita Lowey. I predict at this very minute, will be Hillary Clinton."

"Sure, there might be an immediate letdown," says Rep. Serrano, "but then you move back to the mode of winning back Congress and keeping the White House, and you build excitement all over again."

"I don't know if the discussion would be at this level if Hillary were not a factor. And I'm one of those people asking Hillary to run. Even though people are ignoring Nita right now, they're still aware that

she's there."

Studying the Understudy

Lowey, a former PTA president, goes about her rounds in the House with a kind of girlish energy. She is 61, with four grandchildren. On one recent day, she left a TV studio and openly fretted about her makeup. She bumped into a young aide returning from the cafeteria with a roll and a drink disguised as a meal. "Is that all you're having for lunch?" she admonished.

When she passes her colleagues in the halls or down in the Capitol's subway, they offer new greetings.

Rep. Howard Coble (R-N.C.): "Senator, how are you doing?"

Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-N.Y.): "Hey, senator."

It's a collegial courtesy. And it feels good.

Certainly, Lowey must be tired of all the drat Hillary hubbub.

"No, not really. . . . If she runs, she will be enthusiastically supported by New Yorkers. And if I run, I have a solid record of accomplishment."

But so far there is not much talk about who Lowey is. She has been a champion of increased funding for breast cancer research (her mother died from the disease in 1981), fought for tougher drunk-driving laws, is a former chair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and is perhaps the most prominent abortion rights advocate in Congress.

She straddles the ground between traditional Democratic liberalism and more centrist politics, leaning left most of the time. She did support the Clinton administration's welfare reform plan and backed NAFTA, even though nearly half of her political action committee donations were from labor interests. During the 1994 election days of the administration, Lowey was a regular TV defender of the Clintons, who were getting plastered over Whitewater and the health care reform disaster.

And now she can't get heard at all.

This is something Rep. Rick Lazio understands. Lazio (R-N.Y.) is in a similar predicament. He is considering running for the Republican Senate nomination, but all the media buzz is about how it's New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani to lose. If he wants it, everyone expects a Giuliani-Clinton matchup. That's the hype. As if no other prospects matter.

"Actually, it's less frustrating than many might imagine," says Lowey. "Being out of the bright lights gives you the freedom and time to move around and ask questions and listen to people and not feel the need to give knee-jerk answers. You have time to think through issues."

Which is exactly what Lowey is trying to do.

To get to Congress in the first place, she had to defeat two-term incumbent Republican Rep. Joseph DiGenaro in 1988. He referred to her as "Bella. Abzug without the hat." She knows something about long odds.

"No one thought I had a prayer," Lowey recalls.

She acknowledges that the light of Hillary Clinton wants the torch, but she's not ready. "Sure, sure," says Lowey. "But I feel confident if Mrs. Clinton doesn't run, she will do whatever she can to help me in any way."

USA TODAY · TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1999

MOB SCENE: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's two-day trip to New York beginning Wednesday is attracting unprecedented attention in light of speculation she might run for a Senate seat from New York in 2000. A \$150-a-plate luncheon is sold out, and for the first time, there's a waiting list with at least 300 names, said Democratic National Committee spokeswoman Melissa Bonney Ratcliff.

Change of Scenery Just Up the Coast

Democrats were buzzing yesterday about what **PRESIDENT CLINTON** said about one coast during a dinner party on the other.

The dinner, on Friday, was given by **ELI BROAD**, the billionaire chairman of Sun America, the Los Angeles insurer. Some Democrats quoted the President as saying he expects to live in New York after he leaves the White House, whether or not **HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON** runs for the Senate.

"We had some chitchat that went, 'For 22 years she's lived where I wanted to live, and now I owe it to her, so if she wanted to live in New York or run for the Senate, I'd do it,' " said another Democrat who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "It was all very vague. He clearly indicated that he doesn't know what she wants to do and that she hasn't made up her mind."



MORNING BRIEFING

She Has to Learn: No Bleacher Bums in the Bronx Zoo

Will Hillary Rodham Clinton run for the U.S. Senate in New York? If she does, columnist Deborah Orin of the New York Post thinks her love of baseball's Chicago Cubs could be her undoing.

"Just imagine the potential TV ads matching [New York Mayor Rudolph] Giuliani in his Yankees' cap against Mrs. Clinton in her Cubs' cap and asking who can be trusted to fight for New York," Orin noted.



WHAT A CARD: President Clinton shows off a birthday card given to him for daughter Chelsea on the street in Park City, Utah yesterday.

Reuter

First Lady plays second fiddle on school arts funding: Rudy

By DAVID SEIFMAN
and DEBORAH ORIN

First Lady Hillary Clinton visits a Queens public school tomorrow to highlight her support of arts education — but Mayor Giuliani said his administration has beaten her to the punch.

During a stop at IS 25 in Flushing, Mrs. Clinton will join NBC-TV anchor Jane Pauley and NYU president emeritus John Brademas to single out School District 25 for its model arts curriculum.

The First Lady, who's weighing a run for the U.S. Senate here next year, is honorary chair-

woman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, which Brademas chairs.

The committee is releasing a report tomorrow extolling the virtues of arts education — which is what Giuliani said he's been doing since 1997.

The mayor may run for the same Senate seat Mrs. Clinton is eyeing.

"I assume she's endorsing [the city's] Project Arts, which is the leading program in the country for restoring arts education in the schools," Giuliani told reporters. "It's something I announced in my State of the City speech two years ago."

Giuliani earmarked \$25 million for arts education when he ran for re-election in 1997. The allocation has grown to \$75 million this year, providing enough funds for art and music programs in each school district for the first time since the fiscal crisis of the 1970s.

An aide to the First Lady said her visit to New York, which includes a speech before the Women's Leadership Forum of the Democratic National Committee, isn't intended to score political points against the mayor.

"She's not taking credit for anything," the aide said. "She's highlighting

model districts."

But Giuliani noted that none of the money being spent here on arts classes comes from Washington.

"Maybe the First Lady will come with a check from the federal government and they'll contribute something so we can continue to enhance arts education in the schools," he said.

In an odd bit of timing, Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani will be trading places tomorrow. While she's in New York, he'll be in Washington testifying before the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

Representing the city will be Deputy Mayor Ninfa Segarra, who's certain to point out the mayor's role in restoring arts programs.

"Either there's political naivete or political genius at work here," said one mayoral aide, puzzled that Mrs. Clinton huddled in on an issue where "everyone agrees Giuliani deserves credit."

Mrs. Clinton's speech at the DNC Women's Leadership Forum is a sellout at \$150 a head — and the Democrats say they already have a 300-person waiting list.

First Family cuts short ski trip

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

President Clinton and wife Hillary yesterday abruptly cut short their Utah ski vacation with daughter Chelsea a day early — but White House aides insist there's nothing amiss.

"It's just because they realized they both have a very heavy schedule this week and next week and wanted to get back," said White House deputy press secretary Amy Weiss.

"Chelsea was always going back to college [Stanford University] today and they decided to go, too."

The mini-vacation celebrated Chelsea's 19th birthday.

But the switch in plans was so hasty that White House aides scrambled unsuccessfully for a plane to bring reporters back to Washington with Clinton. The press charter won't leave until today.

Clinton surfaced briefly in Park City, Utah, where he tried to buy \$62.66 worth of books with a just-expired American Express card and then paid cash.

As Clinton returns to Washington, he faces more questions about why he has refused to personally answer Juanita Broaddrick's explosive charge that he raped her in 1978.

The president goes to a Newark fund raiser for Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) tomorrow. Mrs. Clinton, a potential 2000 New York Senate candidate, will be in New York tomorrow and Thursday.

**Hillary's numbers
go south / Dick
Morrist-Page 27**

POSTOPINION



Hillary's Numbers Head South

HILLARY for Senate? It's a lot less likely after a Feb. 26 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll showing that her national favorability has dropped from 63 percent to 53 percent since speculation about her candidacy began. The cruel irony is that while America loves Hillary as First Lady, standing unflappably by her man, the



DICK MORRIS

Newsweek and your ratings drop, something is wrong.

Hillary would make a wonderful senator. She is a lifelong advocate for women and children and is happiest in that role. But she should launch her candidacy only after she has put some distance between herself and her husband's administration. Her best bet is to run in Illinois, where she grew up, in 2004 against the highly vulnerable, newly elected, right-wing Sen. Peter Fitzgerald.

The Fox News Poll shows the growing popularity of another political wife — Elizabeth Dole. She not only runs ahead of Vice President Al Gore by 51-36, she's closing in on Texas Gov. George W. Bush.

It would be a serious blunder to count out Liddy Dole. In a general election, her candidacy would appeal to women and close the gender gap on which Democrats depend. In the GOP primary, she

doesn't even muster a majority of the vote against a very weak field.

Gore needs to come out from Clinton's shadow. In that shade no candidacy can grow. While the president's job-approval is flourishing, his personal popularity continues to fall (this week it dropped to a new low of 40 percent).

Of course Gore can't dump on Clinton,

Opinion of Hillary Clinton

Date	Favorable	Unfavorable
Nov. 13	54%	39%
Dec. 18	62	32
Jan. 18	60	33
Jan. 29	63	31
Feb. 13	59	34
Feb. 26	53	39

closer she gets to an actual candidacy, the more her popularity fades.

Her sudden rise in voter approval and equally sudden drop is chronicled in the Fox News polling since the November election (see table).

As impeachment gathered momentum, awe at Hillary's grace under pressure moved her popularity to heights it had not seen since she first lost on our national consciousness. Just as Jackie Kennedy's dignity and poise after her husband's assassination moved the nation, Hillary's calm, self-possessed bearing during what must have been weeks of excruciating embarrassment impressed us all. Her favorability rating moved from 54 percent on Nov. 13 to a high of 63 percent on Jan. 29.

But as talk of her Senate candidacy has increased, she has come across as just another politician. The very discussion about her using her popularity to get elected has taken the sheen off her image and sent her ratings back down to earth. In the past four weeks, she has skidded 10 points back to her more typical favorability rating of 53 percent.

While the talk of her running for the Senate has acclimated people to the idea of her separate political career, it has diminished the very popularity which made the concept of Senator Clinton attractive in the first place. This shows

the volatility of her image while her husband is president. When you get your face on the cover of Time and

Vote Share of Potential Democratic Candidates

Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Democrats
Al Gore	35%	48%
Bill Bradley	18	14
John Kerry	11	9
Jessie Jackson	10	13

but he should distinguish himself by returning to his original theme of the environment and global climate changes. Recent weird weather throughout the world makes his gloomy predictions seem more appropriate than they have ever been. By talking about his old passion, he will develop a welcome animation and remind voters of his life before Clinton.

In 1968, Nixon harnessed each day's crime headlines to make law and order the basis of his national agenda. In 2000, Gore must use the fires in Florida, the mudslides in California, the floods in Texas, and the droughts in the Midwest to show Americans the pressing necessity of action in the face of global warming. Global climate is changing. If the consequences of this shift are as dire as predicted, the environment will become the issue of the next decade. With the millennium, voters are in a mood to think in planetary terms and Gore could be just the man to make the issue work.

Is it not a sad commentary on our politics that the three main contenders are only able to run because they rode their father's or husband's reputation into power? Gore's father was a senator as, of course, was Liddy's husband. Bush's dad was president and his grandfather was a senator. Can't we have a president who made it on his own like Clinton, Reagan and Carter did? We need a candidate who vindicates fully Winston Churchill's dictum that a great man is made man who worships his Creator.

Vote Share of Potential Republican Candidates

Candidate	Vote Among All Americans	Vote Among Repub's
George W. Bush	32%	47%
Elizabeth Dole	23	23
Steve Forbes	5	7
Dan Quayle	5	6
Rudy Guiliani	6	3
Lamar Alexander	4	2
Gary Bauer	1	1

would run to the right of Bush — always a good place to be in the Republican field. With her sterling record at the Red Cross, she could win. Elizabeth Dole could well be the first woman president.

On the Democratic side, Gore is clearly hurting. The lack of enthusiasm for him even among Democrats is palpable. While he still runs in first place, he

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Hillary Rodham Clinton is the fifth presidential wife mentioned as a candidate for political office, but if she makes a bid for the Senate she'll be the only first lady to actually run.

In the 1920s there were calls to draft President Warren Harding's widow, Florence, for governor of Ohio and President Woodrow Wilson's widow, Edith, for vice president.

Some Democrats wanted Eleanor Roosevelt to be the party's vice presidential nominee in 1948. In 1976, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, then a book editor in New York, briefly flirted with running for a Senate seat.

These four first ladies urged to run after they left the White House declined the overtures.

"I believe there were attempts to draft those women by considering them Mrs. Warren Harding or Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. I think they were being drafted as a bridge to their husbands' memory, a symbol of their husbands' legacy," said Carl Sferrazza Anthony, a historian of first ladies.

It's different with Mrs. Clinton, who is considering a bid for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, he says. Mrs. Clinton is spending two days in New York City on Wednesday and Thursday, perhaps to test her chances.

"The difference with Hillary is that she is recognized and respected as a political figure in her own right," Anthony said. "She would not be there representing her husband. She would be there representing her own political sensibilities."

The political lineage of presidents runs deeper with sons.

Sons of several presidents went on to be congressmen, senators even presidents themselves. On the state level, President Bush's son George W. Bush is governor of Texas and is considering a bid for the GOP presidential nomination in 2000. Another son, Jeb, is governor of Florida.

So far, Mrs. Clinton has said little about the "Draft Hillary" campaign. She says only that she's giving it "careful thought," yet she's getting plenty of political advice.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch says "Run." Former New York congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro advises Mrs. Clinton to wait, run later for a Senate seat from Illinois and then be the Democrats' presidential candidate in 2008. Former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo wants to see her run, but also suggests she could duck elective office and still be a political force. "Be Eleanor Roosevelt," he advised.

Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Clinton were born in different centuries, yet have much in common, says Myra Gutin, a historian of first ladies at Rider University in New Jersey. "Both are politically minded. Both are widely respected, but also greatly criticized," Ms. Gutin said.

Mrs. Clinton, the only first lady to chair a presidential commission, was criticized for the secrecy in which her Task Force on Health Reform operated. Mrs. Roosevelt was the only first lady to hold a government position in her husband's administration. She resigned as assistant director of civilian defense after coming under fire.

After she left the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt, revered for her work on social issues, was appointed U.S. delegate to the newly formed United Nations. Then in 1948, she squelched an attempt to draft her as Harry Truman's running mate, preferring to stay at the United Nations and continue her role as a Democratic Party elder.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 02, 1999

Meg Greenfield

The First Qualification

When Vice President Al Gore moved to make his year-2000 candidacy for the White House official some weeks ago, a question arose among a group of friends having dinner one night as to why he had chosen to announce so early. Easy, replied the political wise heads present; he needed to corner the money. I noted that the verb was "to corner," not "to raise." Didn't Gore already have a huge financial advantage over any prospective competitors? The sum theoretically required for a credible presidential primary campaign has risen from roughly \$20 million to \$22.5 million since 1995-96. Gore is said already to be amassing \$35 million, and maybe \$15 million more. And that's not even counting the presumed benefits of millions more in "soft money" to come. What does he need so much for?

Nothing, comes the immediate reply. He needs only to trap the money, to commandeer it, to get it and thus keep it out of the hands of anyone else who fancies running against him in the primaries. He needs to starve them out. And don't go getting all indignant about the tactic, one is told.

It has become standard campaign practice. If you're in a position to do it, you do.

Shortly thereafter came the burst of euphoria about Hillary Rodham Clinton's chances, if she decides to run, in the coming New York Senate campaign, her potential for scaring off and/or wiping out any primary competition and of prevailing against Mayor Giuliani in the general election as well. Like Vice President Gore, the first lady has both some big liabilities and some formidable assets as a candidate. But whenever I have heard either of their candidacies being discussed in recent weeks, neither their potential strengths nor weaknesses as holders of the offices they may run for has been the primary consideration. Such concerns come in about fifth. The first qualification cited is their awesome ability to raise money. It would render Mrs. Clinton's candidacy invincible in a face-off with other contenders, one is told, and ditto Vice President Gore.

This is something relatively new in its extremity. I don't mean that campaign concern to the point of obsession with raising money is new.

That's been around forever. I mean the oil-spill-like seeping out of the money mania until it reaches a dimension that engulfs all else, renders all else secondary—a kind of busted tanker or Torrey Canyon effect.

**It's no longer
whether candidates
are fit to hold office.
It's their ability to
raise money.**

There are a lot of explanations for this. Defenders of the "reformed" fund-raising order, created in the aftermath of Watergate, will point out, in the course of arguing, how shamelessly crooked things were in the old days. This is true, and it is also true that a few things are cleaner now. But by and large, the party functionaries and legislators who undertook the revisions of fund-raising

practice made a total hash of it. And then, as if that weren't enough, they began working earnestly to figure out ways to game their own handiwork, to take advantage of the defective system they had created and, as needed, to add a few more defects that could be exploited year by year.

The system never was pretty. But it has become a lot less so in recent years. You almost never hear of a candidate's being selected because of positions anymore. Descriptions of the prospective president's or senator's or representative's or governor's leanings, ideas and record tend to be sketchy and vague. The candidate is "a moderate." The candidate is a devotee of the "middle way." But these are definitions that leave out everything of substance, in the hope of producing an irresistible, one-size-fits-all candidacy. And in addition to the candidate's ability to raise money, you hear a great deal about what the candidate's polls show.

With luck you will have got yourself a prodigious fund-provider (either the candidate's own money or that of lavish contributors) and a sure winner. The rest will take care of

itself. Because these two indispensable qualities come most reliably with celebrities and very, very rich people, you will likely end up with more of both as officeholders, as is already happening.

I don't have anything against very, very rich people or celebrities, but I do have something against the way they are being routinely used by both Republicans and Democrats to rig our politics. And the same goes for what is innocently known as "spin." The reason it is felt necessary to raise so much political money a couple of years before an election or convention or primary is that this much time is required to buy the professional spin and let the spinners do their work and let their fabricated message sink in. It takes this much time to achieve the parroting outcome—in which millions of people are suddenly saying more or less the same thing at the same time and honestly believing it to be an original thought of their own. A new reality will have been created. It will be almost impossible to break through or challenge as to facts, or even to work around.

Now these, I admit with embar-

assment, are pretty paranoid thoughts. But I do think we have let ourselves get boxed into a political order that does less and less for people, that rewards the greediest and pettiest of the politicians' instincts and invariably seeks to punish the ones who try to take an independent stand or think for themselves or otherwise fight back. The obscene amounts of campaign funds sloshing through the nation's political arteries have not seemed to trouble people very much. What do those that provided the funds want? What did they get, and who gave it to them? How much of these transactions was camouflaged? More paranoia, I suppose.

But if there are good answers to the questions, shouldn't we have them? The only question that doesn't need answering, as far as I can see, is this: What does the candidate intend to do if elected with the help of all this money? That's easy—on Day One of the new term, start raising more money for the next campaign.

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thority or to the electorate." Critics also say special prosecutors have a dangerous lack of perspective. "When you give a person an unlimited budget and time and only one case, they can't weigh competing resources to determine what is important," Cole says. "They can't judge it by other cases. Their universe is that case."

That's the way subjects of such investigations feel. For nearly a decade, Deborah Gore Dean was enmeshed in the nation's longest-running independent counsel investigation. Dean was one of several subjects of a probe into whether Ronald Reagan's housing secretary, Samuel Pierce Jr., steered contracts to GOP insiders. Dean, his assistant, appealed her conviction of various offenses but is still fearful of prosecutors' power. "An independent counsel can do anything," she says. "Their power of investigation and money are limitless. If you have 40 attorneys, they'll get 60."

Yet many back it. Despite its flaws, many Americans appear to favor the law: 61 percent in a recent *Los Angeles Times* survey, for example, said the measure should be renewed.

Defenders of the law say prosecutors need that kind of firepower to go after high government officials. John Barrett, a professor at St. John's University in New York who worked on the Iran-Contra probe, says the independent counsel statute should be reformed—not scrapped. Investigations of powerful government officials are, by their very nature, "complicated, divisive, and politicized by outsiders," he notes, and would be even if the Justice Department conducted them.

One reform supported by some legal experts is a provision allowing the attorney general to appoint an outside prosecutor if the president, vice president, or attorney general were the subject of an investigation. Another proposal is to have the Justice Department conduct investigations of cabinet members, unless the individual in question had close ties to the president.

Samuel Dash, who was chief counsel for the Senate Whitewater Committee and who quit in protest as Starr's ethics adviser, favors keeping the law alive but eliminating the final report and changing the law to, among other things, make it tougher for counsels to expand their probes. In a recent *New York Times* op-ed piece, Dash predicted that even if the law dies, Congress will revive it sometime down the road. The reason: Without the law, Dash says, it would be impossible to investigate the president or all his men—and women. ■

Becoming Sen. Clinton is harder than it looks

The first lady is calculating the price



Will she take Manhattan? And Utica, too?

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

At first, it looked like a no-brainer. The fabulously popular first lady would parachute into the New York Senate race, be handed the nomination, and roll to victory in November 2000—thus winning a new perch from which to promote her causes and establishing a political identity all her own.

Not so fast. Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York friends are telling her privately that the situation is a lot messier than it appeared a few weeks ago, when party activists began urging her to run for the seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "It wouldn't be a shoo-in, by any means," one of her informal advisers tells *U.S. News*.

For one thing, her enemies would try to revive her image as a polarizing figure and emphasize painful controversies from the past, including her husband's affairs, her long-ago investments in Arkansas, and her role in the failed health-care overhaul early in the Clinton administration. "Does she want to go through that trial by fire?"

asks a friend. "Only she can decide that."

Then there are the more orthodox questions. Clinton could face hostility from some Jewish voters for supporting the eventual creation of an independent Palestinian state. Friends admit she isn't familiar with what one calls "the issue landscape of New York," such as crime-fighting in New York City (a favorite theme of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who could emerge as her leading Republican opponent). And Republicans are already labeling her a carpetbagger. "She has no business thinking that she can come here and represent the people of New York," says Robert Davis, chairman of the Erie County Republican Party.

Bills to pay. More fundamentally, Clinton wonders whether she would enjoy the often confining and tedious life of a senator, and whether she would have even a modicum of privacy. She also worries that Senate rules would limit her earning power to help pay the family's steep legal bills.

The pluses: Clinton's allies say she could build on strong support from women and blacks, and expand her base to include most suburban swing voters. Today, she leads Giuliani by about 10 percentage points in hypothetical matchups and could raise millions of dollars in short order. What's more, it would be a snap to establish residency in New York: Renting an apartment by Election Day would do.

Clinton's statement last week that she would make up her mind by year's end was designed to ease growing pressure to get her into the race. Confidants say she actually plans to announce her decision much sooner, probably by the end of April. And a handful of New York pals, including Democratic activists Harold Ickes and Susan Thomases, are moving fast to assess her chances.

What gives her particular pause is the likelihood that any campaign would be all about her, not the issues, and would be nasty, brutish, and long. For a woman reeling from the Year of Monica, it could be a very unpleasant way to spend her remaining 23 months as first lady. ■

With John Marks in New York



Political Roundup

Signs Point To Late Decision By Hillary In N.Y. Race

■ SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER, D-N.Y., late last week said that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton could take until June to make up her mind about running for the Senate from New York. And former **Sen. Alfonse D'Amato**, R-N.Y., whom Schumer defeated last fall, suggested that if Clinton is set to run, she could announce as late as September, *Newsday* reported.

All of which points to a decision later, rather than sooner, for the first lady — who has been at the center of a speculative political swirl over the 2000 race for the New York seat being vacated by Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**.

Schumer's newfound advice that Clinton weigh her decision carefully contrasts with his earlier call that she make a quick decision. Schumer — who was among several New York politicians whom the first lady invited last week to the White House for consultation — said afterward that Clinton did not appear close to a decision.

While Schumer acknowledged that he had initially called on Clinton to decide by spring, he said last Thursday: "Spring could mean

[waiting] till June 20. It's not productive to put a time frame on it."

And D'Amato said the longer Clinton delays her decision, the more likely it is that she will run.

"If she's going to run, she can wait until September," D'Amato said. "Money is not a problem for her, bringing the entire party apparatus behind her is no problem. And she doesn't encounter the withering kind of inspection and questions that would take place as soon as she announces by the media."

March 01, 1999; Monday 17:38 Eastern Time

SECTION: Wash. Post - general news

LENGTH: 415 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Clinton To Appear at NY Event

BYLINE: SANDRA SHERAJ

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Hillary Clinton's much-ballyhooed but still undecided consideration of a Senate race has New York donors clamoring to get into her sold-out fund-raiser for the Democratic National Committee.

With Mrs. Clinton scheduled to appear at Wednesday's \$150-per-plate luncheon at The Plaza Hotel in Manhattan, for the first time in its fund-raising history, the DNC is taking names 300 of them for a waiting list, said party spokeswoman Melissa Bonney Ratcliff.

Meantime, the queue of donors may well seem small beside the news media lining up to cover the first lady's two-day trip. "A mob scene" is how one White House aide forecast it after fielding inquiries from everybody from the city's tabloids to German television to a Greek newspaper.

"Never before" has the DNC seen such a donor boom, Ratcliff said Monday.

"Because of absolutely unbelievable interest in this event, we've already expanded the list to fit 900 and still, we're turning people away," she said. "They're calling and asking to be put on a waiting list. We never do waiting lists."

The prospective guest tally stood at just 500 when the luncheon was scheduled three months ago before prominent Democrats and New Yorkers began a "draft Mrs. Clinton" drive to see her replace retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the state's 2000 Senate race.

Last week, Republicans announced their own drive to cash in on the buzz surrounding the first lady. The National Republican Senatorial Committee launched a nationwide telemarketing campaign using the sheer possibility of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy to stoke Republican donors.

Mrs. Clinton, while in New York on Wednesday, plans a morning speech on arts education at P.S. 25 in Queens, the DNC luncheon and a private dinner at the home of Wall Street tycoon Roger Altman, who was deputy treasury secretary during President Clinton's first term. On Thursday, she is to speak at the United Nations on the upcoming International Women's Day before visiting another city to spotlight a new HBO documentary on women in sports.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton's most likely Republican opponent in a 2000 Senate bid, was invited by the city school district to appear with Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday morning, but he will not be there. Instead, the mayor will be in Washington to testify to the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee on reinventing government, a spokeswoman said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: MAR 01, 1999

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March 1, 1999, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 561 words

HEADLINE: First lady heads to NYC while mayor goes to Washington

BYLINE: By MICHAEL BLOOD, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:
After asking supporters to stop speculating in public about her possible run for U.S. Senate in New York in 2000, Hillary Rodham Clinton this week visits the home turf of her potential rival, Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

On Wednesday the first lady plans to visit a Queens school to release a national study on arts education - a day when Giuliani is scheduled to appear before a congressional committee in Washington, D.C.

Mayoral aides suggested Monday that the first lady was trying to associate herself with successful programs initiated by Giuliani, and accused the Clinton administration of failing to provide funding for much-in-demand arts classes.

"If she wants to come and showcase the fine work the mayor has done in bringing back these programs, God bless her," said Cristyne Lategano, Giuliani's communications director. "There hasn't been a dime of federal money for the arts programs."

Considering her flirtation with the Senate race, could politics be part of Mrs. Clinton's visit?

"I can't remember the last time she was in a school in New York, do you?" the mayoral spokesman said.

"I assume he's endorsing Project Arts," Giuliani told reporters, referring to the city program that has restored arts classes to hundreds of public schools, which were slashed during the financial crisis of the 1970s. "Maybe the first lady will come with a check from the federal government, and they can contribute something so we can continue to enhance arts education."

"A lot of things happen in politics," the mayor added.

Mrs. Clinton has been consulting with advisers about whether to make the Senate run in New York, a state that has never elected a woman senator. Last week she met at the White House family quarters with New York Sen. Charles Schumer, New York Rep. Nita Lowey and New Jersey Sen. Robert Torricelli. As chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Torricelli is leading the effort to draft Mrs. Clinton for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

President Clinton has said he will "be strongly supportive of whatever decision she makes," and predicted, "She'd be great if she did it."

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the first lady's visit was not connected with the Senate race, and she was unaware of any plan to have Mrs. Clinton meet with political advisers during the two-day visit.

"This was a commitment she made long before any of this really started," Berry said.

Mrs. Clinton is expected to be followed by a throng of reporters throughout the visit, which includes an appearance at a sold-out Democratic fund-raiser at the Plaza Hotel.

Giuliani has been raising money for a possible Senate bid, and was in Florida on Sunday to begin his bankroll. Republicans in the state tout him as the strongest likely candidate, but recent polls have found Mrs. Clinton holds an edge over the mayor in a hypothetical match-up.

On her visit Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton will release a report by a presidential council highlighting arts education in dozens of states. She also plans to attend the fund-raiser, and on Thursday will speak at a forum on women's issues at the United Nations and visit a school in Manhattan, her aides said.

Aides to the mayor and first lady said it did not appear that Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton would see each other during her visit.

The Nation

New York's Palestinian State

By JAMES DAO

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON said last year that a Palestinian state was "very important" to Middle East peace, and it seemed like a monumental political gaffe. Many Jewish groups reacted with alarm. And her husband's Administration, which has never endorsed the idea, swiftly disowned her comments.

Now, after 10 months, Mrs. Clinton's words are back on the front pages of New York City's Jewish newspapers, thanks to the First Lady's announcement that she is thinking about running for the Senate from the Empire State next year.

One of her potential Republican rivals, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has stoked the controversy, asserting that Mrs. Clinton's remarks were "a very big mistake." And analysts are already predicting that the First Lady's position on Palestinian statehood will hurt her among Jewish voters, about 12 percent of the state's electorate.

But it's not necessarily so. A Palestinian state is not the same hot-button issue it was 10, or even 5 years ago, when endorsing the concept was akin in some peoples' minds to endorsing terrorism, many political analysts and Jewish leaders say.

"The Palestinian state is no longer the taboo subject it once was," said Thomas Smerling, Washington director of the Israel Policy Forum, an American Jewish group that supports the peace process. "At a time when you have a Likud Prime Minister negotiating with the Chairman of the P.L.O. over the size of an eventual Palestinian entity, the idea of a Palestinian state no longer seems as alarming as it once did."

Many Jewish leaders say that since Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization

recognized each other's legitimacy in 1993, a growing number of Jews in America and Israel have come to accept that some sort of Palestinian state will be the likely outcome of a negotiated peace process.

Several polls of American Jews conducted over the past three years support that notion. A 1998 poll commissioned by the Middle East Quarterly found that 64 percent of American Jews supported the statement, "The Palestinians should have their own country."

But even if most American Jews believe a Palestinian state is desirable, or inevitable, Mrs. Clinton's statement could still cause her grief in a New York campaign. Many Jews were troubled not so much by the wording of Mrs. Clinton's remarks as by their timing. From Washington, she spoke up in the middle of sensitive peace talks between Israel and Palestinians. To many, weighing in at that moment seemed a crass attempt to push the talks toward a conclusion favoring the Palestinians.

"Many Jews viewed her statement as supporting a unilateral declaration of statehood by the Palestinians, or at least granting Arafat a license to do it," said Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, referring to Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader.

But Mr. Foxman also acknowledged that "the overwhelming number of Jews would be supportive" of a Palestinian state if it were the result of a negotiated settlement. "It's Israel's peace," he said.

IN a sign that she is serious about becoming a candidate, Mrs. Clinton has been trying to repair any damage from her remarks. Meeting with rabbis last week in Washington, she said she supported both the peace process and a Palestinian state. "They are not mutually exclusive of one another," her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry,

said.

After the meeting, Rabbi Jay Kornsgold of New Jersey told the newspaper *Jewish Week*, "This may impress a lot of Jews in New York."

IF supporting a Palestinian state is no longer the third rail of Jewish-American politics, what might Mr. Giuliani or other Republicans gain from keeping the issue alive?

A significant number of Jews continue to oppose a Palestinian state. But they tend to be conservatives who vote Republican anyway. It is more likely that Mr. Giuliani was using the Palestinian issue as a symbol for broader themes, political analysts said.

Raising questions about Mrs. Clinton's remarks is a way of raising doubts about her support for Israel, said Kieran Mahoney, a Republican consultant from New York. It also is another way of labeling her a liberal ideologue, said Ester Fuchs, a political science professor at Barnard College.

"Supporting a Palestinian state used to be the peacenik position, an extreme left-wing position," she said. "And that's what Giuliani has to do: Paint his opponent into a left-wing corner."

Mr. Giuliani says he has simply taken the same position as the President, who is very popular among Jews. But in helping to keep the issue alive, he risks a backlash, some analysts contend. Last year, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato accused Charles E. Schumer, who is Jewish, of missing votes on important Jewish issues. Mr. D'Amato lost the race and saw his share of the Jewish vote decline from past elections.

"I'm not sure the Mayor has the pulse of American Jewish opinion on this issue," said Seymour D. Reich, a past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and a supporter of the peace process.



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Suha Arafat, wife of Yasir Arafat, in Gaza last year.

SUNDAY

FEBRUARY 28, 1999

Sen. Clinton? What Is She Thinking?

By William Schneider

WASHINGTON

Hillary for Senate? Why in the world would she want to do that? It would mean abandoning herself to the tender mercies of the New York press corps. Think: Don Imus, the New York Post, the Wall Street Journal editorial page. And for what? Six more years in Washington. Quite likely, in the minority party. With strict limits on her earning ability. And Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) in charge of her schedule. Who needs it?

The conventional wisdom in Washington is, "Nah. She'll never do it." That's the same conventional wisdom that said her husband was finished a week after the Monica S. Lewinsky story broke in January 1998. The same conventional wisdom that said the Republicans would pick up seats in Congress last November. The same conventional wisdom that said impeachment was dead after the Democrats made unexpected gains in that election.

Still, the first lady says she's giving it serious consideration. What could she be thinking about?

She could be thinking about the Clinton legacy. After all, it's her legacy, too. In 1992, her husband promised a kind of co-presidency: "two leaders dedicated to America's future for the price of one."

Back in Arkansas, wags used to talk about "the governors Clinton." In fact, Hillary considered running for governor herself in 1990. When polls showed she might lose, however, Bill Clinton ran for a fifth term and won, after promising Arkansas voters he would finish his term and not run for any other office.

Now he's made a mess of their legacy, and she has to clean it up. It's what women all say: If you want to get something done, don't rely on a man.

Wait a minute. Isn't Al Gore supposed to be the one who continues the Clinton legacy? Yes, but GOP front-runners George W. Bush and Elizabeth Dole are both leading Gore in the polls right now. Gore might lose. Then what would happen to the Clinton legacy?



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton.

It would depend on Congress, where Democrats are fighting to regain their majority, the majority they lost in 1994 because of Clinton. Senate Democrats are desperate to hold on to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat, which could go Republican if New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani enters the race, as expected.

The first lady is now 18 points ahead of Giuliani in New York polls, but don't kid yourself. It would be a tough race, as Moynihan himself is reported to have told Hillary Rodham Clinton last week. She would have some explaining to do about her health-care plan. And her overnight success in Wall Street trading. And Travelgate. And Filegate. And the mysterious disappearance and reappearance of Whitewater billing records. And this comment she made last year: "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

At her 1994 Whitewater press conference, Clinton said, "I've always believed in a zone of privacy, and . . . after resisting for a long time, I feel I've been 'rezoned.'" Maybe for Washington, but New York is the twilight zone of politics.

It's not even certain that Giuliani would be her opponent. The mayor has never been on good terms with other Republicans, especially after he endorsed Democrat Mario M. Cuomo for governor in 1994. But he knows how to seize the moment. There he was in Washington last week, staging a lovefest with GOP congressional leaders. "This would be a national race," GOP senatorial campaign chairman Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said Wednesday. "It's generated an enormous amount of interest in Republican base voters and contributors across the country."

Beating Clinton would instantly turn Giuliani into a national Republican hero. But former New York Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato has not ruled out running for the GOP nomination. He and Giuliani have never been allies, and D'Amato might win a GOP primary. Can you imagine a Senate race between Clinton and D'Amato? It's what they call in professional wrestling, a "steel-cage death match."

Gore's people are not too thrilled at the prospect of seeing Hillary Clinton run. The

Please see CLINTON, M3

William Schneider, a contributing editor to Opinion, is a political analyst for CNN.

Clinton

Continued from M1

resources and attention of the White House would be split between two campaigns. They would compete for Democratic money and talent. And for control of the Democratic message. Meanwhile, Democratic candidates everywhere would be deprived of the party's strongest campaign asset: the first lady, speaking and raising money for other Democrats.

It's not hard to find reasons why Clinton shouldn't do it. But there she is, talking to New York Democratic leaders and political operatives. It's certainly creating a frenzy in the press. Finally, something to talk about after Monica! A lot of Democrats are thrilled by the prospect of having Clinton in the Senate. It's a political-revenge fantasy for constituencies that feel disempowered.

Like the Northeast, a region that has been losing power to the Sunbelt for decades, New York's gone from 45 electoral votes in 1960 to just 33 in 2000. As the Northeast has lost power, it has become more Democratic, at least in national politics.

The question is whether New Yorkers will vote on local issues or national issues. Polls show that New Yorkers rate Clinton better than Giuliani on national issues like health care, education and taxes. They say she'd know more about how to get things done in Washington and they'd be prouder to have her as their senator. Giuliani is rated better on crime, a local issue. Not surprisingly, voters say he

knows and cares more about New York.

For New Yorkers to elect Clinton would be to make a statement about New York's *national* political values. Even if it means electing someone who has never lived in New York. "So what if she doesn't know a cannoli from a knish?" New York voters would say. "She says what we think about national issues." This is a Senate election, remember, and New Yorkers have never been reluctant to claim they know how to run the country.

Her election would also be the revenge of the cities, which have been losing power to the suburbs. So what if Giuliani is the twice-elected mayor of New York City? Outside New York City, Giuliani wins. But Clinton beats the mayor by better than 2 to 1 in his own city. Won't New York City rally to its mayor? Not necessarily. Giuliani's job ratings have dropped in the last few months, as police brutality has become a growing concern.

It would be the revenge of women as well. The first lady gets a double boost from women, who identify with both her and her husband for different reasons. They feel she's the victim of his bad behavior. He's the victim of unscrupulous attacks by his enemies. Male New Yorkers give Giuliani the edge. Women prefer Clinton by a huge margin.

It would also be the revenge of Democrats for all the harsh partisan abuse they feel they've suffered. No one can rally the party faithful like Clinton. New York Democrats go 3 to 1 for her, while Giuliani carries independents and Republicans.

It's the revenge of liberals, who may have found a new hero in Clinton. Liber-

als have always felt closer to her than to her husband. What better way of putting a liberal stamp on the Clinton legacy than to put Hillary Clinton in the Senate? Better even than electing Gore. Gore leads Gov. George W. Bush by 9 points in New York—half Clinton's margin. And Bush is a Texan! There are a lot of liberals in New York, and for them, it's the Hillary Clinton side of the Clinton legacy they want to preserve, not the Gore side.

Last week, a guy who knows New York had some advice for the first lady. Never mind the Senate, Cuomo said. How about the national ticket? He thought Hillary Clinton would make a good vice presidential candidate for the Democrats. There's the ticket! Democrats could just turn their campaign buttons upside down: Clinton-Gore in 1996, Gore-Clinton in 2000.

Actually, both parties have a strong incentive to put a woman on the ticket. Republicans because the GOP is hurting badly with women voters. Democrats because they need to make it clear that Bill Clinton's locker-room antics are a thing of the past. No one ever runs for vice president, of course. Dole has her eye on the top spot. No problem. The Constitution originally said you had to run for president in order to become vice president. It worked for George Bush in 1980.

Gore-Clinton versus Bush-Dole—haven't we seen this picture before? No, this is a remake, with female costars. If that happens in 2000, you know what's around the corner: Hillary Clinton versus Elizabeth Dole for president. The only problem is, where are they going to find decent men to be their running mates? □

HENRY PAYNE

Razing the village to save it



In an impeachment ordeal rich in irony, the most notable is Hillary Rodham Clinton's emergence as a political winner — a distinction that has her positioned as a favorite in the next New York Senate race.

But though the Senate ultimately acquitted her husband, the impeachment couldn't have happened without sexual harassment laws and Whitewater land deals nurtured by the first lady.

As the scandal deepened, the president and first lady found themselves attacking the very liberal principles — women's rights, the independent counsel act — that they had worked to establish. Now, as the nation picks through the smoldering wreckage of Sexgate, it is clear Mrs. Clinton and her allies had to destroy their village in order to save it.

During the 1992 presidential campaign, Mrs. Clinton stood arm-in-arm with Anita Hill before an overflow crowd at the American Bar Association convention in San Francisco and issued a battle cry for women to rise up against harassment in the workplace. With her explosive charges of harassment against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, Miss Hill had "transformed consciousness and changed history," Mrs. Clinton declared. "All women are in Anita Hill's debt. We must never again be shy in raising our voices against harassment."

Paula Jones was not shy and two years later raised her voice against Mrs. Clinton's own husband.

Mrs. Jones even went Anita Hill one better: She brought a credible case to federal court. Mrs. Jones' charges were far more typical of workplace harassment. As a lowly secretary, she was a clear subordinate to Mr. Clinton and could credibly claim — unlike Anita Hill, a Yale law school grad — that she had to succumb to her boss' wishes or face career consequences.

Mrs. Jones, rather than being seen, like Anita Hill, as a victim by

Mr. Clinton's liberal allies, was ridiculed as trailer park trash. Rather than embrace Mrs. Jones' suit, feminists fled from her cause. Given the choice between a woman's rights and a fellow liberal Democrat, they chose Mr. Clinton. But the Jones case ground on, propelled by federal harassment guidelines promulgated by Mr. Clinton's own administration (and, ironically, now given credibility by some Republicans whose support of the guidelines before the Jones case had been tepid at best).

Still, the Jones case was but a puddle of gasoline. It never would have ignited into an impeachment inferno if Democrats had not provided the match — the Office of Independent Counsel.

A product of Watergate, the independent counsel law was a deeply partisan measure. A majority of Republicans had never backed a law they felt was a blank check for prosecutorial overzealousness. Even as suspicions of Mr. Clinton's Whitewater skeletons spread in 1994, House Republicans voted 100-77 against reauthorization of the Independent Counsel Act. But with Mr. Clinton's support and a 239-5 Democratic vote in favor, the act survived.

Four years later, Kenneth Starr, a prosecutor appointed under the Clinton-backed law, used his vast powers to probe the Clintons' financial past.

Contrary to press accounts, Mr. Starr was drawn to the Jones case by its parallels to the case of Mrs. Clinton's corrupt ex-law partner, Webster Hubbell, who had plea-bargained with Mr. Starr and his prosecutors and then failed to cooperate. Mr. Starr believed Mr. Hubbell had been bought off and that the same might have happened with Monica Lewinsky.

Mr. Starr stated in his report that Clinton friend Vernon Jordan was helping Miss Lewinsky find a job, just as he had "helped Mr. Hubbell obtain lucrative consulting contracts while he was a potential witness

and/or subject in the OIC's ongoing investigation. The OIC also possessed evidence that the president and the first lady knew and approved of the Hubbell-focused assistance. Against this background, the OIC considered the January 1998 allegations that (1) Miss Lewinsky was prepared to lie in order to benefit the president, and (2) Vernon Jordan was assisting Miss Lewinsky in the Jones litigation."

Cornered, the Clintons declared war on their party's own independent counsel creation.

But perhaps the most profound legacy the Clintons will leave to America's workplace culture is the assertion that boss/employee sex is a "private matter."

For years a central goal of the women's movement was workplace equality. Women should advance because of what they could accomplish in the office — not the bedroom. As it happens, this notion of civil rights also squared nicely with good management practice, and in most publicly held corporations today, it is a firing offense to have sexual relations with an underling.

Even if the relationship is purely consensual, the potential for an executive's abuse of his balance of power was demonstrated in the Clinton case. As detailed in testimony by the Clintons' close aide, Sidney Blumenthal, the president was fully prepared to smear the underling Miss Lewinsky as a mentally-unstable "stalker." After all, who would people believe — the CEO of the United States or a star-struck intern?

Now that the Democratic Party — and its foremost feminist voice, Hillary Rodham Clinton — have declared that an executive's use of an intern for oral sex is a "private matter," the hard-won victories of liberalism in the American workplace seem very hollow indeed.

Henry Payne is a staff writer and editorial cartoonist for Scripps Howard News Service.

Is Hillary too smart to run for the Senate?

A month or so ago, a person who claims to be a confidant of Hillary Rodham Clinton told me that, barring something unforeseen, she would run for the seat being vacated in 2000 by the retiring Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. He characterized the situation as "a done deal."

The person who told me this is a serious person of accomplishment—you might recognize his name. There is no reason to believe he does not believe the things he says.

So why is it that I'm having trouble wrapping my mind around the idea?

Perhaps part of it is simple jealousy of the people of New York. It would have been nice to continue the illusion that the Clintons are still primarily Arkansans. It is nothing more than the ruffling of parochial feathers perhaps, but one wonders if we shouldn't feel a little bereft at the thought of Hillary representing New Yorkers in the upper house. No doubt the lax residency requirement and the prevailing Eastern attitudes—not to mention the legacy of Robert Kennedy—are attractive to Hillary. Still, Arkansans are allowed to feel a little sad at her defection.

Still I'm afraid I just don't see Mrs. Clinton as a candidate. And while I know that there's polling data that suggests she has a considerable advantage over Rudolf Giuliani, the mayor of New York who is regarded as the likely Republican candidate for Moynihan's seat. Her name recognition is naturally quite high; New York Democrats are excited about the possibility of her making the campaign. Money oughtn't be a problem.

Yet I am not convinced. It takes a certain kind of person to pull the trigger on such an undertaking—one neither either a kind of willful obliviousness to reality or a certain masochism. And while Bill Clinton seems to be the kind of person who must continually risk his dignity for a chance to experience the rapture of mass adulation, Mrs. Clinton has always seemed less dreamy and more self-protective than her husband. She has always seemed more secure in her particular gifts and talents. She is not—one would guess—the kind of person who can habitually place herself on display. She neither needs nor craves the beaming mob.

One could point to biographical instances that contravene this opinion; Hillary Clinton has at times become a very public figure. But one never understood that she relished the attention—she did what she did in service of policy or to preserve her husband's fragile candidacy or tipsy presidency. Whatever one thinks of her politics, it is difficult to fault her performance as a team player. She has comported herself with grace and poise through what may have been the most public humiliation any political wife has ever had to en-

Philip Martin



sure. She has an uncanny ability to separate her personal ambitions and emotions from the practical policy goals to which she has dedicated herself. One mightn't like Hillary Clinton, but one has to give her credit.

For the record, I like her. For the record, it is possible to like someone without agreeing with their politics. Yet Hillary Clinton is pretty good on the issues—I prefer what I perceive to be her more aggressively progressive agenda to her husband's pop centrality. Bill Clinton is a moderate's moderate; the kind of amiable, electable chap that our democracy tends to produce. He has his good points—he has a heart and tender impulses—but his convictions are suspect and always subject to pragmatic political sublimation. Clinton is very very good at being elected; he can talk to almost anyone for a few minutes and leave that person believing he is in concurrence with them on all substantive issues.

Hillary Clinton is another kind of animal. Over the years John Brummett has astutely pointed out

She has been even more the target for invective and demonization.

her lack of political acumen; she *does* seem afflicted by a certain political tone deafness. In Arkansas she rubbed some people the wrong way by—at first—insisting on retaining her maiden name.

Similarly, she has made a point of championing causes that were never as popular as they were worthy. The fact is some people are opposed to reforming health care, enacting child welfare provisions and bettering education simply because to do such things necessarily requires the expenditure of tax money. Some people simply do not want their paychecks docked, others have a philosophical problem with the "Big Government" of which such programs are considered emblematic.

As Arkansas' first lady Hillary Clinton alienated many members of the state's teacher's union by insisting on the need for a teacher competency test. She made what some people construed as a slur on country singer Tammy Wynette during

using else about not wanting to stay at home and bake cookies, seemed to change her hairstyle weekly and after Clinton's political enemies started harping on a prospective "co-presidency" she was rather unceremoniously reduced to smiling and waving at her husband's side.

After the election she was assigned the task of health care reform; she headed the task force that wrote the failed, overreaching legislation. And even though there is some metaphorical truth to her statements about "vast right wing conspiracies," it wasn't a particularly politic thing to say. There are times that her political interests could be best served by remaining quiet.

While Hillary Clinton has never seemed particularly fearful of failure, unlike her husband she has never seemed to require the approbation of anonymous crowds. She might make a great senator, it is certain she would make an odd one.

Speculation is what columns like this one are about, so it probably does no harm to speculate what will happen after Bill Clinton leaves office. I don't think that a divorce is likely, though there is certainly good cause; I prefer to believe that regardless of all the garbage there exists a deep, abiding bond between these two people and that they are genuine partners. Marriages can be strange compacts and I don't think any of us really have any clue as to the sticky secrets of other people. All we can really do is wish them well and pray they come to some mutually satisfactory arrangement—we know more than we ever should have known, we ought to step back sheepishly, tipping our hat, mumbling our apologies.

Yet if Hillary Clinton seeks political office on her own she must find a way to affect at least a psychic break from her husband's administration. She has been even more the target for invective and demonization than her husband—there seem to be at least as many Hillary haters working the Internet and the talk programs as there are overly energetic critics of her husband. And there are legitimate questions too—some wonder about her role in the Whitewater land deal, the White House travel office fiasco and the misuse of FBI files.

Hillary Clinton might have nothing to apologize for but some explanations are due. She has a right to run for office, some exciting credentials and an interesting mind. She is intellectually capable and her record of public service is impressive. She is exactly the sort of person who ought to run for public office.

And she is exactly the sort of person who doesn't need to. Why would anyone who has gone through what Hillary Clinton has gone through in the past eight years offer herself for more? I don't think she will. She's too smart.

Arkansas Democrat -
Gazette 2/28/99

Schumer: Hillary's got a lot of options

By VINCENT MORRIS
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Once Hillary Rodham Clinton leaves the White House, the "world would be her oyster," says Sen. Charles Schumer, with many opportunities for the First Lady besides running for a Senate seat.

"She could write books. She could go speak. She could become president of a university," said Schumer, who met with the First Lady on Wednesday.

"She has lots of options."

Hoping to buy Clinton time to make up her mind about whether to run for senator in New York, Schumer recalled how he spent months pondering whether to leave his safe House seat.

"It would be bad for her, bad for New York and bad for America . . . for her to make a decision . . . in the next couple of weeks," Schumer told reporters in his Senate office yesterday.

Schumer used the occasion to spell out nine legislative goals for the next Congress, a package of expensive but popular ideas that are bound to encounter opposition from Republicans.

The single biggest proposal calls for allowing families to deduct the full cost of a college education from their income taxes.

Currently, joint filers can deduct up to \$1,500 in tax credits for the first two years of college. The new plan, co-sponsored by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, would cost \$30 billion over five years and could be paid for out of the federal budget surplus, Schumer said.

Besides making college more affordable, Schumer introduced bills to encourage people to become teachers, to make pensions portable from job to job, to force credit-card companies to be more open about their interest charges and to offer a \$2,000 tax credit to first-time home buyers in parts of the South Bronx, Harlem and some upstate cities.

Schumer also said he's encouraging the Democratic leadership to pick more fights with the GOP this year, especially on issues like campaign-finance reform, which many Republicans oppose.

"We can force a vote often, not just once but until the campaign-finance bill passes," Schumer said.

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Beyond the City

Hil Good for Israel: Chuck

By TIMOTHY J. BURGER
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Defending Hillary Rodham Clinton over her call last year for a Palestinian state, Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) yesterday insisted the First Lady "would be a powerful and strong voice for Israel."

Schumer said President Clinton has run "the most pro-Israel administration since I've become an elected official." He said he was confident the First Lady "would persuade a large majority of Jewish voters that she would be a forceful and strong advocate for Israel."

The First Lady set off an uproar in May when she said, "I think it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state."

The White House disowned the remark, and Schumer was critical at the time, saying it did "not set the peace process forward." An aide said he still holds that view.

He said that if Clinton runs, she'll "have to explain fully her position on . . . the Middle East, including the Palestinian state."

A White House source said the First Lady has no "plans to say anything new on that."

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Hillary Modifies Statehood Sta

*Palestinian issue
should be left
to two sides,
first lady says in
meeting with rabbis.*

ERIC J. GREENBERG
STAFF WRITER

Hillary Rodham Clinton, meeting at the White House this week with 25 rabbis, appeared to back away from her previous support for a Palestinian state, reportedly saying the issue should be left to Israel and the Palestinians.

But Clinton's Communications Director Marsha Berry, after consulting with the first lady, told The Jewish Week that Clinton's "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remains unchanged.

The remarks come as Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is turning up the heat on Clinton on the Palestinian statehood issue. They are being



About face? Local rabbis say first lady's comments this week may be intended to impress N.Y. Jewish voters. RNS/Reuters

touted as potential opponents in the 2000 New York Senate race.

The issue arose Monday afternoon in a private White House meeting with a new national group of rabbis (see story, page 10.). Clinton was asked to clarify her controversial statement of last May favoring
Continued on page 17

Hillary Modifies Palestinian Stance

Continued from page 1

a Palestinian state, and according to Rabbi Marc Schneier, who attended the White House gathering, she replied: "It is up to the parties to negotiate final status."

"She made her position very, very clear to all the rabbis," said Rabbi Schneier, who was in the capital to launch his new organization, the North American Board of Rabbis, an interdenominational group.

Clinton in the spring had outraged some Jewish groups and caught the administration off guard when she said: "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state, to be a state that is responsible for its citizens' well-being, a state that has responsibility for providing education and health care and economic opportunity to its citizens."

The White House responded by distancing itself from her remarks, and Clinton since that time has not elaborated. U.S. policy has been to remain neutral on the issue of a Palestinian state and not prejudge the outcome of any final-status issues between Israel and the Palestinians.

But Berry, in providing the first lady's most detailed explanation of her views on the issue, told *The Jewish Week* on Monday that Clinton's response to the rabbis does not contradict her earlier position.

"All along she supported the administration's position, but she had a personal position regarding what the long-term interest in the region is," Berry said in a telephone interview. "They're not mutually exclusive of one another."

Berry added: "She has not changed her



ambitions for the future."

New Jersey Conservative Rabbi Jay Kornsgold said he was "very pleased" she clarified her position.

"Let's face it, she knew who she was meeting with and she must have anticipated the questions," he said. "She seemed genuine. I can't say for sure whether she's doing this

Hillary Rodham Clinton supports her husband's Middle East policy, but has a "personal position" on Palestinian statehood, her spokeswoman says.

because she may run for the Senate and that this may impress a lot of Jews in New York."

But Henry Siegman, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, the influential foreign

policy institute in the U.S., argued that Clinton's dual positions are not in opposition at all.

"Obviously she is talking within an entirely new political context," said Siegman, director of the council's U.S. Middle East Project. "In principle and in theory, there is no contradiction. The best possible outcome is for there to be a Palestinian state that is recognized only through direct negotiations between the parties."

Siegman called it unfortunate that "certain

portions of the Jewish community in New York" become agitated at the thought of a Palestinian state, "even though a vast majority of the Israeli public, including the hawkish [Foreign Minister Ariel] Sharon has accepted the inevitability of that development."

"The fact that a statement like that by Hillary [last May] should evoke hysterical reaction in some quarters indicates how far behind certain portions of the American Jewish community are of the actual realities accepted by Israelis."

But Siegman said the minority view is extremely vocal and they "create the impression that the political climate in New York embraces the most retrogressive position in order to win votes."

Of the mayor's recent attacks concerning Clinton's position on Palestinian statehood, Siegman said Giuliani "has pandered to those primitive sensibilities in the Jewish community and has offered no enlightenment or leadership on this issue."

Brooklyn Assemblyman Dov Hikind, a Democrat who has supported Republican candidates, said there would be a mass defection of Jewish voters from the Democratic Party should Clinton run for Senate because of her support for a Palestinian state and "her love affair with Yasir Arafat." □

personal position regarding what she said last year. At the same time she supports the peace process."

But some rabbis at the meeting said they believed Clinton did reshape her position, perhaps to mollify her audience and the Jewish voters in New York.

"She spoke ... in terms agreeable to the ears that wanted to hear that — that she meant the parties will ultimately decide," said Rabbi Albert Gabbai, an Orthodox rabbi from Philadelphia. "I'm not born yesterday. One has to read between the lines that she has political

By DOUGLAS M. BLOOMFIELD

It's not exactly part of her campaign strategy, but if Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the Senate in New York next year, the campaign could provide a significant sounding board for the issues that divide the Jewish community-Israel and the peace process, public vs. private schools and church-state separation.

Historically, candidates in New York—which has the largest number of Jewish voters outside of Israel—have tried to finesse divisions among the Jews, trying to be all things to all people. For example, it's not unusual to see American politicians trying to appear more hawkish on Israeli security than Israeli leaders.

But this time there is a potential candidate of immense popularity who does not toe the hawkish line. Rodham Clinton is again coming under savage attack from right-wing Jews for comments she made last May about Palestinian statehood, and Republican politicians are enthusiastically joining the fray.

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a potential GOP senatorial candidate, has accused her of "siding with the Palestinians against the Israelis." Much the same was said by Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY), the chairman of the GOP Senate Campaign Committee, who sees the first lady as a boon to his efforts to raise Jewish money for Republican candidates next year.

The head of a pro-Israel political action committee in New York which gives to both parties said, "The screamers in our community will make a lot of noise, but 85 percent of the Jews will be fine with Hillary."

Prof. Amos Perlmutter of American University said, "Since the Jewish leaders are still in a ghetto in New York and a bunch of cowards, they're going to vote for her even though she's called for a Palestinian state."

Rodham Clinton insists, publicly and privately, that her position is the same as the administration's, that it is up to the parties themselves to negotiate the issue of Palestinian statehood. She also has said that the late Yitzhak Rabin lamented to her and her husband about the difficulties of negotiating with the Palestinians because, unlike the Syrians and Jordanians, there is no entity to deal with and hold accountable, and Rodham Clinton feels she was reflecting that view.

What she did say, in a May 8, 1998, satellite interview with Israeli and Palestinian youths was, "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state, and for it to be a state that is responsible for its citizens' well-being...a state that has to accept the responsibility of governing."

Administration officials said she

Will She or Won't She?

The hawks are circling, but Hillary for Senate would win the votes of most Jews

was expressing her personal views and denied she was staking out any new policy ground. Many Israelis and Palestinians, for their own reasons, were convinced that she was revealing the secret inner thinking of her husband and his government.

Even the broadest interpretation of what she said does not constitute an endorsement of a unilateral declaration,

However, the Clinton administration, with the support of moderate Arab states and the Europeans, has apparently convinced Arafat to drop that threat because it could interfere with the Israeli elections 13 days later and do serious damage to the peace process. But the issue is bound to come up after a new Israeli government is in place, which should be by the middle of June.

If Rodham Clinton decides to run for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan—and it is far from certain that she will—the statehood issue will be one of the most contentious, with risks for both sides.

While her opponents are very vocal and well organized, the truth is they are a minority. Most American Jews, like most Israelis, accept Palestinian statehood in some form as inevitable, and sooner rather than later. That is something the hawks here and in Israel would like to stifle, but even Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and some of his cabinet ministers have spoken of accepting a state with limited sovereignty.

That issue, however, could be moot well before the November 2000 election, because it is very possible that the Palestinian state will be established by then. But even without that, there will be other issues that divide Jewish voters, and Rodham Clinton's candidacy could ignite lively debate on those as well.

Divisions within the Jewish community are more pronounced in New York than elsewhere—by sheer weight of numbers and because of the size and influence of the Orthodox population—and the impact of the Jewish vote is immense.

There is strong support in some circles, particularly among the Orthodox, for vouchers and other forms of taxpayer support for private schools. Among the other issues which divide Jewish liberals and conservatives are abortion rights, homosexual rights and charitable choice, which permits religious institutions to use federal funds for health and social services with fewer governmental restrictions.

"The right-wing Jews may go after her" on these issues, said a friend of the first lady, but "the rest of the Jews love her" and she'd have no trouble winning, not only the Jewish vote, but the election.

All the polls say the same thing.

but her candidacy is still a novelty. While Rodham Clinton is an experienced politician and a highly skilled, veteran campaigner—which was evident in last year's New York Senate race, where she is credited with having played an invaluable role in Chuck Schumer's stunning victory over Alfonse D'Amato (who says he might run next year if she does)—she would face a very different political challenge running on her own in the overheated environment of New York politics.

"She's tough, especially after what she's just been through, and I'd be surprised (if) there's much they could do that would upset her," said her friend.

But there are some very compelling reasons that suggest that she will not run for the Moynihan

seat next year.

As a popular former first lady, she will not need the Senate as a platform from which to express her views. She will be free to do that on the world stage with fewer inhibitions, and free to devote time to the causes she cares most about while earning some of the big bucks she and her husband need to pay off legal bills accumulated in the course of the plethora of GOP-led investigations they endured.

Rodham Clinton is at the peak of her popularity and, after her husband, she is the Democratic Party's most popular draw and most effective fundraiser. Party leaders fear running for the Senate will take her away from the more urgent task of criss-crossing the country over the next 20 months raising money and campaigning for the presidential ticket and other candidates at all levels.

"Not having her out on the campaign trail, especially for Al Gore, would be a huge loss, a huge loss," said a White House official.

Besides, if she still has the Senate bug after that, there's always 2004, when freshman GOP Sen. Peter Fitzgerald comes up for re-election in her native Illinois.



'Since the Jewish leaders are still in a ghetto in New York and a bunch of cowards, they're going to vote for her...'

ration of Palestinian statehood; she has repeatedly insisted it is something to be mutually agreed upon. Nonetheless, her critics feared her comments would encourage Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat to carry out his oft-repeated threat to unilaterally announce establishment of a state on May 4, the original deadline for concluding negotiations on final-status issues under the Oslo Accords.

Long Island
Jewish World
2/26/99

Hillary Softens Her Stance on Palestinian State, Rabbis Say, As Gore Woos Jews by Backing Hate Crimes Laws, Abortion

*First Lady, Eyeing Senate Race,
Mixes Messages on a Hot Issue*

'It Sounds Like She's a Clinton,' Republican Says

By IRA STOLL
FORWARD STAFF

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is backing away from her advocacy of a Palestinian-Arab state, rabbis who met with her here this week say.

The meeting between the first lady and a group of high-powered rabbis from New York and other cities adds to the intrigue surrounding whether Mrs. Clinton will decide to run in 2000 for the seat being vacated by New York's Senator Moynihan. The subtleties of Mrs. Clinton's position on the question of a Palestinian

state are such, though, that after a spokeswoman for the first lady got through explaining, Republicans were attacking Mrs. Clinton not only for siding against Israel, but for flip-flopping about the matter.

Although Mrs. Clinton's critics acknowledge that many Israelis favor a Palestinian-Arab state, they say the issue is what role the first lady should be playing in the midst of delicate negotiations. The mixed messages emanating from the White House on the issue are a sign that Mrs. Clinton still has some work to do before she dives into the rough-and-tumble of a New York campaign. Never mind the New York politics of the matter.

Please turn to Page 2

Hillary Reassures Rabbis on Palestinian State

Continued from Page 1

others say — the first lady's statements are particularly important as the May 4, 1999, deadline approaches for completion of final status talks under the Oslo accords. Israeli and American officials have been trying to prevent Mr. Arafat from unilaterally declaring statehood on May 4, saying that such a declaration could lead to war.

"I asked her about the Palestinian state, and she clarified her position by saying that it is up to the parties to negotiate a final settlement," said the president of the New York Board of Rabbis and of the newly formed North American Boards of Rabbis, Rabbi Marc Schneier.

The vice president of the North American Boards of Rabbis, Rabbi Ronald Brown, said he entered the White House meeting "concerned" about Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian-Arab state. After the first lady's remarks, he said, "I was pleased that that was the direction she was going." Rabbi Brown is the leader of Temple Beth Am of Merrick, Long Island.

A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, Marsha Berry, told the Forward, however, that the first lady has not changed her position. "She hasn't changed her personal position... She has said it all along," Ms. Berry said. "She supports the Oslo process. It's not anything different. It wasn't anything different from her point of view."

Mrs. Clinton's opinion on the question of statehood for the Palestinian Arabs has been the subject of attention ever since May 6, 1998,

when she told a group of Israeli and Arab youth, "I think that it will be in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state.... I think that it is very important for the Palestinian people. But I also think it's very important for the broader goal of peace in the Middle East."

At the time, the statement was widely condemned, even by those supportive of the Clinton administration and the Oslo process. The president of the American Jewish Committee at the time, Robert Riskind, said in a statement at the time that he was "surprised and concerned" at the comments. The New York City comptroller, Alan Hevesi, a Democrat, said, "Why should the Palestinians negotiate in good faith if the first lady hands them what they want without requiring the Palestinians to meet their obligations made in prior written agreements?"

Asked if Mrs. Clinton's statement of May 6, 1998, was still operative, Ms. Berry said, "Yes."

Some Labor Party figures such as Shimon Peres have endorsed a Palestinian state, and Prime Minister Netanyahu of the Likud Party has spoken of a self-governing entity emerging in the areas of the West Bank and Gaza that are controlled by Mr. Arafat. They are speaking of something less than full, unfettered statehood — they would restrict a Palestinian-Arab state from inviting in Iraqi armies or from obtaining certain weapons. And the Israeli position — and that of the American government — is that statehood for the Palestinian

Arabs is a matter for negotiation, not American predetermination.

Republicans pounced on the flap, saying it was evidence that Mrs. Clinton shared some of her husband's worst qualities.

"Will the real Hillary Clinton please stand up?" said the executive director of one Republican group, the National Jewish Coalition, Matthew Brooks. He called her encouragement of a Palestinian Arab state "dangerous."

The executive director of Mayor Giuliani's new political action committee, Solutions America, Bruce Teitelbaum, said, "Her public position on this has not changed. She believes there should be a Palestinian state.... You have to proceed on the assumption that her thinking on the matter has not changed, and if it has, I think she would articulate the change." Mr. Giuliani, who may run for Senate as a Republican, has attacked Mrs. Clinton for favoring a Palestinian Arab state.

The vice chairman of another Republican group, the Young Jewish Leadership Pac, questioned the dichotomy between Mrs. Clinton's personal view, as expressed in May of last year, and the official Clinton administration position, as expressed by the State Department and, apparently, to the group of rabbis. "If she runs for Senate, is she running personally, or officially?" he asked. "It sounds like she's a Clinton."

The rabbis were in Washington for the founding convention of the North American Boards of Rabbis, a group that intends to encourage interaction between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist rabbis.

In addition to Rabbi Schneier, who is Orthodox, and Rabbi Brown, who is Reform, the group elected a corresponding secretary, Rabbi Stanley Davids of Atlanta, Ga., who is Reform; a recording secre-

tary, Rabbi Lionel Moses of Montreal, Canada, who is Conservative, and a treasurer, Rabbi Dannel Schwartz of Detroit, Mich., who is Reform.

The group's executive vice president, Rabbi Jay Rosenbaum, said he hoped the North American Boards of Rabbis would "be a source of good, of showing the world our capacity to work together and treat each other with civility and respect and appreciation, regardless of what stream of Judaism we come from." Rabbi Rosenbaum is also the leader of the Union Reform Temple in Freeport, Long Island.

The Washington meeting drew representatives from boards of rabbis of more than 25 cities — despite the across-the-board opposition to the new organization from leaders of the denominations.

The meeting between Mrs. Clinton and the rabbis was arranged by Rep. Gary Ackerman, a Democrat from New York, according to both Ms. Berry and a spokesman for Mr. Ackerman. Mr. Ackerman did not attend the meeting.

Mrs. Clinton also met quietly this week with Mr. Moynihan's wife, Liz.

Hillary's Getting Cold in the Hot Seat

By MITCHELL L. MOSS

Contrary to the polls, pundits and popular opinion, Hillary Rodham Clinton is not a sure bet to get elected to the Senate from New York in 2000. In fact, there is no more dangerous place in politics than the position she now holds as the front-runner for an election that will not take place for another 20 months. While the first lady looks like a savior to Democratic Party leaders eager to keep Senator Moynihan's seat in Democratic hands, there is no reason to believe that Mrs. Clinton has what it takes to win the votes of New Yorkers.

According to the latest Marist Institute poll, Mrs. Clinton has about a 10% lead over New York City Mayor Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate. Any Republican who can carry New York City, or capture about 45% of the vote in such a Democratic stronghold, should win statewide, since suburban and upstate voters are predominantly Republican, and they account for about two-thirds of the total state electorate. Mr. Giuliani's strength among Jews and white Catholics in the five boroughs and the surrounding suburbs, as well as his capacity to raise the \$20 million needed for a statewide race, has already pushed potential Democratic challengers such as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and environmental lawyer Robert Kennedy Jr. to the sidelines. With a paucity of well-funded candidates ready to run against Mr. Giuliani, Democratic leaders are falling over themselves in their efforts to persuade the first lady to run for the Senate.

Mrs. Clinton's fans believe she has the strength and intellect to go one-on-one with a mayor who thrives on ridiculing his opponents and even his predecessors. In addition, New York feminists believe that they have a "sure winner" on hand. After years of watching women win senatorial and gubernatorial posts in other states, perhaps New York can finally join California, Maine, Washington, Texas and Maryland in sending a woman to the Senate.

Of course, there are liabilities to a Clinton candidacy that have nothing to do with presidential scandal woes. No one could do more to unite the state's fractious Republicans sects than Mrs. Clinton. The prospect will compel the Conservative Party to quietly go along with the Republican nominee, even if Mr. Giuliani ran on both the Republican and Liberal lines. Furthermore, the Independence Party, which provided Charles Schumer with approximately 200,000 votes in his victorious 1998 Senate bid, might also support Mr. Giuliani. And though a card-carrying liberal like Mrs. Clinton would certainly energize New York City voters, her ideological credentials would also have the opposite effect of mobilizing upstate Republicans, who stayed home in 1998, to vote against such a Democratic icon in 2000.



WHITE HOUSE

Unlike her husband, she can't count on the Jewish vote.

World events may also tint Mrs. Clinton's candidacy. By autumn of 2000, there will certainly be a Palestinian entity of some kind on the West Bank, though likely not a Palestinian state. As a result, Mrs. Clinton's public support of a Palestinian state, though an albatross now, might be less of a burden by next year's election. Yet Mrs. Clinton cannot count on the Jewish vote. Unlike her husband, who has a visceral attachment to Jews and the state of Israel, Mrs. Clinton may get trumped by Mr. Giuliani, a Roman-Catholic who wins two-

thirds of the Jewish vote in mayoral elections. The mayor has a record — on taxes, welfare and crime — that resonates well with suburban and outer-borough Jews, and he has emerged as the protector of the fervently Orthodox, while also spending more time with Ramaz parents than many of the school's faculty do.

Even among white Catholic voters, the dominant voting block in the state, it's hard to know how a white Protestant like Mrs. Clinton would play. Admittedly, many voters empathize with the pain Mrs. Clinton has absorbed as a loyal spouse, but once she becomes a candidate, Mrs. Clinton's role as a "victim" will be superceded by a new identity: as a protagonist in a contest for the Senate. Mrs. Clinton's credentials as a partner in the Little Rock-based Rose law firm, as chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund, as first lady of Arkansas and of America can be political liabilities in a heated campaign.

Ironically, Republicans across the country are in the camp most enthusiastic about Mrs. Clinton's candidacy. For them, the real prize in 2000 is control of the House of Representatives, which the Democrats are in striking distance of winning. With Mrs. Clinton running in New York, she will not be able to campaign for Democrats in other states and will be forced to raise money for herself rather than for Democratic candidates elsewhere. Most importantly, she will not have sufficient time to devote to defeating the Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who tried to convict her husband.

Mrs. Clinton's biggest challenge is not her ideology but the cultural geography of New York state. The Clintons have never had to campaign hard in New York state. Largely because of Harold Ickes's organizational savvy, President Clinton had New York locked up before the 1992 presidential primary. New York was not a contested state in the 1992 or 1996 presidential campaigns. The Clintons treat New York City as a fund-raising venue, as a place to wine and dine wealthy donors who prefer to spend the night in Bedford rather than in the Lincoln Bedroom.

As a result, Mrs. Clinton doesn't know her way around. There are no "Cliff Notes" to explain that New York is largely a rural state that borders Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Canada. It is not easy to understand the intense upstate hostilities involving Native Americans, the difference between Eastern Parkway and Ocean Parkway and that the town of North Hempstead is twice as large as the city of Albany, the state capital. Manhattan is not New York state; there are 61 other counties, each with their own political land mines and "hot spots" that cannot be quickly mastered, even for a seasoned pro like the first lady.

Mr. Moss is the Henry Hart Rice professor of urban policy and planning at New York University.



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-Hillary Clinton, New York Times - May 7, 1998

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Democrats: Hillary may not decide until summer or fall

Eds: Moving on state news and political wires

By MARC HUMBERT= AP Political Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) A decision by Hillary Rodham Clinton on running for the Senate seat from New York probably won't come until this summer, and may even have to wait until the fall, according to some well-connected Democrats.

``It's going to be a slow process,'' one Democrat, who has spoken regularly to Mrs. Clinton and requested anonymity, said Thursday.

Meanwhile, one of the state's top Democrats who is advising Mrs. Clinton about her possible Senate campaign says he thinks, in part because of her lengthy deliberations, that she will run.

``I think she wants to do it ... My prediction as of this time would be that she's running,'' state Comptroller H. Carl McCall told Albany's WAMC-FM radio in an interview broadcast Wednesday night.

``This is somebody who has had to be No. 2. She has had to be the supporting actress in this whole drama with her husband,'' McCall added.

``Now, she can be out front. She can be on her own. I think that's what is ultimately driving her.''

One adviser to a prominent New York Democrat who has met with Mrs. Clinton in recent days said, on condition of anonymity, that ``the decision may not come until the summer or even the fall. Those are the vibes we are getting.''

Another well-connected New York Democrat, also requesting that he not be identified, said the expectation was that the first lady wouldn't make a decision until this summer, at the earliest, about running for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While the politicians played guessing games, an answer from Mrs. Clinton did not appear imminent. Spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady is still ``far away'' from any decision.

All Mrs. Clinton has said is that her decision will come ``later this year.''

Newly elected New York Sen. Charles Schumer, a fellow Democrat who met with Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday, said he had advised her ``to take some time'' before making her decision. He refused Thursday to discuss a possible timetable for a decision.

While McCall professed no inside knowledge about the first lady's plans, he said her series of meetings with New York Democrats and others about the race, and her apparent decision not to act quickly, led him to conclude she would run.

``You only delay the decision when you're going to do it,'' the veteran New York politician said. ``If you're not going to do it, you say so up front, like I did.''

McCall is one of several prominent New York Democrats who decided not to run for the Senate seat.

The comptroller said he will meet next week with Mrs. Clinton to discuss her possible entry into the race. She met last week with Moynihan and on Wednesday with Schumer and U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester County, a potential Senate candidate if Mrs. Clinton doesn't run.

While McCall and other Democrats have said Lowey's candidacy could be hurt if Mrs. Clinton drags out the decision process and then doesn't run, the New York congresswoman said she isn't worried about that. Lowey has been traveling around the state and says her fund raising is going well.

McCall said that if the first lady does enter the race, and faces New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican, ``it'll be a rough, nasty campaign, but she survives.''

Giuliani is also considering running for the Senate seat.

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NEW YORK POST

NEWS



UNDECIDED HILLARY WORTH THE WAIT TO ME, \$AYS RUDY

By Tom Topousis, Vincent Morris and Robert Hardt Jr.

Mayor Giuliani yesterday said the rampant talk of First Lady Hillary Clinton running for Senate in New York has given his own fund-raising a major boost - by as much as 30 percent.

"She has helped our fund-raising a great deal, so from my point of view, the longer she takes, the better - whichever way she decides," Giuliani said in an interview with MSNBC.

Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton each spent much of the day privately meeting with their party leaders in Washington about the prospects of running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

Before huddling with Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell, who heads the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Giuliani estimated the hype over the First Lady has given him a 25 to 30 percent increase in his fund-raising efforts.

"There's a lot of national interest. It's received an unprecedented amount of attention so it has expanded our fund-raising schedule [and] capacity," the mayor said.

The Post reported earlier this month that Giuliani was so unhappy with having only \$607,000 in his campaign accounts on Jan. 1 that he fired two veteran fund-raisers.

Following his meeting with McConnell, Giuliani said he has five or six offers from congressmen to visit their districts to raise money.

"We were talking about how you could take advantage of the next couple of weeks and use it to increase fund-raising with the speculation out there that Hillary Clinton might run," Giuliani said.

Giuliani is holding a private fund-raiser during a visit to Miami Sunday at the home of a supporter, The Post learned.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton held meetings with Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) in the White House to talk about her own possible candidacy.

"I'm keeping the specifics of our meeting between she and I," Schumer said.

The Jewish Week reports today that Mrs. Clinton held a private meeting with 25 rabbis in the White House on Monday where she addressed her controversial remarks last year advocating a Palestinian state.

It quoted the rabbis as saying she agreed with the administration position that Israel and the Palestinians have to negotiate statehood themselves. But her spokesman later said the First Lady's "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remains unchanged.

While Mrs. Clinton remained mum about a Senate race, Giuliani inched closer to declaring his intentions.

"I'm thinking very seriously about running for the Senate. I'm giving it a lot of thought and organizing," he told MSNBC.

MORE NEWS

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Movers, Shakers
Give Advice to Hil

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday hosted another gaggle of politicians, advisers and labor officials at the White House to pick their brains about what it would take to run for a New York Senate seat.

The steady stream included Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester), AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and Harold Ickes, a former aide to President Clinton who is the First Lady's key adviser on the potential race.

The First Lady indicated "this is all happening too quickly for her," and said she "needs time, so we're going to slow it down for her," one participant told the Daily News.

Schumer and Torricelli promised to talk to party activists and urge them to give Clinton time to decide.

"This is the most important professional decision she will make, and it would be unfair to her, to New York and to the country for her to make a rush decision in a frenzied atmosphere," Schumer said.

But Torricelli, who has all but sent a moving van to the White House, vowed to work "as hard as possible" as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee to recruit the First Lady to run.

Lowey, who has said she will not run for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan if Hillary Clinton seeks it, added, "We agreed that the top priority is keeping Sen. Moynihan's seat Democratic."

Earlier this week, the First Lady met with other New Yorkers,

including Andrew Cuomo and Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth. She also spoke with political organizers in New York and top party operatives in Washington, aides said.

Mayor Giuliani — her would-be GOP opponent in a dream race — tackled the subject while in Washington yesterday.

"She excites a lot of interest, a lot of emotion," which would bring money pouring into her campaign coffers, Giuliani said, but her lightning-rod status "also makes it a lot easier to raise money" for Republicans, too.

One lightning-rod issue has been her past support for a Palestinian state.

N.Y. Jewish Week is reporting in today's edition that she appeared to back away from her controversial stance in meeting with 25 rabbis at the White House on Tuesday.

She reportedly told the group that the issue should be left to Israel and the Palestinians to decide. Her spokeswoman Marsha Berry told the paper that her "personal position" favoring a Palestinian state remained unchanged.

But several rabbis said they thought she had reshaped her position.

"She spoke . . . in terms agreeable to the ears that wanted to hear that — that she meant the parties will ultimately decide," said Orthodox Rabbi Albert Gabbai of Philadelphia.

With Thomas M. DeFrank,
Timothy J. Burger, Richard Sisk and Joel Siegel

Original Publication Date: 02/25/1999

12

'Awesome' Hillary polls pol pals on Senate bid

Reported by Gregg Birnbaum and Fredric U. Dicker in Albany, Robert Hardt Jr. in New York and Vincent Morris in Washington. Written by Birnbaum.

ALBANY — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday burned up the phone lines to New York supporters of her possible Senate candidacy, as a new poll showed her lead over Mayor Giuliani breaking wide open.

Clinton, who had an 18-point lead over Giuliani in a poll released yesterday, talked on the phone with Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan), who is pushing her to run, said Silver spokeswoman Patricia Lynch.

Clinton and Silver discussed "issues and the political landscape" and made plans to speak again, Lynch said, refusing to discuss more details



WHAT'S SHE THINKING? Hillary and Bill Clinton confer at a White House ceremony yesterday. AP

of the conversation.

The First Lady plans this week to call Democratic members of the New York congressional delegation about the race, a source told The Post.

Sen. Charles Schumer is heading to the White House today to meet with the First Lady, but would not say what they planned to discuss.

The Senate poll by Quinnipiac College in Hamden, Conn., found voters favoring the First Lady over the mayor by 54 to 36 per-

cent, more than double her lead in a Quinnipiac poll three weeks earlier.

"These numbers are awesome," said poll director Maurice Carroll.

Giuliani said he was not concerned about the poll, which found Clinton with sky-high backing from women and city residents.

"I think this is an issue of the difference of being a celebrity that is outside of politics and a celebrity that's inside of politics," Giuliani said.

Hil is GOP fund-raisers' target

By **TIMOTHY J. BURGER**

Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republicans are gearing up to turn First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton into their newest fund-raising poster child.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee already is "developing a fund-raising script for telemarketing," said spokesman Stuart Roy. "I think that we'll have a script, probably this week."

Roy said the possibility that Clinton will run for retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan's seat is galvanizing GOP voters and donors.

And because she ultimately may opt out of the race to replace the New York Democrat, Roy added, the GOP wants to "strike while the iron is hot."

Meanwhile, a Clinton insider insisted that she is serious about the U.S. Senate contest.

"She wants to do it," this ally told the Daily News.

Clinton has even tacked on an extra day to her New York trip next week. But spokes-

woman Marsha Berry shot down speculation that Clinton will announce her intentions at a March 3 appearance at the Democratic Women's Leadership Forum.

The First Lady, however, will continue reaching out to top New York Democrats, meeting today at the White House with Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.). Yesterday, she called Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) to talk about the state's "political landscape," an aide said.

A Quinnipiac College Poll released yesterday says she would beat Mayor Giuliani, 54% to 36%, doubling her statewide lead over Giuliani to 18 points in the last four weeks.

Giuliani yesterday argued that the poll reflects "the difference between being a celebrity who is outside of politics and a celebrity who's inside politics."

*With Tracey Tully,
Frank Lombardi
and Kenneth R. Bazinet*

RUDY vs. HILLARY FOR U.S. SENATE



MAYOR GIULIANI

FEB. 3
42%

YESTERDAY
36%



HILLARY CLINTON

FEB. 3
51%

YESTERDAY
54%

Quinnipiac College surveyed New York State residents who said they are registered voters. The Feb. 3 poll had 1,191 respondents and the Feb. 23 poll had 1,270 respondents. Both polls had a margin of error of plus or minus 2.8 percentage points.

JIM WILLIS DAILY NEWS

The Hill

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Hillary, Liddy could face legal, ethical obstacles

By Robert Schlesinger

Unprecedented legal and ethical questions could create unforeseen obstacles for the much-talked-about political aspirations of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth "Liddy" Dole.

Clinton's possible Senate candidacy and Dole's expected presidential candidacy have captivated Washington and triggered endless speculation on talk shows and in news magazines. But campaign experts warn of myriad problems that could plague both campaigns.

"It is uncharted; that's the bottom line," said ethics watchdog Charles Lewis of the Center for Public

Integrity. "This country has never been in this situation before, so there are going to be potential ethical situations that have never before been encountered."

Such situations would arise from seemingly mundane issues like travel or the nature of the "job" of first spouse.

"Is the first lady going to take the shuttle to New York while she runs for Senate?" Lewis asked rhetorically.

William Canfield, a Republican election lawyer with Williams & Jensen, suggested Mrs. Clinton could run her own shuttle.

"The Secret Service would indicate that as a matter of security, they would have to provide escorts to

her and provide transportation consistent with their responsibilities to provide security to the first family, and that the obligation would certainly take precedent over whatever rules and regulations the FEC [Federal Election Commission] has with regards to candidate travel," he said.

Would Hillary Clinton's campaign have to pay the cost of a campaign trip?

"The question becomes whether certain trips are political versus official," said Mark Braden, a GOP election lawyer with Baker & Hostetler. "Those are always a bit of a pain and given the fact that she will be using

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Hillary, Liddy races could face obstacles

■ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

government travel and not running for president brings it under some different commission regulations ... than the traditional situation where the president is running for reelection."

The general rule, according to Braden and other election experts, is that, if both campaigning and official duties occur on a trip, the campaign has to pick up the whole tab, minus the cost of any persons required by law or security reasons to go along, like Secret Service agents.

C. Boyden Gray, White House counsel under President George Bush, noted that in a presidential election, at a certain point

of time several months before the election, all travel is presumed to be politically related and treated as such.

The question then arises of how those costs are calculated.

"Every time the president, the incumbent, runs [for reelection], we always get questions about costs," said FEC spokesman Ian Stirton, who pointed out that the campaigns "obviously don't reimburse the cost of running Air Force One," but rather the cost of a first-class ticket.

"The amazing thing is the government does end up getting reimbursed at far less than the cost" of the travel, noted one campaign finance expert.

FEC guidelines do specify that "a candidate who uses government conveyance or accommodations for travel which is campaign-related" must reimburse the government at "the rate for comparable commercial conveyance or accommodation."

The bottom line, Stirton said, is that no one knows the answer yet. "Some of the questions, of course, would have to be answered by the commission," he said.

Other questions arising include fundraising.

While most election experts agree that Mrs. Clinton could raise cash in the personal residence of the White House, she could not do it in the rest of the building.

Ethics experts like Lewis and campaign finance reformers could raise questions about why donors are giving. "You're going to draw money to you because of your celebrity and your position and the perception of power," he said.

Canfield put it more bluntly.

"Some percentage of potential contributors would want to curry favor with her not so much because she's the next senator from New York but because she's the spouse of the president," he said.

Even after election to the Senate, Mrs. Clinton could create unprecedented situations: Would she retain her Secret Service protection? Senators running for president have had Secret Service protection, but never for longer than a few months.

Asked if a senator having full-time Secret Service protection would be unprecedented, Senate Historian Richard Baker said, "It surely would. I always hate to say that, but it would."

Elizabeth Dole would also face a unique situation in a successful post-election environment, and not just figuring out the title of the first spouse, former Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.).

The former senator is currently special counsel at the high-powered lobbying and law firm of Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand. While he does not directly lobby for them, he is registered as a foreign agent with the Department of Justice.

"The spouse of the president has never been a lawyer-lobbyist or been working for a major law firm in Washington," Lewis said. "The presumption is that upon her assuming power, Jan. 20, 2001, he would resign from the Verner, Lipfert law firm and do what other first spouses have done."

Gray, the former White House counsel now with Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, noted that, when Samuel Skinner became Bush's chief of staff, "Mrs. Skinner had to cut back rather dramatically in the work she could do in her law firm."

"There are problems there, no question," Gray said. "... They're workable, but you have to attend to them."

Ron Shaiko, associate professor of government at American University and an expert on lobbying, noted that there are no legal requirements.

"Certainly there'd be a potential conflict of interest where he would be providing strategic assistance, as he puts it, for a client with business in front of the federal government," Shaiko said. "My guess is he would try to finesse the situation by describing himself not as a lobbyist but as a lawyer with client and that he's not looking to defend causes before the government. Whether that's true or not is a different story."

Jan Baran, a GOP election lawyer at Wiley, Rein & Fielding, noted the decision will be more political than legal.

"The income of the spouse would be reportable, so a working first person would have their income divulged on the president's personal financial disclosure report, and that would presumably raise potential conflict issues," he said, noting that all clients paying more than \$5,000 in fees would be listed on the report. "That would disclose what kind of lobbying is being done, potentially, and that would be a source of public debate and speculation, the type of speculation I think that most political families try to avoid."

The Hill

MARTIN TOLCHIN, Publisher and Editor-in-Chief

Hillary, get the lead out

Mixed emotions. That sums up the view of New York Democrats over Hillary Clinton's deliberations on whether to seek the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

The first lady fueled speculation by saying that she was "gratified by the large number of people" who have urged her to make the race. "Until now, I have not been able to do so," she said, "but I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year."

While she deliberates, the New York Democrats' Senate race is on hold, with money and resources unavailable to other contenders, as The Hill's Robert Schlesinger noted in the Feb. 3 edition. Ms. Clinton should get the lead out, and make her decision promptly.

New York Democrats think that the worldly, articulate, socially committed first lady would make a superb candidate. Indeed, the nomination is hers for the asking. But some think that she is merely toying with them and has no real desire to make the race. Her top priority after vacating the White House, they believe, will be to find a line of work that will fill the family's coffers.

These skeptics also question whether she has the stamina to endure a bruising election campaign. The New York media does not observe the Marquis of Queensberry rules. Nor do New York politicians.

Ms. Clinton's entire career will be grist for the political mills. Does she really want a rehash of Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, and her role at the Rose Law Firm? Does she want to defend her role as her husband's enabler, not to mention all the statements she's made on Whitewater, including those that led New York Times columnist William Safire to declare her "a congenital liar?"

If elected, she would be a Senate freshman, one of 100, a role that many ex-governors find frustrating, let alone the former co-occupant of the White House. She is guaranteed to be a media darling, but her clout inside the institution would be minimal.

Of course, a Hillary Senate campaign would signify that she had bigger fish to fry. Her monumental ambition surely would lead her to contemplate a race for the White House. That could lead to some interesting ramifications:

Bill Clinton for first spouse.

Editorial

A slightly open letter to Hillary Clinton

By WILBERT A. TATUM

Publisher Emeritus & Chairman of the Board

We are sure there is no question in your mind that Blacks and whites in this city love you – indeed adore you – because you represent the big sister that many of us never had and the political genius that we have not had in this city and state in years and years. You are soft and warm and tough and mean. Indeed, you promote what any one of us in his or her own mind has wanted to happen in this city. And it might as well be in the Senate here in New York or the presidency of the United States. Except for your fondness and attachment to Vice Pres. Al Gore, we cannot believe that you could possibly be disloyal enough to go up against him, although we wish you would. We do believe that with the open door that you have gotten from the Democratic Party in New York State and from Black and white people all over the state, you can win the Senate seat in New York, and it does not matter who runs. Al D'Amato may be smart enough to run again; if that is the case and Giuliani decides to run as well, the walk to the United States Senate should be a cakewalk for you. And there is enough death-wishing in the Democratic Party for them to create a scenario that would allow you to win. You have not yet answered the call for your candidacy, and we agree it is too early for you to do so. All we wish to do is to let you know that we of the Black community stand foursquare behind you, and the victory for you will be all the sweeter if your opponent is Giuliani, who has no business going anywhere in America.

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The Hillary Boomlet

There is something familiar about the Hillarymania that has overtaken the media. By virtue of her announcement that she is officially thinking about whether to run for the Senate from New York, Mrs. Clinton has gotten herself on the cover of both Time and Newsweek. She was the obsession of almost all the talking heads in Washington on Sunday and probably half the Saturday night dinner parties in New York City.

It was February 1993 all over again, when the First Lady became chairwoman of the Clinton Administration's task force on health care. Mrs. Clinton made the cover of Newsweek then, was reported to be a better newsstand attraction than Princess Diana, and made a much-discussed call on Senate leaders that left everyone burbling dutifully about her intelligence and knowledge of policy. "She's sharp, she's on the ball and I can't tell you what a real pleasure it is ... to be able to sit there and talk about your concerns with her and call her Hillary," reported Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio.

The health care plan's ignominious end, Travelgate, Filegate and other first-term disasters made it apparent that mixing the roles of First Lady and Administration strategist/lightning rod was not easy. For many people, the idea of Hillary Clinton for Senate is attractive just because it could allow her to untangle herself from the political side of her marriage and compete for a power base that is all her own.

Many women might ante up a campaign contribution just in the hopes of seeing Mrs. Clinton sworn in on the day that her husband becomes unemployed. She has spent her adult life mainly in the role of supportive wife — albeit in a very modern version of that part. If the President announces that it is now Hillary's turn to shine, and his to take on

the jobs of campaign cheerleader and family breadwinner, even many of the couple's critics would agree it is about time.

At this early stage in the political season, our only interest is in encouraging races that will be competitive and enlightening for the voters. Any race involving so well known, knowledgeable and polarizing a figure as Mrs. Clinton would fill those requirements. But if she does decide to run, she will be giving up some of the insulation and deference that go with being a resident of the White House. Her policy speeches will have to become more focused, her relations with the press more open. Her adversarial attitude toward the media might be understandable for a First Lady whose marriage has been under such intense and embarrassing scrutiny, but as a Senate candidate she would be expected to be available, and to answer the questions put to her.

The New York media may sometimes get more credit for feistiness than they deserve, but competitive elections in New York are exhausting, high-pressure affairs in which relatively minor mistakes can flare into crises for untested candidates. That was part of the message delivered by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in his weekend attack on Mrs. Clinton's endorsement of Palestinian statehood. The Mayor was saying, with typical subtlety: We'd love to have you play tennis with us. Here's how hard we hit the ball — when we're warming up.

Hillary Clinton is, at this stage, the potential candidate that Geraldine Ferraro wanted to be — a celebrity-icon so powerful that her entrance into the race would unleash a flood of campaign contributions and a respectful retreat by other potential Democratic candidates. Mrs. Clinton can learn from Ms. Ferraro's errors. These days, nobody captures an open Senate seat in New York simply by showing up. At least, no one has done it yet.

2/23/99

The Carpetbagger, 1964

By Ronnie Eldridge

I was excited when Robert Kennedy came to New York to run for the Senate in 1964. I thought he was smart, young, compassionate — and new.

Today, as people speculate on whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York, we're hearing many myths about Robert Kennedy's campaign 35 years ago. One is that he took New York by acclamation. That was hard-

Ronnie Eldridge, a member of the New York City Council, was a Democratic district leader during Robert Kennedy's Senate campaign.

ly the case. In the beginning he was disliked more passionately than any candidate I can recall.

In 1964, the reform movement in the Democratic Party was quite strong in Manhattan. There was a great rivalry between the East and West Sides. East Siders were more conservative and interested in procedural reform. West Siders were impetuous and liberal. Members of both camps were wary of Kennedy because he seemed too close to old-time party bosses like Carmine De Sapio, the Tammany leader.

At the time, the state party was in sad shape. The county leaders controlled the nominating conventions, and there were no statewide primaries. All the top elected officials in the

state were Republicans. John English, the dynamic Nassau County leader who helped John Kennedy in 1960, tried to persuade Robert Ken-

New York wasn't
exactly swept
away by R.F.K.

nedy to run for the seat against the incumbent, Senator Kenneth Keating, a moderate Republican. But at first Kennedy resisted. There was a

chance he would be the running mate of President Lyndon Johnson, who was a shoo-in for re-election. In June 1964, the leading Democratic Senate candidate was still Samuel Stratton, a member of the House of Representatives from upstate.

Finally in August, Kennedy decided to run. More and more of us on the West Side were thrilled, because we thought his candidacy would bring aggressive leadership to a dull and unimaginative party. But not many people I knew agreed with us.

The many reform Democrats on the East Side were still suspicious of Kennedy and opposed his candidacy. They thought he was ruthless and unprincipled. And they knew that if he was elected, Mayor Robert Wagner would be displaced as the head of the state party. Kennedy was called a carpetbagger. He was attacked as the candidate of the bosses. The New York Times and The Herald Tribune both suggested he run elsewhere.

Then, in late August, a few days before the nominating convention, Mayor Wagner announced he would support Kennedy. But Sam Stratton said he was still a candidate, and many reform Democrats supported him.

The night before the convention, Kennedy met with the reform delegates in a large, beautiful apartment in the Beresford at 81st Street and Central Park West. I remember walking into the foyer and seeing a large painting of President Kennedy. Some of us wondered what Robert Kennedy would think.

When Kennedy arrived, he was very shy. He looked down at the floor. He spoke briefly, and in a quiet voice. He spoke about his brother. It was a polite but unfriendly group. Everyone was a little uncomfortable, and not many people changed their minds. Kennedy had the West Side reformers on his side, and us alone.

But the next day he got the nomination, thanks to party bosses like Charles Buckley in the Bronx and Peter Crotty in Buffalo, whom we opposed. The East Side Democrats were not impressed. Afterward, when the Kennedys had a lavish reception for the delegates at the McAlpin Hotel on West 34th Street, they had to invite strangers off the street to fill the place. A Democrats for Keating committee was formed.

The campaign was difficult but the Johnson landslide helped. Even though Kennedy got two million fewer votes in New York than Johnson did, he received 55 percent of the tally. Some people continued to dislike him. But he went on to become the best senator I've ever seen. □

Pataki to HRC: Back Off

New York Gov. **George E. Pataki** (R) on the possibility of first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**—raised in Illinois, long-time resident of Arkansas—running for the Senate from New York:

"My opinion is that there are 18 million hard-working New Yorkers. I think we can find a New Yorker who can do the job for us."

Meanwhile, one of Clinton's strongest supporters, Sen. **Charles E. Schumer** (D-N.Y.), sought to damp down the media frenzy. "Mrs. Clinton and all the people around her would like this all to cool down a little bit She needs a little time to think about this," Schumer said.

Staff writer William Booth contributed to this report.

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1999 • 13A

N.Y. SENATE RACE: Gov. George Pataki apparently doesn't think much of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's considering a run for the Senate seat that Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan is vacating in 2000. "There are 18 million hard-working New Yorkers. I think we can find a New Yorker who can do the job for us," the Republican governor said. Clinton was born in Illinois and has spent most of her adult life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C.

Written from staff and wire reports

THE WASHINGTON POST

Richard Cohen

The Untouchables

Back in 1993, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) coined the phrase "defining deviancy down." Since then, everyone has used it for his own purposes, as I will for mine. I refer to the recent story that back in Arkansas some 20 years ago, Bill Clinton raped a woman named Juanita Broaddrick. The story was reported by the Wall Street Journal on Friday, The Washington Post on Saturday and, by Sunday, had sunk without a trace. It is one thing to define deviancy down. It's another thing to obliterate it entirely.

This, apparently, is what Bill Clinton has managed to do. I am not, mind you, passing judgment on the veracity of the rape charge, although Broaddrick's story has many compelling details and was sound enough to the editors of two important newspapers. I am simply observing that there is something about the Clintons—both the president and Hillary Rodham Clinton—that is more than merely unprecedented or controversial. None of the rules of political gravity apply to them. They just float above everything.

Take the rape charge. It is that—get it? I feel I have to emphasize it: The president of the United States is accused of raping a woman back when he was attorney general of Arkansas. An account of this alleged rape ran on *Page 1* of The Washington Post. Get it? *Page One! The Washington Post!* Do you want to know what happened next? Nothing.

No. That's not entirely true. Both Newsweek and Time ran cover stories on Hillary Clinton and whether she would run for the Senate from New York state. Time's main piece never reported the rape charge, although a separate article did, and Newsweek

gave it only a glancing mention. As for the Sunday talks, it seemed they all did Hillary and the Senate race. Was the purported rape mentioned? Not that I can tell from the morning papers. The matter apparently never comes up. It is, as I

None of the rules
of political gravity
apply to the
Clintons. They just
float above
everything.

suggested before, staggering.

Here is a president who has been like no other. If I told you three years ago—even two years ago—that the president was having sex in the Oval Office with a young intern, you would not have believed me. In fact, I would not have believed it myself. The rumors, I thought, were the work of his worst enemies—crazies, mentally unstable. And yet, look where we are now.

If I told you that the woman had kept a sex-stained dress, you would have called me deranged, a perverted pundit. No one does that. Indeed, when I first heard of the dress, I rejected it as the body does someone else's organ, and then, after reports of it initially faded, I thought I must have dreamed it. But then it came back—and so did reports about Yasser Arafat kept waiting, and chats with congressmen while Clinton was . . . You can look any of this up. But you could not make any of this up.

On a given day, I feel sorry for William Bennett, the indignantly affluent moralist. He finds just about everything immoral, and yet, poor man, he must live in a society that finds nothing immoral. How can it be, he must wonder, that with every outrage, Clinton rises higher and higher in the polls? The rape charge ought to put Clinton about where Roosevelt was for ending the Great Depression and beating the Axis powers. Hello? Any other victims out there?

With the Clintons, the preposterous becomes pedestrian. Now Mrs. Clinton seems about to run for the Senate from New York, a state where she has never lived and where the entire Democratic Party, in the style of the Gambino family, has told other candidates to forget about running. The job's been filled. At first reports of this, I scoffed—until a Clinton intimate upbraided me and said a Senate race was under active consideration.

How could this be? The first lady will still be the first lady. How will she campaign? Where will she live? Will she and her husband, the alleged rapist, campaign together? If she wins, will Tipper Gore sink into a depression? I mean, imagine waiting eight years to become first lady and the former first lady not only doesn't leave town but becomes a senator from the Empire State—the former first lady, the current senator, the someday president. A White House in exile. Where would you rather go for dinner?

The Clintons play by no rules. They have vanquished outrage. They are compulsively compelling, an entertainment, an addiction and—about this no one will argue—the peddlers of false bromides. It takes more than a village. It takes chutzpah.

Hillary hits Apple's core in April

Who knows whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will have made up her mind about running for the Senate by April 19, but she has a big date in the Big Apple that day.

The first lady will be a presenter at the Matrix Awards, prestigious prizes for women in communications. If she has any announcement, she'll have a great forum, with VIPs including Katie Couric, to whom she'll present the broadcasting award; Meryl Streep, receiving an award from director Mike Nichols; and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo (not running for the Senate).

Oh, yes: Add Donna Hanover, whose hubby, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, is the other half of the potential Senate race that has political talk shows salivating. The photo to get at the Waldorf event: Hillary and Donna together.

If you believe New Jersey

Sen. Bob Torricelli, Mrs. Clinton also could be apartment-shopping. He said Sunday on *Meet the Press* that the Clintons have

decided to move to New York post-White House. That was news to the Clintons' staff, who said Monday no such announcement has been made.



Jeannie Williams
News & Views

This column appears Tuesday through Friday

FLASHES: *Saving Private Ryan* went over the \$200 million mark this weekend, becoming the biggest money-maker yet for 4-year-old DreamWorks. Steven Spielberg and star Tom Hanks will have nice paydays with their deals, and of course Paramount gets

about half the bounty. ... Jennifer Aniston's character, Rachel, on *Friends* gets a job designing for Polo Ralph Lauren, reports *Women's Wear Daily*.

VIPS: Robin Williams is a popular presenter. He'll be seen on the Screen Actors Guild Awards show March 7

(airing on TNT), as well as on the Academy Awards March 21. Williams returned from boosting *Patch Adams* in Tokyo to see his movie zip past the \$100 million mark.

This comes in the face of many critical thumbs down on the red-nosed doc tale. *The New Yorker's* David Denby went so far as to say the "most brilliant standup comic of his generation" has become a "heartwarming faker ... funneling counterculture mush through New Age mush."

But audiences seem to care as little for critics as Clinton fans do for the media. They love Robin — just as they do Kevin in *Message in a Bottle* and Mel in *Payback*, neither critical faves.

Now in new manager Michael Ovitz's corner, Williams has *Jakob the Liar* due in October (another feel-good Holocaust story). In March, he plays a robot in *Bicentennial Man* with director Chris Columbus.

More SAG presenters: Tom Hanks, Jack Nicholson, Kim Basinger, David Duchovny, Angelina Jolie, Noah Wyle, Matthew Perry, Matt LeBlanc, John Forsythe, Helen Hunt and Jaclyn Smith.

Will Hillary double-cross Al?

As expected, the potential candidacy of Hillary Clinton for the Senate in New York dominated both political news and the talk shows over the weekend, and Hillary made the covers of both *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Never has a political campaign that may never come to pass generated such hype.

An interesting new angle was injected into the hullabaloo over the weekend when several talk show guests speculated that Hillary wouldn't run for the Senate unless she intends to run for president somewhere down the line.

Nobody suggested that she would double-cross Al Gore and run for president this year, although she might run if Gore stumbles in the early primaries. Democrats have cause for concern about a Gore candidacy. Polls show him losing to either George W. Bush or Elizabeth Dole if the election were held now.

The same polls indicated that Hillary would beat her most likely opponent, New York Gov. George Pataki.

Pataki got a lot of exposure, and he said essentially the same thing each time he was interviewed: He would look forward to a race against Hillary because he likes a good fight.

Hillary, of course, did not volunteer for the talk shows. She is spending most of her time closeted with advisers. With one of those, New York Sen. Pat Moynihan, she studied New York election trends.

Strangely, the least enthusiastic Democrat was Bill Clinton. He said he would support her in whatever she wants to do but that it is too early to be talking about a candidacy now.

His comments about Hillary's future were made deadpan.

The idea of Bill as Mr. Hillary Clinton is a little mind-boggling.

An ugly little rumor floated around Washington at week's end, namely that Hillary is flirting with the New York Senate

John R. Starr



race to take the media's minds off impeachment. The rumor doesn't have the ring of truth, but if it were true, the ploy has been wildly successful.

I was surprised by the number of folks who treated the latest sexual charge against Clinton as the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The allegation that he raped a woman when he was Arkansas attorney general also lacks the ring of truth.

The so-called experts seemed to take it as a foregone conclusion that Judge Susan Webber Wright will hold Clinton in contempt of court for lying in his deposition in the Paula Jones case. At last report, she seemed to be waiting for someone to ask her to do it. She can do it on her own if no one asks.

A failure to communicate

Longtime friends Gene and Mary Culpepper spent most of their adult lives in Texas, then retired a few years ago to Arkadelphia, where Mary has relatives.

Mary has strong political views, and when the Senate failed to convict Clinton, she started flying her American flag upside down. Asked why, she said, "Flying the flag upside down is a signal of distress, and I think the country is in distress."

All went well until an Arkadelphia lawyer put a note on the Culpeppers' door chastising them for showing disrespect for the flag. He put his phone number on the note.

Mary called and gave him an earful for his slur on her patriotism. Somewhere in the conversation, she said she might talk to me about the incident.

The lawyer, hearing the word Starr, seems to have thought she was talking about Kenneth Starr.

"I don't care if he does investigate me," he said.

Mary was puzzled by the fellow's conduct.

"After all, I didn't burn the flag," she said.

A dangerous document

The most dangerous document alive in America today is the Doctrine of Political Correctness, which demands that people lose their jobs or be otherwise punished for offending some minority group or another.

No apology is strong enough to expiate this sin. If the minority group rises up in protest, the miscreant's First Amendment rights are abrogated, and punishment follows.

It's bad enough when an actual racial slur, however unintentional, is involved. The Doctrine of Political Correctness will get you even if you intended to praise the minority group in question.

It will also punish you if no slur is involved, but somebody thinks there was. David Howard, director of constituent services for Washington's mayor, said he would be niggardly with his budget. Two of his minority employees were offended, even though niggardly, which means miserly, has no connection to the word nigger. Howard resigned.

Mayor Anthony Williams said he did the right thing.

This story turns out well. There was a backlash and Howard was rehired. When common sense took hold, hardly anybody thought he should lose his job because his ignorant employees did not know the meaning of niggardly.

John R. Starr is the former managing editor of the Democrat-Gazette.

February 23, 1999, Tuesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 569 words

HEADLINE: Senate rival goes for Hillary's jugular

BYLINE: Damian Whitworth

BODY:
Giuliani attacks Mrs Clinton for her views on Palestine state, writes Damian Whitworth.

HILLARY CLINTON'S most likely opponent in a race for the Senate has given a warning of the rough reception awaiting her in New York by indicating that he would put her views on a Palestinian state at the heart of a ferocious campaign.

After the impeachment trial, with President Clinton's political position secure but the end of his term of office in sight, excitement over his wife's possible public career has reached fever pitch with both Time and Newsweek putting her on their covers this week. But Rudolph Giuliani, the Mayor of New York, has jumped quickly to position himself for the fight, denouncing Mrs Clinton's public comment that Palestinians should have their own state as "a very big mistake". He added: "If she's the candidate, obviously it would be an issue and it would be one that people would have to explore."

Mrs Clinton caused a furore last year when she said it was in the "long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state". This departed from the White House line that statehood is a matter for Israelis and Palestinians to work out. Mr Clinton's spokesman had to say he did not share his wife's view and she ignored questions on the subject when she visited Israel, Gaza and the West Bank in December. "By one of the most influential people in the Clinton Administration saying 'Palestinian state', in essence you have given that away without being able to shape it, and you basically side with the Palestinians against the Israelis," Mr Giuliani said.

Such sharp criticism before either side has even declared its candidature suggests that the man who cleaned up the streets of Manhattan is relishing the chance of getting his hands dirty if Mrs Clinton steps on his turf. Ed Koch, the former New York Mayor, said it "shows you how low a blow he is willing to strike".

Mr Giuliani has yet to commit himself to running for the seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the veteran Democrat, but is tipped to be the Republican candidate. While Mrs Clinton's supporters claim that she would be unbeatable, Mr Giuliani said he would be more likely to run if she did. "It would be the most focused-on race in the country," he said.

He said the result would be close, dismissing a Time/CNN poll that suggested that Mrs Clinton was favoured by 52 per cent to his 43 per cent. The poll also indicated that 43 per cent of respondents agreed with Mrs Clinton's views on a Palestinian state, 24 per cent disagreed and 32 were unsure. Of the large Jewish population in New York, half disagreed with her view.

Nevertheless, Mrs Clinton will be heartened that 62 per cent of those Jewish voters opposing her view said it would not be enough in itself to make them vote against her. Mrs Clinton said last week that she was seriously considering running but a final decision was months away.

Mr Clinton has said he thinks she would be a "terrific" senator, but has warned her to take time to think about it. She would face fierce treatment from the New York press as well as her political opponents. There is also a feeling that much of her popularity can be put down to sympathy over the ordeal of her husband's unfaithfulness. Senior Republicans believe that, despite her high ratings, she is a polarising force, loved and loathed in equal measure.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 23, 1999

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL NEWS

Rivals Discuss A Senate Bid By First Lady

Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's reputation for toughness and political smarts will be put to a full test if she decides to run for a New York Senate seat, politicians from both parties said yesterday.

Former senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), a potential rival for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), said Republicans "are actually relishing the battle."

New York's mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive to seek the Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing, from my point of view," Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition."

With the impeachment over and Congress not yet back in full gear, the possibility of a Clinton-Giuliani race in New York was a major topic on yesterday's television talk shows and is the cover story for Time and Newsweek this week.

Former New York mayor Ed Koch (D) predicted that Clinton would win, but on CBS's "Face the Nation" said, "It'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk."

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close.

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. President Clinton has said his wife would make a good senator and he would support whatever decision she makes.

Weighing against a run is New York's notoriety for expensive, no-holds-barred negative politicking. House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R), like Hillary Clinton a native of



The first couple leave services at Foundry United Methodist Church in Northwest.

Illinois, said that even as a person familiar with tough Chicago politics, "I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics."

Giuliani said he had no intention of attacking Hillary Clinton over her husband's impeachment, which he opposed, or accusing her of being a carpetbagger who doesn't live in New York.

But when asked on ABC about the first lady's statements last year that she favored an independent Palestinian state, he said he agreed with the White House position that the status of Palestinian-controlled lands are to be negotiated. "Mrs. Clinton is out there much more heavily favoring the Palestinians," he said.

One Democrat who expressed enthusiasm for Clinton's candidacy was Rep. Nita M. Lowey (N.Y.), whose decision on whether to enter the senatorial race has been put on hold because of the first lady's possible entry. "Hillary Clinton is in a very special class of her own," Lowey said on CNN and Fox.

D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last November to Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), said Republicans aren't afraid of a Clinton candidacy and are "actually relishing the battle."

Asked on Fox whether he would consider running, D'Amato said it was "very tempting." He said it would be a race that those who enjoy politics "kind of salivate over."

Style

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

Media Notes

A Lot Of Non-Sen.?

How 'Hillary vs. Rudy' Went From Hypothetical to Hype

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

Privately, at least, many journalists don't really believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate in New York.

This is, after all, a first lady so uncomfortable with reporters that she banned them from her plane on domestic trips during her husband's first term. To think of her going toe to toe with the tabloids, or visiting Poughkeepsie and Syracuse, or patiently answering questions about Whitewater or her husband's philandering, is to stretch the imagination.

But no one wants to spoil the fun, so the press has gone wild. "Hillary vs. Rudy" (meaning New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who's eyeing a run) is being touted as the media's dream matchup. Time and Newsweek join the party with big cover stories today.

"Not since Colin Powell's book tour in 1995 has so much hype surrounded a candidacy that is likely never to be announced," writes John Fund of the Wall Street Journal.

It's like a fantasy baseball league, and everyone wants to play. Cable shows that had gorged them-

See MEDIA NOTES, C1, C11

here's no more Monica
ry, no more
eachment, then
at's a newsmagazine to
Ah, how about this?



The Hying Of Hillary

MEDIA NOTES, From C1

selves on Monica Lewinsky are suddenly buzzing about Senator Hillary. "I think that everyone is enjoying keeping this story line going," George Stephanopoulos said on ABC. CNN's Wolf Blitzer said "some serious people out there" want her to be Vice President Gore's running mate in 2000. Weekly Standard Editor Bill Kristol said that if she wins, "she will be a genuine presidential possibility in 2004 or 2008."

"Run, Hillary, Run!" says the New Republic. MSNBC posed the question: "Hillary's Run: Senator Clinton—or President Clinton, the Sequel?" Al D'Amato kicked around the idea on "Nightline." On "This Week" yesterday, Giuliani was shadowboxing, responding to issues that the first lady might use against him. On "Meet the Press," Sens. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) and Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) debated the controversies that Hillary Clinton would face. New York Times columnist William Safire wondered whether she was "peaking too soon"—a first for someone who has not spoken a word about her ephemeral candidacy.

The trial balloon was first floated Jan. 3, when Tim Russert said on "Meet the Press": "Here's a little mini bombshell. Sen. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey... told me before the program that if he had to guess, he believes that Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the United States Senate seat from New York."

The balloon gained altitude as the first lady's office refused to shoot it down, as President Clinton said "she would be terrific in the Senate," and finally as Hillary Clinton said she was considering a Senate candidacy.

Some journalists have changed their view of the Hillary boomlet. "There's definitely an element of Monica withdrawal," said Evan Thomas, Newsweek's assistant managing editor, "but I think it is serious. At first I thought it was just hype, but there's a 50-50 chance she's going to do it. A Hillary-Giuliani race would be one of the great political happenings."

That is, if it happens. The notion that the first lady would move out of the White House, and give up a chance to make millions in the private sector, to live on a schedule set by Trent Lott still evokes widespread skepticism in the press corps. But hey, impeachment's over. The Jon-Benet Ramsey story can only be recycled so many times. The first lady has clearly done the media a favor by keeping the door open to more breathless speculation about her future.

If she does run, however, the adulatory coverage could turn into the usual hostile media inquisition within minutes.



developer, says he was merely trying to demonstrate how quickly the media will pick up a bogus story. Shortly after Sparks posted the phony account to several Net discussion groups, it was reported by the conservative American Family Radio, which soon retracted the story. Carville had his attorney contact Sparks, but has made no decision on legal action.

"We thought someone would bite immediately, as someone did," said Sparks, who runs a satiric Web site called Fat City News. "There's this insatiable, loony desire to run with anything, any time, no matter how outrageous. We could have put out a story that Ken Starr committed suicide and people would have run with it."

But what about the feelings of Carville and his wife, Mary Matalin? "It was refuted within a few hours," Sparks said. "Everyone knows he's not a wife-beater. He came out looking better in the whole thing. It shows how desperate his opponents are. Our whole point is to parody the process."

New York Report

The New York Times

A16

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

Giuliani Basks in Media Glare on Mrs. Clinton, Potential Candidate

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 — Sound- ing very much like a candidate for the Senate in 2000, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani used interviews on three local and national television news programs today to criticize Hillary Rodham Clinton and to tout his own potential as New York's next junior senator.

Dismissing Democratic suggestions that he would skip the race if Mrs. Clinton jumped in, Mr. Giuliani said he would relish running as an underdog against the First Lady and combatively asserted that he would be more likely to declare his candidacy if she declares hers first.

"I think quite honestly there probably will be more of an inclination to let it if she were to decide to run," Mr. Giuliani said on "Late Edition" on CNN. "It would be the most focused race in the country."

Mr. Giuliani, a Republican, also reiterated his sharp criticism of Mrs. Clinton for saying last year that creating a Palestinian state was "very important for the broader goal of peace in the Middle East."

"By one of the most influential people in the Clinton Administration saying 'Palestinian state,' in essence you have given that away without being able to shape it and you basically side with the Palestinians against the Israelis," Mr. Giuliani

said on "Sunday Edition" on WCBS-TV in New York. He called Mrs. Clinton's comment "a very big mistake."

Asked if her statement would be fair game for her opponent in a Senate campaign, Mr. Giuliani replied, "If she's the candidate, obviously it would be an issue and it would be one that people would have to explore."

But Mr. Giuliani said that if he ran against Mrs. Clinton, a former resident of Illinois and Arkansas, he would not attack her for never having lived in New York State.

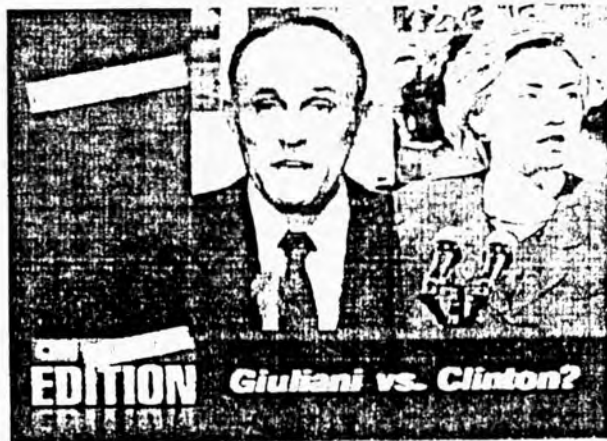
Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani have said they have not decided whether to run for the seat now held by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who plans to retire at the end of next year.

But the Mayor, in his television appearances today, was exceptionally forceful in his attacks on Mrs. Clinton and unusually candid in musing about why he would be the Republicans' strongest candidate.

"I've been in three races for mayor of New York City, and two of them, before I got re-elected, I was behind by substantial margins," he said on "This Week" on ABC News. Being an underdog, he added, "kind of gives you the impetus to go on."

"If anything," he said, "it challenges you even more."

If he runs, Mr. Giuliani could face



A television ad for an interview with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

a primary contest with Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican. On the Democratic side, Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester has said she probably will run if Mrs. Clinton does not.

The news media's attention to Mrs. Clinton's potential Senate candidacy rose to fever pitch today as the story was featured on five national television news programs as well

as on the covers of this week's issues of Newsweek and Time magazines.

Virtually every politician appearing on one of the Sunday talk programs in Washington had a view on Mrs. Clinton for Senate. On "Fox News Sunday," the House Speaker, Dennis Hastert, an Illinois Republican, warned that even Chicago politics could not compare to the toughness of New York campaigns.

The Mayor relishes a chance to gain a national audience.

"I'm not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their nose in New York politics," Mr. Hastert said.

On "Late Edition" on CNN, Susan Mohrari, the former Congresswoman from Staten Island, ventured a guess that Mrs. Clinton would not run because "this is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into after getting through a very difficult time in their personal and professional lives."

And on "Face the Nation" on CBS, former Mayor Edward I. Koch predicted Mrs. Clinton would win if she ran and said it was "ridiculous" of Mr. Giuliani to attack her position on a Palestinian state, contending that most Israeli and American Jews support the idea.

"For Giuliani to raise that shows you how low a blow he's willing to strike," Mr. Koch said.

Senator Mitch McConnell, the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which raises funds for Republican Senate candidates, said on "Meet the Press" on NBC that Republicans would relish having Mrs. Clinton run in New York.

"There's been a lot of talk about how much money the First Lady would raise," Mr. McConnell said. "She'd raise it for both sides. I can't think of anything that would energize our base not only in New York but across the country as a campaign by the First Lady."

Mr. McConnell added that it would be fair for Republicans in a Senate race to raise every scandal that has plagued the Clinton White House over the last six years.

But appearing on the same program, Senator Robert G. Torricelli, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said, "If then campaign against Hillary Rodham Clinton is to simply be an extension of the Starr investigation, they're going to take a sizable Hillary lead and make it into a rout."

Mr. Torricelli said he considered it unlikely that Mrs. Clinton would run for the New Jersey Senate seat that Frank R. Lautenberg plans to relinquish next year because both Mrs. Clinton and her husband "had decided some time ago to live in New York City when they left the White House."

Neither of the Clintons has said publicly where they plan to settle after the President completes his term at the end of next year.

On the same program, Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey said she would "seriously" look at the New Jersey Senate seat.

"But I love the job I've got," she said, noting that running for the Senate in 2000 would require ending her final term as Governor "a year short."

In Post-Monica World, 'Hillary for Senate?' Has to Do

By CARYN JAMES

"Seven Sundays ago you started all this," Tim Russert told Senator Robert G. Torricelli on NBC's "Meet the Press" yesterday, alluding to the Democratic Senator's comment on an earlier program that he would like Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for the Senate from New York.

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

"I was just making small talk," Mr. Torricelli answered. "You made it into a national page."

This may sound like throat clearing, a cloying yet harmless way to ease into an interview. Mr. Russert promotes his own program and Mr. Torricelli banters back with flattery. But the New Jersey Senator had a point. Since President Clinton's impeachment trial ended (was it only 10 days ago?) television has been filled with small talk that has become big talk about a possible Hillary Clinton for Senate campaign. There could not be a more dramatic example of how 24-hour news, with its obsessive focus on a single story, can shape politics.

The possibility of a Hillary Clinton campaign would have been a story even in the pre cable era, but it would not have turned into such a gigantic snowball, quickly filling the post-impeachment void. It was a media-made event that fed on itself, kept alive by strategic comments waiting from the White House.

In the past week, speculation about Mrs. Clinton's future dominated broadcast and cable programs, from NBC's "Hardball with Chris Matthews" to CNN's "Crossfire," from NBC's "Today" to ABC's "Nightline," and a half-dozen MSNBC chat shows.

The possible campaign has been so thoroughly scrutinized that it is only a slight exaggeration to say Mrs. Clinton doesn't need to do her own research. She can turn on television and see the polls that show her heating Mayor

Rudolph W. Giuliani. She can hear Democrats predict she would win, and Republicans call her a "carpetbagger," a word that probably hasn't been uttered so much in one week since Reconstruction. The issues were treated with the sophistication of a horse race. Will she run? Will she win?

Because Mrs. Clinton herself has been mum, the speculation can go anywhere, fueled by tantalizing hints. A spokeswoman's comment that Mrs. Clinton would give "careful consideration" to running set off a frenzy. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose announcement that he would not run for re-election opened the floodgates to this speculation, met Mrs. Clinton at the White House for a lunch and strategy session on Friday; the meeting was

It doesn't take much to keep the heads talking.

well publicized, his arrival and departure well photographed. As the week went on, the chatter turned to whether Mrs. Clinton's public indecision was cynically calculated to deflect attention from the impeachment.

But the story has been good for Mrs. Clinton's possible opponents, too. At times the coverage seemed to be All Rudy All the Time: on Thursday the Mayor appeared on "Crossfire," on Friday on "Today" and CNN's "Inside Politics," and yesterday on ABC's "This Week" and CNN's "Late Edition." He got to talk about the city and solidify his position as the likely Republican candidate.

Nita M. Lowey, the Democratic Congresswoman who has said she might run but only if

Mrs. Clinton doesn't, was on "Fox News Sunday" and "Late Edition" yesterday, graciously saying she respected Mrs. Clinton's timetable. And why shouldn't Ms. Lowey be gracious? Now she is on a national stage positioned as the Hillary Clinton understudy.

Though the Clinton for Senate barrage suggests that one wall to wall story will always be with us, in some ways the past week merely hints at what television news will be like post-Monica. For a full year, journalists from Dan Rather to Matt Drudge have been following the same story. There may be a fork ahead where the high and the low roads diverge.

Minor differences have already emerged. When they weren't discussing Mrs. Clinton, the cable shows, particularly on MSNBC, returned to their fallback position, hashing over the JonBenet Ramsey murder. That conversation was spurred by the publication of "Perfect Murder, Perfect Town," a massive book by Lawrence Sanders (an NBC consultant).

The Sunday talk shows covered more substantive issues. On "Meet the Press," a panel of governors discussed Social Security, taxes and education. ABC's "This Week" was definitely tonighty as it introduced a new regular segment, "On the Campaign Trail." In a taped interview, George Will, never their most dynamic commentator, talked to John Sweeney, president of the A.F. of C. The public questions and non answers about the need to save Social Security provided the kind of drone that will send even serious viewers fleeing.

But if these shows feel too proud of their high-minded stances, it is worth noting that only CNN's "Late Edition" devoted a segment to the Kosovo talks, in a live interview with Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. Kosovo may be the most dangerous and immediate issue at hand, but it is even less sexy than the 2000 election. More telling, none of the Sunday talk shows resisted "Will Hillary Run?"

CAPITAL ROUNDUP**N.Y. Senate race
not until 2000, but
theories abound**

The prospect that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might seek a Senate seat from New York in 2000 has poli-



By Susan Walsh, AP

Clinton: Consider-
ing a Senate run

ticians and pundits concentrating on a race that hasn't even taken shape. The topic dominated the Sunday news shows and it is the cover story in this week's *Time* and *Newsweek*.

No one has formally declared for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., but there's no shortage of possible candidates.

Republican Al D'Amato, who lost his Senate seat in the November election, said he misses political life and is seriously considering entering the race. He told Fox News it's the kind of race that people who enjoy politics "salivate over" and Republicans are "relishing the battle."

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani said a run by the first lady would give him an incentive for seeking the

Republican nomination. "Starting off from the underdog position would probably be a good thing, from my point of view," Giuliani told CNN's *Late Edition*.



By David Karp, AP

Giuliani: Possible
GOP candidate

Former
New York

mayor Ed Koch, a Democrat, predicted that Clinton would win, but "it'll be a tough fight. It won't be a win in a walk," he told CBS' *Face the Nation*.

Republicans differed on the outcome but agreed it would be close. A Time/CNN Poll of New York residents put Clinton ahead of Giuliani 52% to 43%, but Giuliani told ABC's *This Week* the race would be decided by no more than 3 percentage points.

Clinton has said she is talking to people about running and has not made up her mind. *Time* quoted Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., who is urging Clinton to run, as saying he had discussed her candidacy with President Clinton and "he was more excited than I've ever seen him about anything." Publicly, the president has said only that his wife would make a good senator, and that he would support whatever decision she makes.

Former New York representative Susan Molinari, a Republican, predicted the first lady won't enter the race. "This is not the kind of rough and tumble she wants to put herself back into," Molinari said.

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, FEBRUARY 22, 1999

The big tease

Is **Hillary Rodham Clinton** going to run for the Senate from New York or not? Despite the chatter that she's just "considering it," insiders say the first lady is drooling over the prospect of replacing retiring Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**. Sure, they say, she can raise the money and probably win, but there are election-law questions about how she could be an active candidate hosting fund-raisers while also acting as first lady. And there's a curveball some are tossing around: She might run for governor in Arkansas in 2002. "Whatever she wants," says her husband.

New York GOP Welcomes Hillary Clinton Senate Race

BY JAMES M. MCCORMACK

WASHINGTON—After its grim, the national shock that Hillary Clinton's bid is considered the "hottest" in the party, the pages of the New York Republican are concluding that there may be more to it than meets the eye.

"The prospect of Hillary Clinton running in New York is certainly a very good thing," says Sen. Dan Patrick Moynihan, whose retirement is creating the opening for Mrs. Clinton to Democratic Senatorial Committee Chairman Robert Torricelli, the New Jersey senator who was among the first to launch the draft-Hillary campaign, rated the chances of a Clinton candidacy as "very good." And Barbara Handman, vice president of the liberal People for the American Way, already called the White House to offer to work on the campaign, if there is one.

Republican House Rep. Peter King sees the same silver lining. "It is one of the advantages of sending out appeals saying, 'We have rejected the notion of Hillary. We need all the money, all the resources, all the shock troops.'"

But it isn't just the money that is beginning to put some bounce back into the slumped Empire State Republican. Mrs. Clinton's candidacy would give New Yorkers a chance to stage yet another race that captures the nation's attention, even during a presidential campaign year. New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani is already considered a likely candidate, but the prospect of squaring off with Mrs. Clinton prompted former New York Sen. Anthony D'Amato yesterday to say to his constituents: "I see this as a real, and an almost perfect, National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman. Meet the Press. This would be a fascinating campaign, and I hope it comes off."

Republicans of New York see benefits too. At the top of the list is knowing that Mrs. Clinton, one of the Democrats' most popular draws and an even campaigner, won't be coming to their states to rally activists and raise money.

Talk of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy took on added momentum last week when President Clinton, charged with mediating endorsement of the idea during an appearance in Mexico, "I think she would be a terrific fit in the Senate," he said.

The frenzied news coverage that followed these remarks prompted the party to issue a statement aimed at lowering expectations. She is "seriously being entertained," running Mrs. Clinton says, but a final decision is months in the offing. Her husband also tries to dampen the fire he has fanned. "A White House was created, which is not a good thing," Mr. Clinton has been quoted as saying. "We have to be realistic about the time and resources that it will take to run a campaign. I think it's fair to say that we have a lot of work to do. And I think we have a lot of work to do."

warned that with the 2000 election so far away, any candidate must guard against peaking too early. "It's hard to keep a kettle of water boiling for almost two years."

Those who have spoken the first Lady say she is very serious about the idea of launching a race, and she has been sounding out professional campaign advisers and fundraisers about a possible run. On Friday, she met with New York Democratic Sen. Dan Patrick Moynihan, whose retirement is creating the opening for Mrs. Clinton to Democratic Senatorial Committee Chairman Robert Torricelli, the New Jersey senator who was among the first to launch the draft-Hillary campaign, rated the chances of a Clinton candidacy as "very good." And Barbara Handman, vice president of the liberal People for the American Way, already called the White House to offer to work on the campaign, if there is one.

Speculation by the news media about her decision may increase pressure on Mrs. Clinton to declare her intentions sooner, rather than later. But there are

practical reasons for a quick resolution of the matter as well. Simply put, a New York Senate race can cost about the same as a presidential primary—between \$10 million and \$20 million. While fund-raising experts say the first lady could easily amass such a sum, most candidates would have to start raising money today to be ready by 2000. Thus, a late decision by Mrs. Clinton to bow out could badly damage the party's chances of holding the seat.

"If this issue drags on, it makes it more difficult for everyone to mobilize sooner and develop the war chest you need to run a Senate campaign," says Alan Patricof, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton and co-chairman of Patricof & Co. Ventures Inc. in New York.

Mrs. Clinton's consideration of a Senate bid puzzles some observers, including close allies. "Why would she want to be a junior senator in a Capitol building that just tried to impeach her husband?" says Neel Lattimore, a former spokesman for Mrs. Clinton. Nonetheless, he says he'd volunteer for the campaign.

But Mandy Grunwald, a media adviser to both the Clinton-Gore campaign and Mr. Moynihan, says Mrs. Clinton's decision will be based on "where she can make the biggest difference in advocating the issues that she cares about. If that's the way you think of things, the U.S. Senate is not a bad choice."



Rudolph Giuliani

But Mrs. Clinton's lack of a legislative record is one of the weaknesses Republicans hope to exploit. "Let's face it," says New York City Councilman Tom Ichniowski, "she has high name recognition, and there

is a lot of sympathy for her. Initially, there will be a groundswell of support. But in the long run, people will begin to focus on the issues."

When that happens, Republicans believe, Mr. Giuliani, who has not officially declared his own candidacy, will be able to make a compelling case for his candidacy by pointing to his record of reducing crime and welfare rolls and his handling of the city budget, which now has a surplus.

Meanwhile, Republicans are already gearing up to remind voters about Mrs. Clinton's role as author of the administration's failed health-care reform proposal.

"Rudy Giuliani has got a wonderful story to tell and I would argue that Hillary Clinton's last foray into public policy was a disaster," says Scott Armstrong, head of Syracuse-based Armstrong Communications and a former political adviser to New York Gov. George Pataki.

Still, there are dangers for the Republicans in a Clinton candidacy.

For example, Mr. Pataki is among those who is urging the party to put impeachment behind it quickly so it won't haunt GOP candidates in the 2000 elections. But Mrs. Clinton would serve as a constant reminder of the GOP effort to oust her husband. And the potential harm

from a revival of the bitter and divisive issue may go beyond the Senate race. It could help drive Democratic voters to the polls in several key House races where moderate New York Republicans are fighting for their political survival after breaking ranks with their constituents and voting to impeach the president.

In addition, Mrs. Clinton may be able to draw support from moderate Republicans, including women voters who have yet to see New York elect a statewide female candidate who is not part of a ticket.

Take the case of Larry Rockefeller, a leading New York Republican and environmental lawyer. He organized a GOP movement urging the Senate to drop the impeachment trial and move on to other issues. But when Mr. Rockefeller tried to deliver the 3,500 signatures of like-minded Republicans to the Republican National Committee in Washington earlier this month, he was locked out.

"I think she could attract Republican support from those of us fed up by impeachment and [the] right wing's hold on our party," says Mr. Rockefeller.

And what of Mr. Giuliani, who supports abortion and gay rights and opposed impeachment? "I wish he could run in some other state," Mr. Rockefeller laments, "against a right winger."

GOP Governors Reflect Party's Divisions

By John H. Garvey

WASHINGTON—As Republicans in the nation's capital struggle to shake off their post-impeachment blues, this week's visit by the GOP's hardline governors should come as a surprise.

But as the annual winter meeting of the National Governors' Association gets underway, these regular chief executives seem almost as divided on how Congress should deal with President Clinton as their Washington counterparts are.

Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin wants GOP lawmakers to "go on the offense" on taxes, health care, trade and Social Security, to craft solutions that "show you're Republicans," and then "put 'em on the president's desk and let him veto 'em." If that happens, adds frosty Gov. John Engler of Michigan, "we take those issues to the people" in the 2000 elections.

Searching for a Road Map

But Gov. Edward Schader of North Dakota says it is time for "the politics of performance," in which lawmakers produce legislation driving on both parties' ideas and "get it done." Adds Gov. John Rowland of Connecticut: "The public is desperate to see results from this Republican-controlled Congress."

These divergent messages reflect a simple reality. Though they are dominant figures in their own states, GOP governors, like congressional Republicans, are divided by geography, philosophy and political style. As a result, their visit won't likely provide a clear road map for a party in search of a strategy for governing with a Democratic president while preserving its

narrow House and Senate majorities.

Consider the issue of taxes. A Republican Governors' Association official says about two-thirds of GOP state executives favor the 10% income tax cut pushed by some party leaders here. But the rest, echoing congressional moderates, favor a

Republican governors are expected to offer only a general call for tax reduction, with no endorsement of a specific proposal.

package of smaller, targeted tax cuts more likely to win Mr. Clinton's approval.

That is why Republican governors are expected to offer only a general call for tax reduction this week, and not endorse a specific proposal. They also are divided over publicly funded vouchers for private-school tuition. Most back the quest for vouchers, but some, including Mr. Rowland, prefer to drop it in search of consensus on education legislation.

Keeping Alive Abortion Issue

"Let's get on to something new," he says. Mirroring his Northeastern GOP colleagues, he also wants Republicans to play down the conservative social agenda on issues such as trying to outlaw "partial-birth" abortions.

But Gov. Frank Keating, from conservative Oklahoma, favors a renewed drive

against the practice he likens to infanticide. At the same time, Mr. Keating sees room for compromise on a "patients' bill of rights," including a limited right to sue health-maintenance organizations, an issue that held up the legislation in the last Congress. Gov. Thompson says Congress should "pass it without the right to sue and let [Mr. Clinton] veto it."

Meanwhile, Gov. Mike Leavitt of Utah suggests a different approach altogether to crafting the GOP agenda: emphasize issues keyed to major state responsibilities such as education instead of "a congressional agenda... about small symbols" on which Mr. Clinton holds the upper hand. At the moment, he reasons, "there's not much of an environment for Congress to do much" anyway.

The variety of GOP voices makes it difficult to project a national agenda until the party picks a presidential nominee next spring. The current front-runner, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, had little advice for Republican lawmakers as he held quiet 2000 planning meetings and collected kudos from gubernatorial colleagues. "I want them to give the states as much freedom as possible," was all Mr. Bush would say about the Republican Congress, allowing that he is "warming to the task" of a presidential run.

Democratic governors, for their part, enjoy the advantage of an overriding party message. They rallied over the weekend behind Mr. Clinton's plan to condition federal education aid on national performance standards, and they cheered the GOP for criticizing it as an intrusion on state prerogatives and flexibility.



Hillary Clinton

Republicans warn Hillary would face bruising N.Y. fight

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton won't have a cakewalk if she runs for the Senate in New York in 2000, despite early polls showing her well in the lead.

Republicans say Mrs. Clinton would have a tough fight against New York's Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in the race to replace retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. And former GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato says he's weighing a possible comeback, if Mrs. Clinton decides to run.

"It's certainly very tempting when one looks at it," Mr. D'Amato said yesterday on "Fox News Sunday."

"I always loved the battles. I love battling for New York and its fair share, and ... taking on that kind of race is something that those of us who have enjoyed politics and political life kind of salivate over," said Mr. D'Amato, who lost his Senate seat to Democrat Charles E. Schumer in November.

Despite early polls that show Mrs. Clinton 9 percentage points ahead of Mr. Giuliani in a Senate matchup, Republicans generally seem to be salivating at the prospect of running against Mrs. Clinton.

"I can't think of anything that would energize our base, not only in New York but across the country, as a campaign by the first lady, who, unlike the president, actually seems to really believe in things," Sen. Mitch McConnell, Kentucky Republican and Senatorial Campaign Committee chairman, said yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"I mean, this is a traditional liberal. ... This is a person who's advocated giving children the right to

sue their parents, who's been the principal architect of what many of us felt was a socialized medicine plan for America back in 1994, who's advocated the creation of a Palestinian state, who supported the president's position that we ought to raise taxes on Social Security in 1993," Mr. McConnell said.

"It'll be a contest of issues, and her beliefs, I think, would be very much in play. This is a campaign that I hope comes off," he added.

Mr. D'Amato said Mrs. Clinton would be facing a "formidable Republican" if she decides to seek Mr. Moynihan's seat. But he said her main "problem" would be media scrutiny of ethics issues, including her involvement in the Whitewater scandal.

Mrs. Clinton's flirtation with the New York Senate race is the subject of this week's cover story for both Time and Newsweek magazines.

Mr. Giuliani, who appeared on several talk shows yesterday, said he has not decided whether to enter the race. But he said the prospect of Mrs. Clinton as a Democratic opponent could help him make up his mind.

"I think quite honestly there probably would be more of an inclination to do it if she were to decide to run," Mr. Giuliani said on CNN's "Late Edition" program. "It would be the most-focused-on race in the country."

On ABC's "This Week," the New York mayor predicted a Senate race between him and Mrs. Clinton would be much closer than polls suggest.

"It would be a 2 to 3 percent race," he said.

Mrs. Clinton would have to establish residency in New York before she could run for office there. She previously has lived in Illinois and Arkansas.



AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton's possible Senate run in New York is featured in this week's Time.

Mr. D'Amato was asked yesterday whether he would raise the carpetbagger issue against her if he becomes a Senate candidate.

"No, it doesn't cut in New York," he said on CBS' "Face the Nation," mentioning former Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley. Mr. Kennedy was a Massachusetts native, while Mr. Buckley was from Connecticut.

Meanwhile, Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a liberal Democrat and lifelong New York resident, is having to put off deciding whether she will run for Mr. Moynihan's seat until the first lady makes up her mind.

Interviewed yesterday on Fox and CNN's "Late Edition," Mrs. Lowey said she respects Mrs. Clinton's right "to take her time" to make a decision about running.

"If she decides to run, I will support her enthusiastically, as will Democrats in New York and in the party," Mrs. Lowey said on Fox.

Mrs. Lowey, who is Jewish, did not answer directly when asked whether she believes Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian state will hurt her with Jewish voters in New York. But former New York Mayor Ed Koch, who is also Jewish and who appeared on CBS, said: "I'm for a Palestinian state. Lots of Jews are. They are entitled to it."

House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois Republican, said on Fox he's "not sure why anybody from Illinois wants to stick their noses in New York politics."

Remembering Hillary

It suddenly dawned on us why first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is contemplating a run for the U.S. Senate.

To make a name for herself. Seriously. So future generations will know who she was.

This realization came about after we opened a letter from Dorothy Welsh of Avon Lake, Ohio.

"I am a mother of four children, ages 9 to 2 years of age," Mrs. Welsh begins. "I was reading a book to my seven-year-old daughter on Great American Heroines. The book is old, but I am finding that those are the best ones to read to my children.

"I was reading to her a short chapter on Dolley Madison. I asked her if she knew what the title 'First Lady' meant? She didn't, so I explained the title and the functions of the first lady's job. I then asked her if she knew who our current first lady is?

"She didn't miss a beat and answered Monica Lewinsky. Unfortunately, she was serious."

Lewinsky speaks

After months of waiting for the go-ahead from Kenneth W. Starr, Barbara Walters taped her interview with Monica Lewinsky at a tightly guarded television studio in New York City on Saturday, the Associated Press reports.

Officially, the network had nothing to say about it, but an ABC executive speaking on the condition of anonymity confirmed the interview was done over the weekend, said AP television writer David Bauder.

Miss Walters and ABC News President David Westin scheduled a news conference for today to talk about the interview expected to air over 90 minutes in prime-time on March 3 — the final day of a television "sweeps" period used to set local advertising rates.

The date remained tentative. The network might decide to broadcast the interview sooner, the executive said.

Miss Walters is expected to talk today about how ABC worked within restrictions placed on the interview by Mr. Starr, the independent counsel who investigated President Clinton and his relationship with the one-time White House intern.

Shrewd operator

From the earliest days of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, the news media fell for the White House spin that presidential secretary Betty Currie was some sort of paragon of truth and an innocent bystander in the affair, writes Kate O'Beirne in the March 8 issue of National Review.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, Mrs. Currie was

Bill Clinton's sexual enabler, and there is convincing evidence that she lied repeatedly under oath, Mrs. O'Beirne said.

"Currie had worked on the Ferraro and Dukakis campaigns, in addition to being part of Clinton's Little Rock 'War Room,' but she was consistently painted as 'non-partisan,'" Mrs. O'Beirne observed.

"One ex-boss, however has a different assessment. When Republican Tom Pauken took over as director of a federal agency in 1981, he inherited Currie as his secretary. He recalls that she was part of a 'bureaucratic infrastructure of those who wanted to run the agency the way they wanted it run, regardless of the director.' She was 'not a naive lady,' Pauken explains, and though 'she and her allies worked hard to get people to call me to keep her on,' he transferred the 'shrewd operator' to a different office, concluding that she was a 'very manipulative personality.'"

Daley's lead

Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, winding up 10 years in office, appears certain of re-election tomorrow, a victory that would put him in power longer than any other of the city's mayors except his late father.

His opponent in the election, four-term Democratic Rep. Bobby L. Rush, trailed badly in polls after a campaign during which he portrayed Chicago, with 2.7 million people the country's third largest city, as one divided by privilege and money, Reuters news agency reports.

A recent Chicago Tribune poll found that 65 percent of likely voters favored Mr. Daley, 56, and

Inside Politics



78 percent approved of the way he has run City Hall.

Mr. Rush, 52, a Georgia-born former Black Panther party official, had only 13 percent support in the survey, with 20 percent undecided.

Message to Hillary

New York's Republican Gov. George E. Pataki has a message for Hillary Rodham Clinton as she mulls a run for the U.S. Senate in his state: New York doesn't need her.

"She's thinking about moving to New York to straighten things out. Well, let me say with all due respect, we don't need liberal Democrats moving from Washington to the states to straighten out the states," Mr. Pataki said Saturday at a gathering of Missouri Republicans in Springfield. "We need Republicans from Missouri and New York and across the country moving to Washington to straighten it out."

Bush prepares

Texas Gov. George W. Bush, who is considering a run for the Republican presidential nomination next year, has begun assembling a team to raise contributions for the bid, the Dallas Morning News said Saturday.

The newspaper quoted unnamed sources as saying the popular Texas governor and his advisers also had begun talking directly with scores of contributors who might help fund the estimated \$20 million cost of a primary race.

The Morning News quoted "people familiar with the planning" as saying a veteran Republican fund-raiser in Dallas had taken leave from her job to assist in hiring a national fund-raising director and financial team if Mr. Bush decides to run.

GOP pledge

Impeachment behind them, Republican congressional leaders

EDITORIALS

Sen. Carpetbagger

In a way, one could say that Hillary Rodham Clinton has already won with her maybe-bid for the Senate. She has already won her objective. That is, to give herself something to talk about other than her husband's little faux pas. For a year Monica Lewinsky has dominated Mrs. Clinton's life. And now Mrs. Clinton has managed to do something about it. No longer is the first question — spoken or unspoken — "How can you stay with that lout?"

"Will she or won't she run for the Senate?" has supplanted: "Will she or won't she clobber Slick Willie with a lamp?" What a relief that must be for the long-suffering Mrs. Clinton.

And for her Big Lug as well. The vast cable diaspora, what with its hundreds of gaping mouths to fill — every last one of them starving for some pap to replace Clinton in Crisis — glommed onto the Senator Hillary story like hyenas supping on a carcass. Most of the discussion centered on what a formidable candidate she would be. Admittedly, Mrs. Clinton's popularity is extraordinary. Indeed, for her public approval to go much higher she would probably have to roll around with a White House intern.

But the electorate's opinion of the first lady is by no means a settled thing. People seem to like Mrs. Clinton in inverse proportion to her role as a politico and policy wonk. After leading the charge for socialized medicine as a sort of copresident, she was loathed and reviled. After leading the charge to save the Big Lug's bacon as a sort of codependent, she was pitied and admired. That admiration can't be counted on when she becomes a politician in her own right.

A child of the Chicago suburbs, educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut, a resident of Arkansas and then most recently the District of Columbia, Mrs. Clinton hasn't had much New York

experience. (Going to see "Les Mis" doesn't count). But New Yorkers love carpetbaggers! So say the many gaping cable mouths, every last one of whom point to the success of Robert Kennedy, an outsider who won a New York Senate seat in 1964. But as much as the Clintons would like to imagine that they have created Camelot II, there could well be a slight difference between the public esteem graced on the crusading brother of an assassinated president and that granted to the humiliated wife of a disgraced president.

But the oddest thing about the discussion of Mrs. Clinton's possible run for the Senate is that most of the comment on her strength as a candidate has ignored the likely Republican opponent. GOP candidates regularly do well in upstate New York, while Democrats dominate New York City. The challenge for Republicans seeking statewide office in New York is to squeak out just enough votes in the Apple to add to the upstate base. Rudy Giuliani defies that model. For all the left has done to vilify him as a cheerleader for police brutality, the Republican mayor of NYC remains remarkably popular across the political spectrum. Nor is his popularity based on being a wronged spouse — he is admired for having made the city a great place to live for the first time in decades.

If Mrs. Clinton were to run, she would almost certainly face Mr. Giuliani. The choice for New Yorkers would be stark: Vote for a fellow New Yorker who has directly improved the quality of their lives, or cast their ballots for an out-of-state opportunist who advocates the very sort of liberal-left policies that got New York City into such trouble in the first place. If New Yorkers can't figure that one out, they will deserve the representation they get.

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Beyond the City

**Beyond the City**

Hil & Bill Eying Apple as Home

Senator's revelation adds to speculation on quest for Moynihan seat

By **KENNETH R. BAZINET**
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

The President and his wife plan to move to New York when their lease runs out at the White House, according to the New Jersey senator pushing Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for Senate.

Sen. Robert Torricelli turned up the heat in the 2000 Senate sweepstakes yesterday when he asserted three times on NBC's "Meet the Press" that the Clintons would quit Washington for the Big Apple.

"Apparently the President and the First Lady had decided some time ago to live in New York City when they left the White House," he said.

Asked why the First Lady would choose to run in New York for a seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Moynihan instead of setting her eyes on the New Jersey seat of retiring Sen. Frank Lautenberg, Torricelli said:

"Hillary and the President are free to move anywhere they would like to move. I'm sure we'd love to have them as residents of New Jersey, but they've chosen to move to New York, apparently, and that opens the question of the Senate seat in New York."

Administration officials were surprised by Torricelli's claim. "They've made no announcement as to where they're going to live. They love New York, but beyond that, I cannot give you any insight," said Marsha Berry, the First Lady's spokeswoman.

Torricelli, the chairman of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, could not be reached yesterday to expand on his comments.



Gibson AP

**The First Couple
leave a
Washington
church after
services yesterday.**

It was on "Meet the Press" seven weeks earlier that he publicly launched the draft Hillary movement.

Since then, Clinton has engaged in a study of what it would take to win in New York, including a private lunch last Friday with Moynihan.

She is expected to have a factfinding talk this week with Torricelli. Among others the First Lady will consult are Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) — for whom she helped raise millions in his hard-fought victory last year against Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato — and Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, whose decision against running helped hype Hillary's candidacy.

Since the First Lady's name surfaced, pundits have had a field day predicting a title bout between Clinton and the would-be GOP front-runner, Mayor Giuliani.

Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said a run by the First Lady "would be exciting and energizing for the Republicans not only in New York — but across the country."

Clinton, he said, has taken controversial positions that would galvanize Republicans against her.

"I mean, this is a person who's advocated giving children the right to sue their parents, who's been the principal architect of what many of us felt was a socialized medicine plan for America back in 1994, who's advocated the creation of a Palestinian state, who's supported the President's position that we ought to raise taxes on Social Security in 1993," McConnell said.

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Arkansas Democrat-Gazette 2/22/99



Democrats court first lady for N.Y. Senate seat

BY ANDREA HARTER
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

The official word from Hillary Rodham Clinton's office is that the first lady is giving serious thought to moving to New York to run for the seat from which U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is retiring.

No one knows what her thought processes are or what she be-

lieves she may gain or lose by running or accepting the invitations many Democrats have laid in front of her.

She met Friday for 75 minutes with the retiring Moynihan at the White House in the private residence. They had a very nice lunch," said Marsha Berry, the first lady's press secretary.

Berry wouldn't say what the outcome was, adding that the first lady isn't giving interviews on the subject. Neither is Moynihan, who until Friday had not discussed the option with the first lady, his aides said.

Berry did, however, confirm that Hillary Clinton has asked for a meeting with U.S. Sen. Robert

Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat who's in charge of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee. Part of Torricelli's job is recruiting candidates. That meeting could take place this week, Berry said.

Those looking for signals may draw inferences from the first lady's action to set up key meetings.

Still, no one can say for sure if she'll accept the invitation key New York Democrats have offered her.

Meanwhile the clock is ticking. Moynihan announced his retirement four months ago, even though he still has two years left in his term. His staff believes it will

See **FIRST LADY**, Page 12A

First lady

• Continued from Page 1A

take a candidate — other than perhaps Hillary Clinton — the entire two years to raise enough money to run a campaign. It could cost as much as \$20 million.

Before the first lady's name surfaced, New York Democrats were looking to U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey to make a run for the job. Lowey has been testing the waters, and the state party said that in the absence of the first lady, they would throw enthusiastic support behind Lowey. Lowey is an ally of the president and would not push for the seat if Hillary Clinton wants it, her staff said last week.

The Democratic National Committee is expecting a candidate to declare before spring, which shortens Mrs. Clinton's thinking time to about six weeks. There's no rush to buy a house though, as New York's requirements are lax: A candidate need only be a resident by election day.

Committee Chairman Roy Romer said in a telephone interview that he "is neutral" on whether she should run, adding that the first lady still has ample opportunity to declare her intentions.

"She's already got a very important job. I don't know anyone more informed on the issues, but obviously there is a lot to consider. I haven't talked to her about it, but I will sometime in the future," Romer said.

Torricelli has talked to her and to others, too.

When the first lady acknowledged Torricelli had asked her to run, the senator issued a statement: "I admit to encouraging her candidacy, but I recognize the many dimensions of her decision and believe Mrs. Clinton should be given ample time to make her own judgment."

Torricelli, who was traveling on the West Coast, did not want to elaborate, aides said.

Speculation that she would run was fueled by Torricelli's off-camera remark to a moderator on NBC's *Meet the Press* on Jan. 3. After a commercial break, one of the reporters broadcast what he called a "mini bombshell," saying Torricelli believed Clinton would

run. That started people talking. The words were kept low.

out to gauge if the money was there to back Hillary for Senate. The answer: It was," said the contributor, who has given more than \$200,000 to Democratic causes during the last 10 years.

Democrats in Arkansas would support her, too, said Glen Hooks, Arkansas' party chairman, after a state party fund-raising meeting last week.

"I'm sure, in fact I'm positive that if she runs, Arkansas money will flow to New York," Hooks said.

New York's Hitzik said Hollywood has often chipped in for New York campaigns, "but we'd consider it pretty rare to get money from Arkansas."

Judith Hope, New York party chairman, talked with the first lady by phone last week to gauge her interest, Hitzik said, but the official invitation to join came two weeks ago from New York Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver at the LeCirque dinner.

"She said she would consider it once the impeachment was over," Silver said.

Silver took that as a good sign. Wheels began turning; people began talking.

Ten days later, the impeachment ordeal was finished. Less than 12 hours after the president had been acquitted, an aide confirmed Hillary Clinton was thinking about running.

It's been a week since then, and momentum has continued to build.

"Her name is magic here," Silver said in a telephone interview. "I told her that, too. She talks about the issues that are of concern to New York-

ers — which, of course, are concerns to other parts of the world, too."

Clinton friend and adviser, attorney Jim Blair, who spent last week in New York on what he called "other business," said he wasn't there to officially drum up support for the first lady.

"But am I surveying cab drivers to see if they'll support her? Of course I am," Blair said. Blair, who is leaving his post as Tyson Foods Inc.'s general counsel at the end of the year, will not discount that he plays a lead part in the Clintons' plans.

"She will try and make a decision in a reasonable amount of time," said Blair, who called the Clintons after the Senate acquit-

came up again on Feb. 2, at a

Democratic National Committee fund-raiser in New York.

That night, about 55 couples joined the Clintons at the post-LeCirque 2000 for dinner. The dress code was business at-

Tickets were \$10,000 each.

President Clinton warmed up the crowd, thanking them for their support during a Senate trial that could have removed him from office. One contributor said the event had all the markings of a trial balloon for the first lady.

Before dessert was served, the president coyly hinted the first lady was eyeing Moynihan's seat.

"The president said he'd be the man who followed Hillary to New York," (and) that got everybody going fast," said Matthew Hitzik, a New York Democratic Party spokesman.

One deep-pockets contributor, who asked that his name not be printed, said table talk quickly turned to money and who could be counted on for support.

"You could tell it was more than just dinner with the president — how often can you say that — but quickly the excitement grew as we realized feelers were

"You could tell it was more than just dinner with the president — how often can you say that — but quickly the excitement grew as we realized feelers were out to gauge if the money was there to back Hillary for Senate. The answer: It was."

— Democratic contributor

ted the president. "I would think it would be in a very few months."

That Hillary Clinton is thinking about running has upped the ante for both parties.

The Democrats said they want someone of international reputation to take over the seat.

"Historically, that seat has been our international senator's seat. New York is made up of so many cultures and peoples that it fits to have someone with international stature there," Silver said. Moynihan, who has served four terms, is a former ambassador to India and in 1976 was president of the U.N. Security Council. Robert Kennedy won that Senate seat in 1964.

The first lady's international presence may be a draw for New

Yorkers, but it could dissuade her from jumping into the race.

"The biggest question I think she has to face is: Can she be a candidate for Senate and the first lady at the same time?" says Neel Lattimore, who served as her press secretary for five years.

"At some point, a close examination of the rules will come into play. Everything we did leading up to election day, whether the president went to a nursing home or political rally, it had to be considered a political trip paid for with political funds," Lattimore explained.

"That complicates things immensely here. Can she go to England for a meeting (as first lady) and still be a Senate candidate? Who pays for that? It's a very

weird situation."

The first lady does not receive a salary, but Hillary Clinton has shaped the job into a position akin to ambassador. She travels extensively abroad to promote her views on human rights, especially for women and children.

Lattimore, now a consultant with the Washington, D.C., public relations firm BSMG Worldwide, has no doubt his old boss would cinch the race. He says he'd quit his job tomorrow to work for her again, if she asked him to.

"The wonderful thing about this is that people really want her; it sends a message. Mrs. Clinton is thinking about it because she still believes in the institution" of public service.

Hillary Clinton is no political novice. She has never run for public office, but her political acumen had been hailed and criticized across a wide spectrum. Her husband's profession of faith in her abilities has been unflagging.

But where the president fits into a senatorial campaign is still up for debate.

Last Monday in Merida, Mexico, the president said his wife would be a "terrific" senator from New York. "She'd be great if she did it." Vice President Gore echoed similar comments on Friday after addressing the AFL-CIO's executive meeting in Florida.

The Republicans think otherwise.

If she runs, "it would give our party a chance to show what a boondoggle Hillary Clinton's health care program was," said Republican National Party spokesman Tim Fitzpatrick. "We have yet to get any official word from the White House, but when we do, we would swiftly act to put any political ambitions she might have to rest."

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, an odds-on favorite as a Republican challenger for Moynihan's job, kept mum about running against Hillary Clinton at first. By the end of last week, his aides were saying he'd run for sure, if she did.

Fitzpatrick said there were plenty of committed conservatives who would donate money to beat Hillary Clinton in New York. He said that during the first month of the year, the Republican National Committee received \$4 million in small-dollar contributions, which he says is proof that money will flow to support Republicans.

This early in the game, no accounts at the Federal Election Commission have been established for "Clinton for Senate" race.

However, on Jan. 12, a grassroots support group — the People for American Leadership — filed a statement of organization for the "Hillary Rodham Clinton for President" campaign, noting that a Washington, D.C., account at Crestar Bank had been opened.

Organizer Thomas B. McMullen Jr. said Friday he has no connection with Mrs. Clinton, only that he's a fan.

McMullen, a Washington area management consultant, said he set up the Political Action Committee after hearing Mrs. Clinton speak at a rally in Seneca Falls, N.Y. He says he collected about 400 signatures and forwarded them to Mrs. Clinton.

"She doesn't even know me," McMullen said. "But I represent a group of people who believe in her. I have decided to back off of the presidency push until the Senate idea develops. Any money we collect will go that cause if that's what she chooses to pursue."

Money is also a consideration on another front.

A senator's salary is \$138,000 per year. It is considered a full-time job. The Clintons owe more than \$4 million in legal fees stemming from the Whitewater, Paula Jones and Lewinsky proceedings.

Until they moved to Washington, Hillary Clinton consistently outearned her husband. She was a partner at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock. Most of the time they lived here, he was the governor.

While he draws \$200,000 a year as president, he never made more than \$35,000 a year as governor.

Hillary for governor—of Arkansas

This is an open letter to Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first lady of the country and former first lady of the state, on the hot topic of her personal political future.

Dear Hillary:

I see that your favorability ratings have shot to the stratosphere and that you are a celebrity icon all of a sudden. I hope you'll accept my grudging congratulations. Sometimes grudging congratulations are the best kind. It just goes to show that you should have let people know years ago about the indignities you regularly endured from that philandering husband of yours.

Isn't it interesting that people don't rally around you because you're smart or able or committed to women's issues or to public policy or because you can offer a thousand-pointed plan for reinventing the health care industry? Isn't it interesting that people love you only when you're outed as a victim of a bad boy's unfaithfulness?

I suspect your plight carries a kind of universal familiarity. I figure people are more comfortable feeling sorry for someone than admiring someone's brains. I think that in a strange way Bill has managed to soften your image.

I know it's mildly ironic that you're getting credit for standing by your man when you and I both know that what you actually did was refuse to give religious-right fanatics the satisfaction of concurring in their judgment about the bad boy's morality, or lack thereof. If there's one thing you despise even more than your own philandering husband's juvenile stupidity, it's the moralizing claptrap of Falwell and Robertson and Kenny Starr and the rest of that anti-abortion, anti-gay, anti-woman bunch.

I told people that you were maddest at



John
Brummett

Your Boy Bill for getting caught. But now that he has survived, I suspect you're glad he got caught. Both of you managed to play rope-a-dope with the rabid right wing and you've become so popular that you probably could be elected to the U.S. Senate from New York.

Which brings me to why I'm writing.

It says in *U.S. News and World Report* that in addition to the prospect that you might run for the U.S. Senate in New York in 2000, there exists the possibility that you might run for governor of Arkansas in 2002.

Let me tell you something: You don't want to run for office in the Big Apple amid all those tabloids. They'll destroy you, and maybe get after Chelsea on the side. Need I remind you that the *New York Post* already went after her?

Let me tell you something else: You don't really care about beating Rudy Giuliani; as Republicans go, he's a dadblamed liberal, even if he is part of the D'Amato clique.

And let me tell you one other thing: You do not want to go from top of the world to freshman Democrat in the U.S. Senate, getting your marching orders from some guy like Tom Daschle.

But governor of Arkansas—now that's another cut of cloth altogether.

Our media? We're pussycats. You tamed old John Robert years ago, and could again. Our main tabloid is run by old friends of

yours, the Brantleys. I don't like you a bit, but the fact of business is that if it came down to you and Mike Huckabee, you'd look a darned sight better than you've ever looked to me before.

You ought to get a load of this Huckabee. He's got ethical blind spots even larger than yours. He's pushing anti-abortion bills left and right, and he's got that zany Fay Boozman in the same job you and Bill gave Joycelyn. And another thing: Huckabee and his wife have tackied up the Governor's Mansion like you wouldn't believe. They conduct all their social functions under a tent in the back yard with loud space heaters that drown out the chamber music. At least you had the good grace to let the Mansion Commission run the place while you went out and made rain for the Rose Law Firm.

And as you know, governor is a job from which you actually run things. As a control freak, that should entice you.

We've got problems down here, and not just with Huckabee. With term limits, extremely conservative Republicans from Northwest Arkansas are invading Little Rock like fruit flies. The Democrats are in disarray with you and Bill gone and Jim Guy in all that mess. We've got this new think tank run by some guy out of the Cato Institute.

So here's the thing: Come back and run for governor. You already know your way around the residence, and your momma still lives here.

I'll come out for or against you, whichever you think best.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

FEB 21 '99 13:29 FR SKIP RUTHERFORD

TO MARSH BERRY

P.05.09

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette 2/21/99

**KUP'S
COLUMN***Irv Kupcinet*

Hillary Rodham Clinton lunched recently with former Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and, as expected, the possibility of the first lady's running for senator from New York came up. Moseley-Braun didn't hesitate: "Go for it," she exclaimed. Others have been telling Clinton that "we have many states, but there's only one New York" and her popularity there is sky-high. But Clinton is well aware of the problems—including raising millions of dollars for a campaign, putting a staff together and facing a possible runoff.

A POSSIBLE REPUBLICAN opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, has been invited to speak here by GOP leader Lee Daniels at the Adler Planetarium on March 15.

■ The polls are in her favor, but Hillary Rodham Clinton could wind up in a bruising battle if she runs for the Senate. And if she won, it might be a huge step down, *Sun-Times* Washington Bureau Chief Lynn Sweet writes.

New York Dems woo first lady

Hillary Rodham Clinton is contemplating running for the Senate from New York, which is to say she is thinking about subjecting herself to daily abuse for a job that some say would be a demotion.

"There is no question, if she ran she would win," said Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y.), who represents the upstate Rochester area.

"She has many of the qualities that New Yorkers appreciate," said Matthew Hiltzik, deputy executive director of the New York State Democratic Committee. "She is smart, tough and compassionate and would make a great U.S. senator."

"I find it hard to believe it will happen," said New York pollster John Zogby. "It is a huge step down to be a freshman senator after you have been first lady. It is unbecoming."

It's clear why New York state Democrats are pushing Clinton to run in 2000. They have no other top tier candidates. It's less obvious why Clinton would want to start commuting from the White House to New York to make her debut in electoral politics after an during such a tumultuous year, what with the revelation of her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky and his impeachment.

All the scandal stories would be resurrected by the aggressive New York press corps: White water and her lost billing records, the White House travel office and the FBI files on Republicans.

Clinton provoked an uproar last year when she said, "I think it will be in the long term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state," which would be an issue in heavily Jewish New York.

Clinton is thin skinned and for all her exposure, has not had a press conference in five years. Interviewers allowed to talk to her usually get access because their print or broadcast reports are considered likely to be friendly.

Moreover, now she is regarded as an "international icon for women," said former press secretary Lisa Caputo. She could walk into a top job at a foundation or a university in 2000 and make money on the side as a speaker, to help pay the multimillion dollar legal bills that she and her husband have run up. Why would the first lady want to be merely one of 100 and possibly get knocked off the pedestal she is on?

A friend, Rocky DeLuca, offered a clue. "It's an example of her



Hillary Rodham Clinton
Giving careful thought

being wanted for herself, and I think that's good," said Ebeling, who grew up with Clinton in northwest suburban Park Ridge.

The story began last year with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) announcing that he would not run for a fifth term.

Once some of the bigger New York names declined to run—Andrew Cuomo, the secretary of housing and urban development and son of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, and state

■ **Hillary, come home;**
Leslie Baldacci column,
Page 37.

Comptroller Carl McCall—Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) started pushing for Clinton. Democrats are promising her the nomination without a major primary opponent.

In Mexico last weekend, her husband fed the speculation when he said, "I think she would be terrific in the Senate."

On Tuesday, Clinton, who never has lived in New York, made her interest official. "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year," she said in a statement.

That same day, Clinton called New York state Democratic Chairman Judith Hope "to express her interest in the race and that she is considering making the race," Hiltzik said.

Clinton says she will give careful thought to something that

means she will," Ebeling said. "She will consider all levels, personal and political."

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the most likely Republican candidate for the Senate seat.

A Clinton-Giuliani contest would shape up as "the battle of the titans," said Stuart Roy, a spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. "It will be the hottest Senate race in 2000."

A poll released Thursday by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., makes Clinton look good.

In a head-to-head battle with Giuliani, Clinton scored 49 percent to the mayor's 38.1 percent, with 12.9 percent undecided. Clinton outpaced Giuliani among women 51.5 percent to 36.1 percent.

Asked if Clinton should run, 56 percent said yes, 36.7 percent said no, and 7.2 percent were undecided. Will she run? The poll found 64.4 percent guessing "I will." And 40.4 percent cared if Clinton is not from New York compared with 50.6 percent who didn't mind any race, much or of a about Clinton carpetbaggering.

The telephone survey of 500 registered voters throughout New York state had a margin of error of 1.5 percentage points.

Still, pollster Zogby said Clinton "would have to fight like hell if matched against Giuliani."

Clinton plans to be in New York on March 7 to speak at a men's Democratic lunch. The \$4 a ticket fund raiser is sold out.

Running for the Senate from Illinois, where Clinton has a no base and would have an enormous race, is out of the question in the short term. One senator, Rick Durbin, is a Democrat, so other, Republican Peter Fitzgerald, just started his six-year term.

Gov. Ryan is a Republican, and in 2002, Clinton could be governor, said Chicago-based political consultant David Axelrod. As governor, "she could do things that are real and powerful things she has accomplished," Axelrod said.

While New York Democrats hunger for Clinton, they also want her to make up her mind as a possible Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.) already has started organizing but could defer to the lady, as would Slaughter, who also is thinking about running.

Decide, Slaughter said. "The sooner the better."



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the Democratic National Convention at the United Center on Aug. 27, 1996.

■ Forget New York—if the first lady ever runs for the Senate, she should be doing it from Illinois.

Hillary, come home

In the post-acquittal languor, the possibility that Hillary Rodham Clinton might run for the U.S. Senate as a New Yorker has seized the imaginations of future-looking political junkies.

The scenario has her leaving the White House for New York City to seek the seat being vacated by Sen.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan after 24 years. Justest, her opponent likely would be the popular Republican New York mayor, Rudolph Giuliani—or, on a long shot, recently deposed GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, should he attempt a comeback.

As politics go, it doesn't get much better than Clinton vs. Giuliani, a race between two intensely intelligent, articulate, staunchly partisan polar opposites. The debates would be more bruising than the World Wrestling Federation.

But the truth is, you cannot hear Clinton's flat-as-the-prairie voice without realizing that she has no business running for office there.

If she decides to launch her own political career, she'd do best to

come home to Illinois, where just about any office she'd seek, from alderman to governor, congresswoman or senator, would be hers for the asking.

The Park Ridge native loves Chicago. She has friends here, and deep-pockets campaign contributors.

Now seems like the time for her to make her move, while her popularity is sky-high. She'd have to wait if she wanted to become a senator from Illinois.

It would be unseemly for her to knock out Sen. Dick Durbin in 2002. He's been a faithful supporter of her husband. Politically, Mrs. Clinton and Durbin are cut from the same cloth.

She could do it, though, she could beat him.

Durbin defeated Al Salvi to claim the retiring Paul Simon's Senate seat in 1996. He's known for his anti-tobacco victories—including the smoking ban on commercial airlines—and work on behalf of the elderly and consumers, and increasing funding for health and nutrition programs for women

■ A look at Clinton's Senate prospects; Page 6.

and children.

In other words, exactly the sort of issues that interest Hillary Clinton. Clinton, who is as charismatic as Durbin is generic, could whip him without breaking a sweat. But it would be extremely bad form.

So if the U.S. Senate is what she wants, newcomer Peter Fitzgerald is a perfect target. But he's not up for re-election for six years.

Too bad. If the race were on now, she could have a field day with the conservative who spent nearly \$12 million of his own money to narrowly defeat Carol Moseley-Braun last fall.

Quiz: Who was the key player who nearly saved Moseley-Braun's neck at the last minute? Hillary Rodham Clinton, the same person who campaigned so effectively for other Democrats who found themselves in tight spots last fall.

She later regretted that she'd not done more, sooner, to help Moseley-Braun. It was not conceived of her to think that she single-handedly could have made a difference in the race. She could have.

Come to think of it, there you



JOSE LUIS MAGANA / ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton has the friends, financial support and charisma to be elected to almost any office she chooses back home.

have one more reason why it would be gratifying for Clinton to mosey on home and wait to pick off Fitzgerald.

Those who criticize Clinton for setting her sights too high for her first elective office sell short her national perspective and political know-how. She has played key roles in her husband's political victories, and in the end was key to his very survival.

Whatever dirt is going to come out on her already has been unearthed. She survived that, too.

Illinois is plenty comfortable with two Democratic senators, and nobody's going to forget Hillary Rodham Clinton. Her husband thinks she'd be a terrific senator. I do, too—from Illinois.

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Chicago Sun-Times 2/19/99



SHERRY PETERS / THE HARTFORD COURANT

FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton has emerged from her husband's impeachment trial unscathed and beloved. Talk of a possible Senate run in 2000 hints at a remarkable career on the horizon. Here she speaks at Trinity College in Hartford in January 1998.

HER TURN

Amid Talk Of A Senate Run, Hillary Clinton's Star Rises

By **DAVID LIGHTMAN**
Courant Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — As President Clinton prepares to leave the national political stage in January 2001, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, now 51, may be just arriving.

The talk about a possible run for the New York U.S. Senate seat being vacated in two years by the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat, has escalated from the status of gossip in January to an undenied rumor in these post-impeachment trial days.

On Monday, Clinton gave his wife her biggest endorsement yet for the 2000 New York race, saying first lady Hillary Rodham

Clinton would be "great if she did it."

The president told reporters in Merida, Mexico, where he is meeting with Mexico's president, that "I think she would be terrific in the Senate," according to an Associated Press report from that city.

That doesn't mean the first lady is ready to run. That, said her husband, is "a decision that she'll have to make."

The president's comments gave a new boost to speculation that has been building for weeks and, to most political experts, makes a lot of sense. To Clinton fans, it's a way of not only maintaining the president's voice in Washington, but polishing a badly tarnished legacy.

If elected to the Senate, Hillary Clinton would take office about two weeks before her husband is scheduled to finish his term. Officially, he is staying out of the trial balloon.

"What she wants to do in the next two years is concentrate on making the most out of what she can do as first lady," said Clinton communications director Marsha E. Berry.

But the intelligentsia, whose gossip and money can ultimately boost or deflate these candidates, are high on Hillary — for some ironic reasons. She is all that Democrats love about her husband, but without those nagging character flaws.

Please see **HILLARY**, Page A9

Hillary Clinton May Soon Take Her Turn

Continued from Page 1

"You know where she stands on issues. She's a strong, progressive voice," said Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, D-N.J., chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

There's none of Bill's fudging with words or positions — no one calls her "Slick Hillary" — and certainly none of Bill's impeachment baggage.

And perhaps most encouraging, she has emerged from the impeachment ordeal as one of its few heroes. A Gallup poll conducted after Friday's acquittal vote found 55 percent of those surveyed nationwide saw her as one of the story's winners.

There are, though, two obstacles as tall as the World Trade Center towers.

She's never lived in New York; to serve the state, she must reside there when elected. And she may be more effective after 2001 not as a junior senator, probably in the minority party, but on her own as a latter-day Eleanor Roosevelt.

"I think all this talk is very flattering, but I'd be surprised if it occurred," said Lisa Caputo, former Clinton press secretary. "I see her in a much broader role with an international platform, perhaps something at the United Nations."

New York

The Moynihan seat is the closest thing American politics has to a national Senate seat.

It got that label in 1964, when Robert F. Kennedy, of the Massachusetts Kennedys, won his bid. Six years later, Republican James L. Buckley, of the Connecticut Buckleys, won a term. And in 1976 Moynihan, a New Yorker better known as a Harvard professor, Washington-based adviser to presidents and President Ford's U.N. ambassador, won as a Democrat.

Two elements combine to give outsiders a better shot at that New York seat.

"It's a city that's used to people coming and going. It's an international city," said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. It's the home of the U.N., the financial markets, the publishing industry. It's a place where people revel in the idea that they are at the center of the world.

Having a senator of special stature helps feed that image.

The second element unique to New York politicians is their role as important national political figures. This is the state of Franklin Roosevelt and Nelson Rockefeller, of Mario Cuomo and Jacob Javits.

Hillary Clinton would snugly fit the New York image. "New York loves star quality, and she has it," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in New York.

Democrats

New York Democrats love Hillary Clinton most of all.

They love how she is arguably the first first lady to actually be in charge of significant White House policies.

"She's tremendously respected, particularly for the way she injects herself into issues," said Ellen Malcolm, president of EMILY's List, a Democratic fund-raising group that helps women candidates.

The president put her in charge of health care reform in 1994, and although that effort backfired and even embarrassed the White House, the first lady has continued to stump for the cause.

She is also known as a fierce lobbyist for more aid and programs for children and the less fortunate, frequently visiting the Capitol to caucus with Democrats and push her agenda.

Pollsters suggested another reason for Hillary Clinton's appeal: She has stood by her husband.

When news of Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky surfaced a year ago, the first lady went on national television to blame the gossip on a right-wing conspiracy. When her husband admitted the relationship in August, she did not criticize him publicly, and never has.

On the morning of the Dec. 19 impeachment vote, Hillary Clinton met privately with Democratic House members.

"She insisted, 'He will not resign,'" recalled Barbara B. Kennelly, then a Connecticut congresswoman. "Her strength was incredible."

The affectionate, emotion-charged Hillary Clinton style was a welcome jolt for the Democrats. For years, her demeanor was criticized, even by some cohorts, as too calculating. Now, her passion has gained praise, a sense she has mastered her emotions in an authentic, even productive way.

"People just love her for the way she is," said Sen. Charles H. Schumer, D-N.Y.

Can She Win?

Yes.

Miringoff pointed out that Clinton begins with the three things any prospective candidate needs most: name recognition, popularity and an ability to raise money.

She could quickly become a New Yorker by establishing residence in the state sometime next year — there has been talk of the Clintons

settling in East Hampton, a Long Island summer vacation spot.

That kind of instant residency may not wound her, Miringoff said, because Clinton is not identified in the public mind as tied to a specific location. She grew up in suburban Chicago, attended college in Massachusetts and law school in Connecticut, lived in Washington and Little Rock as an adult, and speaks with no readily discernible accent.

"Hillary is one of those people who isn't from anywhere. She's from TV," he said.

On the other hand, New York, like anywhere, can at times be a very parochial place. Until this year, its junior senator was Alfonse M. D'Amato, called "Senator Pot-hole" for his attention to the most excruciating details of New York life.

Any prospective Clinton candidacy got a boost recently when Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, the son of the former New York governor and son-in-law of Robert Kennedy, said last month he will not enter the race.

But a number of U.S. representatives — including three Democratic women — and civil rights activist Al Sharpton also are weighing the

race, and, most frightening to a Clinton candidacy, the Republican nominee could be New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Then there's the ultimate question: Does Clinton have the stomach for a campaign in one of the nation's roughest political mudpits?

"No one right now knows better than Hillary Clinton the kind of personal toll campaigns take, and for that matter, that public political life takes," Caputo said.

And yet no one, not even the first lady's office, can categorically rule out the race. It's too tempting, too plausible.

Perhaps most intriguing, it can maintain — some would say re-establish — the Clinton name as a respectable presence in Washington.

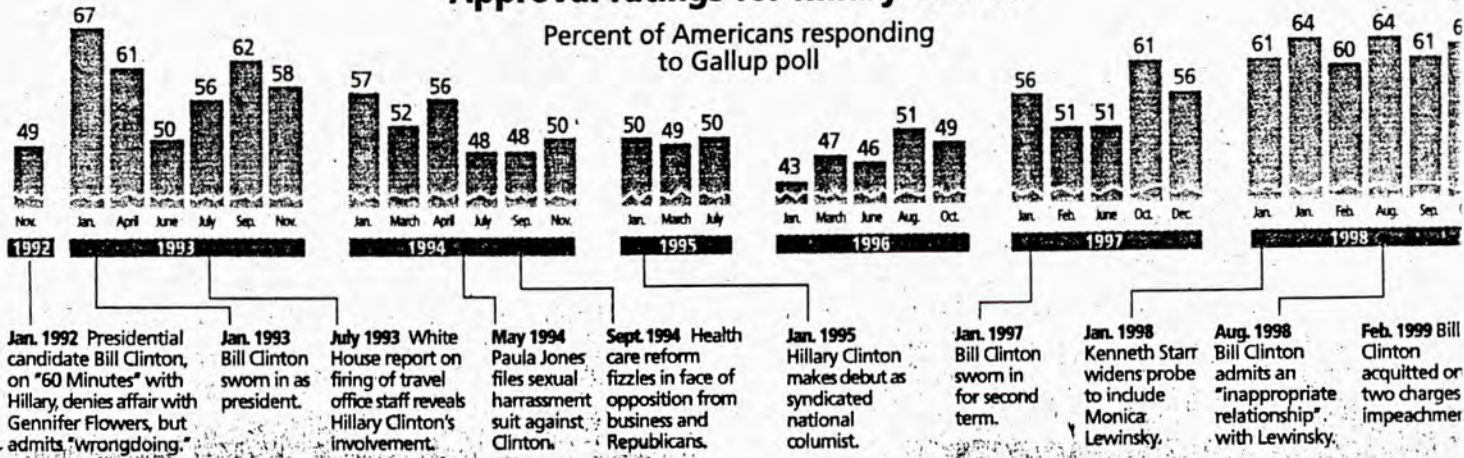
"She and I both would like to continue to be useful in public affairs when we leave office," the president said Monday.

And most appealing, perhaps, is that the first lady seems to be everything her husband both is and is not.

"She's smart and she has all the right values," said Washington consultant Marla Romash. "She's got all the right stuff in her heart and her head."

Approval ratings for Hillary Clinton

Percent of Americans responding to Gallup poll



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Current Address: 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20500
Prospective Address: Somewhere in New York

EDUCATION

1969: Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. Graduated with high honors. Class president and multiple winner on televised "College Bowl" trivia competition. The college's first student commencement speaker.

1973: Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Served on the board of editors of the Yale Review of Law and Social Action. Canned salmon in Alaska during summer vacation.

EXPERIENCE

January 1993-present: First lady, Washington, D.C. Redefined role of a working mother and marriage as perhaps the most controversial and proactive first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt. Traveled to China, Africa and around the world as a goodwill ambassador. Tripped up by various scandals, including Travelgate and Whitewater.

1995-present: Author, *It Takes a Village* (1996), and *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy* (1998), and syndicated columnist, "Talking it Over."

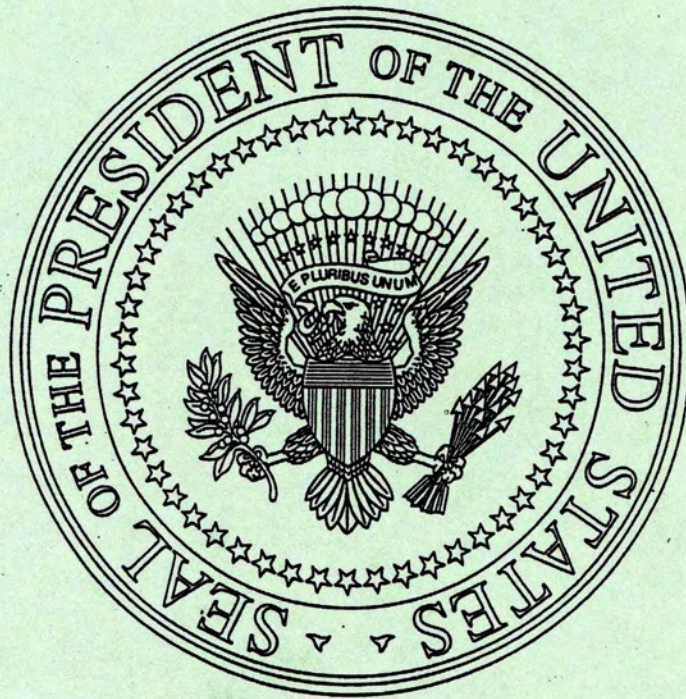
1993-94: Policy Wonk, Washington, D.C. Appointed head of Task Force on National Health Care Reform. Attempted to revamp health care and medical insurance in America.

1980-present: Mother, Chelsea Victoria Clinton, well-adjusted, well-rounded daughter who attends Stanford University and recent subject of a puff piece by People magazine. Delivered via Caesarean section.

1977-92: Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Ark. Specialized in commercial litigation and trademark law. Legal firm embroiled in the Whitewater real estate banking mess.

1983-84: Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, education committee that set public school standards with competency testing for public schools and teachers.

HRC Clips



Monday, February 8, 1999



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Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton? Pipe-dream or possibility?

By Marc Humbert, Associated Press, 02/08/99 00:54

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) - Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton?

New York Democrats appear giddy over the thought that the first lady might actually run for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While the conventional wisdom had long been this was more pipe-dream than possibility, the thinking began to shift in recent days after state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope took pains to inform New Yorkers that she now felt there was a 50-50 chance Mrs. Clinton would run for the seat.

Reminded that she herself had been saying several weeks ago that she didn't think the president's wife would run for the seat, Hope said: "Now you hear me saying something different."

While refusing to say if she had talked with Mrs. Clinton or the first lady's top aide about the situation in recent days, Hope said she had been with the first lady and President Clinton at a \$10,000-a-person fund-raiser in New York City the night before.

It was at that event that Clinton said with a smile: "It's highly likely that I will increasingly be known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York."

There are, of course, arguments on both sides of the equation for the first lady to consider.

The single biggest factor arguing against a run is the fact that she is well aware of what she would have to go through as a candidate. She has experienced the meat grinder firsthand as her husband waged two successful campaigns for the presidency. There would doubtless be new questions about Whitewater, Travelgate, her work at the Rose law firm and her investment earnings. Old stories, but ones that would nonetheless likely come back in some form in the pressure-cooker environment that is New York politics.

There is also the distinct possibility that the Republican candidate might be New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, an experienced politician who would fight hard for the job.

There are also the opportunities she would be giving up. The lucrative income from speeches and book deals could come in handy given the large legal bills faced by the Clintons. She could be president of a college, foundation, think tank or some other high-profile entity that would keep her in the limelight.

There is also the problem of where she lives. Her current address is 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. She used to live in Arkansas and grew up in Illinois. Legally she must simply set

Her date has been
a Bruins fan
since age 6.



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& step on it!

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Arkansas and grew up in Illinois. Legally she must simply set up some sort of residence in New York before the election to qualify for the Senate seat. Nonetheless, a Senate race in New York next year could mean, at least technically, leaving the White House and her husband behind.

Either way, the choice might not be good for a New York campaign, former vice presidential and senatorial candidate Geraldine Ferraro warned Thursday in an op-ed column for the New York Daily News.

"If she were to remain in the White House while campaigning for the Senate, the Republicans would inundate the Federal Election Commission with complaints about a host of perceived violations," Ferraro wrote. "If, on the other hand, she moved out of the White House to campaign, the rumors and innuendo would be enough to keep her and her staff completely occupied."

On the plus side of the equation is the fact that Mrs. Clinton, and her husband, remain highly popular in New York. Polls show her ahead of Giuliani or any other potential Republican candidate. She is considered a superb fund-raiser.

Also, New Yorkers have already demonstrated that being a carpetbagger is not a disqualifying factor. They elected the late Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley to the Senate despite the fact that they were identified more with Massachusetts and Connecticut, respectively, than with New York.

In addition, Mrs. Clinton provided much help to Democrat Charles Schumer last year as he ousted three-term New York Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. Schumer has a veteran campaign team that could be of great help.

Perhaps most appealing to the first lady is the simple fact that being senator from New York would allow her to finally emerge from her husband's shadow. Almost no other job, short of the presidency itself, would allow her to accomplish that.

Hope indicated an announcement would likely be made by Mrs. Clinton sometime after the Senate trial over her husband's possible removal from office concluded.

Marc Humbert, state political editor for The Associated Press, has covered New York politics for the AP since 1978. He can be reached at: Box 7165, Capitol Station, Albany, N.Y., 12224.

INTERACTIVE

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First Lady Praises Population Effort

THE HAGUE—Volunteer agencies are “the vanguard” of U.N. efforts to slow the world’s soaring population and must not lose heart in the face of dwindling financial support, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said. With the world’s population expected to hit 6 billion this year—an increase of 20 percent in just 12 years—140 nongovernmental organizations met in the Netherlands to assess progress toward slowing population growth since a landmark conference in 1994 in Cairo.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Drawing the Line at Chelsea

You couldn't count all the journalistic seminars and workshops held over the past decade on whether politicians have any privacy rights. There's been so much hand-wringing it's a wonder we reporters can type at all. But thanks to *People* magazine, we're reminded that some rules are simple. One is: Lay off politicians' kids.

People hit the streets Friday (Feb. 5) with its cover piece ("Grace Under Fire") about Chelsea Clinton and her relationship with her mother. The magazine was curious about how Chelsea reacted to her father's most famous infidelity. It didn't learn much. Mrs. Clinton and her daughter, *People* reports, "reveal little, even to intimates."

In the first joint press statement they ever issued from the White House, President and Mrs. Clinton practically begged the media not to use the *People* story as an excuse for a torrent of reporting on Chelsea. "We can only hope that the media will continue its

policy of restraint with respect to our daughter," they said.

Let this be one issue on which we don't let feelings about President Clinton cloud our judgments. If you can't stand Clinton, imagine a story about Rep. Bob Barr's kids or Gov. George W. Bush's kids. Or your own. Children are not responsible if mom or dad decides to run for office. They don't seek the fame they get by virtue of the home into which they're born.

Sure, if the adult children of politicians use their notoriety for their own purposes, they make a conscious choice to give up some of their privacy rights. But Chelsea Clinton, who will turn 19 at the end of this month, has done nothing to take advantage of her position.

The *People* story by Susan Schindehette is sympathetic to Chelsea and her mother. Some Clinton friends and former aides appear to have cooperated. The execution is

sensitive. But there is this: Why would anyone choose to write anything about how Chelsea is dealing with her father's Monica Lewinsky problem? As far as we citizens are concerned, that's the president's problem, not Chelsea Clinton's.

"Some rules are simple.

One is: Lay off politicians' kids."

Expecting that some readers might question why they ran this piece, *People's* editors offered this rationalization: The Clintons have used Chelsea in public. The article notes that in his boffo 1992 video biography at the Democratic National Convention, Bill Clinton "reported to the world that 11-year-

old Chelsea watched a '60 Minutes' interview with her mother and father in the wake of the Gennifer Flowers episode and then pronounced herself glad they were her parents."

Mrs. Clinton even had the nerve to write about Chelsea in her best seller, "It Takes a Village," which happens to be about child-rearing. And, yes, the Clintons posed as a family for a *People* cover during the 1992 campaign. But every White House journalist would tell you: The Clintons have been remarkably protective of their daughter. We know less about Chelsea than we did about many other children who were past White House residents.

But assume the worst, a politician who does exploit a child for political purposes. Would that justify public scrutiny of the son or daughter? The answer is no. The child is the object, not the instrument, of exploitation. Beat up on the parent, not the kid.

Carol Wallace, *People* magazine's manag-

ing editor, issued a statement that included this justification for the story: "Chelsea is nearly 19 years old and a poised young adult. We feel that because she is an eyewitness to the family drama and historical events unfolding around her, that she is a valid journalistic subject."

If a PR firm wrote that, it should be fired. Is Chelsea Clinton to be blamed for the fact that she's "poised"? If she weren't "poised," would there have been no story? Does she have to answer for her father's problems because she's reached the ripe age of "nearly 19 years old?"

To say she has been "an eyewitness to the family drama and historical events" makes her seem like Mike McCurry or Dick Morris. She wasn't hired to work in the White House.

We talk about how little protection children receive in our society. Children do deserve more protection than they get—and that includes the children of politicians.

||| The Washington Post |||

Style

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1999

Lost Cause

The Washington Post probably shouldn't try to sell Chelsea Clinton a subscription. According to *People* magazine, the Stanford sophomore is not a fan of the newspaper, which broke the Monica Lewinsky story 13 months ago.

Chelsea prefers to get her impeachment news from *USA Today*, according to *People*. As for *The Post*, the magazine quotes her as telling the niece of former presidential adviser Dick Morris: "They don't like my parents."

Problems Impede Global Plan to Curb Population Growth

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1999 **A3**

By BARRARA VUBEJDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

The concept was revolutionary and the goal ambitious: to curb the world's rapid population growth by keeping girls in school and enhancing the status of women. This global plan, a wholesale departure from simply doling out contraceptives to prevent pregnancies, was adopted with fanfare and unprecedented consensus by 179 countries at a United Nations summit in Cairo.

But five years into the effort, experts say, it has become clear that it will be much more difficult than expected to implement the massive social changes necessary for success. And in some places, the changes that have occurred have triggered new problems.

Couples in some countries, for example, have suddenly been unable to get condoms or birth control pills because the transition to a new system has caused glitches in the purchase of these products.

In many countries, a severe lack of health services has made it impossible to put in place one of the central goals of the program: to offer family planning as part of a broader health care system aimed at reducing maternal and infant deaths. The world has made no dent in maternal deaths, which were to be cut in half by 2000 under the Cairo program.

Most threatening to the 20-year plan is a massive shortfall in funding. The world's richer countries, which pledged \$5.7 billion by next year, are less than one-third of the way there, making it virtually impossible that they will provide the funds needed to put the Cairo program in place.

"We are not keeping up with the problems, with the pace that the [Cairo] framework requires," Frank E. Loy, the U.S. undersecretary of state for global affairs, said in a recent speech. And when it comes to funding, he added, "it is sad but true that the country which risks being the biggest Cairo deadbeat of all is the United States."

World population will hit 6 billion this year, according to U.N. projections. And demographers say rapid population growth in many countries remains a major threat to health, the environment, quality of life and the world economy.

"What we do this year and in the next few years will determine whether the world has 8 billion people or 10 billion people or 12 billion people," said Timothy E. Wirth, a former undersecretary of state who now runs the United Nations Foundation, a private organization in Washington.

Some argue that the specter of rapid population growth has been overstated, citing the rapid drop in overall fertility worldwide.

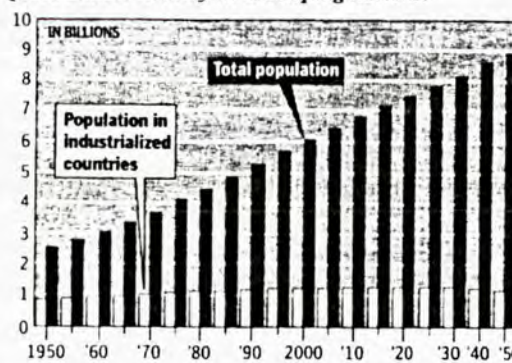
"Never before have birthrates fallen so far, so fast, so low, for so long, all around the world," said Ben Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He argues that even the high rates in developing countries will continue to fall as economic conditions improve.

In many industrialized countries, including the United States, fertility rates have dropped below "replacement" levels, meaning women average fewer than 2.1 children in their lifetimes.

But world population continues to grow, fueled by high fertility in many developing countries and a large younger population. That population "momentum," as it is known, looms in the current generation

Measuring the Multitudes

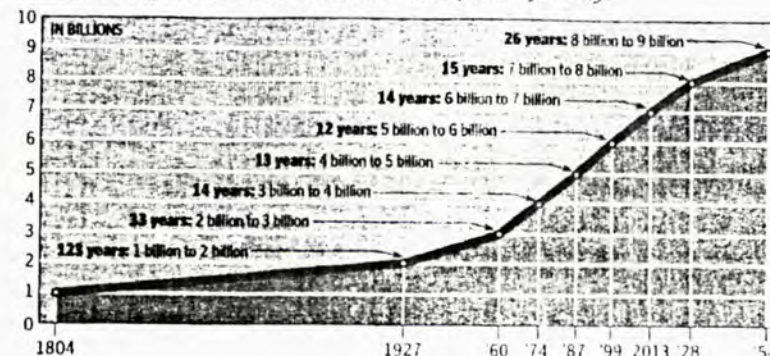
Population growth in the next half-century will take place almost entirely in developing nations.



NOTE: Years 1995 and before are estimated; years after 1995 are projected.

SOURCE: United Nations Population Division

The time it takes to add 1 billion people to the world's population has grown shorter but is projected to increase, the result of lower fertility.



of nearly 1 billion teenagers moving into their reproductive years.

That sense of urgency is likely to set the tone at a summit this week in The Hague, the next step in the Cairo process. This phase, designed to assess the success of the program so far, will draw first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, cabinet-level ministers from as many as 80 countries and representatives from at least 170 governments.

In preparing for The Hague Forum, the U.N. Population Fund compiled a report on the progress made since the Cairo summit. It counts 41 countries that have adopted policy or legislative changes supporting the new family planning strategies. But it also cites considerable resistance in many countries to some of the goals, such as boosting the status of women.

Participating countries agreed in Cairo to increase spending to a total of \$17 billion by 2000 and \$22 billion by 2015. Two-thirds of that would come from developing countries and one-third from industrialized nations.

While spending increased immediately after Cairo, it has since stagnated, leaving the developing countries at about 70 percent of their 2000 goal and the donor countries further behind, at about one-third of the agreement.

Among donor countries, such as Japan, and developing countries, such as Indonesia, the Asian economic crisis has kept those governments from meeting their spending goals.

The United States, the largest single donor country, cut funding for international family planning by about 30 percent, from \$540 million in 1995 to \$385 million last year. Antiabortion forces in Congress have successfully held up funding because of their concern that the aid would free up other dollars that could then be spent by overseas family planning agencies on abortion.

But a broader skepticism about the effectiveness of foreign assistance also has cut into funding levels.

"Foreign aid is typically seen as a tool of American

interests, to spread our influence, particularly to the developing world. But the case for foreign aid is more difficult to make without invoking the prospect of Soviet influence," which ended with the Cold War, said Steven R. David, director of the International Studies Program at Johns Hopkins University.

The Cairo agreement was adopted with commitments from an array of governments, including the Vatican. For the first time, the plan discarded the notion of population "control," a long-standing, single-minded focus on contraception and sterilization as a way of meeting strict demographic targets.

Governments had learned that their earlier efforts had often backfired: Couples resented coercive efforts pushing sterilization, for example. And distribution of contraceptives without proper counseling and health care had led to illness and suspicion, keeping women from returning to the clinic.

The answer, the participants agreed, was a much broader strategy of improving the status of girls and women, informing them of their rights to choose contraceptives with proper counseling and providing health care at the same time to reduce pregnancy-related deaths and infant mortality.

In some parts of the world, the Cairo agreement has led to stunning change.

India, which for decades used numerical quotas establishing the number of sterilizations and contraceptives to be delivered by family planning workers, abandoned those targets nationwide in 1996. Despite a consensus that India needed to revamp its system, the decision to do away with targets inspired intense debate in that country and fear among some demographers that fertility rates would increase. The concerns were fueled by stories of men and women seeking sterilization but turned away because workers, no longer receiving incentives for meeting quotas, were unavailable.

"There are plenty of people who are nervous, whose primary concern is demographic, who still believe the most important thing is to get contraceptives to the largest number of people," said Adrienne

Germain, president of the International Women's Health Coalition. "That's what's driven family planning in the past."

The change led to a decline in the use of family planning methods across India in 1996 and 1997, though the numbers increased again the following year, according to the Population Reference Bureau, a Washington-based research organization. And government surveys in India have shown no increase in fertility.

Despite the unease, the removal of targets was widely applauded by many groups inside the country and has created a ripple effect in tiny rural villages.

In Uttar Pradesh, one of India's poorest states, family planning services are now available through local milk cooperatives, resulting in 700,000 more men or women using contraception, according to Peggy Curlin, president of the Centre for Development and Population Activities.

Each morning, millions of women milk their cows and carry the pails to a local distribution point, where they can register for family planning services or receive condoms. Later, a trained worker will visit their homes to discuss contraception.

Meanwhile, some countries, such as Zimbabwe, have experienced a shortage of contraceptive products since family planning services were transferred from private organizations to the government, although there are no studies yet to determine if that has led to an increase in fertility. In Uganda, inadequate health services mean that women seeking sterilization must bring their own sutures, bandages and antiseptics.

Population experts caution that, given the dramatic scope of the Cairo agenda, five years is a short time to expect success.

"When you are working on fixing complicated problems on sexuality and human life, you're just not going to fix it the first try out," said Amy Coen, president of Population Action International. "It is crucial we see this as a beginning."

POLITICS

**New York Senate Seat
Appears Alluring to Many**

As if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wasn't enough star power for New York, there's now chatter that John F. Kennedy Jr. may run for the Senate.

With the pending retirement of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), New Yorkers are in for a wide-open Senate race in 2000. A few big names have already opted out, but Hillary Clinton has done nothing to dampen speculation she may seek the seat.

New York Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope, after visiting with the first lady last week, said she puts the likelihood of a run at

50-50. State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver says he promised to round up support from Democratic state lawmakers. Even the president fanned the flames at a fund-raiser there last week: "It's highly likely that I will increasingly be known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York."

Recent polls show the first lady would be a formidable candidate, as would New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R).

"There's a very wide gender gap," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion. "She loses men narrowly but wins overwhelmingly with women." But he added, "Ultimately as a candidate she will have to answer the ques-

tions why New York and why now."

Two other Democrats, Rep. Nita M. Lowey and State Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, are considering a run.

In Washington, some Democrats worry that the talk about the first lady is making it harder to find other prospects. Said one strategist involved with Senate races: "We're frozen on recruiting as long as the [impeachment] trial goes on and Hillary holds out."

Sen. Rodham Clinton of New York?

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — Friends of Hillary Rodham Clinton quiver with anticipation that she will run for the seat to be vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year, but political insiders predict the first lady won't take the plunge.

The political professionals harbor doubts, despite the fact that nearly all local polls show Mrs.

Pundits doubtful; pals hope she'll run

Clinton way out in front in matchups with two potential Republican opponents: New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Alfonse M. D'Amato, a former three-term senator.

"Even though she's ahead and even though all her friends in New

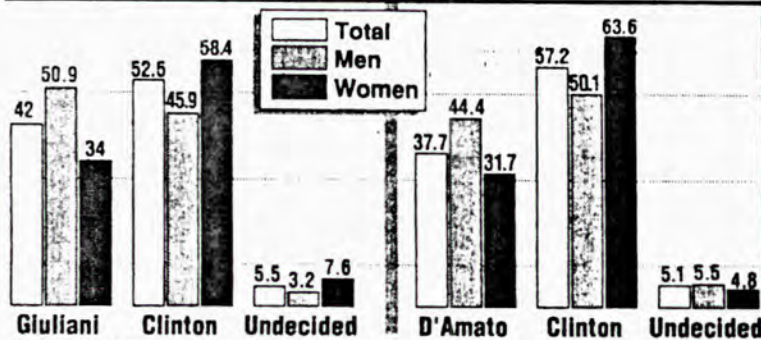
York want it, my feeling is she's not going to run," says political strategist David Garth. "She's too smart."

If the Senate impeachment trial fails to convict President Clinton, Mr. Garth adds, New Yorkers "would be euphoric for about three weeks, and then they're going to say, 'Boy, this guy really got away with it.' And she might be the recipient of that. I mean, everyone's

see HILLARY, page A5

NEW YORK'S NEXT SENATOR?

A poll released last week by the Marist College Institute of Public Opinion shows first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton leading her potential Republican rivals, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and former Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, among registered voters for New York's Senate race in 2000.



The Washington Times

HILLARY

From page A1

a little embarrassed by Clinton."

But the prospect of a battle between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani has political operatives in both parties salivating over what could be the most colorful Senate race of the 2000 cycle.

Speculation about a run by Mrs. Clinton began in earnest in both Washington and New York last month, and the first lady's office has studiously avoided any comment — positive or negative — on the idea.

A New York magazine writer called it "It Takes a Village vs. Seal Off the Village," a play on Mrs. Clinton's well-known book and Mr. Giuliani's aggressive efforts to improve civility and public manners in his city.

Not since Robert F. Kennedy adopted New York and ran successfully for the U.S. Senate in 1964 has so much excitement been stirred by the possible injection of an outsider into a state race.

Mr. Garth, one of New York's veteran political kingmakers, reasons that voters at the moment view Mrs. Clinton sympathetically as "the loyal wife," not as an elected official. "She looks good, but as you get further away and if [Mr.] Clinton beats the rap — and they start looking at her as an individual — she may have some problems," he notes.

Political analysts agree that Mrs. Clinton would come to the Senate race with "a lot of baggage" — particularly her comment during Middle East peace talks in May that she favored creation of a Palestinian state. Although the White House tried to play it down, many interpreted the statement as a trial balloon for her husband's policy.

Such a position could pose a problem for Mrs. Clinton among the large numbers of Jewish voters in New York City.

Like the biblical parting of the Red Sea, possible Democratic contenders have either bowed out or stepped aside to await a sign from Mrs. Clinton. Democrats who have decided not to make the run include Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo; lawyer Robert F. Kennedy

Jr., the late senator's son; and state Comptroller H. Carl McCall.

Other Democrats putting a possible race for the Moynihan seat on hold include Public Advocate Mark Green and U.S. Reps. Nita M. Lowey and Carolyn B. Maloney.

One potential wild card is former Gov. Mario Cuomo. New York Post columnist Neal Travis reported this week a "quiet move" in state Democratic circles to draft the liberal Mr. Cuomo, who toyed with running for president on a number of occasions, for the Moynihan seat.

Meanwhile, Sen. Charles E. Schumer and Rep. Charles B. Rangel, the principal Democratic enthusiasts for a run by Mrs. Clinton, have stoked the fires of speculation, asserting that the first lady's silence on a candidacy means she has not made up her mind.

New York friends of Mrs. Clinton's say that should she decide to run, money would not be a problem.

But a Manhattan-based fundraiser for the Clintons said the first lady would "never" run for the New York seat because of the steep legal expenses she and her husband face. It is more likely, added the source, that she would seek a Senate seat in her home state of Illinois. But to do that, she would have to challenge a fellow Democrat, Sen. Richard J. Durbin, in 2002, or wait until 2004 to run against Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a Republican.

A poll released last week by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion found that 52.5 percent of those surveyed would support Mrs. Clinton, compared with 42 percent for Mr. Giuliani. The first lady led Mr. D'Amato, who has been mentioned as a possible candidate, 57.2 percent to 37.7 percent.

Said Marist polling director Lee Miringhoff: "Clearly, voters are responding in the abstract, but up against D'Amato, Hillary takes a large hunk of the Republican women, and even against Giuliani there's a big gender gap here. She actually loses men in New York but wins women overwhelmingly."

New York's Conservative Party chief Mike Long sees Mrs. Clinton as an extremist on social issues who would drive votes into the Republican camp.

Chelsea Clinton's Privacy

It was Teddy Roosevelt, that exuberant personality, who first threw open the door to life at the White House. His children all became celebrities of the age. It was Woodrow Wilson who slammed the door, threatening to shun any reporter who wrote about his daughters. The door stayed shut, guarded by fathers like Harry Truman, until the Kennedy children became symbols of a youthful Presidency, objects of public adoration, and then of heartbreak.

The Johnson daughters, the Nixon daughters, Amy Carter all had painful public moments. But no one knows the pain of life in the White House better than Chelsea Clinton, and few First Families have been more protective than her parents. For six years, reporters have largely honored their request to respect Chelsea's privacy. In that time she has matured into a poised young woman.

During that time, as well, the White House has put her on display at politically opportune moments and in structured situations. She has traveled with the First Lady, sat with her at the Democratic National Convention in 1996 and attended church at

awkward moments with her father, and was the physical link between her parents, holding their hands as they left for Martha's Vineyard after his admission of a relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

This brief review of the coverage of Chelsea Clinton is useful in assessing the flap over a People magazine cover story on her. Her parents' reaction of "profound sadness" seems overwrought when compared with the respectful, almost puffy tone of the piece. Their fear, no doubt, is that the floodgates will be opened now. We doubt that the mainstream press will abandon the current policy of restraint. That policy has produced generally appropriate reporting of Ms. Clinton's public activities and allows for journalistic interest in the personal and family dynamics of a White House gripped by crisis. That was the case during Watergate and, perhaps to a lesser extent, in the current scandal. The People story, like much of the magazine's fare, was opportunistic but soft. It will not cause responsible newspapers and broadcasters to start snooping into Chelsea Clinton's private life.

People Magazine Goes Ahead With Article on Chelsea

Clintons' Bid to Halt Story On the First Daughter Fails

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

People magazine, rejecting a personal appeal from the president and first lady to respect their daughter's privacy, published a generally admiring profile of Chelsea Clinton yesterday.

In a preemptive strike Wednesday night, the White House contacted reporters and issued an unusual statement from the President and Hillary Rodham Clinton, saying, "We deeply regret and are profoundly saddened by the decision of People magazine to print a cover story featuring our daughter Chelsea." An administration official said the statement followed People's decision to give an advance copy to the syndicated TV show "Entertainment Tonight."

Sources familiar with the situation say the White House had Secret Service officials call Time Inc. Editor in Chief Norman Pearlstine to ask that the article be spiked because of security concerns. The Stanford University sophomore receives Secret Service protection.

At yesterday's daily press briefing, White House spokesman Joe Lockhart declined to elaborate on the controversy, saying only that the first couple "very much appreciate everyone in this room who has respected their family's privacy on this issue and it is their hope, as we move into the future, you will continue to do so."

The piece on Chelsea Clinton is headlined "Grace Under Fire: An intimate look at the deep bond of love that sustains the Clinton women through their painful family ordeal."

People had no comment yesterday. The Time Inc. magazine stood by an earlier statement from Managing Editor Carol Wallace: "There is a great deal of admiration for this mother-daughter relationship. Over the years, we have written about the Clinton family in good times and bad. Chelsea is nearly 19 years old and a poised young adult. We feel that because she is an eyewitness to ... historical events unfolding around her, that she is a valid journalistic subject."

The article examines how Chelsea Clinton is coping with the fallout from the Monica Lewinsky scandal. It says the president's daughter was angry after her father confessed his infidelity to her. "There was a terrible sense of betrayal," a former White House aide is quoted as saying. The Clintons were decried as furious when the president's brother, Roger, told Paris Match that the scandal had "profoundly affected" Chelsea.

The piece also recounts Chelsea's breakup with her boyfriend at Stanford and quotes a friend as



Chelsea and Hillary Rodham Clinton grace People's Feb. 15 cover, which was released yesterday.

saying "she's under a lot of stress." But Chelsea was described as being upbeat on Dec. 19, the day her father was impeached, and worrying aloud about being late for a party.

The president and first lady posed with Chelsea for an anecdote-filled People cover story during the 1992 presidential campaign, one of the few times they have exposed their daughter to the glare of the media. But the newfound focus on Clinton family matters in the wake of the Lewinsky saga has made the first couple even more protective of their daughter.

Some Time Inc. staffers were struck by the administration's aggressive response, noting that the Clintons cooperated on a Father's Day piece in USA Today and Vogue's coverage of Hillary and Chelsea Clinton's trip to Africa.

In their statement Wednesday night, the Clintons said: "For over six years, the media has understood and respected the unique situation facing Chelsea as she grows up in the spotlight focused on her parents. Other than in public situations where she is an integral part of our family, we have been very grateful for the media's restraint in allowing Chelsea the privacy that any young person needs and deserves."

"Unfortunately, despite personal appeals with respect to her privacy and her security from her parents, People magazine has chosen to run the story. We can only hope that the media will continue its policy of restraint with respect to our daughter."

The White House had little to say in November when the National Enquirer, the Star and the New York Post published stories on Chelsea struggling with the Lewinsky fallout, dismissing that as the work of mere tabloids. But the Clintons apparently felt that People, with its glossy reputation and 3.2 million circulation, could open the floodgates to more intrusive coverage of their daughter.

White House Tried to Block Chelsea Article

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Many a mother would be pleased to learn that *People* magazine was planning a flattering cover story about her relationship with her devoted daughter. But not First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

In fact, the White House was so furious about a glowing mother-daughter profile, appearing in the Feb. 15 issue of *People*, that the first lady's press office applied stiff pressure to try to get the magazine to drop the idea. The Secret Service even made an appeal to the top editors of the weekly, arguing that keeping Chelsea Clinton out of the limelight makes agents' jobs easier, according to a *People* editor.

"There was pressure from the White House from Day One," the editor said. "Their first argument was invasion of privacy. Their second argument was a generic security issue about making the Secret Service's job more difficult."

The Clintons have long been protective of their only child, beseeching the media to let Chelsea grow up unhampered by probing reporters and television cameras. And by and large, the media have respected their wishes.

The Clintons reflected that in a statement released in reaction to the *People* article.

"For over six years, the media has understood and respected the unique situation facing Chelsea," the Clintons

said. "We can only hope the media will continue its policy of restraint."

The first couple's iron grip on Chelsea's privacy seemed to have eased over the years, as the 12-year-old with braces and curls grew into a poised young woman. Hillary Clinton has written about Chelsea in her syndicated column.

And when Chelsea went to Stanford University, the White House did nothing to discourage the reams of positive coverage her rite of passage received.

But in recent months, the context of some of that coverage has shifted.

Recent tabloid articles about Chelsea's personal life at Stanford caused a flap. And the *People* article is titled "Grace Under Fire: An Intimate Look at the Deep Bond of Love That Sustains the Clinton Women Through Their Painful Family Ordeal."

White House officials said that the rules regarding coverage of Chelsea Clinton have never changed. But the White House reaction appears to reflect growing concern about the media prying into more complicated aspects of the first daughter's personal life.

From *People*'s perspective, the first family has tried to have it both ways when it came to coverage of Chelsea. During the 1992 campaign, the Clinton campaign team sold *People* on a cover story of the Democratic candidate's family.

Photos of Chelsea, with her parents and alone, have graced the magazine's pages numerous times since then, with



Associated Press

Chelsea Clinton laughs as she takes a walk with her father while visiting a garden in Shanghai, China, last June.

the White House's blessing.

"There isn't a presidential family we haven't covered," the *People* editor said. "This is frankly a family drama along with an impeachment drama. For *People* magazine not to cover it does not make a lot of sense."

Inside Politics



Chelsea and the press

The first parents are howling over a *People* cover story on Chelsea Clinton, but the press corps is doing some growling of its own.

Presidential spokesman Joe Lockhart got an earful yesterday about the seeming double standard at a White House briefing, Reuters reports.

"Is the issue that when they [the Clintons] decide to publicize her ... it's OK, but when *People* decides to, it's not?" one reporter asked in a typical question.

Mr. Lockhart said the issue needed no further clarification.

The Clintons "very much appreciate everyone in this room who has respected their family's privacy on this issue and it is their hope as we move into the future that you will continue to do so," he said.

Confronted Wednesday with a *People* magazine cover story headlined "Hillary & Chelsea: Grace Under Fire," President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton fired back in a statement:

"Unfortunately, despite personal appeals with respect to her privacy and her security from her parents, *People* magazine has chosen to run the story."

The Clintons said they were "profoundly saddened" by the magazine's decision.

The *People* story is overwhelmingly positive but does dwell on the strong bond between Chelsea and her mother during the last scandal-tainted year.

***** Friday, Feb. 5, 1999 F3

Covering Chelsea



GREG GIBSON / Associated Press

Few intimate family photos, such as this shot of Chelsea Clinton and her father at a Stanford University convocation in 1997, have been released during the Clinton presidency.

WILL MAGAZINE STORY OPEN FLOODGATES FOR STORIES ON FIRST DAUGHTER?

By Lyle V. Harris
STAFF WRITER

When it comes to media coverage of presidential offspring, the kid gloves have come off.

The new edition of People magazine features a glowing profile of Chelsea Clinton that her parents are criticizing as a violation of their 18-year-old daughter's privacy.

"For over six years, the media has understood and respected the unique situation facing Chelsea as she grows up in the spotlight focused on her parents," the Clintons said in a prepared statement. "We have been very grateful for the media's restraint in allowing Chelsea the privacy that any young person needs and deserves."

The Clintons reportedly made a personal plea to block the story and said they were "profoundly saddened" that the magazine refused to honor their wishes.

"Chelsea is becoming fair game," said Marvin Kalb, director of Harvard University's Joan Shorenstein Center

on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

The story, "The Ties That Bind," examines the close but complex bond between Chelsea and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, one that has tightened since revelations that President Clinton engaged in "improper relations" with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

The eight-page cover story discusses some aspects of her personal life, such as the breakup with her college boyfriend and her feelings of betrayal after her father's indiscretion surfaced. It's also filled with innocuous details, such as Chelsea wrapping a blanket around her mother during a beach picnic in 1997. Even so, that type of information until now has been considered off-limits by most mainstream publications.

During the 1992 campaign, Chelsea, then 11, was sometimes seen on the stump with her parents. They've mostly kept her out of the public eye since then, but that's changed in the

► Please see **CHELSEA**, F3

Chelsea: Valid story, magazine says of teen

► Continued from F1

past year. One of the indelible images of the Clinton sex scandal was of Chelsea holding her parents' hands in a symbolic gesture of reconciliation the day after Clinton publicly confessed his relationship with Lewinsky.

Clinton biographer David Maraniss said that despite their efforts to safeguard their daughter's privacy, the president and Mrs. Clinton also have used Chelsea as a political prop.

"There is a certain hypocrisy here," Maraniss told *People*. "For the most part, they try to protect her, but when a political situation requires using Chelsea, they will."

Carol Wallace, managing editor of *People*, defended the decision to write about the Stanford University student, who turns 19 on Feb. 27, because of her increasingly visible profile in recent months.

"We are certainly sensitive to the Clintons' concerns about their daughter but there is a great deal of admiration for this mother-daughter relationship," Wallace said in a statement. "Chelsea is nearly 19 years old and a poised young adult. We feel that because she is an eyewitness to the family drama and historical events unfolding around her, she is a valid journalistic subject."

Chip Carter, middle son of former President Carter, said he thinks the *People* story marks a drastic change in the rules for covering the first family.

Carter, 48, said press secretary Jody Powell hammered out a "gentleman's agreement" with reporters that kept them from covering his once-shy baby sister, Amy, who was 9 when her dad became president.

"The deal was that the press could take pictures of her on the first day of school, but not the next day. They left her alone, and they respected that," Carter said. "Back then I think the

press was a lot gentler than it is now."

Once she left the White House to attend Brown University, Amy Carter became a celebrity of sorts by getting arrested for protesting for animal rights. Since then, she has avoided the media spotlight and lives quietly with her husband in Atlanta.

"My sister doesn't do press," said Carter. "She's a very private person now and I think she's going to remain that way."

Chelsea has never been interviewed, although reporters have been invited to off-the-record dinners with her during foreign trips. She has spoken in public only overseas, in round table discussions with other young people. Last year, tabloids violated the Chelsea "no-fly" zone by reporting on the breakup with her college sweetheart.

Washington Post media reporter Howard Kurtz said the *People* story could mark a turning point in mainstream media coverage of the president's daughter.

"The *People* cover story is a big deal because it means the wall is eroding, and it could open the floodgates for media scrutiny and harassment," said Kurtz, adding that his paper rarely writes stories about Chelsea. "If I set the rules for how we covered people, I'd be awfully cautious about descending into the personal angst of a teenager who is trying to grow up outside the glare of scrutiny."

But a public role is not unusual for the children of presidents. Anna Roosevelt served as substitute hostess for her father. Amy Carter was trotted out for state dinners and to play the violin for Egyptian President Anwar Sadat at Camp David. Lyndon B. Johnson's teenage daughters, Lucy and Linda, made speeches and kept full public schedules. Barbara Bush's eldest grandchild introduced her to the 1992 Republican National Convention.



CHUCK KENNEDY / Knight Ridder

The Clintons return from vacation in 1998. The *People* story may mean Chelsea, who'll be 19 soon, will be targeted for more coverage.

But when historian Carl Sferazza Anthony suggested "it would be wonderful" if Chelsea introduced Mrs. Clinton to the Democrats' 1996 convention, the first lady turned frosty.

"She said absolutely, unequivocally no" said Anthony, author of the upcoming "First Families."

Dr. George Rainbolt, a professor of media ethics and philosophy at Georgia State University, said Chelsea has entered a gray area between private figure and political celebrity that may be difficult to escape.

"I think Chelsea has moved herself into the spotlight, and clearly it has been politically useful for the president to have this young woman, his daughter, standing by his side," Rainbolt said. "The press has a right to cover her, but I hope they would use their rights responsibly and not use it as an excuse to start a stampede."

Carter had some advice for Chelsea if she's going to survive in the White House fishbowl.

"My guess is that she is a remarkable girl and you can't be incognito if you're the president's kid, so she better learn how to deal with it."

The Associated Press contributed to this report.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

On the cover: People magazine tells a mostly complimentary tale of mother-daughter ties.

Cover girl treatment for first daughter

■ **Magazine:** Clintons reportedly dismayed at People's decision to do a story on Chelsea. But the magazine defends itself by saying the almost-19-year-old is a poised young woman who can stand up to the scrutiny.

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — As the daughter at the heart of the nation's most-watched family crisis, Chelsea Clinton is increasingly becoming fair game to a media that has long agreed to avoid her as a subject.

"Grace Under Fire," a *People* magazine cover story that hits newsstands today, is a piece — largely complimentary — focusing on Chelsea's relationship with her mother during the family's crisis over the Monica Lewinsky controversy.

The Clintons said Wednesday in a statement that they were "deeply saddened" by the story, which they contend breaks an informal agreement with the media that for six years has kept Chelsea coverage mostly limited to occasional photographs.

The story, which the White House calls the first cover story on Chelsea in a mainstream magazine, purports to be "an intimate look at the deep bond of love that sustains the Clinton women through their painful family ordeal."

People defended the piece, saying Chelsea is "nearly 19 and a poised young adult" whose role in the family makes her newsworthy.

"We feel that because she is an eyewitness to the family drama and historical events unfolding around her she is a valid journalistic subject," Carol Wallace, *People* managing editor, said in a statement released this week in response to the White House.

Chelsea has appeared on the cover of *People* before, in a story about the Clinton family ties that was written with the cooperation of the White House. But this piece comes against the first family's will, as the Clintons tried to stop the story before it ran.

"Unfortunately, despite personal appeals with respect to her privacy and her security from her parents, *People* magazine has chosen to run the story," the Clintons said. "We can only hope that the media will [See Chelsea, 4E]

Does People story signal a change in the way media will treat Chelsea?

[Chelsea, from Page 1E]

continue its policy of restraint with respect to our daughter."

In the piece, *People* describes the Stanford University sophomore as "furious" at her father after he revealed his sexual relationship with Lewinsky to her and her mother in August.

But the story shows her putting a brave face to the world.

A friend of the family is quoted saying that on the night of her father's impeachment, she was "so upbeat and teenage." "She came running in and said, 'I've got to run. I'm so late for a party, my friends are going to kill me,'" the friend is quoted as saying.

The story says Chelsea wakes up early and consumes the papers with news of the scandal in the early morning, but shows no hint of hard feelings once her housemates appear.

Beyond the scandal, the article also delves into Chelsea's romantic life, describing her recent breakup with Matthew Pierce, a Stanford swimmer. It also brings up (although downplaying) the

tabloid reports that she was sent to the university's health center after suffering a collapse after splitting with that boyfriend of six months.

While Chelsea is not a frequent subject of news stories, she is not invisible.

Just last month, Clinton mentioned Chelsea and the governor's mansion where he helped raise her when he addressed victims of a tornado that ripped through Little Rock. And first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton mentioned Chelsea six times in a 1996 speech at the Democratic National Convention, according to Brookings Institution presidential scholar Stephen Hess.

After arriving at the White House in January 1993 as a 12-year-old in braces, Chelsea had something of a media coming-out two years later when she was photographed with her mother at the Taj Mahal on a trip to India. Over the years, Chelsea went from the girl in ballet slippers in "The Nutcracker" to the teen-ager in a slate gray mini-skirt at the president's second inauguration.

"They were perfectly happy to use Chelsea in the photo on the South Lawn," he said. "I don't think the White House was horrified at that media coverage."

Yesterday, Marsha Berry, spokeswoman for the first lady, countered that the first family has always fought for Chelsea's privacy and will continue to do so.

"The fact that this story exists at all and is a cover story is very troublesome" to the Clintons, she said.

The Brookings Institution's Hess noted that first daughters have become the subject of news stories in the past: In Jimmy Carter's presidential debate in 1980, he talked about having a conversation about nuclear testing with his young daughter, Amy. Critics accused Carter of using his daughter for his political purposes in that case, and some also suggested he was trying to make a political point by sending Amy to public school in the district during his presidency.

Perhaps the most powerful photograph came in August, when Chelsea walked across the South Lawn holding her mother's and father's hands just after Clinton admitted having an improper relationship with Lewinsky in a speech to the nation.

In that photo, Chelsea appeared as the peacemaker, bridging her parents as they set out for Martha's Vineyard. And she stepped in front of her parents to work the rope line once they reached the island.

Clinton critic Rich Galen, director of GOPAC, a conservative organization that raises money for Republican candidates, said the Clintons' outrage over the *People* story seems hypocritical.

Friday, February 5, 1999 • DAILY NEWS

By **MONICA POLANCO**
and **MARTY ROSEN**

Daily News Writers

At almost 19, poised at the difficult passage between childhood and independence, Chelsea Clinton deserves her privacy, said most New Yorkers interviewed yesterday.

"Leave her alone!" said Martina Desilverio, 61, a factory worker with a 14-year-old niece.

One day after the White House fumed over a People magazine cover story dissecting Chelsea's relationship with the First Lady, Bronx mom Kimberly Wallace called on the media to

"stay away from her."

"She's still young," said Wallace, 37, who has three sons.

"She's been under enough pressure," agreed Greg Boita, 43, who has three teens at home in Little Ferry, N.J. "They should give her a break."

Others said the Stanford University sophomore is bright and sophisticated enough to handle the exposure that comes with being the First Daughter.

"Just as a product of her environment, she should be able to handle it," said Kevin Foley, 39, a Manhattan insurance company president and father of two teens.

But therapists said being a teenager is rough enough without being forced to work through a traumatic family crisis like the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal in the public eye.

"The cleanest way for young adults to move into independent life is if they have a relatively stable situation at home, they're clear about their parents' relationship to each other and their relationship to their parents," said Ruth Rosen Cohen, a clinical social worker at the Jewish Child Care Association in Manhattan.

Chelsea's situation, she said, "is now very complicated."

Hands off Chelsea, most say



Cover Article On Daughter Irks Clintons

By DAVID STOUT

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 — President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, said tonight that they were "profoundly saddened" by People magazine's decision to run a cover article on their daughter, Chelsea, in its next issue.

Neither People magazine nor the White House would discuss the article in detail tonight, although the magazine issued a statement making it clear that the article, entitled "Grace Under Fire," is about Miss Clinton's relationship with her mother.

"There is a great deal of admiration for this mother-daughter relationship," Carol Wallace, the magazine's managing editor, said in a recorded statement released by a spokeswoman. "Over the years, we have written about the White House in good times and bad."

Explaining its decision to feature the Clintons' daughter, Ms. Wallace said Miss Clinton is "nearly 19 and a poised young adult." The statement said the magazine's editors consider her "a valid journalistic subject" because she is a witness to a continuing "family drama" and important historical events — a clear reference to the impeachment trial arising from the President's relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky.

Reached at his home in Manhattan, a People executive editor, Cutler Durkee, said he had not been involved in editing the article and could not comment.

The President and Mrs. Clinton issued a statement tonight saying they "deeply regret and are profoundly saddened" by the magazine's decision. For the six years of the Clinton Presidency, the statement said, the media have generally respected their daughter's privacy.

"Unfortunately, despite personal appeals with respect to her privacy and her security from her parents, People magazine has chosen to run the story," the statement said. "We can only hope that the media will continue its policy of restraint with respect to our daughter."

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said tonight that the article would make it "very difficult" for Miss Clinton, now a student at Stanford University, to have a private life.

"She's just trying to go to school, and she hasn't done anything to draw attention to herself," Ms. Berry said.

CAPITAL ROUNDUP

CLINTONS UPSET: President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton issued a terse written statement saying they "deeply regret and are profoundly saddened" by a cover story in next week's *People* magazine on their daughter Chelsea. The story focuses on Chelsea and her close relationship with her mother, according to two individuals familiar with its contents. Both said the story was largely positive and contained no dramatic disclosures about the Stanford University sophomore. White House officials said the Clintons are not as upset by the content of the story as by the fact the story was being published. They are said to be concerned that it will encourage other stories on how Chelsea has been affected by the repercussions of the Monica Lewinsky scandal. "We have been very grateful for the media's restraint in allowing Chelsea the privacy that any young person needs and deserves," the couple's statement said. "We can only hope that the media will continue its policy of restraint with respect to our daughter." — Susan Page

Across the nation

FROM TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C.



AP photo

Mentor program: Displaying an article on mentoring projects to assist young people, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announces Wednesday \$14 million in grants to support the mentor program for youth in 37 states. She unveiled the aid at a White House ceremony.

HEVRDEJS
& CONKLIN INC.



Hillary Clinton may be heading East for seat in Senate

Note to Chicagoans who think **Hillary Rodham Clinton** will return to her roots to make a U.S. Senate bid: Don't count on it. Instead, rumblings are growing that she will run for U.S. Sen. **Daniel Moynihan's** seat in New York in 2000. At least that state's party chair has reversed an earlier stance in which she said she didn't think Clinton would make the plunge. Now, after spending time with the first lady at a Tuesday fundraiser, the chair, **Judith Hope**, thinks there is "a 50-50 chance" it will happen. Wednesday's release of the results of a Quinnipiac College Polling Institute survey won't hurt. It showed Hillary beating NYC Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** in a U.S. Senate race.

While First Lady Decides, Lowey Gets Ready for Bid

Continued from page 20

should decide to run I would support her candidacy, and she would be the candidate," Lowey said. "We share many of the same concerns and goals for New York and for the nation."

President Clinton added fuel to the firestorm of rumors about a Senate bid by his wife when he told the audience at a Democratic fundraiser on Tuesday: "It's highly likely that I will increasingly be known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York."

Lowey has spoken with Mrs. Clinton, whom she said was "pleasant" but didn't give her any indication whether she was serious about a Senate bid.

"I am actively and seriously exploring this race for Senate, and before I make a decision I certainly will consult with the first lady,"

'She has a very engaging personality, although it's not an overwhelming personality that upstaters sometimes react against,' one state Democratic leader said of Lowey.

Lowey said. "If she is the candidate, if she decides to be the candidate, she will be the candidate in the Democratic Party."

But in the meantime, the former PTA president and assistant New York secretary of state is making her move for the Senate, even as several high-profile potential Democratic candidates have been bowing out.

In recent weeks, state Comptroller Carl McCall, Robert Kennedy Jr. and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo have said they will not seek the Democratic nomination. The only other prominent Democrat to publicly profess interest is state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, who has formed an exploratory committee.

Some Democrats fear that without a big-name contender, they risk forfeiting the historic Senate seat to New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R), who is clearly considering a bid. Rep. Rick Lazio (R) is also taking steps towards a Senate contest.

But following then-Rep. Chuck Schumer's (D-N.Y.) victory over Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) last year, Lowey says she is undaunted by her lack of celebrity status.

"I think the work you do, your legislative record, when represented to the voters, is a critical part of any election campaign," Lowey said, sounding much like candidate Schumer did in reeling off a list of her legislative accomplishments.

But a Quinnipiac College poll of 1,192 registered voters conducted from Jan. 26 to Feb. 1 showed Lowey with a long way to go. Thirty-two percent of respondents said they were "very" likely to vote for the first lady if she made a Senate bid, while 10 percent would pick two-time Senate candidate Mark Green (D). Lowey came in fifth behind the Rev. Al Sharpton and Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.), who has said she will not run.

"I think the voters are very wise, and Senator Schumer reminds me that when he first ran with his outstanding record of accomplishments, very few people knew him, and that's very encouraging," she added. Voters, Lowey said, "respect accomplishments."

Lowey argues that she is a national leader on issues such as education, abortion rights and health care reform, and has brought money to her district as a member of the House Appropriations Committee. She is warm and personable, but quick to point out that she can be tough.

"People know that not only do I work hard, but I'm tough and persevering," she said, pointing to her targeting by the liquor lobby when



Photo by Rebecca Roth

Rep. Nita Lowey (above) looks increasingly like the leading Democratic candidate for retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat in 2000 if the first lady decides not to run.

she fought to lower the legal intoxication limit. "I can be very tough and persevering until I win."

Lowey will need all the mettle she can muster if she ends up in a general election with Giuliani, or any other Republican. She has \$800,000 in her war chest and has been raising money at the rate of \$30,000 a day since she began actively exploring the Senate race, according to her backers.

Lowey took a thinly veiled jab at the mayor's renowned inability to work well with others.

"I think right now the voters in New York

will have to look at the record and compare it to the qualities of being a Senator," she said. "To be a Senator you have to be hard-working, to be able to work in a collegial bipartisan atmosphere, to be able to work with your colleagues. The voters in New York will have to determine whether the opponent has those qualities or whether I have those qualities."

On paper, Lowey, certainly has an attractive profile for a Senate candidate. A 61-year-old grandmother, she represents the diverse 18th district, taking in parts of Westchester, work-

ing-class Bronx and portions of Queens. She raised her family in Queens, but now lives in upper-class Harrison. Politically, the 18th is swing territory, although it has voted solidly Democratic in the last two presidential contests.

Lowey cut her teeth in politics as assistant secretary of state under then-New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo (D), a friend and political mentor. In her first run for the House in 1988, she beat the grandson of former Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr. (R-N.Y.) in the primary and ousted Rep. Joe DioGuardi (R) in the general election. She has been re-elected easily since.

"My district is interesting because it's so diverse," she said. "They look at me as a moderate Democrat from the suburbs and the city. My district is really a microcosm of the state."

Candidates from downstate typically have a difficult time selling themselves to upstate voters, but Lowey has already made several trips north and plans an upstate swing during the February recess.

Last weekend, Lowey was the only potential Senate candidate to appear before the executive committee of the Democratic Rural Caucus, a collection of upstate party leaders.

"I think she related very well," said Michael Schell, the former chairman of the caucus.

"She has a very engaging personality, although it's not an overwhelming personality that upstaters sometimes react against," he continued. "She's a warm person. She's one who connects and is not overbearing. It was like she belonged with us."

If she runs, Lowey plans to bill herself as a centrist Democrat, despite high ratings from liberal groups and the fact she has been a Clinton administration loyalist. But allies point out that she voted for the balanced budget and welfare reform and established a teen pregnancy prevention task force, despite being one of the House's leading advocates of abortion rights.

As she ponders the Senate race, Lowey is still overwhelmed that a girl from the Bronx could have the opportunity to replace Moynihan and hold the seat once represented by Robert Kennedy.

"I have been very humbled to serve in the Congress of the United States. When I look up at the Capitol Dome, especially when it's lit up at night in the blue sky, I often say to myself, 'Here I am a young woman who grew up in the Bronx, New York, and I am privileged to serve in the Congress of the United States of America.' That is daunting."

First lady visits Bed-Stuy community

By J. ZAMGBA BROWNE
Amsterdam News Staff

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton took Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant community by storm Tuesday when she showed up at a YMCA gymnasium to participate in a round-table discussion with working parents.

Clinton, who was accompanied to the gymnasium by Rep. Edolphus Towns, listened intently as each parent on the panel expressed their concerns about balancing the responsibilities of home life with that of work life.

Eileen Quinones, a 33-year-old single parent, spoke of her frustration with obtaining gov-

ernment help to find daycare so she could leave her young daughter while she worked.

Quinones complained that she was put through the mill before being turned down for governmental aid on grounds that her salary was too high. "They usually base their decision on the candidate's annual gross salary rather than on the net pay," said Quinones.

Another parent, Debbie O'Connor, said that had it not been for the federal Family Leave Program, she wouldn't have been able to take care of her 16-year-old daughter, who was involved in a tragic car acci-

dent. O'Connor praised the sensitivity of her employer, which she said made a big difference.

"Perhaps I would have been out of a job had it not been for the federal Family Leave Act," said O'Connor.

The Family Leave Act was one of the first bills signed into law by Hillary's husband, Pres. Bill Clinton, when he took office six years ago. The law allows employers to give employees time off whenever a member of their family is ill and needs personal attention.

Ameenah Reed has three daughters who all benefited from the YMCA's "Virtual Y"

after-school literacy program. She said it provided care for her kids while she held down two jobs to make ends meet.

Another parent, Angelina Charriez, has an elderly mother who requires 'round-the-clock care. She spoke of the difficulty she had finding help for her mother, who worked for more than 40 years in the New York Public School System but has no pension.

Charriez said that her problem is compounded by the fact that she lives in Queens with a family of her own and has to think about the welfare of her ailing mother, who lives in Brooklyn.

As for Clinton, she high-

lighted provisions in her husband's proposed budget aimed specifically at addressing some of the problems discussed at the roundtable in Brooklyn. She said her husband's provisions put families first.

Clinton said some of the initiatives will help parents who are struggling to meet responsibilities to their jobs and to their families. She said the president's families agenda includes important new investments to strengthen child care, increase before- and after-school opportunities, as well as addressing the growing long-term care needs and access to family and medical leave.



First Lady Hillary Clinton shares a laugh with Cong. Ed Towns during a round-table discussion in Bedford-Stuyvesant. See story on page 45.

February 4, 1999 10:52 am Eastern Time

HEADLINE: N.Y. Dem Chairwoman: Chances Of Hillary Run Are '50-50'

BODY:

New York State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope said Wednesday she now believes there is a 50-50 chance that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton next year will enter the race to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

Just weeks ago,, Hope was saying she did not believe Clinton would enter the race, and that the first lady had asked her several months ago not to encourage such speculation.

"Now you hear me saying something different," Hope told the Associated Press Wednesday.

Hope said that after spending time with the first lady at a fundraising event in New York City Tuesday night, "it's my very strong impression that she has not ruled this out. ... I'm sharing with you my impressions that she left with me and I think with others. My best guess is that it's 50-50."

Hope refused to say if she had spoken directly to the first lady or her close aides in recent days about the situation.

Told about Hope's comments, spokeswoman Marsha Berry said the first lady was "not in a position right now to rule anything in or to rule anything out."

Hope's comments came as a statewide poll showed the first lady leading New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a theoretical matchup for next year's Senate race. The mayor has said he is considering running.

The new poll, by Quinnipiac College's Polling Institute, had Clinton favored by a 51-42 percent margin over the Republican Giuliani.

The poll of 1,191 registered New York voters was conducted Jan. 26-Feb. 1 and has a 3 point error margin.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1999



Rebecca Cronin for The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton mingled with child-care advocates yesterday after she spoke on social programs at a Y.M.C.A. in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Clinton Campaigns, But for Programs, Not Office

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

To an exuberant reaction and in an atmosphere charged with speculation about her political future, Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned in Brooklyn yesterday — not for any office, but for the social spending programs in the budget her husband sent to Congress this week.

"I want to help people who are trying to help themselves," the First Lady said at a Y.M.C.A. in Bedford-Stuyvesant. "It's hard for me to accept that we're not going to help working moms like you."

The setting came right out of President Clinton's own campaign repertory. Mrs. Clinton participated in what was presented as a spontaneous discussion about day care programs with an invited panel of guests — in this case working parents — in front of an audience that included a platform filled with television cameras. And it was typical of what the Administration has done in the days after Mr. Clinton has unveiled a budget, in an effort to promote parts of it across the nation.

But the context was different this time, as was evident from the heavy concentration of news media that turned out for what was otherwise an unremarkable conversation between Mrs. Clinton and the panelists. It was a testimony to the interest generated by the mere suggestion that Mrs. Clinton may run for the position being vacated by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan after he retires next year.

The audience in Bedford-Stuyvesant sat at stilled attention as Mrs. Clinton endorsed Federal spending on day care for children and the elderly.

It was clearly a politically sympathetic crowd. "I would like to see her run for Senate," said Letisha Wadsworth, a day care services administrator. "I think she has a good sense of the needs of people in working communities like this."

Donna Fleming, a regional administrator at the New York Public Library, said: "I think she should run for President. I think she's past the point of running for Senate, don't you?"

CLINTON TALKS UP SCHOOL AID

The President is seeking \$200 million to reward school districts that take steps to improve or close declining schools. Page A13.

Mrs. Clinton's staff said the First Lady has not given any consideration to her political future, and the First Lady made no reference to it herself during her hour-long remarks.

There have been murmurs in recent days that some Democrats have become concerned that continued speculation about Mrs. Clinton as a possible candidate for Senate was discouraging other serious contenders. (At this point, Representative Nita W. Lowey of Westchester is viewed as the strongest potential Demo-

Speculation of a run for the Senate in New York.

cratic candidate.) Mr. Moynihan's wife, Liz, was quoted in Newsweek this week as saying that if Mrs. Clinton were going to run, "she should say so," or risk scaring away other potentially strong candidates.

But Mr. Moynihan, in an interview yesterday, said he did not necessarily share that assessment. "We always have had a pretty vigorous primary, and why ought that not happen now?" he said. "So I'm just welcoming everybody. I just want to make that clear. I will do all that I can to help."

Mr. Moynihan announced in November that he would not seek re-election when his term expired in 2000. He said he wanted to give a Democratic candidate enough time to raise money and build a political base. However, Mr. Moynihan declined to say how soon he thought Mrs. Clinton should make a decision.

"I will leave that to you," he said.

Between Bites of Sea Bass, Clinton Talks Up School Aid

By JOHN M. BRODER

BOSTON, Feb. 2 — President Clinton sandwiched in an education announcement between fund-raising meals of imported sea bass with big Democratic Party donors today.

Mr. Clinton appeared at an elementary school in the working-class Brighton section of Boston this afternoon to draw attention to a previously announced education proposal to turn around failing schools. The President said today that he was asking Congress to approve the use of \$200 million in Federal education aid to reward school districts that take steps to improve or close declining schools.

Before and after the school appearance, Mr. Clinton spoke to party donors in Boston and New York who paid \$10,000 a person to attend the fund-raising events for the Democratic National Committee. White House officials said the lunch and dinner, which were expected to raise \$1.7 million, were the first fund-raisers the President has attended since he was impeached in December.

Mr. Clinton's education proposal is part of a broader Administration plan to use the incentive of Federal money to bring greater accountability to local school districts. Schools will be required to end "social promotion," the practice of moving students from grade to grade even if they have not mastered the material. Mr. Clinton wants assurances that teachers are qualified to teach their subjects. School districts that fail to adopt these policies risk losing their Federal education grants.

The plan has drawn criticism from Republicans, who call it an example of unwarranted Federal meddling in local affairs. Republicans tend to prefer Federal education money to be returned to states and cities in the form of block grants with few strings attached.

"This is about more than money," Mr. Clinton said at Jackson Mann Elementary School here. "Some people argue that the Federal Government has no business whatsoever holding school districts accountable for results."

The President said he disagreed, and said he intended to use some of the \$15 billion in Federal school aid to encourage policies that work and end support for failing programs.

"Fifteen billion dollars is not chump change," Mr. Clinton said. "It's real money and it can make a real difference."

Bruce Reed, the President's chief

FIRST LADY PUSHES SPENDING PLAN

Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned in Brooklyn — not for office, but for the social spending programs in the President's budget. Metro, page A19.

domestic policy adviser, said that 19 states already had programs in place to rescue failing schools. He defended the Federal role in encouraging such efforts against Republican criticism.

"We are happy to have that debate," Mr. Reed told reporters aboard Air Force One en route to Boston. "If anyone in Congress wants to step over and say continuing social promotion ought to be a local option, that having unqualified teachers ought to be a local option, or that ignoring failing schools ought to be a local option, we challenge them to do so."

Before visiting the school, Mr. Clinton spoke at a luncheon and reception at the Boston Park Plaza Hotel, using the occasion to review themes raised in the State of the Union Message and in his budget submission to Congress. He boasted that his plan to reserve most of the ballooning Federal budget surpluses for Social Security and Medicare over the next 15 years would have the effect of reducing the national debt to the lowest level since 1917.

"If anybody had come before you in 1992 and said, 'Vote for me for President, in a few years we'll be paying down the national debt,' you would have given them a quick exit home," Mr. Clinton told the party contributors. "You'd have thought, that guy's been, you know, chewing on funny reeds or something."

The guests were served salad, sea bass and mascarpone pastry with strawberries.

The New York fund-raiser was held in a second-floor dining room at the fashionable and expensive Le Cirque 2000. Mr. Clinton appeared with Hillary Rodham Clinton, who earlier in the day had led a discussion with a group of women in Brooklyn.

At the beginning of his remarks, Mr. Clinton joked that with all the publicity his wife's trip generated — and all the speculation about her possibly running in New York for the United States Senate — "If I may borrow a line from President Kennedy, it looks to me increasingly like I will be known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York."



BOOK REPORT *By David Streitfeld*

Publisher's Pet Peeve

The first lady, we are routinely assured by pollsters and the media, is beloved by the vast majority of the American public. She is even being touted as a New York senatorial candidate. But when it comes to voting with their pocketbooks, the public is shying away.

Dear Socks, Dear Buddy, a collection of children's letters to the first pets edited by Hillary Rodham Clinton, was one of the big busts of the holiday season. Simon & Schuster had announced a printing of a half-million copies, scaled that back to 300,000 or so when it came time to actually order the books, and then didn't sell many of those.

"The book continues to sell well, but perhaps not with the velocity we would like," maintains a diplomatic David Rosenthal, S&S publisher. He refused to give sales figures. Others estimate that the book, which made no bestseller lists, will sell 100,000 copies at best. *It Takes a Village*, the first lady's first book, on the other hand, sold nearly 400,000 copies in hardcover.

What went wrong? Perhaps the intended audience didn't know it was there. Clinton could do little publicity for the tome, because interviewers might have asked pesky questions about impeachment. And it's possible that potential bookbuyers never realized the book was by her. There is no photo of the first lady on the cover.

It's not that political books aren't selling. James Carville's attack on Ken Starr did better than expected. William Bennett's attack on President Clinton hit No. 1. And even Bob Dole's collection of jokes—*Great Political Wit: Laughing (Almost) All the Way to the White House*—exceeded its modest initial sales estimates by a factor of four.

End Notes

Trent Lott was on **Hillary Rodham Clinton's** turf, and it showed yesterday on the applause-o-meter. The Senate majority leader and first lady each spoke to the U.S. Conference of Mayors at the White House, neither one of them mentioning impeachment. Lott's speech met with only a smattering of clapping, even when he said Washington lawmakers didn't have all the answers to local problems, a welcome message to mayors. Mrs. Clinton received two standing ovations before she uttered a word. . . . The truck driver who stole **Elizabeth Taylor's** heart, for a few years, was critically injured in a fall Thursday at his California home. **Larry Fortensky**, 46, who married Taylor in 1991, was in a coma and on life support yesterday after falling down a flight of stairs at his condominium, 50 miles south of Los Angeles. Taylor met Fortensky at the Betty Ford Clinic. They divorced in 1996. . . . In case she bombs "The Star-Spangled Banner" before tomorrow's Super Bowl, **Cher** already has an explanation: "I'm really not a great singer. Really I'm not. **Celine Dion** is a great singer. I'm a mediocre singer with a really interesting style."

—Compiled from staff and wire reports
by Janelle Erlichman

Extending support after foster care

Clinton budget includes money for services

By AMY OAKES
SUN STAFF

While a junior at Northeastern State University in Oklahoma last year, Terri Faye Yaden faced a common college crisis: She needed a car for student teaching.

As one of thousands of young people over 18 who have exceeded the age of those allowed to stay in foster care, Yaden had no family to call on for help. So she called on the Orphan Foundation of America, which stepped in with money to help her buy a car and automotive advice.

The Virginia-based foundation was one of several recognized yesterday at a White House gathering to promote support for young people leaving the foster care system. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that President Clinton's budget for 2000 includes \$280 million over five years to boost support for older foster care children. It's not clear how Maryland will benefit.

"It marks another step forward in our efforts to make life better for our children," Mrs. Clinton told the crowd of about 100 foster care advocates.

The president's proposals include increasing funds for a training and housing program for older foster care children by 50 percent and the transitional living program by \$5 million, offering emergency financial support, and raising the age through which foster care children are eligible for Medicaid from 18 to 21.

Though she thinks it won't be enough, Yaden said she's relieved that people are taking notice.

"There's a vast majority who are falling through the cracks," Yaden said outside the White House. "But, we're just excited that there is an awareness taking place."

Since Yaden graduated from high school in 1995 and left the Cookson Hills orphanage in Oklahoma, she said, the orphan foundation has given her scholarships and guidance.

"They've helped me financially and with decision making," said Yaden, 21, who lives in North Baltimore and plans to attend Towson University this summer. "But, the No. 1 thing they did was believe in me."

Yaden and nine others who grew up in foster care around the country attended the ceremony yesterday. Each represented a success story of making the transition from foster care to adulthood with the help of support services.

"After you leave foster care, the truth is you're nobody's priority," Yaden said. "We need normal, everyday people to volunteer to just take an interest in us."

Each year, 20,000 young people are forced to leave foster care programs because they "age out" when they reach 18 or receive their high school diploma, Mrs. Clinton said during her 10-minute address in the East Room.

When Terry Harrak, 19, of Alexandria, Va., turned 18, she found herself homeless after having to leave a foster care family home. She stayed with friends and teachers and slept in subway stations. "Everything I was used to shut down," Harrak said.

After sleeping a night in a hospital emergency room, Harrak made a pact with herself to get a college degree.

She entered a transitional living program for homeless youths where she learned life skills and received help with schoolwork and finding college scholarships. She graduated high school and is attending a community college.

A year before he outgrew the foster care system, Rico Shaw, 18, began laying the groundwork for his future. Shaw enrolled in the United Parcel Service's School-to-Career Partnership for Maryland Youth in Foster Care.

Shaw has an apartment in Prince George's County and is studying for his high school diploma while working part time as a loader for UPS in Washington. He said he keeps in touch with his mentor at the school-to-career partnership.

"The program has helped shape me in many different ways," Shaw said.

Clinton Proposes \$280 Million In Aid for Former Foster Children

By BARBARA VOBEJDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton has included \$280 million in his next federal budget to help teenagers who are pushed out of the nation's foster care system simply because they hit their 18th birthday.

The program, to be announced today by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, would fund state programs that work with teenagers as they leave foster care by providing training, health insurance, limited financial help and housing to help them live on their own.

Roughly 20,000 children are moved out of foster care each year at age 18, often without families or relatives to provide a home or financial support. While a fraction remain with foster families, most must fend for themselves because the state and federal funding that has supported them ends by law when they turn 18.

That means they must find a job and a place to live, sometimes before they have finished high school.

"We need to do much more to help young people who have spent their whole lives in foster care make it on their own," said Bruce Reed, White House domestic policy adviser.

A Washington Post report last year drew attention to the plight of these young people, a quarter of whom spend at least some time homeless after they are "emancipated" from the foster system, the bureaucratic label for the process. Studies by University of Wisconsin researcher Mark Courtney found that 12 to 18 months after they left foster care, just half of the ex-foster children were employed, one-third were on welfare, one-fifth of the girls had given birth and more than one-quarter of the boys had been imprisoned.

"We're very pleased the president has supported this underserved population," said Robin Nixon, director of youth services for the

Child Welfare League of America. She said her organization and others would push for even broader legislation—extending the foster care entitlement to age 21, a change that would cost \$500 million over five years.

But while congressional Republicans had signaled their support for the president's initiative, she said, it would be more difficult to secure approval for extending an entitlement, which guarantees funding to any eligible child.

The president's proposal would increase federal spending for the first time since 1992 for the Independent Living Program, a state-run program that encourages young people to finish high school and get training and teaches them how to budget, find apartments and plan for careers. That effort would receive \$175 million over five years.

The budget also includes \$50 million over four years to provide financial support for housing and other needs while the youths finish education or training they need to find jobs. It adds \$50 million over five years to allow former foster children to receive Medicaid until they are 21.

And it includes \$25 million over five years to provide housing and training to homeless adolescents between the ages of 16 to 21.

Congress created the Independent Living Program in 1986 after researchers noticed that many of the nation's homeless were former foster children. The funding for that program now stands at \$70 million a year, a figure that was based on the foster care population in the mid-1980s. Since then, the number of children in the system has more than doubled, to about 500,000.

In some states, the programs amount to short seminars on how to budget and find a job. In other programs, young people are placed in subsidized apartments and given job training and entry-level work.

Stella's capital clothes encounters include one with Hillary Clinton

McLEAN, Va. — Stella McCartney toured the White House Thursday before appearing at a Nordstrom department store to show her line of Chloe clothes.

Mrs. Clinton, says McCartney, 27, was "really sweet. We had a little chat. My mum had written to Chelsea because Chelsea's a vegetarian, so there was already a little family bonding thing."

She and the first lady talked about Linda McCartney, who died last year of cancer. "She asked, 'Can I hug you?' And it made me feel like crying. It was just like my mum, she's quite motherly. She's really cool."

Asked about the last year, McCartney sighs. "How long have you got? I can't begin to answer that."

And at this point in her ca-

reer, she says she doesn't think being Paul McCartney's daughter hurts or

helps. "All the journalists ask, 'It must be really hard with your last name,' and I say, 'Then why are you asking me? Stop asking and it will go away!'"

"I don't have a problem with it; everyone else does. I'm cool with it."

Among the shoppers browsing through suits, camisoles and frilly dresses: 12-year-old Theresa Bowman, who was playing hooky from Washington's private Sidwell Friends school. "She's Stella-crazy," said her mom, Bonnie Brownell. "Actually, I love *Chloe*," said Bowman.

Among her purchases: a \$100 air-brushed T-shirt.

By Ann Oldenburg



By James Kieley for USA TODAY
McCartney: Hillary Clinton was 'really cool.'

NAMES & FACES

BY CAROL BEGGY AND BETH CARNEY

Hillary hands out praise and awards

"NOVA" executive producer **Paula Apsell** received a compliment yesterday from first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, after a six-minute segment of the upcoming show "Surviving AIDS" was shown during an awards ceremony in Washington. Clinton called it "a powerful and important piece of work" during the ceremony at the National Press Club. She also gave Elizabeth Glaser Scientist Awards to four of the country's leading researchers in pediatric HIV/AIDS, including **Paul Johnson** of Harvard Medical School and **Philip Goulder** of Massachusetts General Hospital.

Clinton Targets Childhood Asthma

Associated Press

President Clinton will ask Congress for \$68 million to attack childhood asthma and \$40 million to subsidize the training of pediatricians by children's hospitals, according to the White House.

Both initiatives will be included in the proposed fiscal 2000 federal budget Clinton will submit next week, said the official, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

The asthma plan, to be announced today at the White House,

was billed as the "first-ever comprehensive, administration-wide strategy" to fight the disease. Most of the money—\$50 million—would be used for competitive state grants to identify and treat poor children who have asthma and are served by Medicaid.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was scheduled to unveil the proposed new subsidies for training pediatricians in a speech at the National Press Club.

The government helps pay for the training doctors receive by reim-

bursing hospitals through the Medicare program for the elderly. But that system is based on the number of Medicare patients a hospital sees, creating a disadvantage for hospitals that mainly treat children.

Children's hospitals lose money each year, more so than other teaching hospitals partly because of this inequity, the administration contends. The \$40 million would come through an existing grant program and would amount to about \$9,380 per resident. The average hospital would receive \$689,000.

New York

Clinton, Giuliani Both See Encouraging Polls

If first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (D) was looking for encouragement to enter New York's open-seat Senate race in 2000, she found it in a recent poll that showed her leading New York City Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R) in the race to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

A Marist College poll taken of 513 registered voters on Jan. 24 showed Clinton topping Giuliani, 53 to 42 percent, in a general election matchup, with 6 percent of respondents undecided. The first lady led Giuliani by the biggest margin — 35 points — in New York City, demonstrating why Democrats are eager to lure her into the race.

Clinton also beat Giuliani upstate and in the New York City suburbs. But Giuliani was more popular among men, with 51 percent of males polled saying they would support the mayor in a Senate bid against the first lady. Clinton topped Giuliani among women, 58 to 34 percent.

But another survey taken just days earlier showed the first lady, who is being heavily courted by New York Democrats to become a Senate candidate, trailing the Big Apple's mayor.

The Zogby International poll, taken Jan. 20 to 21 of 706 adults, showed Giuliani ahead of Clinton, 47 to 39 percent. That poll showed the first lady getting a bounce from the unpopular Senate trial, with the largest segment of respondents — 37 percent — stating they wanted an end to the trial without punishment for the President. Only 22 percent of those polled want the President to be censured.

But New York voters believe the President

and Republicans deserve a roughly equal share of the blame for the scandal, according to Zogby's numbers. Thirty-eight percent of those polled blame the GOP for the scandal, while 36 percent blame President Clinton.

Giuliani has set up three political action committees and is clearly interested in running for Senate. Mrs. Clinton has told Democratic supporters that she won't contemplate a Senate run until the impeachment proceedings have concluded. **Rep. Nita Lowey** (D) is also considering a bid for Moynihan's seat.

— Rachel Van Dongen

Helping Secure the Future for Women

A crucial issue for females, benefits can serve as a shield from poverty.

BY ROBERT A. ROSENBLATT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—When you go to the supermarket, or attend religious services, look closely at the faces of older women, Hillary Clinton was saying.

"Every other woman you see who is over 65 would be living in poverty" without the economic lifeline provided by Social Security, the first lady told audiences watching from Los Angeles and nine other cities Saturday in a special teleconference on women and Social Security.

Benefits are far from lavish—women get an average of \$676 a month from Social Security—but the checks are a shield against destitution. The poverty rate among women over 65 is about 14%. Take away Social Security and another 39% of this group would fall below the poverty line.

The future of the biggest of all government programs becomes a vital issue for all Americans of retirement age but is particularly pressing for women. They tend to earn less than men, are less likely to get a pension, and when they do get one it tends to be smaller because they generally have taken more years out of the work force to care for children or older relatives.

Only 26% of women over 65 receive a pension, compared to 46% of men. And their pensions are an average of \$6,684 a year, compared to \$11,460 for men, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute.

"The face of America is changing. She is growing older," according to Terrie Wetle, deputy director of the National Institute on Aging. Women typically outlive their husbands, and then their savings.

But, fortunately, nobody outlives a Social Security check, with its automatic adjustment each year to protect against inflation. In fact, the first person who ever received a Social Security check—

Ida May Fuller of Vermont—began drawing benefits in 1940, and when she died 35 years later, at 100, she had collected \$22,888. It was a great deal for her—she had paid a total of \$24.75 in payroll taxes from 1937 through 1939.

But future generations won't enjoy that kind of financial windfall. Instead, they face the problem of a maturing system with fewer workers to carry the financial burden of paying for retirees.

Boomers' Retirement Presents a Problem

Bill Clinton, the first baby-boomer president, is trying to figure out a way to keep the system going for his generation, the horde of Americans born between 1946 and 1964. In just 12 years, the leading edge of the baby boomers will be eligible for full retirement benefits. (These "old boomers," who are at least 50, include Bill and Hillary Clinton, Al and Tipper Gore, Cher, Susan Sarandon, Donald Trump, Farrah Fawcett, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Ozzy Osbourne, Cheryl Tiegs, Donna Karan and Donna Summer.)

The big debate deals with keeping Social Security solvent so baby boomers can get their checks. The crisis year is 2032, when Social Security will have consumed its surplus, and payroll taxes will be sufficient to pay only 75% of benefits promised under current law.

Neither Clinton nor members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, have any enthusiasm for closing that 25% funding gap with higher taxes, reduced benefits or by raising the retirement age.

Instead, the president's plan calls for reserving 62% of anticipated future budget surpluses—some \$2.7 trillion over 15 years—to help Social Security. It's an indirect approach: The surpluses will be used to reduce the national debt. As the debt is reduced, it will be easier to find the funds to fi-



'There is even more we can do, there are inequities that can be fixed.'

Hillary Clinton

Speaking to audiences watching a teleconference on women and Social Security

nance the growing burden of Social Security benefits.

Republicans say the president is just delaying the day of reckoning. Many of them want to let workers keep a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes (12.4% on salary up to \$72,500, equally divided between worker and employer) for investment in personal stock accounts. This would enable Americans to build nest eggs and to depend less on Social Security.

"Younger employees should have the chance to increase the quality of their life" through individual accounts, Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-Wash.) said at the Saturday conference, where she was co-chair along with Hillary Clinton.

But the accounts could be risky for women, according to some critics. Social Security now is a family benefit with protections especially significant for women. At retirement, a woman can choose between a benefit based on her earnings or an amount equal to 50% of her husband's benefit, whichever is larger. For two-thirds of women, the spousal benefit is a better deal.

(A woman who was married for at least 10 years has the right to a sum equal to 50% of her ex-husband's retirement check. This is true no matter how many wives he had. The marriage may have lasted no more than 10 years, but the benefit goes on forever.)

Individual accounts, however, would be personal, private property. Will a woman "have access to the private account of her husband, or will he leave it to his girlfriend when he dies?" asked Heidi Hartmann, president of the Institute for Women's Policy Research, another speaker at the conference.

In addition to debating the merits of personal accounts and arguing the best way to assure Social Security's solvency, President Clinton and Congress have an opportunity this year to place long-ignored women's issues on the agenda of reform.

"As much as Social Security does for poor women, it doesn't do enough," said Hartmann. And the

oldest women are the poorest. "Elderly women who are widowed have very few resources," Jane Ross, deputy commissioner for policy at the Social Security Administration, told the conference, called "What Every Woman Should Know About Social Security." It was sponsored by Americans Discuss Social Security, a project of the Pew Charitable Trusts. Couples may be relatively prosperous at age 65. But by age 80, the husband has died and the wife is existing on a comparatively meager income.

Take the imaginary Jane and John Doe. They retire, John receives a Social Security benefit of \$1,000 a month, and Jane gets \$500 (the spousal 50% share). When he dies, she foregoes the spousal benefit and receives an amount equal to his full benefit—\$1,000. Several ideas are floating around to put more cash in Jane's pocketbook:

- The survivor's benefit could be boosted to guarantee Jane 75% of the total family income while John was alive—\$1,500—or \$1,125 a month.

- Congress could authorize a special boost in benefits at age 80 or 85, a stage of life when women far outnumber men.

- The system could be revamped to give Jane some earning credits for the years she was out of the work force when her children were young, or when she quit her job to help her mother through a serious illness. Currently, Social Security benefits are pegged to 35 years of earnings, and many women have a number of "zero" years when they did not work outside the home.

Specific measures to help elderly women have never received serious attention in committees of Congress. They could have a fighting chance this year to be included as part of a Social Security deal between President Clinton and Congress.

"There is even more we can do, there are inequities that can be fixed," Hillary Clinton reminded the viewers at Saturday's teleconference.

✓ Fit to be front-runners

Clinton, Dole lead readers' picks of women for president

By SCOTT FORNER
POLITICAL REPORTER

Looking for some fresh faces in the 2000 presidential election?

How about a Clinton-Dole battle?

Not Bill and Bob. Hillary and Elizabeth.

The two women were the top choices among Chicago Sun-Times readers who responded to the newspaper's invitation to select the five women they would most like to see elected the first woman president.

But if Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Hanford Dole should decide to square off, the outcome might mirror the 1996 matchup between their husbands—at least if Sun-Times readers have their say.

For them, this is Hillary Country. "I wish I could vote for her more than once," one reader wrote.

This being Chicago, several others did just that, choosing Mrs. Clinton for all five spots on their lists.

What prompted the survey was a feminist organization's effort to promote women as presidential timber and ultimately put one in the Oval Office by 2008.

The group, calling itself the White House Project, released a list of 20 women who could be president in September and asked people to select their top five choices. They plan to release the results in early February.

The Sun-Times conducted its own smaller survey and is releasing the results now because the issue is back on the front burner.



By SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Local favorite Hillary Rodham Clinton has stated no interest in the presidency or other political office.

is considering a bid for president in 2000.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has voiced no interest in the presidency or any other political office.

Among Sun-Times readers, Clinton, 51, was far and away the winner—with or without the handful of readers who voted early and often.

The first lady was the first choice of 40 percent, more than any other candidate. And two-thirds of the readers put her somewhere on their lists.

Dole, 62, was the No. 1 choice of 15 percent.

Overall, she won a place on the lists of 65 percent.



Mae Jemison
Readers' No. 3 choice



By SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Elizabeth Dole, who resigned as chief of the American Red Cross, is considering a presidential run.

former astronaut; Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) and Army Gen. Claudia Kennedy.

Jemison, 42, was the No. 1 pick of 6 percent and was placed somewhere on the list by 48 percent. Feinstein, 65, was selected for first place by 4 percent and placed on the list by 34 percent. Kennedy, 61, ranked first among 3 percent and was placed on the list by 20 percent.

The results were hardly scientific, merely reflecting the opinions of the 65 readers who chose to participate.

Obviously, the results were somewhat skewed by Clinton's and Jemison's status as favorite daughters. Jemison, who in 1992

woman to fly in space, graduated from Morgan Park High School. Clinton was born on the North Side and grew up in Park Ridge.

Gender generally transcended partisanship, with many readers selecting Democrats Clinton and Feinstein alongside Republicans Whitman and Dole.

Marc User, 25, a Ravenswood resident who works for an online encyclopedia, wrote that Dole, who has been both Transportation and Labor secretary, was "absolutely" her first choice.

"With all that has happened in the Clinton administration, I believe that the country is up for a change of pace," User wrote. "Elizabeth Dole would help that along most."

That did not stop her from making Mrs. Clinton her second choice and adding, "I'll put Bill in his

READERS' PICKS

Here is how the 20 women on the White House Project's list fared among Sun-Times readers. Rank reflects the sum of all the votes each woman received, with votes weighted to reflect the position on each specific reader's list.

1. Hillary Rodham Clinton, 51, first lady
2. Elizabeth Dole, 62, former Cabinet official
3. Mae C. Jemison, 42, physician, former astronaut
4. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, 65, California Democrat
5. Claudia Kennedy, 61, three-star Army general
6. Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, 52, New Jersey Republican
7. Marian Wright Edelman, 59, children's advocate
8. Sen. Mary Landrieu, 43, Louisiana Democrat
9. Donna Shalala, 57, Clinton Cabinet official
10. Wilma Mankiller, 53, Cherokee Nation chief
11. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison, 55, Texas Republican
12. Linda Chavez Thompson, 54, labor leader
13. Angela Oh, 43, human rights activist
13. Ann Fudge, 47, Maxwell House president
15. Bernadine Healy, 54, medical school dean
16. Sen. Olympia J. Snowe, 51, Maine Republican
17. Carol Browner, 43, EPA Cabinet head
18. Carol Bellamy, 56, UNICEF chief
18. Maria E. Chavez, White House official
20. Judith Rodin, 54

■ Disenfranchised until 1920, women have achieved much in the area of politics during the last century. These 15 Chicagoans are among those who have made a significant difference, writes political columnist Steve Neal.

Women of the century

It has been a century of accomplishment for Chicago's political women.

At the beginning of the 20th century, women couldn't even vote.

But as a result of the activism of pioneers such as Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells, the rules were changed. It took decades and generations for women to achieve major gains.

Women nationally won the right to vote in 1920 but only after a long struggle. Illinois was admitted to the union in 1818 but didn't elect a woman to statewide executive office until 1990. Earlier this month, Corinne Wood of Lake Forest was sworn in as the state's first female lieutenant governor. State Treasurer Judy Bateman, a Chicago native, in the 1988 election became the first of her sex to win back-to-back terms in statewide executive office.

The Illinois Constitution of 1970 included an equal-rights provision. But although 35 states ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Illinois legislators effectively killed the ERA in 1982.

Even so, Chicago's political women have achieved a great deal in the 20th century. These 15 made a significant difference:

Jane Addams (1860-1935): When the founder of Hull House delivered the second speech for Theodore Roosevelt at the 1912 Progressive convention, it marked the entrance of women into national politics. A year later, Illinois became the first state east of the Mississippi to grant women the right to vote. Addams also played important roles in the enactment of the state's first factory inspection laws, the Child Labor law of 1903, and the city's first juvenile court. She became active in the peace movement, and her views were unpopular during World War I. But she was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

June M. Byrne (1884-): Elected in 1970 as Chicago's first female mayor, Byrne opened the city's books, balanced the budget and did much to promote this town as a world-class city. She embarked on a \$1 billion expansion project at O'Hare Airport, proposed the redevelopment of Navy Pier and a lakefront park campus that were carried out by her successors. When Byrne launched a campaign against gang crime, she moved into Cabrini-Green. Though elected as an independent, she hurt herself by making accommodation with politicians she had denounced as "evil empires." That cost her re-election in 1983.

Hillary Rodham Clinton (1947-): A native of Chicago's North Side who grew up in suburban Park Ridge, she was a National Merit Scholarship finalist and member of student government in high school. She was voted "Most Likely to Succeed" by her classmates at Maine South High School in 1965. She fulfilled that promise when she was named as one of the nation's top lawyers.

As President Clinton's wife, she has had more influence on policy than any other presidential spouse. She has maintained close ties to the Chicago area.

Emily Taft Douglas (1889-1994): Her election as a Democratic congresswoman at large in 1944 over a top-backed Republican

con incumbent showed that Midwestern attitudes about America's role in the world were changing. Douglas, who served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was among the first public officials to suggest a plan for American economic aid to help rebuild Europe in the wake of World War II. It would be called the Marshall Plan. She was the first woman in Congress to precede her husband. The late Sen. Paul H. Douglas followed her to Washington, D.C., in 1948.

Nancy B. Jefferson (1923-1992): A powerful voice for civil rights and community empowerment, Jefferson showed that private citizens can have more impact than government officials. As the leader of the Midwest Community Council for three decades, she organized more than 100 block organizations on the West Side and galvanized the black independent movement. A close ally of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in the 1960s, Jefferson encouraged Harold Washington to run for mayor in 1983 and helped elect him.

Lynn M. Martin (1930-): The first woman to win a senior slot in the GOP's con-

gressional leadership, Martin represented northwestern Illinois in the U.S. House during the 1980s. After losing a 1990 U.S. Senate bid, Martin was appointed by President Bush as secretary of labor. In that role, Martin promoted the retraining of workers for the 21st century and sought to help break the glass ceiling that kept women and minorities out of top management.

Ruth Hanna McCormick (1880-1944): An early campaigner for women's rights, McCormick, in 1928 became the first woman in the United States to win a statewide election when she was elected to one of the state's two at-large congressional seats. Two years later, McCormick became the first woman nominated by a major party for the U.S. Senate when she upset Republican incumbent Charles Deneen in the primary. But she lost the general election.

Carol Moseley-Braun (1947-): The first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate, she delivered an impassioned speech and won a showdown with Jesse Helms over the Confederate flag by persuading colleagues to change their votes and kill the re-

newal of a design intent that included the flag. Moseley-Braun was a strong proponent of federal aid to help rebuild crumbling schools. But because her tenure was plagued by controversy, she lost her re-election bid.

Dawn Clark Netsch (1926-): The North Side's election in 1990 as Illinois state comptroller made her the first woman to win statewide executive office. Four years later, she achieved another historic first by winning the Democratic nomination for governor but lost the general election. As a delegate to the 1970 Illinois Constitutional Convention, she wrote the provision in the Constitution that declares that the state has the primary responsibility for funding public education.

Nancy Davis Reagan (1921-): Her earliest political involvement was as the class president at the Lath School. But she would play a larger role as Ronald Reagan's wife and confidante. She showed him the path to power. It has been suggested that she transformed the office of first lady into an associate presidency. She influenced her husband's approach to the Soviet Union and was the only person whom President Reagan consulted about his decision to seek re-election.

Diana D. Royner (1938-): At every stage of her career, Royner has been a trailblazer. The first woman to serve on the U.S. Court of Appeals bench, she was previously the first of her sex to head a division in the U.S. attorney's office for northern Illinois and the first to serve as deputy governor in the administration of James R. Thompson.

Lola Weisberg (1925-): As commissioner of cultural affairs for a decade, the indefatigable Weisberg sparked a local renaissance that has gained international acclaim. She previously served as director of special events in the late Mayor Washington's administration. Before going into government, she was among Chicago's more effective civic activists as a founder of the Friends of the Parks and as executive director of the Chicago Council of Lawyers.

Ida B. Wells (1862-1931): She made an unsuccessful race for the Illinois Senate in 1930 but had enduring impact as a social reformer. Wells was the organizer and first president of the Negro Fellowship League in 1908 and a year later was among the members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Paula Wolff (1915-): A key adviser to three Republican governors in the last 30 years, Wolff has had a distinguished career in higher education and public service. As the chairwoman of Gov. Jim Edgar's Commission on the Status of Women, she developed a blueprint to help women achieve more economic independence. She is now president of Governors State University.

Elizabeth Wood (1899-1993): A public housing pioneer, she was the founding executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority, serving from 1937 until 1954. It was her goal to achieve racial and economic integration.



Dawn Clark Netsch



Hillary Rodham Clinton
Maintains ties with Chicago



Ruth Hanna McCormick



Paula Wolff



Ida B. Wells



Lola Weisberg



Nancy B. Jefferson
Led Midwest Community Council



Lynn M. Martin



Jane Addams



Elizabeth Wood
Pioneer in public housing



Carol Moseley-Braun
First black woman elected to U.S. Senate



Nancy Davis Reagan
Transformed role of first lady



Diana D. Royner



June M. Byrne



Emily Taft Douglas

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

5 TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1999 C3

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

■ Our inquiries into a meeting at which Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D-N.J.) was said to have brandished positive polling data and urged first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** to run for the Senate from New York brought this cryptic statement from Torricelli's office: "As Chair of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, one of my tasks is to identify and recruit good Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will certainly have a number of options when she leaves The White House . . . and she would be a very formidable candidate if she chooses to run."

Clinton's press secretary, **Marsha Berry**, said her boss and Torricelli have not met. But the first lady remains coy about any aspirations to elected office. Few think she'll run, many hope she will, and other would-be senators, like Rep. **Nita Lowey** (D-N.Y.), remain publicly polite.

Virtual tie

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani would be in a virtual tie for the U.S. Senate seat in New York in 2000 if the vote were held now, according to a poll by SurveyUSA of Verona, N.J.

A survey of 1,000 registered New York voters gave Mrs. Clinton 49 percent and Mr. Giuliani 47 percent of the vote, a statistical tie given the survey's margin of error of plus or minus 3.2 percent.

Still, neither potential candidate received majority support to run in the first place, Bloomberg News reports. Only 48 percent of those surveyed said Mrs. Clinton should even run for retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat in 2000, and just 49 percent said Mr. Giuliani should run.

Twenty-three percent of Republicans said they would cross over and vote for Mrs. Clinton, while 30 percent of Democrats would vote for Mr. Giuliani, the survey found.

Neither Mrs. Clinton nor Mr. Giuliani has publicly expressed intent to run for a Senate seat. The telephone survey was conducted Thursday and Friday.

Inside Politics



Social Security crucial for women, first lady says

By Eun-Kyung Kim
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Most Americans first heard about Social Security as they registered for their cards to help them get their first jobs as teen-agers. But most people — women in particular — are only beginning to understand how the system benefits them, Hillary Rodham Clinton said Saturday.

"The future of Social Security is, without a doubt, one of the most important issues facing our country and facing women in America today," the first lady said. "Yet many of us are just beginning to get involved in the debate, and we're just starting to learn about how Social Security affects us as women."

Clinton's comments opened the teleconference "What Every Woman Should Know About Social Security." The gathering linked Washington to 10 major cities across the nation. It was intended to stress the significance of pre-



Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, right, greets Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Wash., left, as Rebecca Rimel, president of the Pew Charitable Trusts, looks on.

serving the retirement program and explain how Americans, particularly women, benefit from it.

More than half of all elderly women would fall below the pov-

erty level without Social Security, Clinton said. Currently, she said, Social Security is the only income one in four women receives.

"When you go to the supermar-

ket, when you go to church or to synagogue, when you're walking down the street, I want you to think that every other woman you see who is over 65 would be living below the poverty line if it were not for Social Security," she said.

Women have "unique life patterns," because they live longer than men, Clinton said. They also make lower lifetime earnings and, therefore, reach retirement with smaller pensions and other financial assets.

Speaking after the first lady, Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Wash., said the Social Security system must be preserved "at least at the current level so that women will have peace of mind that Social Security will be there for them as they move into retirement."

Dunn said if nothing is done to the current system, Social Security will be able to pay only 73 percent of current benefits when her oldest child reaches retirement age in 2032.

"As the mother of two sons, I

know that the last thing a woman wants to be is a burden on their family," she said. "Preserving Social Security will help women who are growing older to have the freedom and independence that comes with knowing that their future retirement is secure."

House Republicans have accepted President Clinton's suggestion to reserve 62 percent of the budget surplus until an agreement on Social Security is reached. The first lady praised the decision and urged lawmakers to reserve more of the surplus to protect Medicare, the health insurance program for the elderly and disabled that, like Social Security, is in danger of being financially overwhelmed by aging baby boomers.

"Health security and retirement security should go hand in hand," she said.

Dunn said lawmakers want to work quickly to ensure Social Security's future.

"We're always going to be looking for areas in which we can agree to make the system better for all of us," she said.

First lady unveils clinic security plan

Announcement comes on Roe anniversary

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—Announcing an administration plan to counter abortion clinic violence, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said Friday that President Clinton plans to seek \$4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect the clinics.

Across town, meanwhile, thousands swayed, sang and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide,

Hillary Clinton told an abortion rights group of the administration's proposal, under which clinics would buy security devices—which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows and improved lighting—with federal money. The money also would be used to determine which clinics were most at risk.

She said the president will include the plan in his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

"Violence, harassment and intimidation have no place in our health-care system or in this debate," she told members of the National Abortion Rights Action League. NARAL was celebrating its 30th anniversary at a Washington hotel.

The first lady also saluted Dr.

Barnett Slepian of Amherst, N.Y., an obstetrician shot to death by a sniper in October in the kitchen of his home. Investigators suspect he was killed by an abortion protester.

At the NARAL meeting, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists honored Slepian's widow, Lynn, with a plaque honoring her husband's service.

An appropriate way to honor him, Mrs. Clinton said, is to "make sure doctors are trained and available to provide safe and comprehensive health care to women all over our nation."

"In the last 10 years, there have been seven murders, 38 bombings, 146 cases of arson and 733 cases of vandalism" that were abortion-related, she added.

A law-enforcement official said Friday that preliminary DNA tests link a missing anti-abortion activist to a strand of hair found near where a sniper shot and killed Slepian.

The first round of DNA tests by the FBI established a high probability that the hair came from the same person as a hair found in a New Jersey home where James C. Kopp, a 44-year-old abortion protester, lived last year, the official said.

Kopp has eluded authorities since they obtained a warrant for him as a material witness in the Slepian killing.

Clinton also emphasized the importance of making contraceptives and health counseling available to young women and men to avoid teen pregnancies.

"After years of moving in the wrong direction, we are finally see-



Reuters photo

Abortion foes march to the Supreme Court Friday, the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade.

ing teen pregnancies and teen sexual activities going down," she said.

As the first lady spoke, hundreds of anti-abortion activists gathered on a muddy park within shouting distance of the White House for speeches, songs, prayers and a march to the Supreme Court and the Capitol.

This was the 26th year in a row that the group March for Life has organized a rally just south of the White House to mark the anniversary of Roe vs. Wade.

Participants waved dozens of colorful signs—some hand-lettered, some professionally printed—with slogans and graphic pictures of aborted fetuses.

National news briefs A4

Nation

First lady unveils \$4.5m plan to protect clinics

Abortion foes mark 26th anniversary of Roe v. Wade with vow to continue battle

By Cassandra Burrell
ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton announced yesterday that President Clinton plans to seek \$4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect clinics where abortions are performed. Across town, thousands swayed, sang, and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide, Mrs. Clinton told an abortion rights group of the administration proposal. Clinics would buy security devices — which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows, and improved lighting — with federal money under a White House plan to counter clinic violence. The money also would be used to determine which clinics were most at risk.

She said the president will include the plan in his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

"Violence, harassment, and intimidation have no place in our health care system or in this debate," she told members

of the National Abortion Rights Action League. NARAL was celebrating its 30th anniversary at a Washington hotel.

Mrs. Clinton also saluted Dr. Barnett Slepian, an obstetrician who was shot to death by a sniper last October in the kitchen of his home in Amherst, N.Y., a Buffalo suburb. Investigators suspect he was killed by an antiabortion protester.

A law enforcement official said yesterday that preliminary DNA tests link the protester to a strand of hair found near Slepian's house.

The first round of DNA tests on the hair at the FBI Laboratory in Washington established a high probability that it came from the same person as a hair found in a New Jersey home where James C. Kopp, a 44-year-old antiabortion protester, lived last year, the official said.

An appropriate way to honor Slepian is to "make sure doctors are trained and available to provide safe and comprehensive health care to women all over our nation," Mrs. Clinton said.

"In the last 10 years there have been seven murders, 38 bombings, 146 cases of

arson, and 733 cases of vandalism," she said. When doctors are killed or clinics are bombed, she said, "this is not free expression. This is domestic terrorism and it must stop."

She also emphasized the importance of making contraceptives and health counseling available to young women and men to avoid teen pregnancies.

The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists presented Slepian's widow, Lynn, with a plaque honoring the doctor's service at the NARAL meeting. The crowd in the ballroom gave her a standing ovation.

As Mrs. Clinton spoke, hundreds of antiabortion activists gathered on a muddy park near the White House for speeches, songs, prayers, and a march to the Supreme Court and the Capitol.

This was the 26th straight year that the group March for Life has organized a massive rally on the Ellipse, just south of the White House, to mark the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Many participants said they would never tire of returning to Washington year after year to demand that the government outlaw abortion.

"We're still here. For 26 years!" rally organizer Nellie Gray said to enthusiastic applause. "We stay here for personhood, for the babies."

Many protesters came on buses from states as far away as Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri, and Iowa.

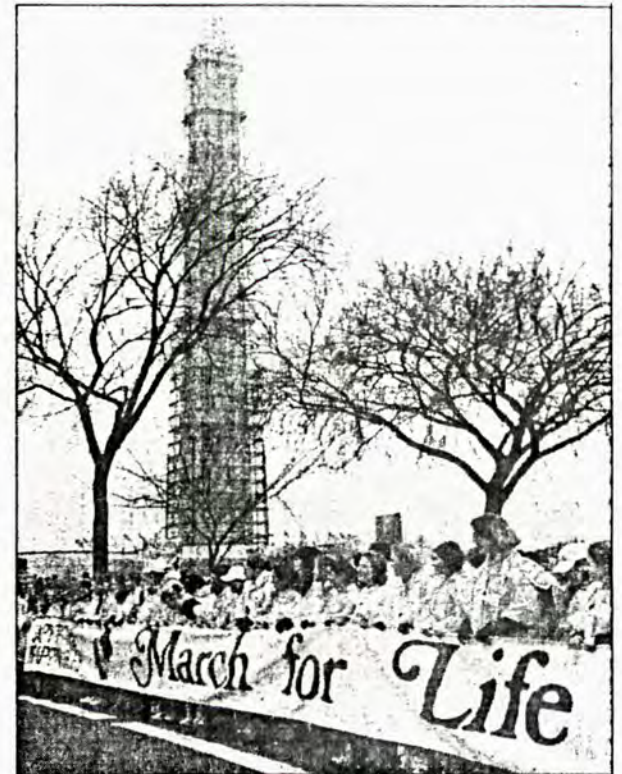
Participants waved dozens of colorful signs — some hand lettered, some professionally printed — that shouted slogans and carried pictures of aborted fetuses.

"The Natural CHOICE is LIFE," said one. "Hey Pres, read that Bible," said another.

One couple waived a sign that protested so-called partial-birth abortion by featuring a syringe jabbed into the back of a doll's head against the background of a US flag.

"Abortion means violent, painful death to little children," Representative Christopher Smith, a New Jersey Republican, told the crowd.

Gray said antiabortion groups would push Congress again this year to pass a law against what she called partial-birth abortions. A measure was passed last year but vetoed by the president.



REUTERS PHOTO

Abortion opponents, marking the 26th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, marched in Washington yesterday.

Clinton seeks security for medical clinics

Plan comes on anniversary of Roe vs. Wade decision

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton announced yesterday that President Clinton plans to seek \$4.5 million for alarm systems and closed-circuit camera systems to protect clinics that provide abortions. Across town, thousands sang and prayed for the government to make abortions illegal again.

On the 26th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion nationwide, Mrs. Clinton told an abortion rights group about the plan to counter clinic violence. Clinics would buy security devices — which also include motion detectors, bulletproof windows and im-

proved lighting — with federal money. The government would also help to determine which clinics were most at risk.

She said the president will include the plan in his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

"Violence, harassment and intimidation have no place in our health care system or in this debate," she told members of the National Abortion Rights Action League, which was marking its 30th anniversary at a Washington hotel.

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She also emphasized the importance of making contraceptives and health counseling available to young women and men to avoid teen pregnancies.

"After years of moving in the wrong direction, we are finally seeing teen pregnancies and teen sexual activities going down," she said.

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Many participants said they intended to return to Washington each year to demand that the government outlaw abortion.

"We're still here. For 26 years!" rally organizer Nellie Gray said to applause. "We stay here for personhood, for the babies."

"Public opinion is changing," said Richard Miranti, a dentist from Toms River, N.J. "The reality of the cruelty and violence is becoming more apparent."

Protesters snarled traffic even before they started marching as they walked to the Ellipse for the rally.

Many came on buses from as far away as Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri and Iowa.

"Abortion means violent, painful death to little children," Rep. Christopher Smith, a New Jersey

Republican, told the crowd.

Gray said anti-abortion groups would push Congress again this year to pass a law against a late-term procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortions. A measure was passed last year but vetoed by the president.

W.Va. governor urges taxing chewing tobacco

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — In the state that leads the nation in chewing tobacco use, the governor is proposing to capitalize on the habit by taxing it.

Republican Gov. Cecil Underwood, a former board member of the American Cancer Society, sees it as a health issue. He wants \$5 million of the anticipated \$7 million revenue from the tax to pay the state's share of a program for children without health insurance.

He has opposition: Republicans oppose increasing taxes, and many Democrats say chewing tobacco is a part of West Virginia's culture, something that grew in popularity in part because smoking is banned in the coal mines.

"My father always told me, if you know a person who chews tobacco or carries a pocket knife, you'll find he's a pretty good fellow," said Senate Majority Leader Truman Chafin, a Democrat.

West Virginia has the nation's highest percentage of men who chew tobacco — 18.4 percent, compared with the national average of 7.2 percent. In one county, 54 percent of men chew.

Underwood has proposed a 25 percent tax; anti-tobacco lobbyists want it to be 50 percent.

Incredibly Rare Find—If Real

By BILL McALLISTER
Washington Post Staff Writer

It has to be one of the ugliest stamps ever produced. But for decades the poorly-printed, magenta octagonal from British Guiana has been considered the world's rarest stamp, a 1-cent stamp that last sold for \$935,000 in 1980.

Now Stamp Collector, a philatelic newspaper, is reporting that there may be a second copy of the stamp. The new discovery is undergoing tests by the Royal Philatelic Society in Great Britain to determine if it is genuine.

If those tests, expected to take several more months, uphold the stamp's validity it could be "the major stamp story of the decade," says Stamp Collector publisher Wayne L. Youngblood. The second copy is as badly damaged as the first copy, but it supposedly has better color than the first.

The 1-cent British Guiana was hurriedly produced in the South American British colony by a local newspaper printer after the local post office in British Guiana ran out of 1- and 4-cent stamps printed in England. That was 1856, and a small number of the stamps were printed and used on letters.

While several 4-cent stamps have appeared, only one 1-cent stamp has ever been located. That stamp is owned by multimillionaire murderer John E. du Pont, who was sentenced to prison for shooting an Olympic wrestler who lived on his Pennsylvania estate.

The new discovery is supposedly owned by a German stamp dealer who purchased it from a Romanian dancer in the mid-1980s. She had inherited it from her father, a Russian nobleman, according to Stamp Collector.

If the stamp is found to be

Feldman is planning to sell the stamp. "This stamp has puzzled a number of the experts in the field," he told Stamp Collector. "It's definitely not a black-and-white case."

■ WHEN RICHARD MOE, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, wanted a way to promote sales of the new Dolley Madison commemorative silver dollar last week, he needed to look no further than Madison's old Washington address.

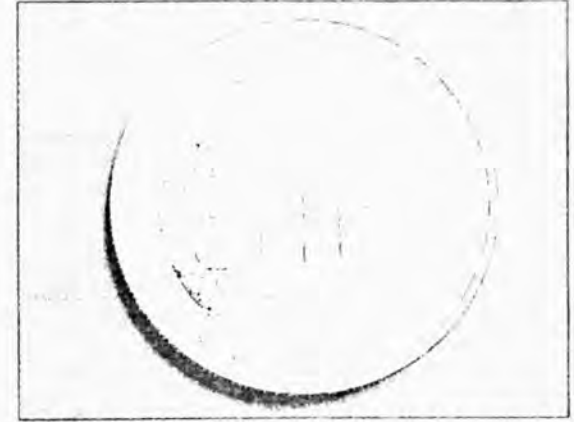
There he found first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has made preservation of historic sites one of her top goals. And because Clinton last summer had cited Montpelier, James and Dolley Madison's home near Orange, Va., as one of the historic homes that should be preserved, her promotion of the first coin to depict a first lady seemed natural.

The coin features a portrait of a young Dolley Madison surrounded by Cape Jasmine gardenias and the Ice House temple at Montpelier. The reverse features a view of the front entrance to the mansion, which the National Trust acquired in 1983.

The price of each coin includes a \$10 surcharge that will be given to the Trust for preservation of the Virginia estate. The coin is being sold in proof and uncirculated condition for \$33 and \$30 each respectively through Feb. 8; then the prices will rise to \$37 and \$32.

Standing in front of the Gilbert Stuart painting that Dolley Madison saved from being torched by the British in 1814, Clinton last week hailed the wife of President James Madison as "one of our first ladies for all time."

Moe praised Clinton as a "kindred spirit" of Madison, saying that each had "helped shape the role of the first lady in her own time, in



The new Dolley Madison silver dollar got a promotional boost recently from first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The Madison silver dollar is the first U.S. coin to bear the trademark of a commercial firm. Each side of the new coin carries the tiny letters "T&Co.," the mark of Tiffany & Co. The New York jewelry company, in an unusual arrangement, designed the coin for the National Trust. Most U.S. coins are created by the Mint's staff or in a contest conducted by the agency.

Mint employees engraved the coins, which were struck at the Mint in Philadelphia, Dolley Madison's hometown.

■ NOW THAT the rush for 33-cent stamps and 1-cent stamps has abated, the U.S. Postal Service is releasing its latest "Love" stamps and envelope at the new higher rates. All go on sale Wednesday in Loveland, Colo., and are the latest additions to the popular "Love" stamp series than began in 1973.

The 33-cent and 55-cent self-adhesive "Love" stamps are the first die-cut stamps the Postal Service has ever issued, each peels off a sheet in the shape of a Victorian-era Valentine's heart. The Postal Service has printed 1.5 billion of the 33-cent stamps and 300 million of the 55-cent stamps. The higher valued stamps are for use on wedding invitations that weigh two

■ THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA Coin Club's quarterly stamp and coin show will be held at the Northern Virginia Community College Cultural Center, 8333 Little River Turnpike (Rte. 236), Annandale, on Saturday from 10 to 6 and Sunday from 10 to 5. Admission is free. Call 703/532-6640.

INFORMATION on the Dolley Madison coins is available from the U.S. Mint. Call 800/646-8872.

INDIVIDUALS seeking first-day cancellations of the love stamps or envelopes should purchase the stamps and envelopes at their local post office. The stamps should be placed on addressed envelopes. These should be mailed in a larger envelope to: Love Stamps, Postmaster, 446 E. 29th St., Loveland, CO 80538-9991. Requests should be postmarked by Feb. 27.

A ROAD TRIP

Clintons and Gores seize 'the moment'

By Roger Simon
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

BUFFALO—Rarely in the past several months did the White House staff allow the public to see President Clinton in person. Unless you were a Democratic contributor with a big bank account or a Democratic stalwart with a lucky ticket, Clinton was a television show only.

But Wednesday, with his State of the Union speech behind him, his poll numbers in the stratosphere and his impeachment trial at least two states away, Clinton went on a road trip to Buffalo, where nearly 22,000 people braved more than 4 feet of snow and sub-freezing temperatures to cheer themselves hoarse.

It was a four-ring circus and a rare gathering: Bill, Hillary, Al and Tipper all together and all giving speeches from the same stage.

"We're sort of like a big family," Clinton said. "We like going places together."

But before Tipper Gore spoke about mental health, before First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made what could be the beginning of her New York Senate campaign and before Vice President Al Gore growled in what was certainly part of his presidential campaign,

there was Rev. Bennett Smith, who turned toward Clinton on the stage in the Marine Midland Arena and said: "We have kept you and your administration in our prayers. You have been the greatest president for our people in all times."

Each member of the White House "big family" got up and emphasized the same thing: Although Clinton's presidency is ending in two years (or less, if 67 senators decide to pull the plug), he intends to make the time count.

"I am very, very proud that my husband has never, ever taken his eyes off the fundamental goals," Hillary Clinton said. "We heard a new agenda last night. We have to make sure that the promise of America is available to everyone."

As she spoke, she faced hand-made signs that said "Hillary for NY Senator." A seat will be open in 2000 when Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) retires.

Vice President Gore got up and tried out the gravel-throated, tent-revival, "Preacher Al" speaking style he debuted in Champaign-Urbana on the day after the State of the Union last year.

"We've got the LEAD-er-ship! Last night we were given the ag-EN-da! We have the VIS-ion," he rasped. "When anybody brings about as much POS-i-tive change



President Clinton, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (left) and local guests react to remarks by Vice President Al Gore in Buffalo, N.Y., where the Clintons and Gores touted the administration agenda on Wednesday.

in such a short period of time as President Bill Clinton has brought, it's bound to dis-com-BOB-u-late some people! It's bound to SHAKE them up."

Clinton draws strength from big crowds. He gets energized by their applause and laughter and likes to try out lines on them. And when he stood up Wednesday he got a

2-minute-25-second standing ovation, which would have gone on longer had he not asked the people to stop.

He bashed Republicans for trying to bankrupt the nation with tax cuts and rob future generations of prosperity. "It may sound good if somebody says, 'This is your surplus and we ought to give

it back to you,'" Clinton said. "But you ought to ask yourself, 'What's America going to look like 10, 20, 30 years from now? How are all the families going to deal with the retirement of the Baby Boom generation?'"

The whole day, from the applause to the introductions to the speeches, had one underlying

message: Scandal? What scandal?

On the same day that White House special counsel Greg Craig was arguing in his defense before the Senate, Clinton felt confident enough to make some veiled references to his problems:

Earlier, Gore had said that the president reminded him of Dominic Hasek, the goalie for the Buffalo Sabres, because Clinton always had to keep knocking away bad things.

A few minutes later, Clinton said: "You know, he kept talking about how I was swatting away those flying hockey pucks in Washington. I was flattered, but I thought: I just wish one day they would give me a mask and a few pads when I dodge that stuff!"

What Clinton does have is continuing good poll numbers: Surveys taken after his Tuesday night State of the Union address showed an increase in his job-approval rating.

ABC News had him rising 3 percentage points to 66 percent, and CBS News had him up 5 percentage points to 72 percent.

Wednesday marked the sixth anniversary of Clinton's inauguration and he noted the date by saying, "It seems impossible to me that those six years have flown by. They have been, to put it mildly, quite eventful."

"We've had a lot of fun today," Clinton said after presenting a detailed defense of his Social Security plan. "But I want you to think about this: We cannot afford to squander this moment. . . . We have to make the most of it."

Clinton made the most of his moments all day, pressing the flesh with the crowds in Buffalo and later in the day in Norristown, Pa.

AP photo

THE NATION



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Greeting well-wishers: Hillary Rodham Clinton (upper left) photographs President Clinton as he greets enthusiastic supporters at a rally yesterday at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo, N.Y.

Baltimore Sun, 1/21/99



Greeting well-wishers: Hillary Rodham Clinton (upper left) photographs President Clinton as he greets enthusiastic supporters at a rally yesterday at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo, N.Y.

President goes on road, pushes plan to save surplus for Social Security

His approval ratings rise after State of the Union

ASSOCIATED PRESS

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Riding a bump in the polls, President Clinton argued vigorously yesterday for his plan to save the budget surplus for protecting Social Security, saying it would give the nation stronger economic footing "long after I'm gone from the White House."

At his first public rally since being impeached Dec. 19, the president promoted the agenda unveiled Tuesday night in his State of the Union address. Clinton was joined at the rally by the vice president and their wives.

Clinton said he is ready for a clash with Congress over whether about 60 percent of the federal surplus he expects — \$4 trillion over 15 years — should be reserved for shoring up Social Security or go for a tax cut.

"We're going to have a big argument about this, and we should," he said. "It may sound good if somebody says, 'This is your surplus and we ought to give it back to you.' What I'm trying to do is give you a way to maximize the

chances that we will have a strong economy" in the future, he said.

Later, at a rally in Norristown, Pa., Clinton said he did not oppose tax cuts, as long as they are targeted. "Yes, we ought to give some tax cuts. But they ought to be the right kind," he said.

If his Social Security plan is approved, Clinton said, the nation will continue to prosper. "And long after I'm gone from the White House, you would have ... a better future."

The president's job approval rating got a lift after Tuesday night's speech and ranged from 66 percent to 76 percent, according to several network polls. His personal approval ratings also rose.

Barnstorming by "all four principals," as the Clintons and Gores are known among White House staff, is unusual. Except for big-ticket party fund-raisers and personal outings, the foursome has seldom traveled and appeared together since the 1996 campaign.

A crowd of more than 20,000 greeted the visitors from Washington at Marine Midland Arena in Buffalo. The White House said it was the largest group Clinton has addressed since last year's post-State of the Union appearance in LaCrosse, Wis.

Clinton has made several pub-

lic appearances since he was impeached, but before smaller audiences.

Noting the financial upheaval abroad, Clinton said a tax cut now could hurt efforts to sustain surpluses. Avoiding debt now, he said, means "you would be somewhat more protected."

The Republicans are calling for a 10 percent tax cut.

Clinton said he believes Congress ultimately will see his side after debate and negotiation involving lawmakers, the White House and the American people.

"I ask you to talk to your friends and neighbors about it," Clinton told the crowd. "When people come out and disagree with my approach, listen to them, sit down and have a discussion about it."

The president, the vice president and their wives lingered to greet well-wishers. Clinton leapt to slap hands with a little girl straining through the bars to greet him.

Vice President Al Gore underscored the uphill battle Clinton's proposals face in Congress.

"Last night was a turning point for our country," Gore said, raising his voice. "Are you going to fight for his agenda? That's what it's going to take!" The crowd responded enthusiastically.

'My Fellow Americans . . . State of Our Union is Strong'

Excerpts:

When the first lady and Tipper Gore visited the region, they saw thousands of our troops and thousands of American volunteers. In the Dominican Republic, Hillary helped to rededicate a hospital that had been rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans working side by side. With her was some one else who has been very important to the relief efforts. You know sports records are made and sooner or later, they're broken. But making other people's lives better and showing our children the true meaning of brotherhood, that lasts forever. So for far more than baseball, Sammy Sosa, you're a hero in two countries tonight. Thank you.

So I say to all of you, if we do these things, if we pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, renew our alliances, we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st century America in a freer, more peaceful world.



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talks to baseball star Sammy Sosa of the Chicago Cubs during State of the Union. President Clinton singled out Sosa for his work in providing aid to hurricane victims.

You know, barely more than 300 days from now we will cross that bridge into the new millennium. This is a moment, as the first lady has said, to honor the past and imagine the future.

I'd like to take just a minute to honor her, for leading our Millennium Project, for all she's done for our children. For all she has done in her historic role to serve our nation and our best ideals at home and abroad, I honor her.

Last year—last year I called on Congress and every citizen to mark the millennium by saving America's treasures. Hillary's traveled all across the country to inspire recognition and support for saving places like Thomas Edison's invention factory or Harriet Tubman's home.

Now we have to preserve our treasures in every community. And tonight, before I close, I want to invite every town, every city, every community to become a nationally recognized millennium community by launching projects that save our history, promote our arts and humanities, prepare our children for the 21st century.

Already the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to members in Congress of both parties for their support. Just one example. Because of you, the Star Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages.

In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium, we are keeping alive what George Washington called the sacred fire of liberty.

President takes stand before Congress, nation



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

Special guests: Hillary Rodham Clinton is joined by, from left, Capt. Jeffery Taliaferro, Vietnamese refugee Loc Truong, baseball player Sammy Sosa, Tipper Gore and civil rights pioneer Rosa Parks.

The New York Times

Tentative Bid To Succeed Moynihan

Lowey, a Democrat, Is Gauging Support

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Amid growing concern among New York Democrats over finding a candidate to run for the Senate in 2000, Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester said yesterday that she was considering a race for the seat and that she had begun calling Democrats and contributors to measure potential support.

As things now stand, Ms. Lowey, 61, would have the field essentially to herself if she sought the job held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, even though she is barely known statewide. Many Democrats said yesterday that the thin ranks of potential candidates pointed to a troubling weakness in the party as it approached the 2000 election.

Several prospective candidates — including the State Comptroller, H. Carl McCall, and Andrew M. Cuomo, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development — have ruled out the contest, leaving Democratic leaders worried that potential candidates are being scared off by the possible Republican candidacy of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

Some state Democratic leaders have urged Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady, to move to New York next year and run for the Senate. Ms. Lowey said yesterday she would immediately abandon her prospective campaign if Ms. Clinton ran. Mrs. Clinton has not publicly ruled out the idea, although her friends describe it as highly unlikely.

In an interview yesterday, Ms. Lowey said she had spent the day calling Democratic leaders and contributors to measure how well she would do in lining up support. She also said she would spend the next few months traveling the state to discuss her prospective candidacy.

"I'm seriously, actively exploring the Senate race," she said. "I'm going to make a definitive decision in the spring."

Mr. Moynihan's decision not to seek a fifth term in 2000, which he announced three days after the election of Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat and former Representative, to the Senate, has underlined the absence of formidable statewide candidates in the party.

The party's inability to recruit a strong

candidate has been chilled as well by the prospective candidacy of Mr. Giuliani. The two-term Mayor presumably would have no trouble drawing Democratic votes in New York City and raising the money needed for the contest.

But the vacuum in the Democratic Party has, it seems, created an opportunity for Ms. Lowey, a five-term member of Congress who is barely known outside her district, which includes parts of Westchester, the Bronx and Queens. Several Democrats said that she would, if by default, be the front-runner if she decided to run.

Ms. Lowey's aides said yesterday that she had \$800,000 in her campaign account that could go toward the race. Ms. Lowey said that a Senate race would be expensive, but she said she did not believe she would have any difficulty financing a campaign. "You have to raise a huge amount of money, and I think I can do it — I think between \$15 million and \$20 million," she said.

The main promoter of a Clinton candidacy in New York, Representative Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan, said yesterday he would welcome Ms. Lowey into the race if Mrs. Clinton ultimately decided not to run.

"I think outside of Clinton, she would be the most outstanding candidate that we have," Mr. Rangel said. "If Hillary Clinton doesn't run, I cannot think of any candidate who has a better chance to win, who is better qualified, than Nita Lowey."

Mr. Schumer also said he believed that Ms. Lowey would be "a strong candidate" and that "she has a strong record in Congress." The new Democratic Senator said he did not believe that Mr. Giuliani was necessarily as a fearsome political force as many Democrats have suggested.

"Giuliani is not a pushover," Mr. Schumer said. "But we're a long way away from the election. I had 1 percent in the polls at about this time, and no one thought I could win the primary, let alone beat D'Amato."

If Ms. Lowey decides against running, the field as of now would include Representative Carolyn B. Maloney and the Rev. Al Sharpton.



Nita M. Lowey
of Westchester

No Elbow Room at the White House

Park Service Plans \$300 Million Overhaul to Ease Congestion

By STEPHEN C. FEHR
Washington Post Staff Writer

A walk through the White House begins in the wood-paneled East Wing lobby and continues on to the elegant Ground Floor Corridor, with its vaulted ceiling, bronze-and-crystal chandeliers, marble walls and floors, portraits of first ladies and bronze busts of famous Americans.

"This is sort of the *good* view of the White House," said Ann Smith, a National Park Service planner. "It looks very formal, very special."

But open a nearby door that's off-limits and you come to a narrow, crowded corridor through which everyone and everything must pass to go between the East and West wings.

On any given day, up to 3,000 people work at the White House complex, attending hundreds of meetings, delivering mail and packages and picking up food or supplies that require them to navigate the 11-foot-wide hall a floor below the North Portico. As many as 600 deliveries a week are made to the White House, and many

cross at this spot. "Everything converges here," said Gary J. Walters, chief usher at the White House.

Worsening congestion and strain are evident at the president's home, office and 82-acre grounds, the Park Service says, and that has prompted the agency to propose a 20-year, \$300 million overhaul of the 200-year-old complex.

In a rare, two-hour backstage tour last week, the Park Service presented its view of the depth of

See WHITE HOUSE, A4, Col. 1

At the White House, Planning to Expand

WHITE HOUSE, From A1

the problems. Storage space is so scarce that items for holiday decorations and the yearly Easter egg roll are kept elsewhere. And the China Room, where the presidential china is on display, doubles as a coat room for state dinners.

The White House is more to Washington than a symbol of the power of the presidency. Part residence, museum, office building and park, what happens there has a direct impact on the surrounding neighborhood, especially on traffic circulation and downtown parking. Any renovation also would affect the 5,000 tourists who come there every day and who make the White House the most visited home in America.

Though not always visible to people on those tours, the building's needs aren't being met, the Park Service says, even as the number of meetings and events there increases. The historic state rooms are now being used for business meetings because there's no space elsewhere. Parking is so tight that cars are parked next to fire hydrants and in crosswalks. Heightened security demands longer and more frequent motorcades, which tie up traffic on outside streets and inside the gate.

On the day a reporter and photographer glimpsed the White House underbelly, President Clinton was welcoming Argentine President Carlos Menem for the first state visit of 1999, adding to the foot traffic inside and vehicles

In the corridor between the East and West wings, White House staffers carried lattes and muffins from the cafeteria to their offices, outside visitors came and went to meetings and Secret Service personnel moved about. The Coke man pushed a dolly stacked with cases of beverages. A carpenter passed by carrying a bucket of sawdust headed for the trash.

Meantime, the White House florist, Nancy Clarke, was nervous because the shipment of flowers she needed for the state dinner hadn't arrived. When they were delivered, "that's when we really have a problem because there's very little space for us to work," Clarke said.

The florists were forced to open boxes of flowers on a table set up in the corridor.

The hallway also doubles as an open storage closet for tablecloths, wall coverings, choral risers, tables and chairs used for special events. The ice machines are there, too.

And when storage space is scarce inside, materials sometimes are taken outside to the service drives on either side of the North Portico, an eyesore hidden from tourists that includes construction work space and the White House recycling bins. Walters pointed out three rented racks for food tray storage sitting outside in the cold "because we don't have any place to store them."

Most items for special events—Christmas decorations and Easter egg rolls—must be packed and stored at a warehouse in the College Park area, then brought back each season, each time going through a complicated security check. For diplomatic receptions—which can number five a week—the Park Service has to set up and take down the tables, chairs and stages, all of which come from the warehouse.

The items not put up in the warehouse are tucked into every available space in the White House, much like anyone's crowded family basement or garage. Even the president's basement bowling alley—a single lane, flanked by walls—is used for storage. If someone wants to play, the clutter has to be removed.

That collection of problems drove the Park Service to recommend changes to the complex. "Inadequate storage space requires frequent deliveries, often within view of those working at, coming to or visiting the site," the Park Service said in a report. "The result is traffic congestion, delays, unsafe conditions . . . and an incompatible visual setting."

Walters, who has worked in the White House since 1970, said there has been a noticeable rise in the number of functions at the White House, spurred in part by security concern about having the president leave the grounds too frequently.

The arrival of a limousine carrying Vice President Gore demonstrated how congested the White House confines can become, particularly on days when there are multiple events.

The limo pulled up on West Executive Avenue, a main street serving the White House that also serves as a parking lot for staff, a delivery drive for trucks, a pedestrian crossing between the Old Executive Office Building and the West Wing and a staging area for motorcades. Vehicles often double-park, and there isn't much room for motorcades to turn around.

"The number of functions along West Executive Drive has maxed out," Smith said.

Closer to the North Portico, delivery trucks could not pull up to unload for the state dinner because the driveway was blocked by TV reporters giving live reports about the president's impeachment trial.

Gore was on his way to the arrival ceremony for Menem, which had to be moved indoors because of chilly weather—creating another logistical demand. Risers, chairs, a canopy and other materials that had been brought in by truck and set up on the South Lawn had to be removed or brought inside to the north entrance, and then a stage had to be built there.

"In many ways, this building is like a theater, with the sets changing all the time depending on the event," said James I. McDaniel, the Park Service's liaison to the White House.

Walters considers himself the choreographer, arranging the movements of the staff and outsiders as precisely as possible so they don't collide. But there can be near misses.

The band for the arrival ceremony, driven indoors, set up in the largest space close to the new ceremony site—which happened to be the State Dining Room, the same place where 150 people would be gathering for dinner that night. That meant the tables and chairs for the dinner couldn't be arranged until the ceremony was over.

"Usually, we'd set up the dining room in the morning, but because the band was there we had to wait," Walters said. "And we had to put up and take down red screens behind the band because we didn't want the guests to see the unkempt dining room."

Nearby, the Family Dining Room had been transformed into a catering and storage area for the state dinner, with some tables stored against a marble fireplace under a Louis XVI mirror made in France in the 1770s.

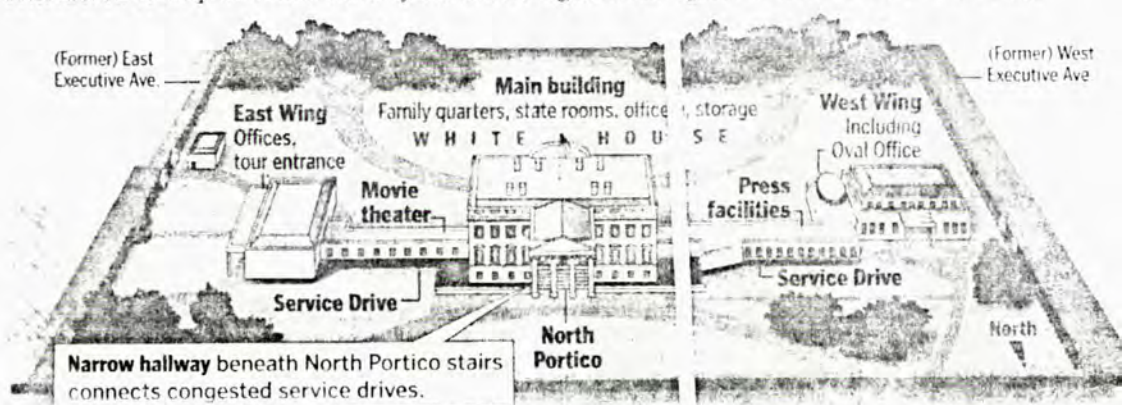
A floor below, White House Executive Chef Walter Scheib was beginning to prepare the dinner in a 30-foot-by-20-foot kitchen, small by professional kitchen standards. Food deliveries to the kitchen are limited—the staff can't shop for a week's groceries at a time—because of the limited storage space. The fish for the state dinner was brought in that day, but the vegetables were delivered a few days earlier.

"We don't really have a wine cellar, either," said Walters, who often has to turn down vintners' recommendations to buy cases of a particularly exquisite wine.

The Park Service plan does not cover everything—the kitchen space can't be expanded, for instance. But if Congress approves the money, the plan would remake the mansion and grounds in a dramatic way.

Remaking President's Park

Plans by the National Park Service for a \$300 million project to remake parts of the White House grounds and the surrounding 82 acres of parkland known as "President's Park" are being considered to help alleviate some of the crowding and congestion within the house itself.



For the first family, a 3,000-square-foot rec room would be added, directly accessible to the executive residence, providing private space in which to relax. Except for a small theater, the president and his family do not have that now. The congestion on West Executive would be eliminated by building a parking garage under Pennsylvania Avenue, where motorcade staging, staff parking and 2,000 square feet

of storage would be provided.

Separate tunnels for pedestrians and deliveries also would be built, improving foot and vehicle circulation. Deliveries would be made through the New Executive Office Building and distributed by light vehicles traveling in underground service corridors. Meeting space would be carved out beneath West Executive Avenue, and the news media would be housed in larger, subterranean facilities.

Elsewhere, the roadways on the Ellipse would be closed to vehicles; staff vehicles would park in a new garage below the Ellipse. Tourists would start the revamped tour in a roomier visitors' center.

Park Service officials have scheduled a public forum on the plan from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Jan. 27 and 28 at the center, 1450 Pennsylvania Ave. South.

The plan's future is uncertain; a dozen federal and local agencies must clear it before construction can begin. Park Service officials are planning to take lawmakers on similar behind-the-scenes tours in the hope they'll be persuaded.

The Park Service anticipates that the cost of the proposal will raise the strongest objections. The White House has undergone piecemeal renovations before, and the plan does not call for changes that would alter the facade of the mansion. Most additions are underground, and the rec room would be added without changing the house's exterior.

The plan, if fully executed, would be the most comprehensive renovation of the White House in its history.

"What I'd hope they'd see is that this is a plan that protects a historical residence while providing the services and facilities needed by both the presidency and the people," Smith said.

BY LAURA STANTON—THE WASHINGTON POST



PHOTO BY RICK BOWMAN — THE WASHINGTON POST

Part-time butlers work in the Family Dining Room, used as a catering and storage area for state dinners because there is no room elsewhere.



A staff person wheels a coat rack outside the China Room, where the presidential china is on display. It doubles as a coat room for state dinners.



Nancy Clarke, White House florist, uses a table set up in a busy corridor to prepare flowers. Clarke said, "There's very little space for us to work."

NEWS

Just add Ms.

Dole and Clinton could be big names again in 2000 election campaigns

By Mary Leonard
BOSTON GLOBE

WASHINGTON — Dole and Clinton could be the big campaign names of 2000, just as they were in 1996. The significant difference, however, would be watching Bob and Bill play the supporting-spouse roles to their star-candidate wives.

Republican Elizabeth Dole said recently she is considering a run for president in 2000, the same job her husband pursued in 1996. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has not hushed, nor has she confirmed, rumors that she will seek the Senate seat of retiring New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

"I kind of think he feels he'd make a great first spouse," Dole, the retiring head of the American Red Cross, said of her husband on the "Today" show in early January. As for President Clinton, many believe his character and behavior have created opportunities for credentialed and disciplined women candidates like Dole and even his wife.

Marie Wilson, president of the White House Project, an 8-month-old effort aimed at electing a woman president by 2008, said a year of scandal in Washington had changed the political climate so that being different — in voice, vision, leadership style and gender — is a plus and a reason for excitement.

"Women who ran for president or vice president before — Margaret Chase Smith, Shirley Chisholm, Geraldine Ferraro, and Patricia Schroeder — stepped into a climate where people laughed and said, 'You're different,'" said Wilson, who heads the Ms. Foundation for Women in Manhattan. "Nobody was snickering at Mrs. Dole because today voters are dying for someone who is different."

In a poll done for the White House Project, 76 percent of

Americans said they would vote for a woman president. But there would be high hurdles for Dole in a national race and Clinton in a statewide contest. Neither of them has ever run for public office, and Dole was not tested on policy issues during her Red Cross tenure. Clinton could turn out to be as polarizing as candidate as she once was in the White House, and she has never been a resident of New York.

Still, Dole and Clinton are taken as serious contenders because they are, in their own right, nationally known, tireless campaigners, excellent fundraisers, articulate and experienced public policy advocates. Dole has been a Cabinet secretary in two administrations and is credited, in her eight-year tenure, with performing a rescue operation on the faltering Red Cross. Clinton came off the 1998 congressional campaigns as the Democratic Party's most effective spokeswoman.

They also are spouses admired for standing by their husbands in their darkest days. Dole was viewed as a better campaigner than her husband during his bid for the White House in 1996. Clinton's popularity has soared this year as she took a traditional role of defending the president and enduring the most withering public humiliations of a sex scandal and impeachment.

In a recent Vanity Fair magazine article, Clinton and Dole, along with Tipper Gore, topped the list of female "Legends, Leaders, and Trailblazers." A USA Today poll last June found that Dole would soundly defeat the first lady in a presidential matchup and be tied with Vice President Al Gore.

"In the past, wives of politicians came to power over their dead husbands' bodies," said Debbie Walsh, associate director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. "What we're experiencing here is a historic moment when a dif-

ferent kind of political wife moves ahead on her own to forge an independent career."

Walsh, whose center tracks the progress of women in public office, said Dole and Clinton are viable candidates. "We know that when women are competitive, they do win," she said.

"This isn't about her being vice president," said Linda DiVall, a Republican pollster. "This is about a woman with class, stature and impeccable professional and personal credentials making a serious commitment to a presidential campaign."

Timing is everything in politics, and Dole is expected to take cues from an electorate that says it is more interested in issues like education, health care and Social Security than in balancing the budget or commanding the military. "The issues in ascendancy are ones where women are seen as having expertise and credibility," Wilson said.

Dole, who highlighted her compassion, Christianity and conservatism in a farewell address at the Red Cross on Jan. 4, also has the potential to unite the often warring Republican factions behind a presidential candidacy, analysts said. Because of her personal accomplishments, she also could attract Democratic and independent women voters and close the gender gap that hurts Republicans in national and statewide races, GOP activist Ann Stone said.

"Obviously, just being a woman isn't going to be enough to succeed," said Charles Cook, a political commentator, noting that female candidates need to "perform very, very well."

Dole will have a chance to perform in New Hampshire on Feb. 8, when the Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce honors her as its citizen of the year. With an expected audience of 800, the event might be a prime moment for her to announce a presidential candidacy in the first-primary state.

"I think she would be received quite well, and she would be considered a serious candidate," said Thomas Schwieger, the chamber president. New Hampshire has a woman governor, Democrat Jeanne Shaheen, and a woman House speaker, Republican Donna Sytek.

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

HILLARY-FOR-SENATE talk churns Democratic plans for next year's New York race.

"I think she wants to run for national office," says one Clintonite who has talked to the first lady, and, as New York senator, "she'd be a national figure." Her office says only that "she has no plans" to become a New Yorker and seek retiring Sen. Moynihan's seat. But "Hillary hasn't ruled it out, and I think that's significant," says former Democratic state chairman John Marino.

Republicans, and some Democrats, say the buzz makes Democrats look desperate. "It's borderline hilarious," says GOP campaign spokesman Stuart Roy. The timing of talk started by New Jersey Sen. Torricelli vexes backers of HUD Secretary Cuomo, who afterward decided not to run. They say polls showed that Cuomo could beat the GOP favorite, New York Mayor Giuliani.

Now, says political analyst Charles Cook, the first lady is "arguably the only Democrat who could do it against Giuliani."

Nation

National news briefs A13



Hillary Rodham Clinton and Dr. Donna Shirley, former director of the Mars Pathfinder Project, talked with students yesterday at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum. Some New York Democrats hope the first lady will seek Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

New York Democrats pine for a Clinton

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — President Clinton is planning to come to town today, but as far as many New York Democrats are concerned, it's the wrong Clinton.

Certainly the president is popular here, more so than in nearly any other state. But the Clinton some Democrats really want is the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and not just to visit but to stay — and to run for the U.S. Senate.

For months, ever since the state's senior Senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, announced that he would not seek reelection in the year 2000, Democratic chieftains have been daydreaming Hillary. And the longing has intensified since the speculation that followed the recent prediction by Senator Robert Torricelli of New Jersey that Mrs. Clinton would enter the Senate race.

It was a prediction for which Torricelli admitted he had not a shred of evidence. But among the Hillary hopefuls, evidence is not the issue.

"She's wonderful, it would be wonderful if she ran," gushed Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic political consultant. "People love her, admire her, respect her. She would win big time in the city, win with women, win with minorities."

Judith Hope, the state's Democratic Party chairwoman, has been floating rumors of a Hillary-for-Senate race everywhere she goes.

Meanwhile, her husband's impeachment trial, which seems only to have boosted the president's popularity, seems likely to work in Hillary Clinton's favor, too. "Every day the Republicans keep banging the president, that's another 100 votes for Hillary," Sheinkopf said, adding carefully, "should she choose to run."

There's the rub. The object of desire has shown not the slightest flicker of a hint that she wants the job in question.

Then again, she hasn't kicked her suitors out the door, either. She hasn't said a firm and simple "No." So hope springs eternal.

For New York's Democrats have a problem. With Moynihan's retirement, they are risking a long-held Senate seat — and they have no one to

Ever since Daniel Patrick Moynihan announced that he would not seek reelection in 2000, chieftains have been daydreaming Hillary.

The "A" list of possible replacements — Robert Kennedy Jr., Andrew Cuomo, state comptroller Carl McCall — have all declined to run.

Those who say they might have a go at it — Congresswomen Nita Lowey of Westchester County, Carolyn Maloney of Manhattan, and Louise Slaughter of Rochester — are not widely viewed as obvious winners.

Few think any of them would have much of a chance against the person who seems more and more likely to be the Republican nominee — Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Giuliani has been running for *something* these past several months, gallivanting across the country, telling the New York City success story to hushed Republican crowds, forming a political action committee, and raising piles of money.

In New York politics these days, Republicans are so strong in the suburbs and upstate that if they don't lose the city too badly, victory in a statewide contest is almost certain. And against most Democrats, Giuliani would not lose the city too badly, and might even win it.

The one Democrat who could put a high hurdle in Giuliani's path to glory might be Hillary Rodham Clinton.

A statewide survey, taken last month by the pollster John Zogby, found that she would crush any and all opponents in the Democratic primary, and would run neck-and-neck with Giuliani in the general election, beating the mayor in his own city and tying him upstate.

Last fall, she came here four times to cam-

against the Republican incumbent, Alfonse M. D'Amato. Her speeches, at corporate luncheons and union rallies alike, were smash hits.

Technically, there is nothing stopping the first lady from running. She would not have to move out of the White House, since New York laws do not require candidates to live here.

"New York is not averse to welcoming outsiders," noted Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac Polling Institute.

Robert F. Kennedy, after all, successfully ran for Senate here, though he had to fend off the tag of "carpet bagger." James Buckley did so without abandoning his home in Connecticut.

Like them, Hillary Rodham Clinton would have to establish residency upon taking office.

But, again, will she run? Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, waved off such talk as "speculation," though she has not ruled it out of hand.

One Democrat with connections dismissed the notion completely. "After she leaves the White House," the Democrat said, "she has no interest in doing anything that involves the press or other politicians. She's sick of the whole thing."

She might move to New York, the Democrat added, but more likely to become a lawyer again or to run a corporation or foundation.

According to author Gail Sheehy, who is writing a biography of Hillary Clinton, the idea of a Senate-run may have originated with the president. Last August, when the Clintons were in the Hamptons, the first lady was greeted with such enthusiasm that the president turned and said, "Maybe she should run for office from here."

That's about as solid as the signposts get. Hope, who was among the first to float the rumor, told the Daily News last week that the first lady recently asked her not to do it anymore, calling them "a distraction."

The fuel for the story's persistence may simply be its pipedream appeal. New York Times columnist Bob Herbert stated it most baldly last November: "I have found nothing to substantiate the rumor that Hillary Rodham Clinton is interested in running for Mr. Moynihan's seat," he wrote. "But the idea of a Senate race between Mrs. Clinton and Rudy Giuliani is such a splendid one that



Tribune photo by Jose M. Osorio

Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoys a "flower dance" presented by students in the Lighthouse program at Haines Elementary School.

Visiting first lady targets epilepsy, after-school care

By Diane Struzzi
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Chicago on Wednesday to boost funding for epilepsy research and to unveil the president's proposal to triple next year's federal budget for after-school programs.

She praised Mayor Richard Daley for his commitment to the city's schools and even indulged in the topic of the day—Michael Jordan's retirement—calling it "the most important event" happening in the country Wednesday.

But one topic was off-limits: her husband's pending impeachment trial before the Senate. As she entered the first of her public events, a roundtable discussion on epilepsy, she ignored a reporter's question on how she felt on the eve of that occasion. Without skipping a beat, Mrs. Clinton eased into her chair, a broad smile on her face.

"I'm delighted to be with all of you," she said, facing the group gathered at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's to discuss epilepsy and stereotypes surrounding the disease. "I think this [is an] opportunity to bring to the public attention the issues that surround epilepsy, which too long in my opinion

have been either ignored, or overlooked, or run away from."

She listened to the firsthand stories of epileptics who had lost jobs, friends and health insurance and whose symptoms often were mistaken for drunkenness.

Mrs. Clinton also was on hand to dedicate a six-room monitoring unit at the hospital's epilepsy center. Afterward, she announced a series of initiatives that include a meeting next year to gather 150 experts on the disease.

Afterward, she attended a gathering at Haines School in Chinatown, where she lauded the city's after-school Lighthouse program, which provides tutoring and recreation classes for children. She called it a model for the nation and announced President Clinton's proposal to increase funding for after-school programs to \$600 million.

The first lady also appeared at a Wednesday night fundraiser at the Drake Hotel that was expected to garner more than \$300,000 for epilepsy research, according to Susan Axelrod, founder of Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy, which sponsored the benefit. CURE is a Chicago-based group of parents of epileptic children who seek an increase in research and a cure for the disease.

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, January 14, 1999

CHICAGOLAND



Tribune photos by Jose M. Osorio

Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoys a "flower dance" presented Wednesday by students in the Lighthouse program at Chinatown's Haines School. She praised the after-school instruction as a model for the nation.

First lady's visit targets epilepsy

Clinton also unveils
after-school initiative

By Diane Struzzi
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Chicago on Wednesday to boost funding for epilepsy research and to unveil the president's proposal to triple next year's federal budget for after-school programs.

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"I'm delighted to be with all of you," she said, facing the group gathered at Rush-Presbyterian-St.



Suzanna So, 9, a 3rd grader at Haines, shows the first lady a project created during participation in the Lighthouse program, which provides tutoring and recreation classes.

Luke's to discuss epilepsy and stereotypes surrounding the disease. "I think this [is an] opportunity to bring to the public attention the issues that surround epilepsy, which too long in my opinion have been either ignored, or overlooked, or run away from."

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First lady hangs tough during visit to Chicago

BY SCOTT FORNER
AND ADRIENNE DRELL
STAFF REPORTERS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Chicago on Wednesday to help raise awareness about epilepsy, push for federal funds for after-school programs, mingle with grammar school students and pay tribute to Michael Jordan.

The busy day came on the eve of her husband's impeachment trial.

"You know something?" she said. "It's hard to walk away, but it's the right thing to do."

Clinton was not talking about the events in Washington. She was talking to third-graders about how to resolve conflicts peacefully. Her advice came during a visit to an after-school program at Haines Elementary School in the Armour Square neighborhood.

But the first lady did walk away from reporters' questions about the perjury and obstruction of justice charges her husband faces.

"I am delighted to be here with all of you to discuss this very important disease," Clinton told participants in a round-table discussion on epilepsy at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center, moments after a reporter shouted a question about the impeachment.



Hillary Rodham Clinton chats with students at Haines Elementary. She visited here on the eve of her husband's impeachment trial. JIM FROST/SUN-TIMES

She did weigh in on Jordan, calling it "a sad day for Bulls fans."

Later, in a speech at Haines, Clinton called for an additional \$400 million for after-school programs. She said the money would help other cities mimic Chicago's Lighthouse program, which provides a mix of study help, recreational activities and farm meals to 175,000 students.

But the impeachment hung like a cloud over her visit.

A group of eighth-graders Clinton visited at Haines had plenty to say to reporters before the first lady entered the room.

"I don't think he should have been impeached; because it's his business what he does behind closed doors," said Arkesha Green, 14, who lives in Chatham.

Arkesha said she admires how the first lady is handling the situation, although she would do it differently. "It would have been a divorce—quick, fast and hard," she said.

Late Wednesday, Clinton spoke at a benefit at the Drake Hotel that raised more than \$300,000 for Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy.

Referring to Jordan's retirement, she said, "Nobody in this room will ever play professional basketball, but there are champions among us—children who suffer but do the best they can every day, and family members who watch their champion children struggling."

- Main Menu
- News
- Sports
- Business
- Showcase
- Columnists
- Classifieds

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Chicago Sun-Times

online Michael Sneed

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First lady offers condolences to officer's widow

January 14, 1999

BY MICHAEL SNEED SUN-TIMES COLUMNIST

Sneed hears first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** briefly postponed her entry into a private reception at the Drake Hotel on Wednesday night in order to telephone at home **Joan Knight**, the widow of slain Chicago Patrol Officer John C. **Knight**. "The first lady told Mrs. Knight how proud she was of her husband and how sorry she felt about what happened to him," a Clinton source said.



... Hillary: Our hope for Senate

By LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN

WITH TODAY'S OPENING arguments in the impeachment trial, the countdown begins. Either the President's term will end prematurely in disgrace or the Comeback Kid will have the last laugh.

Whatever his fate, it's time to turn from the ghost of Clinton past to the hope of Clinton future. Hillary may turn out to be Bill Clinton's greatest legacy.

There are at least five compelling reasons she should be the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate from New York in 2000. (Ditch the old carpetbagger residency critique — Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and James Buckley put that to rest long ago. And forget about potential scandal. If Ken Starr and Al D'Amato couldn't hang anything on Hillary, local pols will have slim pickings.)

Reason one: She deserves it. Not because she's been Wonder Wife, but because she would be a terrific candidate, one with solid professional credentials, a life-long record of public service and a unique connection between head and heart.

She graduated from Yale Law School. Worked for the Children's Defense Fund and the Watergate impeachment inquiry staff (surely one of life's scrap ironies). Taught law school. Wrote seminal articles on women's and children's rights. Developed expertise on rural health care, infant mortality, educational standards, retraining of American workers. Practiced law. Is listed in Best Lawyers in America.

She served on boards of several volunteer organizations. Gained global

prominence as First Lady speaking out on children's issues, human rights and economic development. Turned skeptics from Beijing to Bosnia into converts who now ask, "Can she be President?"

The fact is, she's brilliant. Her capacity for complex policy analysis is legendary. She's known to ask tough questions and absorb vast quantities of information, and to speak eloquently and persuasively

The First Lady and New York — perfect together

on a host of subjects — usually without a note. And, believe it or not, she has a great sense of humor.

Second, the issues she cares about most are the issues that affect the largest number of New Yorkers — health care, education, legal services, child care and economic security for working families. As senator, she could translate her long-term commitments into national policy and shine a special spotlight on the problems facing women and children. Whether her health care plan was mishandled or misguided, she combines genuine empathy with a hard-won understanding of the need for consensus — ideal tools with which to fine-tune health care reform in the future.

Third, if she jumps in early, we might

avoid the self-immolation known as the Democratic primary. Carl McCall and Andrew Cuomo already have bowed out. If Hillary runs, Nita Lowey and Donna Shalala say they won't. The power of a Clinton candidacy might discourage other longshots from declaring, attacking one another and making the Republicans' job easier.

New York Democrats should draft her quickly, before Illinois does. She's far and away the Democrat with the best chance to beat Rudy Giuliani, the presumptive Republican nominee. You have only to contrast her compassion with his vindictiveness; her grasp of national and international affairs with his five-borough perspective; her commitment to a broad spectrum of human and economic issues with his narrow focus on crime, reducing welfare rolls and protecting his personal power.

Fourth, were such an extraordinary public personality to be elected from New York, she would command far more collegial deference and media attention than the average junior senator, bringing high visibility to our state's needs and initiatives.

Last, but certainly not least, it's time for New York to elect a woman. I know, I know, gender shouldn't matter, but it does, since we've been picking talent from only half the pool.

Still, it's not about running a woman, but running this woman — Hillary Rodham Clinton, a woman who will do us proud, a woman who can win.

Pogrebin, a founding editor of Ms. and president of the Authors' Guild, often writes about women and politics.

N.Y. Daily News, Thurs, Jan 14, 1999

WORLD

Embassy Row

By James Morrison

'Lady Zu' a no-show

Washington was preparing to be dazzled by her beauty and watch how President Clinton reacted to the 27-year-old daughter of Argentine President Carlos Menem.

But Zulema Eva Menem, who became a media star in black leather miniskirts on her father's trip to Britain in November, skipped the state visit to Washington this week.

Her reasons remain a mystery.

The White House said she had the flu.

A well-connected Hispanic leader in Washington said the "rumor" making the rounds was that she was angry that the White



Zulema Menem

House snubbed the wives of four Cabinet ministers traveling with Mr. Menem by leaving them off the guest list for the state dinner Monday night.

Argentina's leading newspaper, El

Clarín, said there was no official explanation for her absence.

It suggested she may have wanted to avoid the cold weather in Washington, saying she decided to stay on vacation in the jet-set resort of Punta Del Este in Uruguay.

The newspaper called her cancellation a "tremendous blow" to the White House, which had scheduled her for a tea with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

La Nación, another Argentine newspaper, said the Argentine Embassy had difficulty explaining Miss Menem's absence.

An embassy source told the newspaper, "She had a commitment to her mother." Her mother, also named Zulema, divorced from Mr. Menem in 1991.

Whatever the reason for the cancellation of her visit, the embassy was clearly taken by surprise. As late as Friday, the embassy had Miss Menem scheduled for two appearances with her father.

She was to have attended the opening ceremony Monday on the White House lawn and the state dinner that evening.

When she accompanied her father on his state visit to London, Miss Menem attracted a pack of reporters who followed her everywhere. The British tabloids spread rumors of a romance with Prince Andrew.

No tango for Madonna

Another famous lady missing from the Argentine president's state visit was pop diva Madonna.

The Argentine Embassy was expecting her to attend the White House dinner and dance the tango with actor and tango aficionado Robert Duvall. But she did not show, and no explanation was offered.

President Carlos Menem yesterday spoke of the tango, his country's national dance, when he met reporters at Blair House.

He danced with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton after Monday night's White House state dinner.

"Hillary is a very good dancer," he said.

Asked about President Clinton, who also took a swing at the tango, Mr. Menem was diplomatic.

"I did not follow his tango dancing because I was dancing with Hillary at the time," Mr. Menem said. "But I know he likes the tango and will learn it."

A note to the White House: Mr. Duvall gives lessons at the Argentine Embassy.

THE BOSTON GLOBE • WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1999

NAMES & FACES

BY CAROL BEGGY AND BETH CARNEY

Hillary checks back in

First lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** was apparently impressed last month by her visit to the Franciscan Children's Hospital in Brighton. This week, hospital president **Paul Della Rocco** received a check for \$10,000 from Clinton from the proceeds of her book "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." . . . Harvard Kennedy School lecturer **Elaine Kamarck** is in Washington this week teaming up with her former boss, Vice President **Al Gore**, hosting a global conference on reinventing government.



KUP'S COLUMN

Irv Kupcinet

WELCOME TO FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton, who comes to the Drake Hotel today to address the Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy. Piano star Stanley Paul will perform at the event. . . . Memories of the City News Bureau, scheduled to close in March, will be related by newspaper veterans Bernie Judge, Pam Zekman, Ellen Warren and Bob Wiedrich at a Como Inn luncheon today.

4 Wednesday, January 13, 1999



Michael
SNEED

Scoopsville . . .

Sneed has learned voter registration in Chicago has jumped 95,000-plus in the past two months (since the Nov. 3 election, when 1,363,957 voters were registered).

■ **Fact:** Aimed at the Feb. 23 municipal elections, it's the biggest voter registration push since Harold Washington ran for mayor in 1983, according to Sneed's sources.

■ **Behind the scenes:** Although mayoral contender Bobby Rush's 2nd Ward had a 3,000 voter increase recently to 31,000 from 28,000 . . . Mayor Daley's minions have been the busiest.

■ **The shocker:** Although the vote gains are citywide, the lakefront wards are in the forefront, with outgoing Ald. Charles Bernardini's 43rd Ward alone experiencing a 5,000-voter increase in the last few months.

■ **Stats:** The current registration of 1,459,289 voters is even higher than for the November, 1996, presidential election, when there were 1,428,795 registered voters.

■ **The kicker:** There are 13 more days of intensive voter registration; the last two weeks are always the biggest push, and 311 locations citywide will be open Jan. 23 for voter registration.

Hillaryville . . .

So how popular is first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton? Tickets for the Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy dinner at the Drake Hotel tonight became so hot, organizers had to close sales Monday.

Inside

- 2** Book World: *Listening to black history*
- 2** Radio Listener: "Marketplace" music
- 4** Style Plus: *Going beyond the Grating*
- 5** Backstage: *Setting the mood*

Style

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1999

The Arts
Television
Columns



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton dances with Argentine President Carlos Menem at last night's state dinner, a sharp departure from the day's impeachment proceedings.

The Washington Tango

At State Dinner for Argentina, Only the Bold Step Out

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and LONNAE O'NEAL PARKER
Washington Post Staff Writers

This is what normal looks like these days in Washington: Yesterday afternoon the White House responded to the articles of impeachment and last night several senators arrived at the executive mansion wearing tuxedos and wide grins as the Clintons hosted a state dinner for Argentine President Carlos Menem.

"It is unusual in that we're about to begin an impeachment trial," said Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.), sworn in just five days ago as a juror. "But he is the president of the United States and he's conducting the business of this country. And I'm delighted to be here."

Dorgan, who was seated at the president's table, was among the seven senators on the guest list. Actor and tango fanatic Robert Duvall and actress Salma Hayek provided the star power, Roger Clinton supplied brotherly love, and the rest of the 170 guests were a supportive and appreciative audience for the tribute to all things Argentine—especially the tango exhibition after dinner.

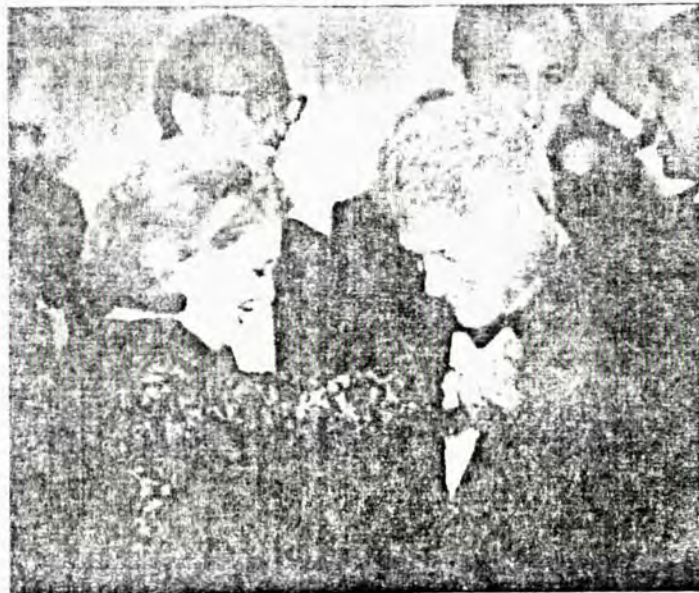
"Well, we'll watch and see how it goes," said Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.). "I'm not ruling it out."

He could have been talking impeachment, but he was actually talking about doing the tango. It was hard to tell the difference.

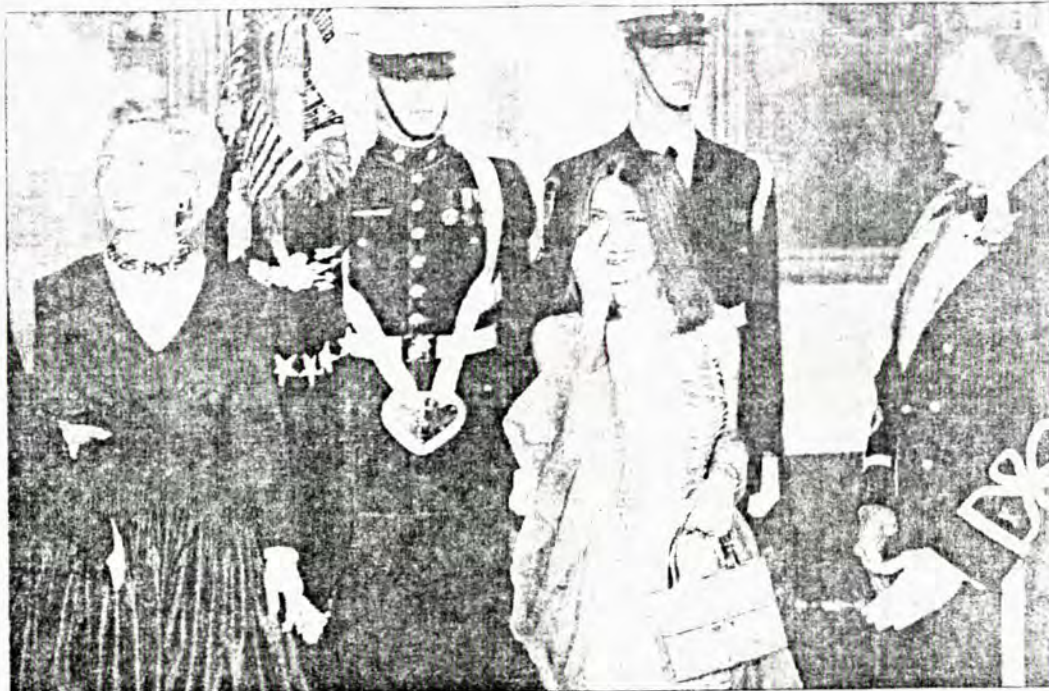
See DINNER, C9, Col. 1



Tango buff Robert Duvall and fiancée Luciana Pedraza glide in to dinner and, eventually, the dance floor.



President Clinton dances last night with Amanda Fernandez, wife of Argentina's minister of economy and public services. Actress Salma Hayek, right, smiles after greeting first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.



Argentina's Menem to Clinton: Tango Very Much

DINNER, From C1

Conventional wisdom, at least this week's version, is that the Senate is unlikely to muster the votes to force Clinton from the presidency. So last night the impeachment process felt more like a painful and chronic backache than a critical injury.

"The president, obviously, will not be run out of office," said former House Democratic whip Tony Coelho. "The Republicans realize the American people have rejected the right-wing paranoia." Look at Clinton's approval ratings, he said:

"House members don't pay attention to polls, but senators do."

Which means that the president can focus on other things, such as foreign relations.

Clinton, who spoke of the friendship between the United States and Argentina, opted for a light tone in his toast. "There are certain disputes that will be never be resolved," he said. "Like which country has the better beef, or whose cooks have better mastered the ancient art of barbecue."

Menem echoed the ties of friendship but struck a more serious note. "Mr. President, I would like to publicly show you my full solidarity," he said. "I hope the American citizens will come to recognize that they are not the only ones who need you still here. . . . Your leadership is needed, Mr. President, all over the world."



Clinton has a smile for guests in the receiving line.

The White House did not hold the traditional joint news conference yesterday, so Menem missed an opportunity to defend his U.S. counterpart to reporters. But he did voice his support throughout the day. "I want you to know you have in me a true friend," he said at the welcoming ceremony.

Clinton paid a state visit to Buenos Aires in October 1997, and Menem was invited here to talk about trade, peace in Bosnia and Iraq, and unrestricted air routes.

The 68-year-old Argentine president, who is celebrating 10 years in office, is credited with reforming his country's economy and ending unbelievable inflation: 5,000 percent in 1989, down to 1.1 percent now. Yesterday, Argentine trade unions announced plans for a massive march to urge him to run for a third consecutive term this year, despite a constitutional ban against it.

Last night's dinner was a low-key affair. Menem, who is divorced, attended without his daughter, who usually accompanies him on state visits.

The meal, served hours early by Argentine standards, began with lemon chicken and vegetable risotto, then moved on to striped sea bass with sauteed morels and sweet potato and a salad of winter greens. Dessert featured frozen dulce de leche with baked pineapple, caramel walnuts and coconut snowballs.

The highlight of the night was Argentina's most famous export: tango.

Argentine and American dance-

ers—led by Duvall, his fiancée, Luciana Pedraza, and Pablo Veron, star of "The Tango Lesson"—performed the intricate moves in the East Room. Duvall has made repeated trips to Argentina to perfect the traditional version of the classic love dance and recently agreed to become the chairman of the U.S. Tango Academy.

"The best Argentine ambassador of the night was Robert Duvall," said Diego Ramiro Guelar, the official ambassador to the United States who was quite happy to play second fiddle for one night.

Clinton was also impressed. "I will never look at you quite the same way," he told the actor.

Then both presidents took the floor in a more restrained but competent version of the tango: Menem with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the president with Amanda Fernandez, wife of Argentina's economic minister. Emboldened, several other guests—including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.)—joined in.

"*Marvellosa!*" Dodd shouted. "That says it all. That's my official senatorial judgment."

Although composer and conductor Lalo Schiffrin, an Argentine native, composed the music for the upcoming movie "Tango" and spoke passionately about the dance, he declined to actually perform it.

Tango is difficult for the best of dancers; most of the guests last

night—including the politicians—hedged when asked if they would give it a turn. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) teased that she might slip out before the entertainment. "I'm not much of a tangoer," demurred Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.).

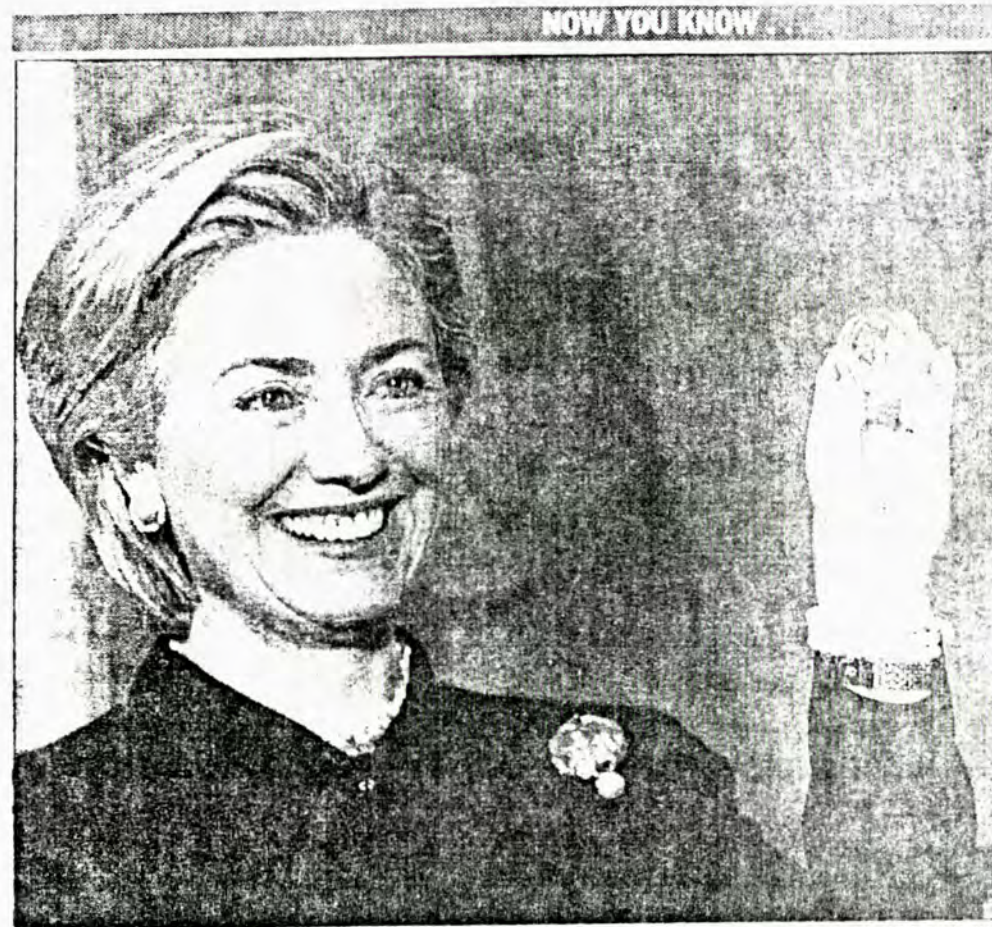
Smart move, according to Schiffrin. "A man should know his limitations," he said seriously.

The guest list for last night's state dinner:

Vice President and Tipper Gore
 Carlos Saul Menem, president of Argentina
 Guido Di Tella, minister of foreign affairs, international trade and worship
 Diego Ramiro Guelar, ambassador of Argentina, and Diana Custodio de Guelar
 Carlos V. Corach, minister of the interior
 Raul Granillo Ocampo, minister of justice
 Jorge Domínguez, minister of defense
 Roque Fernández, minister of economy and public works and services
 Alberto Kohan, secretary general of the presidency
 Carlos Mario Zabala, head of the joint chiefs of staff
 Hugo Anzorreguy, secretary of state intelligence
 Francisco Mayorga, secretary of tourism
 Raul Delgado, secretary of media and information
 María Julia Alsogaray, secretary for natural resources and sustainable development
 German Kammerath, secretary of communications
 Victor Alderete, secretary for the senior citizens
 Ana Kessler, secretary for small and medium size business
 Jorge Castro Mongan, secretary for strategic planning
 Antonio Caliero, national senator, vice president of the senate
 Juan Manuel Vazquez, chief of the president's military house
 Alejandro Telli, president's private physician
 Ramon Hernandez, president's private secretary
 Mario Falak
 Duane Ackerman, chairman & CEO, BellSouth Corp., and Katherine Ackerman
 Madeleine K. Albright, secretary of state, and David Andrews, legal adviser, Department of State
 Mari Carmen Aponte, attorney, Aponte & Associates, and Jose E. Ferraroli, president, Latin America, Results International Inc.
 Keith Bailey, chairman, president and CEO, Williams Cos., and Pat Bailey
 Gato Barbieri, musician and composer, and Laura Barbieri, physical therapist
 Leonard Barrack, national finance chairman, Democratic National Committee, and Lynne Barrack
 Charlene Barshefsky, United States trade representative, and Edward B. Cohen, deputy solicitor, Department of the Interior
 Melinda Naumann Bates, special assistant to the president and director, White House Visitors Office, and Metin Yazir, tango instructor
 Samuel R. Berger, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Susan Berger
 Donald S. Beyer Jr., former lieutenant governor of Virginia, and Megan Beyer, freelance journalist and co chair, 1999 Wolf Trap ball saluting Argentina
 Larry A. Breuer, special counsel to the president, and Nancy Robinson Breuer, associate general counsel, National Gallery of Art
 Norman Brownstein, chairman, Brownstein Hyatt Farber & Strickland, and Helen Brownstein
 Sen. Richard H. Bryan (D-Nev.) and Bonnie Bryan
 James R. Cheek, ambassador in residence, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, and Carol Cheek
 Anthony L. Coelho, chairman, LoanNet, and Phyllis Coelho
 William Daley, secretary of commerce
 Richard Danzig, secretary of the Navy, and Andrea Danzig
 James F. Dobbins, special assistant to the president and senior director for Inter American affairs, National Security Council, and Toni Dobbins
 Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) and Jackie Clegg, vice chair, Import Export Bank of the United States
 Sen. Byron D. Dorgan (D-N.D.) and Kimberly Dorgan
 Patti Solis Doyle, deputy assistant to the president and director of scheduling for the first lady, and James Doyle, deputy chief of staff, Department of Commerce
 Robert Duvall, actor-director and chairman of the board, U.S. Tango Academy, and Luciana Pedraza
 María Echaveste, assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff

Alfonso Faneli, chairman and CEO, Florida Crystals Corp., and Lourdes Gutierrez
 Susan Feeney, White House correspondent, Dallas Morning News, and Steve Hersh, director of special events, Fox News Channel
 Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) and Richard Blum, Richard C. Blum & Associates
 Fernando Ferrel, borough president of the Bronx
 James C. Free, president and CEO, the Smith-Free Group, and Ann Todd Free
 Mary Mel French, U.S. chief of protocol, and Julie McVicker, Fit for the Future
 Richard Fuisz, chairman, Fuisz Technologies, and Lorraine Fuisz
 Armando Gutierrez, president, A. Gutierrez & Associates, and Dora A. Garcia
 Salma Hayek, actress, and Edward Atterton
 Steve Holland, White House correspondent, Reuters, and Lucie Holland
 Raul Jaurena, master of bandoneon, and Marga Mitchell, singer
 Sen. Timothy Johnson (D-S.D.) and Barbara Johnson
 Alan C. Kessler, attorney, Buchanan Ingersoll P.C., and Gail Kessler
 Rep. Dale E. Kildee (D-Mich.) and Gayle Kildee
 Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.) and Rosemary King
 Lewis H. Lapham, editor, Harper's magazine, and Libby Handros, senior producer, "Inside Story"
 Anthony Lewis, columnist, New York Times, and Margaret Marshall, justice, Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts
 Joseph Lockhart, press secretary to the president, and Laura Logan
 Frank E. Loy, undersecretary of state for global affairs, and Dale Loy, artist
 Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) and Charlene Lugar
 Barry R. McCaffrey, director, Office of National Drug Control Policy, and Jill McCaffrey, national chairman, Armed Forces Emergency Service, American Red Cross
 Thomas F. McLarty III, chairman, McLarty International LLC, and Donna McLarty
 Henrique de Campos Morelles, president and COO, BankBoston, and Lucia Lazzaro
 Lars Erik Nelson, New York Daily News, and Mary Nelson, American University
 Hassan Nemazee, president and CEO, Nemazee Capital Corp., and Shelia Nemazee
 Martin Ornelas-Quintero, executive director, National Latino/Latina Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Organization, and Adolfo Mata, director of Migrant Health Services Health Resources and Services Administration
 Federico F. Pena, senior adviser, Vestar Capital Partners
 Thomas Pickering, undersecretary of state for political affairs, and Alice Pickering
 John D. Podesta, chief of staff to the president, and Mary Podesta
 Bill Press, co-host, CNN's "Crossfire," and Carol Press, artist/weaver
 Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) and Landra Reid
 William Richardson, secretary of energy, and Barbara Richardson
 Victor Manuel Rocha, charge d'affaires to Argentina, and Karla Wittkop Rocha
 Peter F. Romero, acting assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, and Ruth Espey-Romero, attorney, Perkins Cole LLP
 Rep. Lucille Roybal Allard (D-Calif.) and Edward T. Allard III, businessman
 Ronald Scheman, president, Museum of the Americas Foundation, and Lynn Cutler, deputy assistant to the president for intergovernmental affairs
 Lalo Schiffrin, composer, conductor and pianist, and Donna Schiffrin, president of Aleph Records
 Mark L. Schneider, assistant administrator, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean Agency for International Development, and Susan Schneider
 Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Carolyn Shelton
 Daniel Solis, alderman for the 25th Ward, Chicago, and John Buschner, manager of governmental affairs, United Airlines
 Douglas B. Sosnik, counselor to the president, and Fabina Jorge, director of Latin American affairs, Verner, Lipfert, Bernard, McPherson and Hand
 James Steinberg, deputy national security adviser and deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Shertume Abbott
 Art Torres, chairman, California Democratic Party, and Joaquin Torres
 Pablo Veron, choreographer/dancer, and Anne Monty
 Victoria Veyra, dancer
 Antonio Villaraigosa, speaker of the California State Assembly, and Conna Villaraigosa
 Melvin I. Weiss, international chair, Hatikva Memorial Project for Ruempy Aree Israeli Embassy Site, and Saul Retsztein, international committee member for the project

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer



First firsts: The first lady holds a coin of Dolley Madison, first first lady and the first to grace a coin.

■ Boy wonder businessman **Daniel M. Snyder** and his wife and another couple were celebrating The Big Purchase (Capital Area Football Team: \$800 million) quietly enough at Morton's in Georgetown Sunday night with dinner and a bottle of Cristal champagne.

And then the cell phone rang.

The quartet immediately repaired to the bar, where they high-fived over television news accounts of Snyder's and real estate mogul **Howard Milstein's** successful team bid.

But does Snyder have enough red meat in him to take on the hurly-burly of the NFL? He and his wife split the filet.

■ Tough times for a Terps fan: After the Maryland-N.C. State basketball game Sunday afternoon, columnist **Bob Novak** slipped on ice outside Cole Field House and broke his hip. He was undergoing surgery at Sibley Hospital last night.

■ An immature eagle landed on a tree just outside the 17th and E streets office of Red Cross President **Elizabeth Hanford Dole** yesterday. A sign from the political gods? Or just a confused bird looking for good Republican hair in which to nest?

The eagle stayed in the tree from 8 a.m. until about 3 p.m. when it took off—perhaps to pay a visit to **Dan Quayle**.

■ First there were the cakes. Now, there's a coin. **Dolley Madison**, the first presidential wife to be called first lady, has her face on a commemorative silver dollar. Our brave-faced first lady, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**,

unveiled it yesterday. The two "really are, indeed, kindred spirits," said **Richard Moe**, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation at a ceremony lauding Mrs. Madison's bravery in saving White House treasures before the British burned the place down in 1814. "Both have helped to shape the role."

At White House, bopping to tango

Dinner serves up Argentine treats

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House bent over backward to honor visiting Argentine President Carlos Menem and his official party at dinner last night.

The tango with its fevered rhythms and athletic dips and bends was the featured entertainment. And the guest list included an unusually large number of Senators: six Democrats and one Republican.

"We're delighted to be invited by our president," said Sen. Richard G. Lugar, Indiana Republican, when asked how it felt to be a juror for one's host.

"We're serving the country [at the dinner], as is the president," said Mr. Lugar, who joined Sen. Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota Democrat, at the president's table.

Asked the same question, Rep. Peter T. King, New York Republican, replied — in jest — "I'm just going to try and stay sober."

Also among about 170 guests were leading administration officials involved in Latin American trade and diplomacy and former Virginia Lt. Gov. Donald S. Beyer Jr.

A noticeably subdued Mr. Clinton managed a mild jest in his toast after praising "the friendship between our two people [that] goes back to the earliest days of our republics."

"There are certain disputes we will never resolve," he said. "Like which country has the better beef. Or whose cooks have mastered the

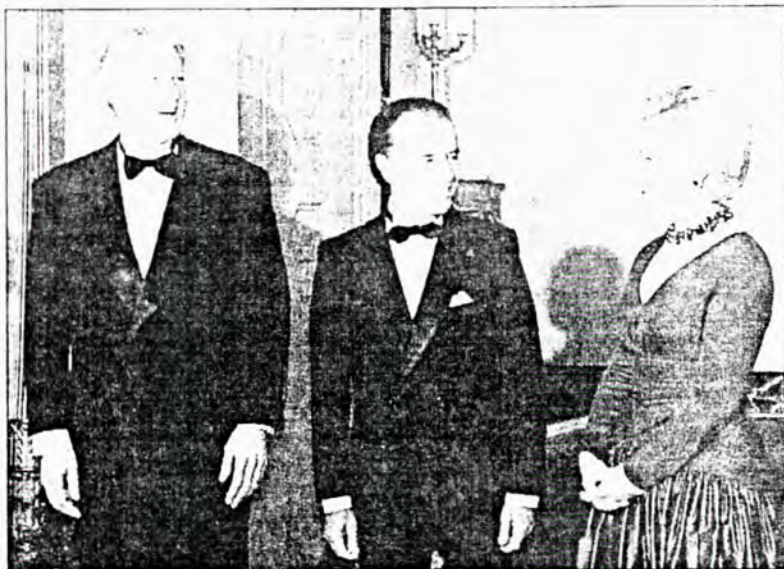


Photo by James R. Brantley The Washington Times

President Clinton and Argentine President Carlos Menem smile at Mrs. Clinton as they wait to receive guests at the state dinner.

ancient art of barbecue."

He praised Mr. Menem personally, saying, "A great deal of the credit for South America's achievements belong to the man here this evening."

In his own toast, Mr. Menem then told Mr. Clinton, "Your leadership is needed, Mr. President, all over the world."

Earlier in his comments, the visiting president praised Robert Duvall, the actor who has become a leading exponent of what may be Argentina's most enduring export, the tango.

Mr. Menem called Mr. Duvall "an excellent actor and now an excellent dancer," and cited his role as chairman of the Academy of Tango.

The sultry dance and equally sultry musical accompaniment at last night's dinner proved the perfect diversion for a week in which Mr. Clinton impeachment trial begins.

Mr. Duvall, who owns a farm in Middleburg and sponsors tango lessons at the Argentine Embassy here, performed along with his friend, acclaimed dancer Pablo Veron, who has a company in Buenos Aires and has starred in films such as "Evita" and "The Tango Lesson."

QuinTango, a Washington chamber ensemble, and bandoneon expert Raul Jaurena also were featured.

It was also the first time a dinner

was held in the newly refurbished State Dining Room. To accommodate more guests than expected, tables also were set up in the adjoining Red Room. The custom to split up the crowd had been done during President Kennedy's time but this was the first for the Clinton administration.

"We didn't have as many regrets as we anticipated," said White House Social Secretary Capricia Marshall. And the Argentine delegation was larger than usual, she noted. Mr. Menem's daughter, Zulema, who was to have accompanied him was kept at home with the flu.

The menu echoed the exuberant approach with "a heavy dominance of earthy flavors," chef Walter Scheib explained. The first course featured chickens custom-raised by Amish farmers in Lancaster, Pa. The entree was striped bass that Mr. Scheib said were "the last ones of the season."

Mr. Menem was said to have wanted to try something other than his national specialty of beef, but gave in to another Argentine specialty, dulce de leche, a sweet, rich ice cream made from milk and caramel. Pastry chef Roland Mesnier added a dramatic touch of his own: two tango statuettes, made entirely of chocolate.

The presentation, he said, showed "dancing under the moon by the palm trees — very romantic."

Lowey's future

U.S. Rep. Nita M. Lowey of New York is emerging as the most likely Democrat to run in 2000 for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but only if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton decides not to seek the office.

The congresswoman said she asked Mrs. Clinton a few weeks ago whether she was serious about running.

"She just smiled. . . . She's very noncommittal," Mrs. Lowey said.

"If Hillary Clinton gets into the race, the entire state party would be behind her and I would, too."

Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, after conferring with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, announced last week that he will not enter the contest to succeed Mr. Moynihan. Earlier, state Comptroller Carl McCall declined an invitation from Mr. Moynihan and announced he will not seek the seat.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is considered the most likely Republican to run for the seat, although he has made no announcement yet.

presidential nominee Bob Dole will become one of the front-runners overnight. Even if she does not win the nomination, she will be a strong prospect for the vice presidential slot.

"A Dole run also may force Democrats to put a woman in the vice presidential slot on their 2000 ticket. Prospects include California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who has twice won statewide races in the nation's most populous state."

Inside Politics





AP PHOTO

DOLLY'S DOLLAR — *Hillary Rodham Clinton displayed the new silver dollar coin commemorating another first lady, Dolly Madison, yesterday at the White House.*

The Sun : Tuesday, January 12, 1999

THE NATION



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Commemorative coin

Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Laurence Summers applauds as Hillary Rodham Clinton displays a new silver dollar commemorating the achievements of Dolley Madison, wife of President James Madison. This year is the 150th anniversary of her death.

467.
Chicago Sun-Times Tuesday, January 12, 1999
WASHINGTON, D.C.



Reuters photo

Dolly Madison dollar: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton displays a book on White House history featuring a cover with a painting of Dolly Madison at a White House ceremony Monday unveiling a commemorative silver dollar honoring the wife of the fourth president. The coin is the first to feature the likeness of a first lady.

First lady to attend epilepsy fund-raiser

Hillary Rodham Clinton is scheduled to visit Chicago Wednesday to raise money for epilepsy research. The first lady will attend a fund-raiser for Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy. CURE president Susan Axelrod and her husband, David, a Democratic consultant, are the parents of a 17-year-old daughter who has epilepsy.

Suburban moms persuade first lady to speak at fund-raiser for epilepsy

By KIM CONTE
Daily Herald Staff Writer

To snag first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as guest speaker for a first-ever fund-raising event is any volunteer organizer's dream.

It's a dream come true for Debbie Flader, a Hanover Park mother, and two other moms who founded Citizens United for Research in Epilepsy.

At their invitation, the first lady will speak Wednesday at a private dinner as part of a fund-raiser for their organization at the Drake Hotel in Chicago. The event is expected to raise \$250,000 for epilepsy research.

Clinton also will tour the epilepsy wing of Rush-Presbyterian Memorial Hospital and moderate a round-table discussion on epilepsy with doctors, parents and children.

The suburban women reached out to Clinton in hopes of helping their

"We are so fortunate to be able to bring in someone of Hillary's stature, especially at a first fund-raising event."

— Debbie Flader,
co-founder of Citizens
United for Research
in Epilepsy

children and others who have intractable epilepsy, a devastating disease that causes uncontrolled seizures and brain damage and doesn't respond to medication, surgery or special diets.

"We are looking for a new approach and trying to get ourselves on the map," said Susan Axelrod of

Burr Ridge whose 17-year-old daughter, Lauren, has intractable epilepsy. "Having Hillary will give us great credibility."

Axelrod's husband is noted political consultant David Axelrod, who got in touch with a Clinton staff member to enlist her assistance. As it turned out, Clinton was moved by the Axelrods' experience with the disease and agreed to attend, Susan Axelrod said.

"We hope that this will make an incredible difference in children's lives," said Flader, whose 15-year-old daughter, Noel, has intractable epilepsy. "We are so fortunate to be able to bring in someone of Hillary's stature, especially at a first fundraising event."

The organization is a volunteer group of parents with children who have intractable epilepsy.

Axelrod said she, along with Flad-

See MOMS on Page 4



Shawna Egan, left, of Cary, Nancy Monica of Lake in the Hills, Debbie Flader of Hanover Park and Mary Ellen Magrini of Oak Brook plan a fund-raiser featuring Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Daily Herald Photo/Marcelle Bright

MOMS: Group expects to raise \$250,000 for epilepsy research

Continued from Page 1

der and Nancy Monica of Lake in the Hills, started the group in September to raise money to find a cure and not just a new method of treatment.

The three women visited Washington last year as part of Advocates for Epilepsy, a national organization, to ask that more attention be given to epilepsy. Although they were successful in generating pub-

licity, Flader said they decided to start CURE to raise money privately and have some control over the advocacy movement themselves.

"We are very honored that she is coming," said Monica, whose 4-year-old daughter, Megan, also has the disease. "We need to have more hope for the kids."

Daily Herald staff writer Bill O'Brien contributed to this report.

MULTIMEDIA

A PET'S LIFE

DEAR SOCKS, DEAR BUDDY

By Hillary Rodham Clinton, Simon & Schuster Audio, approximately 1 1/2 hours, abridged, \$12.

As you listen to these letters written to First Pets Socks and Buddy, you can almost hear Art Linkletter reminding you that "Kids say the darndest things." Indeed they do. And the messages they have written to these two famous animals are a glimmer of the hope and innocence that all children possess. Read by children from the Littleton School in Parsippany, N.J., many of these letters go beyond basic inquiries about Socks and Buddy; they show a deep inquisitiveness about the world and the people who run it. In between letters, Hillary Rodham Clinton offers a history lesson about pets in the White House, which have included FDR's Scottish terrier, Fala; Caroline Kennedy's pony, Macaroni; and Amy Carter's cat, Misty. Says Mrs. Clinton: "Together Socks and Buddy have received more than 300,000 letters and e-mails, including admirers from England, Bangladesh and nearly 50 other countries who have written asking for celebrity shots and pawtographs. By comparison, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most prolific correspondents of his day, received an average of 137 letters a month while he was president."

HRC Clips

- Magazines -

Win the post-trial spin-off,
get Gore elected in 2000
and then start figuring out
the rest of their lives

What's Next For Bill and Hillary?

By NANCY GIBBS



CLASSICAL DRAMA REQUIRES elegant balance. So, for that matter, does farce. One way or another, then, it makes sense that this story began and now ends with Monica.

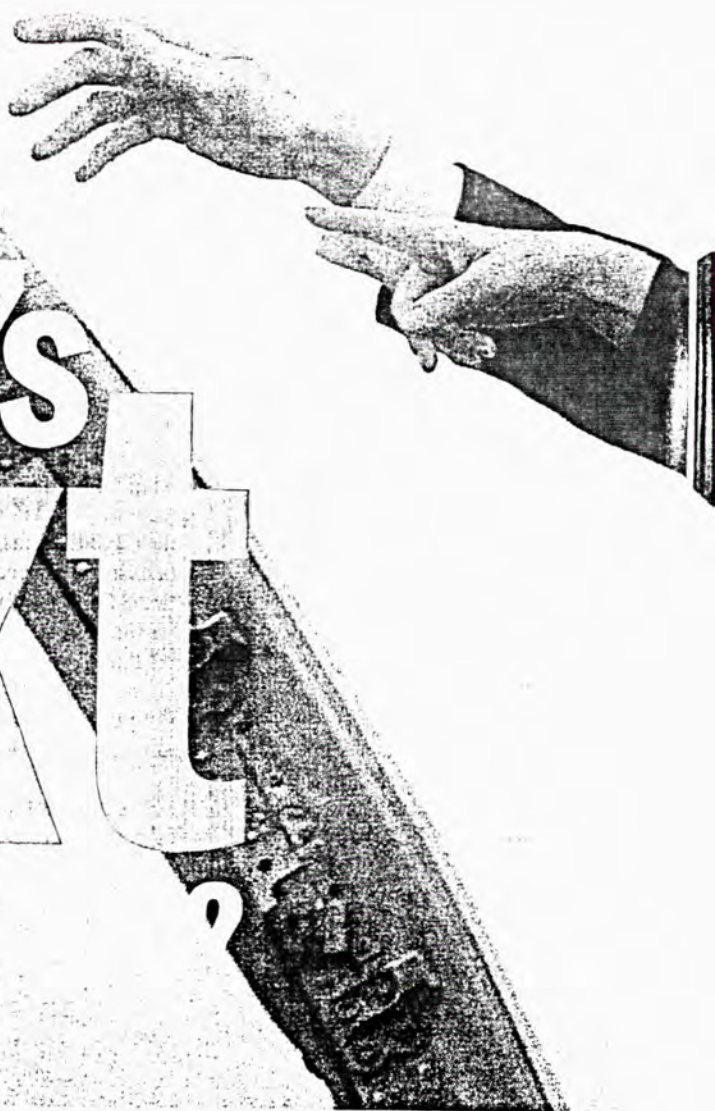
The cartoon versions of her that dominated the past year—child-victim, stalker-vamp—threatened to reappear on Saturday, when we got to meet her at last, on videotape. But for all the artful editing by both sides, there was no concealing that a flesh-and-blood Monica Lewinsky really does exist after all. She

talks, she hides, she teases, she thinks fast and explains, grounded and credible and well practiced after 23 depositions. The very reality of her was more of a relief and revelation than anything she had to say. And that her long-awaited, much feared, out-of-body performance on the Senate floor should have been more anticlimax than denouement was the greatest justice of all.

Even though the outcome was never in doubt, the White House bit its lip while watching her, as it has throughout these final weeks, because there is more to worry about than Clinton's removal from office. In the debris of this past year are scores to settle and debts to pay, which will help shape the last two years of the President's

term, which in turn affects what happens in 2000, which then helps shape the rest of his life. For both Bill and Hillary Clinton, what matters now isn't so much what they do as how they seem—how reconciling, how inventive, how invested in the well-being of every last citizen whose hand they will shake and vote they will claim on behalf of their anointed successor, Al Gore. Because in Gore's victory they see their redemption.

So the Clintons were careful to learn from their mistakes, especially the post-impeachment pep rally on the South Lawn, which had convinced many moderates that Clinton still thought of himself as a victim, deserving of cheap grace. If a full acquittal this week triggers an early Mardi Gras inside





the White House, the bitterness among Republicans and disgust among Democrats could become a kind of poison in the system. Clinton's outside advisers are pushing for discretion. Says one: "I hope he just gives a 30-second statement saying, 'I'm glad it's over,' and goes upstairs for a cold drink."

And so it was that spokesman Joe Lockhart declared the briefing room "a gloat-free zone," and at the senior-staff meeting Thursday morning, chief of staff John Podesta put the word out: "I don't know if I need to say this again, but I'm going to say it anyway: everyone should focus on their business and keep their opinions to themselves."

Their business now is the boss's statutory: what will last once the presidency offi-

UP, UP AND AWAY

Once they lift off for the last time from the South Lawn, will he follow her to New York? Will she follow him to the Golden State?

cially ends. Clinton began his ostentatious search for a legacy soon after he became the first Democrat in 32 years to be re-elected, and that was before a year of sex scandal following a year of campaign-finance scandal raised the risk that the echo of his presidency might sound like a dirty joke. He was lucky and unlucky to have been elected at just 46; with his youth comes the reality that he will actually have to live with his legacy, which may be why an aide says she detects "a sense of urgency to him: 'What can we do? What can we do?'"

It is Clinton's good fortune that the trial should be ending when the days are getting longer and brighter and balmer—especially at the White House, where the wonks are hard at work. "This time of year—this is spring, this is renewal," says Lockhart. Clinton got to plant a thousand flower bulbs in his State of the Union, and last week he submitted his budget, watering the field of ideas with targeted tax cuts, school construction and child care. The offerings were so rich that they could be viewed less as an agenda than as a list of campaign slogans. Which, the White House all but admitted, it was. "There's a few we plan to fight for now," said an economic official of the President's ideas. "But the rest we'll carry over."

Bill's Afterlife

HOLLYWOOD MOGUL

DreamWorks shoots down the rumor that Clinton wants to be in pictures

CORPORATE CITIZEN

He could earn a nice living at a law firm or on corporate boards, but there are limits to what an ex-President with personal baggage can do

LEGACY MANAGEMENT

Clinton wants his library to be more than a museum—part think tank, part Peace Corps



That does not bode well for Republicans, whose desire to change the subject may be even greater than Clinton's. There are many things Clinton can't do and compromises he can't make with the G.O.P. even if he wanted to. For once he owes too much to congressional Democrats to sell them out for his own glory. That leaves him unlikely to push any of the issues, such as trade, that have divided them in the past, which is why when House majority leader Dick Armey revived a proposal to allow for "fast track" trade deals a few months ago, hoping to split the Democrats, Clinton didn't lift a finger to support it.

This does not mean, however, that his party will now yank him further left. Dick Gephardt's dreams of the speakership, like Clinton's dreams of redemption, depend on getting Gore elected and winning back the Congress—all of which would absolve Clinton for casting his party into oblivion in 1994. That goal pretty much rules out bold foreign policy moves, such as an opening to Fidel Castro (which would cost Gore votes in Florida) or a toughening of U.S. policy toward Israel's Benjamin Netanyahu (which would alienate some Jewish voters).

As for domestic policy, unions, blacks and feminists,

who can read the polls as well as the White House, see there is no appetite for a Big Government agenda. They're getting with the President's mall-tested program: patients' rights, education standards, help for busy families—tickets and tasksets of tidy, munchable proposals that sound good, play well and don't cost much. Everyone's a New Democrat now.

And that, of course, may be the only legacy left for Clinton, less a legislative imprint than a political one, which allows him

to play his party's redeemer for putting the Democrats back in touch with mainstream concerns and appropriating the G.O.P.'s most popular ideas. Their hand will be even stronger if they can keep casting the G.O.P. as barren of ideas and obsessed with investigation—which is why Clinton needs to have ideas more than he needs to execute them.

The exception is Clinton's surprise proposal to rescue Social Security, which everyone around him believes he is determined to see through to a signing ceremony. The President's plan is both bolder and more detailed than anyone expected, even at the expense of alarming some of his liberal allies with a plan for partial privatization. But it is also designed to trap Republicans on the losing side of the political debate over how to spend the budget surplus. Clinton has framed the debate as a choice between saving Social Security and Medicare and cutting taxes for the rich. A New York Times/CBS News poll last week found that 64% of the public said they would prefer the surplus be spent on Social Security.

At a time when gas costs 93¢ per gal., unemployment is almost invisible and the stock market is making people feel as if they've got more money in



FOR THE GLORY OF GORE Clinton's redemption hangs on Al's success

Hillary's Afterlife

SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

Not likely: even if she longed to stay in Washington, does she really want Trent Lott telling her when she can take a vacation?

FOUNDATION POOH-BAH

Upside: a platform to showcase the issues she cares about. Downside: Would anyone be paying attention?

AUTHOR

Publishing insiders say her story is probably worth more than the President's



their pockets, whether or not they actually do, tax cuts are the only punch the Republicans know how to throw. Clinton, as a White House official put it, is "boxing them into a smaller corner." *Congress Daily* reported that at the House G.O.P.'s aptly termed retreat in Colonial Williamsburg, Joe Scarborough of Florida called a 10% tax cut, like the one favored by the party's Budget Committee chairman, John Kasich, "a loser idea."

Like an automobile dealer trying to sell you the same car twice, Clinton will spend more time highlighting what he has already done than he will trying much that is new. His willingness to use some of the surplus to pay down the debt speaks to a kind of long-term focus that is the luxury of a lame-duck President. The plan for the next two years seems to be, Trumpet the past; give Gore the future.

When it comes to securing the succession, Hillary may be even more valuable to Gore than her husband. Consider what she can do on the campaign trail. Unlike Clinton, whose Technicolor campaign appearances beside Gore often make the Vice President seem drawn in black-and-white, Hillary energizes Gore without overpowering him. She represents what people like about Clinton's presidency without reminding them of what they don't like. She can raise buckets of money. And she can connect with people on the very issues—children, families—that people have trouble associating with Gore.

Her devotion to getting Gore elected doesn't leave her much time to run for office herself. As the speculation about a New York Senate bid continues, she has done nothing to stop it, and serious people have begun to take the idea seriously; her husband has been telling people in private that he thinks she just might do it. But while Hillary may like the attention, it still reflects as much wishful thinking as reality. After she endured the indignities that a race against someone like Rudolph Giuliani would surely bring, how much fun would it be to serve as the junior Senator from New York, stuck in the Senate Chamber at 11 on Wednesday nights, waiting for some other junior Senator to finish a filibuster on a second-degree amendment to an appropriations bill?

DESPITE ALL THE NOISE ABOUT her grand future, Hillary has predilections these days that are downright modest. In her public appearances, rather than spreading her wings, she seems to be nesting. Whereas she once wanted to colonize no less than one-seventh of the economy with her health-care plan, consider the role she played in this year's budget. Her fingerprints are all over dozens of small, shrewd programs. She was the driving force behind the tax credit for stay-at-home moms (per-person average: \$178), the \$50 million in grants to help children on Medicaid treat their asthma, and more money to train pediatricians in

children's hospitals. She recently attended an event designed to inform women about the benefits of folic acid. While she no longer sits in on West Wing meetings, she makes sure that top members of her staff do. Says one: "She has two or three people who are kind of constantly with us." And they rarely lose an argument.

IT WAS EARLY ONE EVENING IN 1996, a month after his re-election, and Clinton was sitting with some acquaintances in the Map Room of the White House, musing about the future. One of them asked if he'd given any thought to what he might do after he was out of office; he had given it plenty. As he sat there on the red sofa, Clinton warmed to the subject. He would be the youngest ex-President since Teddy Roosevelt, and that, he noted, was a cautionary tale. Roosevelt had plenty of time to harass his successor, because he thought William Taft had betrayed his legacy.

It struck Clinton that the most successful ex-Presidents were those who had been denied a second term and used their remaining days to restore their souls and reputations. He was impressed by how Herbert Hoover had devoted himself to service; John Quincy Adams had returned to Congress and fought against slavery and the Mexican War. But the greatest of all in retirement, Clinton argued, was the world-traveling, peacemaking, home-building Jimmy Carter, who had turned his library into a center of social action, not a museum.

Yes, Clinton said, that was it: he wanted to do something useful without getting in the hair of the President who followed him.

So it should be no surprise that Clinton is planning to build a presidential library in Arkansas and is already monitoring its fund-raising operation with his usual acuity. The \$100 million facility in Little Rock will be built on 14 acres along the Arkansas River, as a repository of Clinton papers and a research center for presidential scholars. But Clinton also seems to be imagining the library as a sort of government-in-exile—like Carter's but even more activist—part policy institute, part Peace Corps, focusing on Africa, showcasing his accomplishments.

Once they lift off from the South Lawn for the last time, the Clintons could fly in all sorts of directions. Both are young enough to start new careers; they need to earn the money to cover their legal bills; there are universities to run, foundations to chair, boards to sit on, books to write, speeches to give at \$100,000 a pop. But there are also limits unique to ex-Presidents. Law firms want partners who make rain, not hail, and certain roles may not be suited to a President who carries as much personal baggage as this one. As for the ubiquitous rumor that Clinton will end up in Hollywood, working at DreamWorks SKG with his friends Steven Spielberg, David Geffen and Jeffrey Katzenberg, the studio's executives have denied it so many times that now they can only sputter. "When you've been asked the question 8,000 times," says DreamWorks marketing chief Terry Press, "the humor begins to fade."

For Bill and Hillary that leaves the most obvious career move: the his-and-her memoirs and policy tomes that most people expect them to write. Provided they tell the "real story" of what went on in the White House, say publishing bookmakers, a Clinton book could fetch an advance of anywhere from Nixon's \$2.2 million to Reagan's \$7 million. Among the most invested in the speculation is Simon & Schuster, which currently publishes Hillary. "I think her book would be worth significantly more than his," says president Jack Romanos, a note of hope in his voice. "Remember that Barbara Bush's memoir was the book everyone wanted after the Bush Administration." Turns out that the most in-demand view may be the one from behind the throne.

—Reported by Jay Branegan and Karen Tumulty/Washington, David S. Jackson/Los Angeles and Andrea Sachs/New York

When Will Starr Pull the Plug?

IN 1997, WHILE TEACHING LAW PART TIME AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, KEN Starr wanted his students to understand that a good trial lawyer always argues passionately, even for positions he would reject if he were the judge. So Starr turned his classroom into a moot court and pleaded—of all things—Bill Clinton's most famous court failure: the President's argument that as long as he remained in office, the Constitution immunized him from Paula Jones' civil lawsuit.

Now, with Clinton headed for acquittal in the Senate, Starr's take on presidential immunity is anything but academic. Last week the *New York Times* reported that the independent counsel believes he has the authority to bring criminal charges against Clinton before he leaves office. The *Times* piece, though it broke little new ground, jarred Clinton allies: just as they were cheering the trial's end, the newspaper offered a reminder that the last word on the scandals may belong to his nemesis. "Starr sees the President as a real lawbreaker who deserves to be put in jail," says a White House adviser. "There's no way the President can relax with him out there."

If impeachment ushered Starr offstage, it also freed up his prosecutors to work quietly on the office's next act. One murky plot line concerns Kathleen Willey's story of presidential groping, which Clinton denied to the grand jury, and

what she calls intimidation to silence her. Last week Maryland private detective Jared Stern told *TIME* that he has appeared twice before Starr's grand jury to answer questions about Willey and Nathan Landow, a Clinton-Gore fund raiser. Landow claims that his lawyer, acting without his permission, hired Stern to investigate Willey. Stern won't comment on who hired him, but he does say that prosecutors asked him if he was the so-called "mystery man" who allegedly made menacing comments to Willey about her children. Stern says it wasn't he, but that he has reason to believe her claim.



Ken's New Options

INDICT CLINTON
Divert criticism from Congress back to Starr himself—watch poll numbers reach new all-time low

CLOSE UP SHOP
Turn over open cases to Justice, ride into the sunset and make pots of money

Another coming chapter is the prosecution of Julie Hiatt Steele, Willey's former confidant who was indicted last month on charges of perjury and obstruction. Starr's team is also preparing for trials of two previously jailed Whitewater figures: Webster Hubbell (on the charge of making false statements) and Susan McDougal (on the charge of criminal contempt for stiff arming Starr's inquiries). The onetime Clinton confidants have long been suspected of withholding dirt, but if they haven't cracked yet, it's hard to imagine they ever will. The ultimate question for Starr is what to do legally with the case that fell short politically. A sign that an indictment isn't imminent is the departure for private practice of Starr's day-to-day manager of the Lewinsky probe, Bob Bittman, and his top appellate litigator, Brett Kavanaugh. Soon after the trial ends, Starr will come under pressure to shut it all down and return to private practice. He is famously immune to such pressure, but if he decides not to indict Clinton, there's little reason to keep going. He could hand his open cases to the Justice Department and move on.

Then what? Starr will be able to command hefty sums practicing law, writing a book, giving lectures or advising corporate boards. And he will probably indulge his passion for teaching, as he planned to do in 1997 when he accepted a dual deanship at Pepperdine University, only to bow out and lose the opportunity after he was accused of abandoning ship. Whatever job Starr ends up taking instead, will he ever be able to shake his sense of unfinished business left behind?

—By Michael Weisskopf

Private no more: Charles and Camilla step out

People

weekly



Hillary & Chelsea

GRACE UNDER FIRE

An intimate look
at the deep bond
of love that
sustains the
Clinton women
through their
painful family
ordeal

Chelsea and Hillary
in China last June

AOL Keyword: People

\$2.99



CANADA \$3.99

The Ties That Bind

Separated by a continent, united by a lifelong bond, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton rely, in these worst of times, on each other

by Susan Schindehette



Chelsea "transformed our lives," Hillary (with Bill and their week-old baby) later wrote.

In April 1997, at the Sidwell Friends School's annual mother-daughter banquet in Washington, D.C., Hillary Rodham Clinton swept her hair into a ponytail, slipped on a pink tutu and black leotard top and walked onstage to deliver a show-stopping impersonation of her ballet-obsessed 17-year-old daughter. Turning to another mother portraying a daughter, Hillary feigned a pout. "Your mother embarrasses you in front of maybe a couple hundred people," she wailed with mock adolescent angst. "My mother embarrasses me in front of *millions*."

Two years later it isn't Chelsea Clinton's mother who has become the embarrassment. Instead it is her father, and for the most humiliatingly personal reasons. Over two turbulent decades in politics, Bill Clinton's immediate family—his ambitious, devoted wife and adoring daughter—have always formed a protective barrier around him. Throughout the Lewinsky-and-impeachment ordeal, they have done it again. But this time, because it was Clinton inflicting the wounds, his wife and daughter have reached out to each other more than ever before. In the process, they have strengthened a relationship that began with the birth of a desperately wanted child, grew in the shadow of a some-

REUTERS/JOHN DELOACH ARCHIVE





"I can see Hillary in Chelsea," says Dick Kelley of his granddaughter (with her mother in Washington last July). "I can see it in her ability to grasp things—and people."



Her early swimming teacher remembers "never having to coddle Chelsea [circa 1984] like so many of the others. She never cried."

times troubled marriage and was nurtured by a mother whose daughter is not only the focus of her emotional life but also her proudest legacy.

And so, at this past New Year's Renaissance Weekend, while a pensive President walked alone on the deserted beach in Hilton Head, S.C., Hillary and Chelsea stayed behind in their borrowed oceanfront house. Following an unspoken rule of their relationship, mother and daughter have always refused to let the world see their private pain. This past year, too, each has faced the world without flinching. "Chelsea has her mother's strength," says ABC's Dr. Nancy Snyderman, a longtime friend of Hillary's. "She's been bred for it." For her part, Hillary, 51, has emerged from behind dark glasses to savor the cheers of crowds in New York (where there has been speculation she may run for the U.S. Senate next year) and elsewhere to flaunt her newly glam image on the cover of *Vogue* and provide a conspicuous presence at her husband's Jan. 19 State of the Union address.

Chelsea, who will turn 19 on Feb. 27, also has kept her head high. Last summer, the day after her father admitted his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, it was his daughter who seemed to hold the family together, linking hands with both parents as they left Washington for Martha's Vineyard. Aboard Air Force One, Chelsea sat with her mother at some distance from the President. But when the plane landed, she stepped into the breach, bravely marching out to glad-hand well-wishers. "Chelsea took it upon herself to be the emissary, and she was terrific. She just made everyone feel great," says family friend Rose Styron, wife of author William Styron. Last fall another Clinton friend, diplomat Richard Holbrooke, was surprised to see her turn up at a reception following his speech on the Stanford campus. "She gave me a big hello and a hug," he says. "This was at the height of the storm, and she was poised and calm." Then in December, after surviving a busy semester—and a breakup with her boyfriend of six months, swimmer Matthew Pierce—a breathless Chelsea, at the White House on the night of her father's impeachment, appeared "so upbeat and teenage," says a friend of the family's. "She came running in and said, 'I've got to run. I'm so late for a party, my friends are going to kill me.'"

Be assured: Chelsea Clinton is not in denial. In August she listened as her 52-year-old father privately confessed

Of politics, Hillary (with Chelsea at the moment Bill garnered enough delegates to win the '92 presidential nomination) wrote, "I am glad that we started to prepare her at a tender age."



his sexual indiscretions to her and her mother. "He outlined what happened in a very difficult discussion and then asked for forgiveness," says Carolyn Staley, a childhood friend of Bill's. Understandably, Chelsea was furious. "That was a painful, painful time," recalls one former White House aide. "There was a terrible sense of betrayal." And now, in the morning before her seven Stanford housemates are awake, she often sits alone in the kitchen and keeps up with impeachment developments in the newspaper—usually *USA Today*. (She's not a fan of *The Washington Post*, which broke the Lewinsky story, because, as she told former presidential adviser Dick Morris's niece, "they don't like my parents.") Beyond that, Chelsea "doesn't talk about the scandal, even to her closest friends," says one of the group that has formed a cordon around her. "It's something I would never bring up to her, and she doesn't let on at all."

Instead, the Stanford sophomore, who wants to become a pediatric cardiologist, turns to her mother for solace, as she always has. The two exchange letters and frequent late-



Chelsea "would describe me as overprotective," Hillary admitted.



Her parents attended Chelsea's Sidwell Friends graduation in '97.

night phone calls. And though no one believes that Chelsea is taking sides between her parents—"She loves them both," insists a friend—she "is very, *very* much an advocate of her mother's," the friend adds. And what advice is Mother dispensing? Says a longtime friend, who describes Hillary as being "as deeply wounded" as Chelsea: The First Lady is fond of the dictum "'Just keep on keeping on,' and I'm sure she's told Chelsea that." Beyond that, the two reveal little, even to intimates. "Let's face it. This has just been so humiliating for the two of them," says one former aide close to Hillary and Chelsea. "They don't want to talk about it, and nobody asks."

The closeness between mother and daughter shows up in the smallest gestures. When Hillary began to shiver at a beach picnic on Martha's Vineyard with friends in 1997, it was Chelsea who took off her own jacket to drape over her mother's shoulders. The two also share a spiritual bond: Chelsea often prays with her mother, having chosen Hillary's Methodist faith over her Baptist father's. Now,

in the wake of the current crisis, "both Hillary and Chelsea have this inner glow," says Rev. Don Jones, who was Hillary's childhood pastor from suburban Chicago. "It's as if they've both reached their higher selves."

By all accounts the mother-daughter relationship is not only deep but has also played a pivotal role in cementing the parents' relationship. "Chelsea is crucial to the family's balance," says Clinton biographer David Maraniss. "She is the one person her father could love unconditionally, and she is the center of Hillary's emotional life." According to Maraniss's 1995 bestseller *First in His Class*, when Chelsea was just a year old, a family friend stopped by the house and found Bill in the den, playing gently on the floor with his daughter. Smiling and laughing, he sang to her softly, as if from a lullaby: "I want a div-or-or-or-orce. I want a div-or-or-or-orce." As her parents' focal point, Chelsea has turned into a classic overachieving child. Hillary's brother Tony Rodham described Chelsea to PEOPLE last year as "responsible, trustworthy, just a darn good kid," while an acquaintance recalls "going to events with her where alcohol was being served. Almost every other kid her age would have a drink, but she doesn't touch a drop." And



"Hillary [in Africa in '97] looks straight at you when she talks to you," says a friend. "She focuses on you, and Chelsea is the same way."



"Twenty years from now they'll still be traveling together," a friend says of Hillary and Chelsea (at Mother Teresa's orphanage in '95).

Hillary's French hairdresser, Isabelle Goetz, told *Paris Match* that Chelsea "knows everything. On a visit to a museum during a trip to Israel, the guide hardly had time to finish his explanation of something when Chelsea already had the answer."

In a sense, Chelsea is the living embodiment of her mother's ideas about child rearing and feminism. As a young mother often on the road, Hillary frequently left messages at Chelsea's elementary school in Little Rock ("Just tell Chelsea that Mommy loves her"). She also encouraged her daughter to write back to her—a practice that, as Hillary notes in her latest book, *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy*, not only helped keep the family close but also "helped Chelsea practice her language skills." And as half of the most-traveled mother-daughter team in the history of the Presidency, Hillary once wrote, "I am beyond grateful for the times we have circled the globe together. And if those travels have

changed minds in countries where daughters are not as prized as sons—well, all the better."

Hillary's determination to shape her daughter's life manifested itself early on. "Hillary did everything she could to bring her into the world under the best circumstances," says Rose Crane of Little Rock, a longtime friend of Hillary's. While pregnant, "Hillary once told me that what she wanted more than anything was a great big [diet] Tab over crushed ice," but she abstained because she was afraid it might harm the baby. In the early years after Chelsea was born, following a difficult labor and C-section delivery, it was obvious that both parents adored her, even if they expressed it differently. Bill kept a child's desk in plain view for Chelsea in his office, while Hillary would quietly spread a quilt in the backyard of the Little Rock governor's mansion so she and her toddler could just stare up at the clouds. "Bill drove Chelsea to school, and you would see them holding hands," says Maraniss. "It was a more public demonstration than Hillary and Chelsea have, but that doesn't mean it's any deeper." Over time, says Chelsea's Little Rock friend Martha Brantley, Bill Clinton became a "figure of admiration" for his daughter, who viewed her mother as "more a comrade." At 7, told by her father that his career demands might force the cancellation of a planned family vacation, Chelsea shot back, "Well, then, Mom and I will go without you."

As a mother, says family friend Staley, Hillary was never "into makeup and pushing the little-girl beauty-queen thing." Instead, Hillary fostered her daughter's intellect and sense of achievement. ("Chelsea was precocious," recalls Staley. "As a toddler, instead of saying, 'I have to get a shot,' she'd say, '[I have to get] my immunizations.'") Hillary was also determined to encourage her little girl's independence. Chelsea wasn't allowed to wear shoes with Velcro closures—a gift from her grandma Virginia Kelley—until she first learned to tie laces, Hillary later wrote, because "I loved the look of accomplishment on her face when she showed

us all what she could do for herself."

It was a look her mother would see many times. When Chelsea was in sixth grade, recalls Stanley, "I was in the kitchen when the TV news came on. Chelsea was watching, and I heard this shriek of delight: 'Look, Mom, it's up!' Hillary had been trying to sock away some money for the family and had given Chelsea a lesson in how investing works.

Chelsea was watching the stock report." Chelsea's step-grandfather Dick Kelley, who was married to Bill Clinton's mother, Virginia, until her death in 1994, recalls that on a trip to their lakeside home near Hot Springs, Ark., little Chelsea grew bored when the bass weren't biting. When he surreptitiously attached a live fish to her line, "Chelsea came tearing out of the house to the dock and reeled that fish in," says Kelley. "Then she carried it back up to the house to show her mother."

Like any working mom, Hillary, the main family breadwinner in the years when Bill was earning \$35,000 a year as governor of Arkansas, had a hard time juggling motherhood with her partnership in Little Rock's Rose Law Firm. Elaine Weiss, an American Bar Association official who met Hillary in 1987, remembers overhearing one strained phone conversation. "Well, I don't know, Bill," Hillary snapped. "Did you feel her forehead? I don't know if she has



Chelsea danced with pal Rory Eakin at a 1997 opera gala in D.C.

At Little Rock's Forest Park Elementary School, "right up front, Mrs. Clinton made it clear that Chelsea came first," recalls Sadie Mitchell, Chelsea's first-grade teacher. "She gave me all the family's private numbers and told me to call them anytime." Mitchell also recalls that Hillary helped perform science experiments with Chelsea's classmates, took them on outings to theaters and museums and read stories to the class with Chelsea curled up in her lap. Hillary's former press aide Mary Ellen Glynn remembers one harried moment during the 1992 presidential campaign. "Even though she had a million people sitting around her in this hotel room and her schedule was backed up to eternity, Hillary called Chelsea, who was home with a sore throat, and spent 45 minutes saying, 'How are you feeling? Are you drinking lots of juices?' Everything else just stopped."

Hillary's greatest worries were over the bruises Chelsea might suffer in public life. An already close mother-daughter bond also became a sanctuary from the glare of publicity and attacks from Bill Clinton's political opponents. "Back in 1986 ... we started talking with Chelsea at dinner, telling her that sometimes in political races people said mean, untrue things," Hillary told PEOPLE in 1992. "Her eyes just got so big. She asked me, 'Like what?'" Shortly after Clinton won the Presidency, *Saturday Night Live* mocked the gawky 12-year-old's appearance, and Hillary ordered aides not to answer any inquiries about Chelsea. Recalls the First Lady's former press secretary Neel Lattimore: "There was a line in cement that you didn't cross: We didn't discuss Chelsea." And most of the time, Hillary didn't



For the Clintons (leaving Washington, D.C., in August) "Chelsea is their No. 1 priority," says a friend.



Chelsea greeted supporters on Martha's Vineyard last August.

either. "I am not going to answer any questions about her," she told Larry King firmly in 1996, when he asked if Chelsea was dating.

Even so, on a videotape called *The Man from Hope* shown at the 1992 Democratic National Convention, Bill reported to the world that 11-year-old Chelsea watched a 60 Minutes interview with her mother and father in the wake of the Jennifer Flowers episode and then pronounced herself glad they were her parents. Hillary also didn't hesitate to invoke Chelsea in her bestseller *It Takes a Village* and in speeches ("I'd cry every year" on the first day of school, she said, until Chelsea finally asked her not to come with her anymore) or in her syndicated newspaper column. And the famous picture of Chelsea-as-bridge-between-her-parents clearly came in handy after the President's August mea culpa. "There is a certain hypocrisy here," says David Maraniss. "For the most part they try to protect her. But when a political situation requires using Chelsea, they will."

Hillary did make a point, though, of protecting Chelsea from being spoiled in the White House. In 1993 in New York City she paid a social call on Jackie Kennedy Onassis, who "warned her not to let adults—no matter how well-intentioned—become [Chelsea's] handmaidens," says author Carl Stetson Anthony, who is working on a book about the history of First Families. "Jackie gave the ex-



In November the First Lady visited the Dominican Republic solo.

ample of telling the Secret Service not to get into it when John Jr. was in a fight in school, so that he could learn to defend himself." And Hillary took the advice to heart. "I can't tell you how many times she used to ask, 'Chelsea, is your homework done? Is your room clean? It doesn't look clean,'" says a former aide. The First Lady would insist that Chelsea sweep up the popcorn after a White House movie screening. She didn't let Chelsea off the hook when it came to her wardrobe either. "'You're wearing that?' was frequently overheard," says one Sidwell mother. It was all part of an effort to create at least a semblance of normal domestic life. For Bill Clinton's first Inaugural, Hillary invited five of Chelsea's friends from Little Rock for a slumber party and put together a scavenger hunt. "They went all over the White House," remembers an aide. "They were looking for a yellow bird on a picture in the Red Room."

Chelsea soon found a balance between behaving with decorum at the White House and enjoying its perks. When an aide invited her into the East Room after finding her listening in on a performance by violinist Itzhak Perlman, Chelsea, in jeans, scurried away in embarrassment. But at another small dinner, as the Marine band was playing, "Chelsea came down to see what her parents were doing and peeked in," recalls a former staffer. "She was wearing khaki shorts and little tennis shoes and a top, and dancing on her toes."

In private time, Hillary once biked the three miles from the White House to the National Zoo (Secret Service in tow) to meet with Chelsea's class for a field trip and often went shopping with Chelsea, sometimes unrecognized, at Banana Republic. She also led her daughter by the hand in 1995, when the 15-year-old enjoyed a public coming-out of sorts on a 10-day trip to South Asia. On the tour, through slums and palaces, "one could see how close they were,"

says Pakistan's former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. "We went to a state banquet at the Lahore fort, and as we were walking up there were all these stalls where people were selling things. Mrs. Clinton made sure that Chelsea was right there with her, that she didn't get left behind in the crowd." Chelsea also found ways to show off her own interests on their trips abroad, sharing her knowledge of Koranic writings in a mosque in Pakistan and, as a practicing non-meateater, dragging her mother to a restaurant in India where she and Hillary sampled vegetarian dishes with their hands.

A more difficult trip for Hillary, say friends, was Chelsea's—to college. Though she would have liked Chelsea to have stayed closer to home, "the very idea of Hillary trying to drive her to do anything is preposterous," says a friend. Instead she simply murmured, "But it's so far away." Days before Chelsea's departure, Hillary rushed home after a 20-hour trip to Mother Teresa's funeral in Calcutta to help her pack, and when Chelsea finally moved out, on

Sept. 18, 1997, "it left an emptiness," says a friend, "that I don't think even Hillary expected."

Four months later came the Lewinsky tempest. The Clintons were furious at the President's brother Roger Clinton for telling *Paris Match* that the scandal had "profoundly affected" Chelsea. That transgression violated Hillary's own belief that public restraint represents a "commitment to her daughter," her mother told *Vanity Fair* recently. "[Chelsea is] somebody outside of her own problems that she was being strong and positive for." More privately, during a visit to Stanford last May, Hillary showered Chelsea with affection. At a restaurant brunch with Chelsea's dormmates and then-boyfriend Pierce, the First Lady "kissed and hugged Chelsea openly all the time," according to one waitress.

Today, friends have no doubt that Chelsea, grateful to be 3,000 miles from the Lewinsky earthquake's epicenter, will, like her mother, survive this latest crisis. "They are both forgiving people who don't feel alone. They don't

feel sorry for themselves," says a longtime friend of Hillary's. So far, says a male pal of Chelsea's at Stanford, "I have never seen her visibly upset. Before Christmas she looked exhausted. She's under a lot of stress. That's pretty obvious, and it all adds up after a while." But tabloid reports that she had suffered a collapse and visited the university health center after the breakup with her boyfriend were "blown way out of proportion," the friend insists.

At present, Hillary and Chelsea are "still healing, but it's going to take time," says a friend. In her 1996 book, Hillary included an anecdote that may speak more about her sorrow and solace in this time of betrayal than anything that she has otherwise disclosed. It is the story of a then 4-year-old Chelsea, who was asked in church on Mother's Day what gift she would most like to give her own mother. "Life insurance," she announced.

Later, after questioning her, Hillary learned that the little girl believed such a thing could keep her mother from ever dying. "This tiny child wanted me to live forever," she wrote. "Isn't that what being alive is all about—being loved like that?" In a world where affection and allegiance are so often conditional, that simple realization seemed, to Hillary, like something of a miracle.

• Reported by: Jane Sims Podesta in Washington, D.C.; Jennifer Longley and Eric Francis in New York City; Ken Baker and John Hannah in Los Angeles; Steve Barnes and Bob Stewart in Little Rock; Jan McGirk in New Delhi and Kelly Williams in Chicago



Hillary (in Hilton Head Jan. 1) "has always drawn her strength from Chelsea," says a friend.



A Serbian police officer stands over slain Kosovar rebels
INTERNATIONAL

Pressure on Kosovo

IT IS A RACE BETWEEN DEATH AND DIPLOMACY IN KOSOVO. Last Friday, as NATO finalized plans for peace talks, Serb police raided the border town of Rogova, killing 24 ethnic Kosovars. Afterward NATO issued an ultimatum to both sides: come to the negotiating table by Feb. 6 or face the threat of force. Unlike last October's truce, the ultimatum presses the Serbs and Kosovars to negotiate a broad peace accord calling for "substantial autonomy" for Kosovo. And this time NATO is likely to send in troops, not "peace verifiers." That force might include a U.S. contingent, although President Clinton has not signed off on the idea. Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic will face a stark choice between accepting a NATO-enforced treaty and suffering airstrikes, say officials close to the talks. NATO is threatening to cut off aid and arms to the Kosovo Liberation Army if it doesn't end its own attacks — as well as its insistence on full independence.

JON BENET

The 'Intruder Theory' Again?

Boulder, Colo., District Attorney Alex Hunter has been looking since last October for information about a white toy bear dressed in a Santa suit. Last week he went public with the search. The bear, now missing, showed up in crime-scene photos taken in the bedroom of Jon-

Benet Ramsey the day her body was found, Dec. 26, 1996. Sources who have seen the pictures say the bear was propped up on one of two twin beds, along with other stuffed animals and dolls. But when the Ramseys were shown the photos by police last June, they said they didn't recognize the toy.

Now the question is, could it have been brought in by an "intruder"? The D.A.'s office and attorneys for the Ramseys declined comment.



The mystery Santa bear

NEW YORK

Hillary Is Coy. Pat Is Mad.

NO ONE CLOSE TO HILLARY Clinton thinks she really wants to spend her post-White House days in Washington. But so far the First Lady has refused to shoot down rumors that she might make a bid for the seat of retiring New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Friends say Mrs. Clinton is flattered by the attention — and polls showing her easily defeating Rudy Giuliani and Allouise D'Amato. But



Running or not?

Mrs. Clinton's indecision is infuriating Moynihan, who announced his retirement early so a Democratic candidate could raise the \$20 million it will take to keep the seat. "If Hillary Clinton's not going to run she should say so," says Liz Moynihan, his wife and top political adviser. "As long as she's out there, the Democrats won't be looking around for a New Yorker."



An ongoing weapons program

SADDAM

Iraq's Arms

THE U.S. INSPECTION TEAM (UNSCOM) was kicked out of Iraq last December. But it isn't going quietly. UNSCOM experts have produced a detailed analysis of Saddam Hussein's covert weapons programs. Some highlights:

- Evidence of an ongoing missile project to develop an ICBM after the Gulf War at 12 facilities around Iraq
- Chemical weapons, including at least 550 mustard-filled artillery shells and 1.5 tons of VX nerve agent
- Bio weapons, including enough yeast to grow 26,000 liters of anthrax

Go to the Videotape Edition

For those "pitiful" witnesses, the CW has some questions. For Monica: "What tree would you be?" For Vernon: "Who's your tailor?" For Sidney: "Who wrote the stalking points?"

Clinton	↔	Good news: Not enough GOPs to remove. Bad: More than enough to "find facts."
Lewinsky	↓	Book 'n' Babs PR campaign blown by video depo. But CW loves the foxy book jacket pic.
Managers	↓	Old CW: Fighting for rule of law. New: Fighting for their reps. P.S. Where's Betty?
Senate	↓	World's most exclusive club is just about as bipartisan as ... the House. Smell the coffee.
Flynt	↑	Higher approval rating than Starr or Congress. Hearing footsteps, Pope John Paul?
Duval	↑	Old CW: Golf enters era of the Tiger. New: Golf enters era of obscure superstar. Fore!

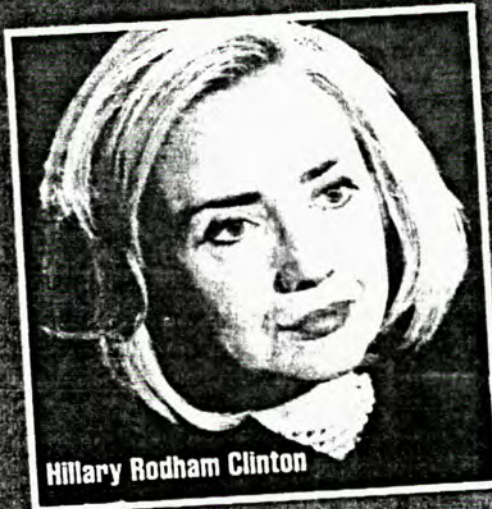
The Washington Post

PARADE



for now and the 21st century

More than
100,000 Americans
chose these five prominent
women as leaders who
could serve as President
by 2008—or sooner.



Hillary Rodham Clinton



Elizabeth Hamford Dole

Five Who Could Be President



Sen. Dianne Feinstein



Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy



Gov. Christine Todd Whitman

INSIDE: In Step With George Segal... By James Brady



The results are in: Here are five leaders who many Americans say can do the job.

for now and the 21st century

Women Who

BY JANE CIABATTARI

MORE THAN 100,000 Americans in an informal vote picked Hillary Rodham Clinton, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy and New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman as five who have what it takes to be the first woman President of the United States.

The Ballot Box Initiative was introduced in PARADE on Sept. 27 and was subsequently offered via an Internet site, a 900 number and five other magazines: *Essence*, *Glamour*, *Jane*, *Latina* and *People*. Ballots also were distributed by hand in California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire and New York.

"The goal is to have women from all parties putting their hats in the ring for the Presidency in the next decade," said Marie Wilson, president of The White House Project, which sponsored the ballot initiative. It invited anyone across America to choose five Presidential prospects from a nonpartisan list of 20 women. The project has nothing to do with the present White House Administration.

Those who took part in the "balloting" were asked to pick women based on demonstrated leadership qualities, not political



"A young girl interested in public service can be told with a straight face that she too could grow up to be President."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton

beliefs. Runners-up were Ann Fudge, 47, president of Maxwell House Coffee, a division of Kraft Foods; and Mae C. Jemison, 42, a former astronaut who is a physician, engineer and Dartmouth professor.

Will any of the top five vote-getters actually run for President? Maybe.

Mrs. Dole, 62, said in mid-January: "I'm giving serious thought to it—I need to do an assessment first." She resigned last month as president of the Red Cross to consider a bid in 2000. "The time is ripe for a woman President," she added. "Definitely in our lifetime. There are many women who are prepared. We'll have a woman Vice President very soon. We have the first woman Secretary of State.

"It takes someone with the stamina, the staying power, the determination and the enthusiasm to carry it off."

—Dianne Feinstein



The momentum is there."

While declining to state whether she'd consider running herself, Mrs. Clinton, 51, declared that the project demonstrated "Americans are ready to consider voting for a woman President within the next 10 years." She added:

"That is good news for our country, for qualified women willing to enter the public arena at the highest level and for every young girl interested in public service who can be told with a straight face that she too could grow up to become President."

New Jersey's Governor Whitman, 52, said she was not looking at 2000 for a run for the Presidency, "because if I were, I'd already be preparing." She added, "I never rule anything out. I would expect to see a woman on the ballot in 2000 for either or both major parties, for either Vice President or President."

Although she plans to run for re-election to the Senate in 2000, Senator Feinstein, 65, said she hadn't "come to grips" with the idea of running for the Presidency. But she observed, "I've been the first [woman] four times now: once as president of the Board of Supervisors [in San Francisco], as mayor, as the first gubernatorial candidate in my state, the first woman Senator from my state. What I've learned is there is a testing period that goes on—particularly in an executive capacity."

"I think," she concluded, "it [takes someone] with the ability to run a campaign well, put together a platform that resounds with the American people and someone with the stamina, the staying power, the determination and enthusiasm to carry it off." And the money.

Both Senator Feinstein and Governor

How the Ballot Got Started

The Ballot Box Initiative that led to the naming of five women who could serve as President was sponsored by The White House Project in an effort to create a climate in which voters could think seriously about electing a woman to that office. It began with letters from girls who said they wanted to be President, explains Marie Wilson, one of the project's three founders. This she first heard during Take Our Daughters to Work Day, introduced by the Ms. Foundation, of which Wilson also is president. The ballot itself was first presented in PARADE on Sept. 27, attracting 25,000 responses, and later drew more than 75,000 votes in several other venues. For more information visit: www.thewhitehouseproject.org

Whitman stressed the importance of fund-raising. Governor Whitman called that the "first hurdle" and pointed out, "In this day and age, you have to raise \$20 million early on to have a place at



"The time is ripe for a woman President. There are many women who are prepared."

—Elizabeth Hanford Dole

the table. It's more difficult for a woman, because we don't have the network in place." But she said it could be done.

Claudia Kennedy, 51, a three-star general with 30 years in the Army who expects to retire in a few years, said

COVER PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN SIMON (BARACK CLINTON), ANN STALLS (BARBARA DOLE), ALLAN TANNENBAUM (SILVIA FEINSTEIN), JILL OWSEN (BERGER GAMMA-LIAISON (KENNEDY)) AND ABE FRAJNDLICH (CHRISTINE WHITMAN)

PAGE 6 • FEBRUARY 7, 1999 • PARADE MAGAZINE

Could Be President



"There is every possibility that I would run for elective office, but I have no idea what office that might be."
—Claudia Kennedy

"There is every possibility that I would run for elective office, but I have no idea which office that might be." It was unlikely that she would seek the Presidency, she noted, because "I am not an Eisenhower and not a Colin Powell." She added, "I have five years in as a general and a lot of developing to do."

Did she ever seek office? Well, back in ninth grade at James Blair High School in Williamsburg, Va., she ran for treasurer, she said. "I won."

Kennedy said she expected to see women candidates on at least one of the tickets in the next two Presidential elections. "I think we're there," she added.

The Ballot Box Initiative was the result of a survey conducted by Celinda Lake, a leading Democratic poll-taker. It indicated that 76% of those contacted would like to vote for a woman for President. The White House Project then came up with the idea for an informal vote.

"We have to change the climate," said Marie Wilson, "in order to get Americans thinking seriously about a woman candidate. If you are a democracy, you want an opportunity for everyone to participate, and women are the untapped national resource at this level of government. It's about wanting a democracy to mirror women's voices and visions."

The ballot initiative cost about \$2 million, paid by private donors.

Among them were the two women who, with Wilson, co-founded The White House Project: Barbara Lee of Brookline, Mass., a fund-raiser for the Democrats; and Laura Liswood, vice chair of the Council of Women World Leaders.

"Our goal for 2008," explained Lee, "is to have women running in each Presidential cycle. In the past, women have been judged on the Three H's—hair, husband and hemlines. If one woman runs, she's judged on the Three H's; if two women run, they're considered by the press as candidates in a cat fight. But when three run, the scrutiny of them as women diminishes, and they are viewed



"I never rule anything out. I would expect to see a woman on the ballot in 2000."
—Christine Todd Whitman

as capable people who are looked at through their accomplishments, their agenda and their vision of the future."

And, just out of curiosity, what would be the role of the First Spouse?

"Bob Dole is well-qualified to take an active role in meaningful ways," said Elizabeth Dole. "Since he left the Senate, he's been urging men to get the PSA test for prostate cancer and heading up the International Commission on Missing Persons in Bosnia. That would continue."

The First Spouse's role should be "limited," said Senator Feinstein. "The first woman President will have to show that she has all of the marbles required to run the government on her own."

"I wouldn't be surprised if we didn't see male spouses taking formal roles," said Governor Whitman, whose husband, John, has his own business and, as First Spouse of New Jersey, has been active in breast-cancer awareness and the state's Vietnam veterans' memorial and capitol dome restoration projects. "It would be difficult to maintain a private business on the side, no matter how conscientious you are."

"I'm not married," said Lieutenant General Kennedy. "The First Dog would be a poodle named Sterling. The First Cat would be Ashley."



Marie Wilson (l) and Barbara Lee, founders of The White House Project, which sponsored the Ballot Box Initiative.

Six Others Who Influenced History

The women leaders whom Americans now can envision in the White House flourished in a century in which women demanded a greater role in determining their own lives and in sharing national goals. Here are six among thousands who changed perceptions:



Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962)
She revolutionized the role of the First Lady by becoming a strong advocate of social reform while in the White House. FDR would often reply to press questions with, "My missus says..."



Rosa Parks, 86
She spearheaded the civil-rights movement by refusing to relinquish her seat to a white man on a segregated bus in 1955. When asked why, she replied, "I had been pushed as far as I could stand."



Wilma Mankiller, 53
As a former chief of the Cherokee Nation, the second largest tribe in the U.S., she follows the Cherokee belief: "Think about the impact of your decisions on seven generations into the future."



Edith Wilson (1872-1961)
She assumed many Executive Branch duties when her husband, Woodrow Wilson, had a stroke in 1919. As First Lady, she promised to "hold these strong hands that steer the ship in both my own."



Christa McAuliffe (1948-86)
A teacher, wife and mother, she was chosen to be the first female civilian in space in 1985. When asked about her mission, she replied: "What are we doing here? We are reaching for the stars."



Madame C.J. Walker (1867-1919)
She became the first black female millionaire as the inventor of beauty products for African-Americans. The magazine *Crisis* said Walker "revolutionized the personal habits of millions of human beings."

A job too well done

Autograph dict, media blockheads, computer police, Buddy's new trick

BY PAUL BEDARD

When **President Clinton** this month abruptly ended a 10-year standoff with Pakistan and returned \$464 million the country had paid for 28 jet fighters the United States never delivered, Washington tongues began wagging. After all, aides said, Clinton was still mad at Pakistan's recent nuclear bomb test, and the administration had stalled in returning the money. Was it a gift to Pakistan's legal representative, **Lanny Davis**, the former White House scandal spokesman, for his continued media defensive effort on behalf of the president, critics whispered. Nah, says the likable Davis, who reveals to Whispers that he didn't make a dime on the deal. "I got screwed," he says, laughing, explaining that he would have won a nice percentage if Pakistan had sued first. But insiders say his legal pressure, crafty court tactics, and threats to sue—not a presidential wink and nod—prompted a settlement. His loss? Something in the "low seven figure" area, Davis says.

Autograph hounds

Hillary Rodham Clinton's security handlers have put her on the same autograph-free diet as **President Clinton**. Last week, as she was surrounded by supporters during a tour of Buffalo, many asked for her signature. But the first lady said that White House protectors don't want her stalled in a mob pushing sharp pencils and paper in her face. "No, they've asked me not to, but write me at the White House and I'll write you back." There you go, a famous autograph for just 33 cents.

GOP handmaidens

Are the media ignoring a message from the body politic by focusing on **President Clinton's** impeachment instead of policy issues? Democratic pollster **Celinda Lake** thinks so. "You're ranked along with pollsters and used-car dealers," Lake says voters are even inflating Clinton's approval ratings just to "send a message to Washington to move on. The public is... really, really mad that they are not being listened to."

Loyalty counts

As former New Jersey Sen. **Bill Bradley** enjoys interest in his unfolding campaign for presi-

dent, Vice President **Al Gore's** allies are mounting a pre-emptive attack, questioning their opponent's experience and his willingness to fight for Democratic causes. The spin: Instead of skipping town and retiring like Bradley did in 1996 when **President Clinton** needed Democratic firepower, Gore rolled up his sleeves and fought hard for the president's embattled agenda. Message sent: Gore deserves the nomination for doing it the old-fashioned way.

Impeachment gloom

Just when we thought we'd heard every defender's argument for leaving **President Clin-**

ton alone, in comes this bit of reasoning: His removal from office will spark a stock market crash and lead to unemployment, soaring crime rates, and "rampant" drug use. Rep. **Chaka Fattah**, Pennsylvania Democrat, leveled the warning in a letter to House members before the chamber impeached Clinton. He claimed similar disasters followed the resignation of former **President Nixon**. "Does lying to conceal something we have no business asking questions about in the first place warrant the creation of an economic and constitutional crisis?" he asks.

Now hear this

The Pentagon is spoiling all the fun that staffers are having with their desktop computers. Under a new ruling, no one will be allowed to have games, Internet links, or personal software on their office PCs. A recent scan of DOD computers found several stuffed with playthings such as games and software to design homes. An E-mail to all users ordered the software removed—or else!

All show

NATO's 50th-anniversary summit in April will be the biggest international bash of **President Clinton's** presidency, and already the White House hosts are fretting about bad press and chintzy accommodations. To deal with reporters, National Security Adviser **Sandy Berger** is creating a "spin" office to feed the media positive stories and get the word out that NATO is more than a cold war relic. Money's still a worry. Millions have been raised, but the host committee is far short of the \$15 million to \$20



All Lanny Davis got in the Pakistan deal was lint in his pockets.



SEXGATE

Starr's Top Deputy: Have Gun, Will Travel

KEN STARR'S RIGHTHAND MAN MAY BE ready to bolt. **JACKIE BENNETT**, Starr's top deputy, has interviewed with at least one Washington law firm with strong Republican credentials, promising to bring paying clients with him.



Bennett

Bennett's aggressive prosecutorial style has made him one of the most controversial figures in Starr's office and the one most despised by the White House. A veteran of the Justice Department's public-integrity section, Bennett has been under wraps ever since the federal judge overseeing Starr's grand jury called for an investigation of leaks from the independent counsel's shop. Bennett had been fingered as one of the media's main contacts there. Could his departure mean that he saw diminished prospects that **PRESIDENT CLINTON** would ever be indicted? Starr's office declined to comment. **By Viveca Novak/Washington**

PUBLISHING

Hillary Offered \$5 Million To Tell (Almost) All

THERE'S ONE WAY **HILLARY CLINTON** COULD make back all the money she and her husband forked over to Paula Jones, while getting a little sly revenge on Bill: take the \$5 million book contract **JUDITH REGAN** is offering her. Regan is the saucy Harper-Collins editor known for making gravy with such authors as Rush Limbaugh and Wally Lamb. But, says the First Lady's lawyer, Robert Barnett, "for now, Mrs. Clinton is not considering any book offers. She will not turn her attention to that before 2001." In fact, some speculate that Hillary could command well over \$5 million if she de-

cides to spill the beans. Why is Regan prepared to pay so much? "The most valuable political property is her book, if she does it," says Regan. "Hers would be the most interesting story, both personally and professionally." But for that kind of money, Mrs. Clinton would have to tell almost all, admits



Clinton

the publisher. "Not everything, but quite a bit." Clearly Regan isn't ruling the one that got away: Monica. Having snubbed a \$4 million book-and-TV offer from Regan before the Starr report was out, Monica was offered less than \$1 million for a book afterward. The deal died, says Regan, partly because of the Lewinsky camp's distaste for another big-haired author of hers: Howard Stern. **—By Andrea Sachs/New York**

THE ART WORLD

Changing the Paintings As Fast as the Sheets

OH, HOW THEY LAUGHED WHEN **STEVE WYNN** brought Picasso and Matisse to his casino in Las Vegas. Was the guy nuts? High art in the high desert? But when Wynn, the chairman of Mirage Resorts

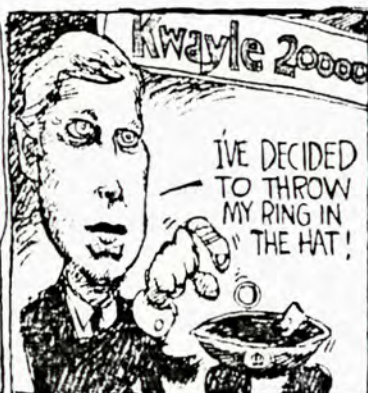
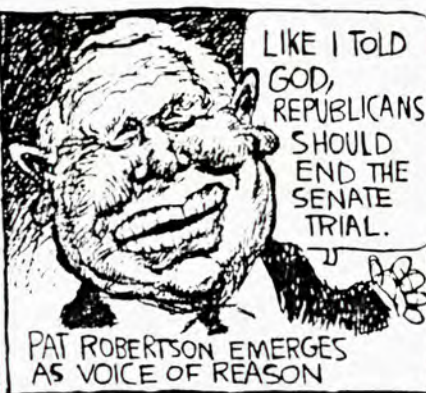


Wynn

Inc., rolls the dice, he usually wins. His tiny two-room gallery at the Bellagio hotel has lured more than 100,000 people since its opening in late October. In the past month, more than

2,000 people a day have been anteing up \$10 each to see Wynn's collection of 20 paintings, from Degas to Picasso. Wynn has also made his presence felt as an art dealer. Since the Bellagio opened three months ago, Wynn has sold a number of pieces from the late 20th century: a Jasper Johns, a Lichtenstein, two Warhol pieces and Rauschenberg's *The Small Red Painting*, which purportedly went to billionaire publisher **SI NEWHOUSE**. "He has got rid of quite a few 20th century paintings and is starting to go into the Renaissance," says **ALAN FELDMAN**, Wynn's spokesman. In fact, he has added a Rembrandt, a Rubens and a Renoir. To those surprised by all this commerce, well, it is Vegas. "We're not a museum. We're a gallery," says Feldman. And a pretty high-rolling one at that. **—By Cathy Booth/Las Vegas**

THE DRAWING BOARD





Gwyneth Paltrow greets VIP guest Mrs. Clinton.

scene+heard

PREMIERE

will and hillary

In Manhattan, the First Lady brushes up her Shakespeare

There were no cross-dressing heroines, skull-toting soliloquists or fateful daggers, but the New York premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* did include young romantics (lead Gwyneth Paltrow and real-life beau Ben Affleck) and a keen punster (playwright Tom Stoppard), and if it didn't have an audience with a queen, at least it had a First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton—in the audience. At the party, held in the St. Regis Hotel's rooftop ballroom, the man of the hour was, well, long dead—but very much there in spirit. Co-star Geoffrey Rush, a fan of the sonnets, called the Bard a great poet; Affleck added, "I like that he compares love to a sickness and a cure together." Paltrow, who plays Viola, muse to Shakespeare himself (Joseph Fiennes), rated at least one sonnet in a semi-sheer Armani gown. Paltrow's vote for the film's most romantic episode was "when they're reciting the goodbye scene [from *Romeo and Juliet*] and making love at the same time." So *that's* parting's sweet sorrow. —Susan M. Kirschbaum

CoinWorld

February 1, 1999

"Enriching coin collecting through knowledge"



First lady unveils first lady

FIRST LADY Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a 1999 commemorative silver dollar depicting Dolley Madison during an official unveiling ceremony in the White House Jan. 11 while Larry Summers, deputy undersecretary of the Treasury, applauds. The unveiling was made under the watchful gaze of a painting of George Washington – the same Gilbert Stuart painting that first lady Dolley Madison saved when British troops burned the White House in 1814. The silver dollar is the first coin designed by a private company, Tiffany & Co., whose company hallmark appears on the obverse of the dollar. The coin depicts Madison on the obverse and on the reverse, Montpelier, President James and Dolley Madison's Virginia home. The silver dollar is available at the pre-issue prices of \$30 for the Uncirculated coin and \$33 for the Proof version (after Feb. 8, prices are \$32 for the Uncirculated coin and \$37 for the Proof). A two-coin set containing both is priced at \$59.95 through Feb. 8, and \$64.95 afterwards. Call (800) MINT-USA for details on ordering the coin. (Coin World photo by Richard J. Feeney.)



Iris Cantor (left) and Hillary Rodham Clinton. George Segal's *Standing in Nature*, 1976 (below).

Lucky Strike

Regaling her audience at the ceremony for the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal in the capital this fall with one of her favorite stories, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** aimed to shed light not only on her husband's renowned persistence but also on her own interest in art in general and sculpture in particular. In the process, she took a political risk and let on that **Bill Clinton** had once crossed a picket line.

The occasion of the anecdote was the First Couple's first date, at the Yale Art Gallery when both were in law school. They'd gone to see a Mark Rothko exhibition in the museum and a Henry Moore sculpture in the garden. The only problem was that the gallery was closed due to a labor strike.

"But in a manner of persuasiveness that I saw for the first time that day, and have seen every day in the last 27 years," the First Lady laughed, "Bill Clinton was able to persuade the museum curators and watchman that if we picked up

the trash that had accumulated in front of the museum, we could go in."

So they did.

As the president went on to note, only days after the Democratic successes of last November's elections, "I just realized that at the moment of greatest unity for my political party in many years, my wife has told the president of the AFL-CIO that I crossed a picket line. But it's true."

The day following the awards, Mrs. Clinton presided over the inauguration of "Exhibition VII: Inspired by Rodin"—the newest in a series of shows begun in 1994, headed "Twentieth-Century American Sculpture at the White House" and installed in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden. The First Lady gratefully saluted collector and philanthropist **Iris Cantor**.

"Although dozens of museums have been involved in choosing and lending appropriate pieces for the exhibition," Mrs. Clinton said, "none could have underwritten the expense of mounting such a

series alone. For that, we turned to one of this country's most important arts patrons, **Iris Cantor**, who, along with her late husband, **B. Gerald Cantor**, and the **Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation**, agreed not only to underwrite



the expense of the exhibits but also to lend the two centerpiece of the current show—castings of Rodin's *The Three Shades* and *The Thinker*."

She also reminded visitors that a cast of *The Thinker* had been placed in the Oval Office on Inauguration Day. "It was Bernie's prized piece and it had never traveled until it was placed there."

For this show, 12 works by artists as diverse as **Louise Bourgeois**, **Bryan Hunt**, **George Segal**, and **William**

Zorach were selected from public art collections throughout the Northeast.

The garden stands as the First Lady's unique contribution to art in the White House. Since opportunities for adding contemporary art to the historic residence are few—by law, any art on public display can't have been done within the past 25 years, or be by a living artist—the garden offers a refreshing expressive outlet. The shows are put together by museum curators in consultation with White House curator **Betty Monkman**, Mrs. Clinton, and decorator **Kaki Hockersmith**, and with the support of the Preservation Committee and **J. Carter Brown**.

If anyone thinks it's easy to put together a show, consider such thorny matters as these: social and political diversity (regional, racial, gender representation), security, and logistics. One exhibition included a Donald Lipski sculpture of two spheres that Hockersmith says "looked like underwater mines"—they had to be X-rayed to ensure that they contained no explosives.

Hockersmith also recalls the installation of a large Calder. "A marine helicopter landed," she laughs, "and the sculpture started doing its thing and spinning around. The marines were really astonished, thinking the machines would take off."

What will happen when the Clinton term is over and the last of the rotating shows is closed? Will the garden be reclaimed by nature? "It's perfectly landscaped for sculpture," notes Hockersmith, but it's also difficult to get material from public collections. "There is only a finite quantity of sculptures available in public museums. You begin to repeat yourself."

—Barbara A. MacAdam

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Campaign Update

WINTER 1999

First Lady Praises Efforts of National Campaign and Media Leaders



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the issue of teen pregnancy at a luncheon for the National Campaign.

Calling teen pregnancy "a one-way ticket, not just to a dream deferred, but to the ending of a dream," First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton applauded the efforts of the National Campaign and called on media and business leaders to become more involved in preventing teen pregnancies.

At a New York luncheon hosted for the National Campaign by Ann Moore, President of the *People* Division of Time Warner, and Pat Fili Krushel, President of the ABC Television Network, Mrs. Clinton noted that the country is at a "turning point in the struggle against teen pregnancy," but cautioned against complacency. While noting the decline in teen pregnancies and births—particularly among African-Americans—the First Lady sounded a warning about the rates among Hispanic teens. "For the first time in history, Hispanic youngsters have the highest teenage birth rate in the nation," said Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton praised the National Campaign as a "partnership model" that

attempts to bring together the public and private sectors as well as those with profound and differing views on how best to prevent teen pregnancy. The First Lady also applauded the efforts of *People* and *Teen People* magazines for continuing editorial coverage of the issue, ABC television for its ongoing teen pregnancy storyline in the daytime drama *One Life to Live* and its attendant public service announcements, and Black Entertainment Television for its *Teen Summit* programs on teen sexuality. "Imagine what we could do if more of the media did these types of things on a regular basis," said Mrs. Clinton. "The more the media can portray the gritty reality" of teen pregnancy, the more likely we are to prevent teens from becoming pregnant, she added.

The December 1 luncheon was attended by media celebrities, media executives, business leaders, and others concerned with preventing teen pregnancy. Among those representing the media were

(continued on page 8)



Now Available from the National Campaign.
Goodbye to Girlhood: What's Troubling Girls and What We Can Do About It, by Barbara Datoe Whitehead and Theodora Ooms. See Page 11 for details

First Lady Praises the Efforts of the Campaign

continued from cover

Barbara Walters, Lesley Stahl, Christina Saralegui, Star Jones, and Deborah Norville, as well as such executives as Norm Pearlstine, Editor-in-Chief of Time Inc., Mike Klingensmith, President of *Sports Illustrated*, Herb Scannell, President of the Nickelodeon cable network, Ellen Levine, Editor-in-Chief of *Good Housekeeping*, and Janet Chan, Managing Editor of *Parenting* and *Baby Talk* magazines. Business leaders included Kathy Dwyer, President of Revlon, Val Azzoli, President of Atlantic Recording Corporation, Dan Brestle, President of Estee Lauder, and Jane Fonda of the Turner Foundation.



(from left to right) Jane Fonda, Isabel Stewart, National Executive Director, Girls Inc. and Campaign Board Member, Regina Montoya, President, Girls Inc., First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Girls Inc. member Melody Gonzalez.

Christina Ferrari, Editor-in-Chief of *Teen People* magazine—which reaches over one million readers—also announced a contest to be held in collaboration with the National Campaign. Appearing in the February 1999 issue, the contest will encourage readers to create their own teen pregnancy prevention public service advertisements (see page 3 for details).

Two youth development organizations were given money raised at the luncheon: Girls Inc., a national program that encourages young women to be “strong, smart, and bold,” and Inwood House’s “Boys to Men” program, a New York-based program designed to help young men from the South Bronx pass safely through adolescence.



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton congratulates Brandon Mercado of Inwood House while Gladys Carrion, Executive Director of that organization, looks on.

Baby Love — The Voices of Teen Mothers

Baby Love, a telling video created by filmmaker Carol Cassidy in association with the Independent Television Service, provides a startling look at the realities of teen motherhood. From their hopes and dreams to their day-to-day struggles as parents, teen mothers from a variety of social, racial, and economic backgrounds talk openly on camera about what happens when children have children.

Baby Love touches on a variety of issues related to teen sex, relationships, and motherhood, including the search for love; sexual decision-making; the often-

stormy and short-lived relationship with the baby’s father; the challenge to finish high school, get a job, and provide for your child; missed opportunities; family relationships; and plans for the future. Designed to be used as an educational tool, the video comes with a study guide to facilitate group discussion on teen pregnancy and parenthood.

For more information about this video, please contact Direct Cinema Limited, P.O. Box 10003, Santa Monica, CA 90410; phone: 800-525-0000; e-mail: directcinema@attmail.com.



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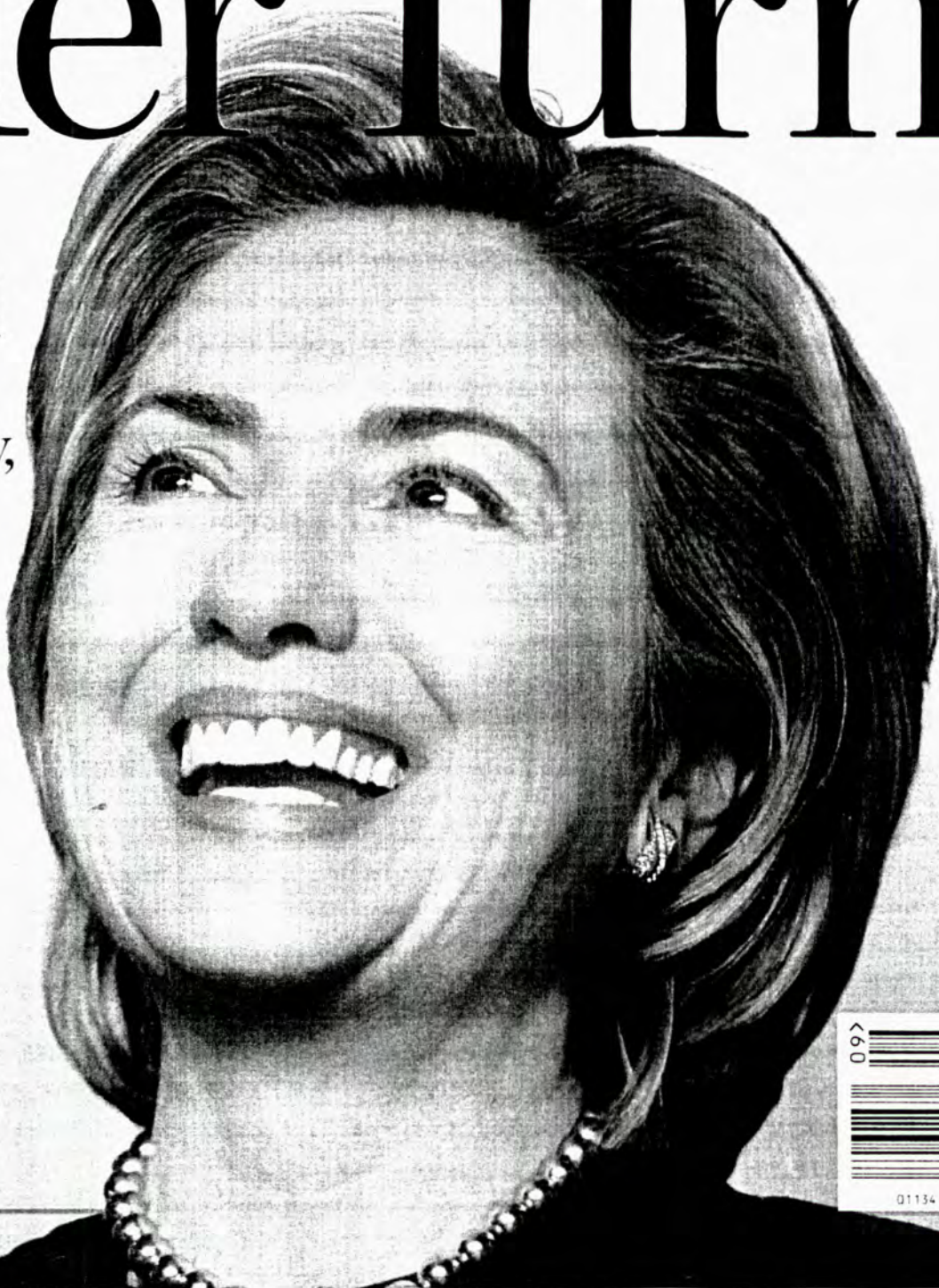
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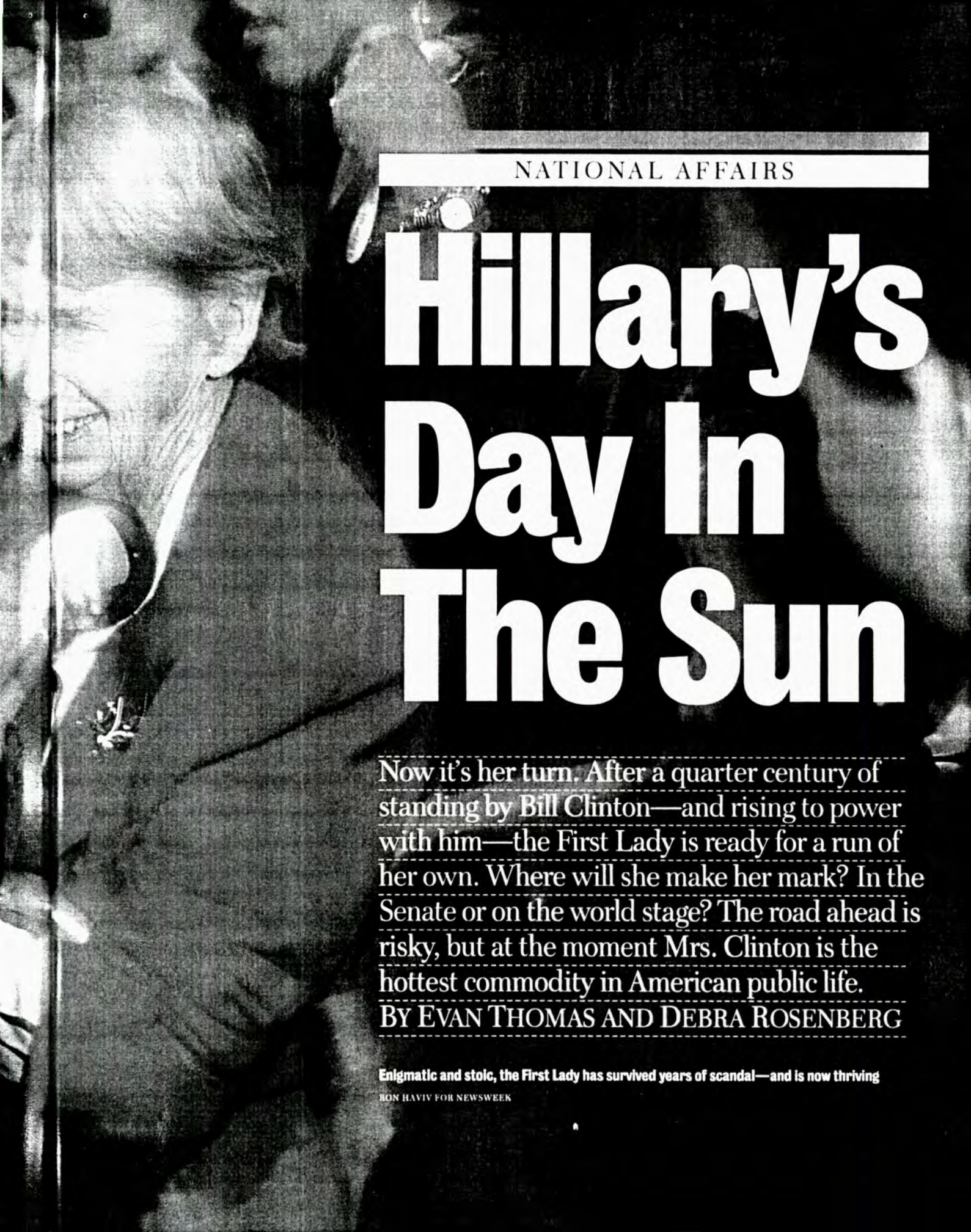
Her Turn

Senate
or world
stage?
Either way,
Hillary's
ready for
her own
run at
history.



Q1134





NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hillary's Day In The Sun

Now it's her turn. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the First Lady is ready for a run of her own. Where will she make her mark? In the Senate or on the world stage? The road ahead is risky, but at the moment Mrs. Clinton is the hottest commodity in American public life.

BY EVAN THOMAS AND DEBRA ROSENBERG

Enigmatic and stolid, the First Lady has survived years of scandal—and is now thriving

RON HAVIV FOR NEWSWEEK

THE IDEA FIRST occurred to Charlie Rangel, the powerful 14-term congressman from Harlem, as he listened to the crowds screaming for Hillary Clinton at a rally in Chicago last fall. "If you run for the Senate, you should run in New York," he told the First Lady afterward. He was surprised when she didn't dismiss the notion. So the congressman brought it up again when he saw her at the president's State of the Union address in January. Mrs. Clinton

had obviously been pondering her future. She replied that she was "serious" about running for the Senate, but insisted, "I can't think about it until the impeachment trial is over."

She waited, maybe, 10 minutes. As the gavel fell on the acquittal of President Clinton on Friday, Feb. 12, Hillary was sitting down to lunch with former White House aide Harold Ickes, an old hand at New York politics. Just a social lunch, said a White House spokesperson, but knowledgeable sources say the main item on the menu was whether the First Lady should make a run to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in January 2001. By the next day, Mrs. Clinton was working the phones, polling friends and advisers. Last Friday she met with Moynihan for a county-by-county discussion of New York state politics. With more politicians, lawyers and labor leaders on the First Lady's schedule in coming weeks, her friends were making even odds that Hillary Clinton will seek to become Senator Clinton.

It's her turn now. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the woman who got him through moot court at Yale Law is emerging as the hottest commodity in American public

life. She weathered years of scandal—some of her own making, some of her husband's—and has earned widespread public approval. (In the NEWSWEEK Poll, 56 percent view her favorably and only 26 percent unfavorably.) The public knows more than it ever wanted to about her husband, but is

only just beginning to learn about her. Enigmatic and stoic, at once a familiar face and yet little understood, Mrs. Clinton could find herself in new territory—for herself and for the country.

The talk of her running for office is just one possible next chapter. She could be a

What's a First Lady to Do?

While Hillary mulls a Senate run, she's got plenty of companies and organizations lining up to be second choice. The First Lady is a long way from a decision, but that only fuels speculation on what else she might choose to do. "It's like a national parlor game," says one friend. Some of the options Mrs. Clinton may entertain:



The Author

She's sure to write at least one book—a memoir could fetch \$5 million, and one on women's issues would fare well, too



Ambassador to the U.N.

She's said to be interested—it's the perfect platform for her international causes—but she'd need a President Gore to make it happen





At last, a role reversal

If it's Hillary's turn at center stage, it's Bill's turn to be behind-the-scenes strategist—and breadwinner

The press, suffering from Monica withdrawal, gave the Hillary-for-Senate story enormous play. The First Lady, seemingly elated by the change of subject, signaled that she was in no rush to make up her mind. As one friend said, she had to enjoy "the delicious irony" that so many people were clamoring for her to run for office so soon after her husband had narrowly avoided being kicked out of his. "For a year, it's been, 'she's the victim, how could she stand by her man, poor pitiful Hillary,'" said a former White House official. "Now it's 'Of course she'd win! Why should she want that to stop?'" President Clinton appeared happy to let his wife bask in the glow. At his first press conference since the impeachment trial, the questions were largely about Hillary—not Monica or "Jane Doe No. 5." Indeed, the headlines were so positive that veteran Clinton watchers immediately suspected a ploy to distract from any lingering questions about the Lewinsky scandal.

But there is a deeper story behind Hillary's senatorial ambitions and the strong public reaction they arouse. (In the NEWSWEEK Poll, 78 percent think Hillary would make an effective senator.) In part, people are curious about the latest act in the complex and mysterious melodrama of the Clinton marriage. In the celebrity culture, Hillary ranks somewhere between Gwyneth Paltrow and the late Princess Diana; she can create a buzz by just changing her haircut. But millions of women and not a few men are also fascinated by Hillary's personal struggle and its resonance for the postfeminist age. She has never liked the role of dependent, much less victim.

She has always searched, not always successfully, for a way to keep her dignity and preserve her family while earning power in her own right.

The First Lady can find any number of reasons *not* to run for office. She would be passing up a chance to cash in—and pay off all those legal bills. She'd have to jump into the media snake pit of New York. And if she won, she'd be a low-ranking senator in an institution built on seniority. Once in office—still living in the Washington she's come to loathe—she'd have to spend as much time on "pothole issues" as she

highly paid author, an ambassador or a foundation head; there are any number of places or ways for her to make her own mark. "It Takes a Village," her major policy book, was a best seller; publishing observers think she could get as much as \$5 million for her next volume. If she took to the speaking circuit,

she could make up to \$60,000 per appearance. She could do both while serving on corporate boards and running a foundation. But money is not the only object: each of these options would give her a voice and let her set her own agenda—one independent, at long last, from her husband's.



The Mogul

Aides say she isn't just getting big-bucks offers to sit on boards of directors—invites to serve as CEO are starting to come in, too.



The Teacher

Top law schools would kill to have her; Hillary has also mentioned lecturing at a politics center at the future Clinton library



The Charity Worker

With her formidable fund-raising skills and eclectic interests, starting her own charitable foundation could give her maximum freedom



The Activist Hillary's fierce devotion to service was forged early, and it has sustained her over the years—from her Watergate days (left, in 1974) to the health-care debacle (above, in 1994) to her crusade for children's rights (below, in 1998)



would on saving the world. Still, her friends say, all these negatives may be eclipsed by simple idealism. In an ironic, Washington-hating age, Hillary's sometimes self-righteous dutifulness may seem quaint or hokey, but to her, public service is still a real and urgent obligation. It has been since she shone in her Methodist youth group as an earnest teenager. She was always the policy person while Bill was the politician. She never showed much interest in running for office herself, though her friends wish she had and sometimes even wonder if the wrong Clinton wound up in the White House. It's not, they say, too late.

For the past six years, Hillary has tried, with grinding determination and mixed re-

sults, to redefine the role of First Lady. Many, indeed most, modern First Ladies have wielded influence behind the scenes (Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush). Hillary sought to bring that power into the open. Too many people, however, saw her as Lady Macbeth. Her great cause—health-care reform—foundered in part because it was ill-conceived, but also because it was regarded as a palace conspiracy. Reactions were surprisingly violent; in Kentucky, Hillary was burned in effigy. Still, she did not sulk. Instead, she went abroad, spreading her "It Takes a Village" gospel and standing up for oppressed women. She inveighed against bride burning in India, female genital mutilation in

Africa, forced abortions in China. She became an icon, drawing adoring throngs—and boosting her poll ratings back home.

They climbed higher when the Monica story broke and Hillary became the Woman Wronged. She lashed back at first, decrying the "vast right-wing conspiracy," but then became quiet and loyal. In time, she achieved a kind of serenity: by December she was posing for Vogue and was hailed for her dignity in the face of betrayal. There was one problem: she hated what she calls "the pity press," the mawkish tributes to her chin-up stoicism. Running for the Senate offers Hillary the chance to earn her status—to owe the voters, not her husband. Winning a high elective office would make her a power in her own right.

In the NEWSWEEK Poll, Hillary Clinton beats New York Mayor Giuliani 46% to 34%, and 63% say that attacks on her about scandal will backfire

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 702 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE FEB. 14. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS ± 5 PERCENTAGE POINTS. THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1998 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.



The Good Wife No one doubts that Hillary is an exemplary mother, but her steadfast loyalty to her husband in times of trouble has drawn both praise and fire



The Campaigner Whether stumping for her husband during his runs for Arkansas governor (left, in 1982) or helping usher the likes of Sen. Chuck Schumer into office, Hillary is the consummate campaigner. Her star power would lend serious dazzle to a Senate run—but leave other Dems out in the cold.

She would not find the Senate warm and welcoming, especially if the Republicans stay in control. Many of her colleagues will have voted to convict her husband of high crimes. Much of the Washington media establishment would be all too ready to see her fail. In the beginning, she would have little clout on her committees or on the floor. No matter, say her more optimistic advisers. Coming of age at the time of the Great Society and the debates over civil rights, she has a nostalgic view of the Senate. Her model would be Robert F. Kennedy, who was not so much the junior senator from New York as a global crusader. Like RFK, she could make camera lights shine in dark places of neglect. Unlike RFK, Hillary actually likes

the minutiae of policy wonkery. She could fight over the fine print of that federal transportation grant to Utica.

Of course, to represent Utica (or Buffalo or Brooklyn), she'd have to go there, early and often. The carpetbagger charge would probably not stick in a state with a traditionally cosmopolitan view of its senators. She wouldn't have to actually declare her residency until Election Day, and a hotel room would legally suffice (RFK rented an estate in Glen Cove and stayed at the Carlyle). Even so, she'd be on the campaign trail and away from the White House for weeks at a time. The snickering is inevitable: was the president glad to have her out of the house?

More likely, a Senate run by the First

Lady would strengthen the Clintons' marriage. Running for office is what the Clintons do together—10 campaigns since 1974. With the exception of raising Chelsea, politics has always been their favorite shared pastime. Though Hillary is sometimes seen as more liberal than Bill, in fact they are both middle-of-the-roaders. Hillary sees a Senate campaign as a way to keep her husband's "third way" legacy alive. The president is more than eager to help. Indeed, Clinton has been toying with a Hillary-for-Senate run since at least last August, when the Lewinsky story was taking an ominous turn with the discovery of the semen-stained dress. At a tony East Hampton fund-raiser at the home of actor Alec Baldwin, the applause

86% of Americans think that Mrs. Clinton is tough enough to withstand criticism from opponents and the news media in a New York Senate race

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: WALLY MCNAMEE; STOMA; THE CARLYLE; VIBRI; JIM SEITZ; TRAVIS SWARTZ; BETTIE; JORDAN; PAUL; WILKINSON; MICHAEL MARSH; CAMERON; JEFFREY; JASON; SENE; STOMA; DAVID; TURNER; JEFF; JACQUELINE; STRATTON

for Hillary was loud and incessant. Leaning over to Democratic Party chair Judith Hope, Clinton whispered, "They love her in New York." Hope agreed, "She owns New York." Clinton mused, "Maybe she should run for office from here."

In a Senate race, "he'll be her Carville," said a friend (meaning that he'd be her top strategist, not the attack dog). Clinton could pay Hillary back for all those years she

schlepped along as helpmate on the campaign trail. The role reversal would also no doubt assuage some guilt. The president would have to take on another Hillary role as well—that of chief breadwinner. As a lawyer in Arkansas, Hillary earned more money than her husband the \$35,000-a-year governor. When it came time to settle the Paula Jones claim with an \$850,000 payment, a lot of the money had to come from

Hillary's blind trust. As a senator, Mrs. Clinton could accept no honoraria—no fat speaking fees. So the burden would be on Bill to pay off an estimated \$10 million in legal bills.

Hillary's friends say that money is not really an issue. The Clintons don't want to be rich, just comfortable. Still, it may not be so simple. Being "comfortable" for a former First Couple in New York City probably re-

Strategies for managing Hillary's Senate campaign—or her opponent's

How I'd Run Her ... How I'd Beat Her

BY HANK SHEINKOPF

POLITICAL CANDIDATES ARE RARELY AS GOOD AS their hype. But Hillary Clinton just might be. I've worked my share of New York Democratic campaigns, and I can tell you Mrs. Clinton would be a very attractive Senate candidate. Is she unbeatable? No—but with a carefully run campaign, she could easily keep her Republican opponent on the defensive.

How? To begin with, she's got to stick with issues. The New York tabloids are going to turn nasty on her early, drudging up scandal and smut. She should ignore them, and stay above the fray by hitting issues important to New York residents: welfare reform, Social Security, Medicaid, education. By concentrating on issues, she will set the agenda early and force the papers to cover what she's talking about. Focusing on issues will also allow Mrs. Clinton to showcase her great grasp of policy, getting people used to thinking of her as a person who has something to say, and who is thinking about their needs. Her position as heir to the Clinton legacy would set her up well in places like New York City, where the president is enormously popular. Politically, she should keep firmly in the center, with a little bow to the left on social issues to show compassion.

Then I'd hit television with ads that feature Mrs. Clinton in New York, surrounded by New Yorkers—and keep her schedule packed with town meetings to allow voters to engage her in conversation. One thing I'd avoid: multiple debates. They would inevitably stress divisiveness, and allow her opponent to bask in the glow of her celebrity. Since at least one debate is inevitable, I'd try to schedule it late in the game and steer it to her strengths—national and international issues—leaving an opponent like Rudolph Giuliani looking like a city manager with no grasp of larger problems.

Of course, if the stock market goes down the tubes between now and 2000, Mrs. Clinton's appeal could lose some of its luster. But barring that, I'd pity the poor Republican who decides to go up against her.

SHEINKOPF was a media adviser for Clinton Gore '96.

BY STUART STEVENS

EVERYONE IN WASHINGTON SEEMS TO THINK HILLARY Clinton would be impossible to beat in a Senate race. As usual, they're wrong. As a Republican campaign consultant, I can think of many ways a smart opponent like New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani could take her on—and win.

For starters, Mrs. Clinton's reasons for running are a mystery. Does she really want to be a senator, or is this just a midlife crisis? She's never lived in New York—and it is a bit of an insult to the state's voters that the Democratic Party thinks no one in the

state is up to the job. We wouldn't even have to resort to negative ads to plant this thought—once she starts touring the state, her ignorance of homegrown issues like upstate dairy-price supports will become apparent. Her late introduction to New York's thorny politics would be obvious next to an experienced native opponent like Giuliani. Her opponent should let his local expertise shine while she fumbles.

Even after her years in public life, people still don't know what Hillary Clinton believes. Her personal views have often taken a back seat to her husband's. She did take a strong role in one major issue: health-care reform. The results were disastrous. Now she will have to define her views on a multitude of issues. Though Mrs. Clinton is personally well liked, her politics might be a little to the left of what New Yorkers want. A smart opponent would find issues like the death penalty, where Mrs. Clinton may take more liberal-leaning stands, and emphasize them in the campaign.

I would not advise attacking Hillary directly. It would only make her stronger, letting her play the martyr role she's perfected. Instead, leave it

to New York's vicious tabloids to do the dirty work, reliving the Clinton scandals and reminding voters of the things they don't like about her. Of course, Mrs. Clinton could still come out full of confidence and say all the right things. If that's the case, she would be a very formidable candidate. Even so, she would still have to convince New York's skeptical and sophisticated voters that she's in it for them, and not just for herself.

STEVENS was an adviser to Bob Dole's '96 primary campaign.



See Hillary run?

Both Dems and GOPers agree the First Lady is an impressive and experienced campaigner

quires a million-dollar co-op (Wineyard summer home not included). Money for a Senate campaign has to be raised in \$1,000 and \$5,000 chunks, and Hillary would have to place many of the calls herself (though not from the White House). When the First Lady candidate travels with her Secret Service entourage, her campaign would have to pick up a big part of the bill. She would have to sacrifice most of her duties as First Lady and her last shred of privacy.

Then there is the biggest downside: what if she loses? True, in most early polls, including *NEWSWEEK*'s, she leads her putative opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, by about 10 percentage points. But Giuliani is a gut fighter with presidential ambitions of his own. Slaying Hillary could be an irresistible challenge. Then there are the New York tabloids, which will hound Hillary mercilessly. That may be enough for her to ask if there isn't a better, or at least easier, way to do good in the world. "She's getting flooded with all kinds of offers," says Mandy Grunwald, a media consultant who has advised Senator Moynihan and the Clintons. Perhaps the most tempting model to emulate is Gen. Colin Powell, who has raised many millions for charity (and a few for himself) by making uplifting speeches about service to the community. Powell, like Hillary, is a hands-on organizer: his America's Promise has been effective at making the private sector help impoverished youth. If they wanted to pool their talents, Powell and Hillary could organize a powerful army of do-gooders.

Right now, Hillary is "thinking about what the world will really look like," says Grunwald. "This is the first moment in a long time when she can really make a decision for herself." If she waits too long, she risks—in the Clinton tradition—being careless with the lives of others. In New York, the Democrats have to field Senate candidates and start raising money right away. (Recently, Mrs. Clinton gave a hug and, later, a pledge of fund-raising support to one anxious would-be candidate, Rep. Nita Lowey.) But Hillary can't be blamed for wanting to savor the moment. A lover of New York's pace and culture, she has told friends she'd like to live part time in Manhattan whether she runs or not. And the chatter about her Senate prospects will just generate more offers, book contracts and career opportunities. She has always been a strong woman. But she has never had such a golden chance to show her strength and put it to use, on her own terms.

With MATTHEW COOPER, GREGORY BEALS, MARK MILLER and DANIEL KLEIDMAN

Memorandum to Mrs. Clinton

From: George Stephanopoulos

Re: Why You Shouldn't Run

HERE'S MY UNSOLICITED TWO CENTS ON THE NEW YORK SENATE RACE. LET ME quickly add that I have no designs on the job myself, so I believe I can give an unbiased and unvarnished opinion. For your sake, I hope you don't run. You'd be a terrific senator, but the campaign wouldn't be a walkover, and being in the Senate may not be the worthiest use of your talents. Here are three things to think about.

The Campaign. You'll raise all the money you need, and you have name recognition money can't buy. But the campaign is still going to be a meat grinder. As Carville used to say, if you don't feed the press political "cheeseburgers" every day, they'll feed on you. You have to prepare for the worst. Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back. Sure, you've answered all the allegations. But that's not going to stop the Republicans—and the New York Post—from weighing in again, ad nauseam. Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure? If you have your husband's luck, your opponents will overplay the scandal card, but you can also expect tough scrutiny on legitimate issues. Giuliani has already attacked you about your elliptical support for a Palestinian state. If

you stick with that, you gain points for principle but lose votes with your base. And every time the president makes a decision, you'll be asked for your opinion. Every time you issue a position paper, the press will clamor for a White House response. What if the president undercuts your most effective campaign issue by making a deal with Republicans on partial privatization of Social Security and tax cuts? Will you take a stand or stand by your man? Then there's Al Gore to think about. A full-time campaign by you in New York will draw you away from helping his race in big states like California, Illinois and Florida. Which would be a better way to preserve your legacy? Electing Gore or capturing your own Senate seat? Victory would be a personal vindication, but what if you lose? Do you really want your eight years of hard work in the White House to appear to be wiped out by a failed electoral bid?

The Job. But assume you win. Is the Senate the best place for you to advance the causes you care about? Obviously it was for some of

those who came before you. Robert Kennedy used a New York Senate seat to shine a light on poverty. But you're one of the handful of people in the country who can serve as effectively from outside the Senate.

The Life. Look at some practical questions. Where are you going to live? You'll need a place in New York, a place in Washington and I assume at least an apartment in Little Rock. These are expensive propositions, and as a senator you won't be able to earn outside income. The bottom line may not be your primary concern, but it's still something you have to think about.

Being junior senator from New York is more of a grind and less glamorous than being First Lady. You won't fly on Air Force One or ride in escorted motorcades. Even senators have to ride the shuttle and wait in traffic. And as a freshman senator from a state you've never lived in, you'll have to return often to New York to do the job. People are saying now that working Poughkeepsie won't matter, but I think they're wrong: New Yorkers will still expect you to be *their* senator first and Eleanor Roosevelt second.

The enthusiasm about your potential candidacy must be both gratifying and flattering. Enjoy it; you deserve it. But you don't need to prove anything. You've served your country well, and you will again. You should take a few years. Write a book. Speak out on issues you care about. And who knows? After the Gore years, you might find that the time is right for your first campaign—one that would open in Manchester, not Manhattan.



Woman of the hour

George Stephanopoulos and Hillary Clinton during her husband's first term

BETWEEN THE LINES

PAGING MRS. ROOSEVELT

Hillary has Eleanor's sense of mission—and both overcame private pain with public service

BY JONATHAN ALTER

REMEMBER THOSE SEANCES IN THE White House solarium? In 1996 Bob Woodward published a book claiming that Hillary Clinton tried to make contact with the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt. Well, she apparently succeeded. Eleanor and Hillary are now thoroughly enmeshed, and living large among 20th-century First Ladies. By channeling some of that classy Roosevelt spirit, Hillary helped bring her poor excuse for a husband back from the dead. And Hillary's careful study of Eleanor may help her with her own decisions ahead.

While Bill Clinton is no FDR, their wives have a surprising amount in common. After learning that FDR died in the company of his onetime mistress, Eleanor never spoke of the matter again. Barbara Walters or Katie Couric will do no better with Hillary, who has never heard a cigar joke (she watches little TV) and is highly unlikely to ever publicly explore her own feelings about her husband's infidelities. Hillary's new popularity is often ascribed to resurgent traditionalism; isn't it ironic, we're told, that this feminist was elevated by classic sympathy for a victim. But that's too pat. Like Eleanor, Hillary has gracefully reconciled public service with private humiliation. The dignity is timeless, and harnessed to purpose. Contrary to her reputation, Hillary is a supreme pragmatist and lacks Eleanor's passionate commitment to liberal principles. But their mutual sense of mission is unmistakable.

The question Hillary is asking herself is how to channel that old-fashioned notion of service. The Senate is appealing because "it's a forum not just to talk but to actually do" something constructive, says one close aide. Eleanor Roosevelt felt the same way about the United Nations, and what she did 50 years ago—championing the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights—helped bring more freedom around the world than any document since the Declaration of Independence. Hillary's problem is twofold: first, the Senate is a lot more talk than action; second, this whole talk-versus-action issue is precisely what might prevent her from getting elected in the first place.

Who wouldn't love to see her toe-to-toe with Rudy Giuliani? Columnist Jack Newfield calls it "Viagra for the press." But I'd argue that most of the handicappers predicting an especially ugly campaign have it wrong. Sure, the New York Post would carp about billing records and cattle futures. So what? Hillary can handle that. Her public support for a Palestinian state is fair game,

but if Giuliani hits her with old scandal stuff, it will backfire. Giuliani is too mean to go negative; you have to seem nice to get rough in politics.

The real problem for Hillary is her record. She doesn't have one. With health care a failure, she has nothing solid to show for her years as First Lady. And she lacks the political instincts to make it seem as if she does. All talk, no action. Impressive talk, around the world, but not connected to concrete achievement. An up-beat Giuliani campaign could simply pit his record against hers—delivering a better New York versus delivering some nice speeches. And if he knocks her off, giant-killer Giuliani would soon be Rudy-for-president. That might be the best reason to hope Hillary doesn't run.

A reason to hope. Accepting the nomination in 1992, Bill Clinton introduced himself as "The Man From Hope." Hillary, too, saw her mission as helping rekindle a faith in elective politics as a form of service. Then, in the flash of a thong, her husband cheesed the presidency and set back the cause of politics as a noble calling. By running, Hillary has a chance to repair some of the damage caused by Bill. Young people, especially women, who are turned off to politics might find themselves energized by her campaign, as their parents were by Bobby Kennedy's bid for the Senate in 1964. The upside to running is that it gives Hillary one last chance to redeem her faith—not in her husband, but in the political life they built together.

The downside is not just the risk of losing (yet more humiliation) but the risk of winning—of numbing committee hearings and a schedule where Trent Lott gets to tell you when you can go home at night. And what does it say about her commitment to her husband's agenda that she would prefer to spend the next two years

campaigning in Oswego to lobbying on Capitol Hill? As First Lady, she has more power than any senator to frame and dramatize issues. Running for the Senate may be good in the long term, but until Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, it would be a huge step down.

There are alternatives, even within the Senate option. Like Eleanor, who kept an apartment in Greenwich Village during her husband's presidency, Hillary loves New York. But she might be better off running in her native Illinois in 2004. That would leave two years to finish the administration, two years to lecture, write and pay big bills and two years to plan what would be a much easier campaign against freshman GOP Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a fluke candidate who is too conservative for Illinois.

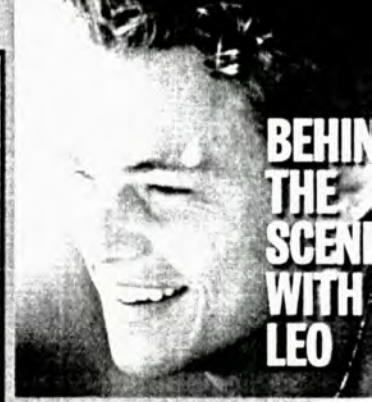
But in politics, as in everything else, hesitation can be fatal. By 2004 Hillary may be about as viable a Senate candidate as Betty Ford. Even by 2000 the landscape could be different. As the president himself noted last week, it's impossible to "keep the pot boiling" all the way until the next election. Until then, both Clintons should, as Eleanor said of JFK, "show a little less profile and a little more courage." They've got the political capital; now is the moment to spend it.



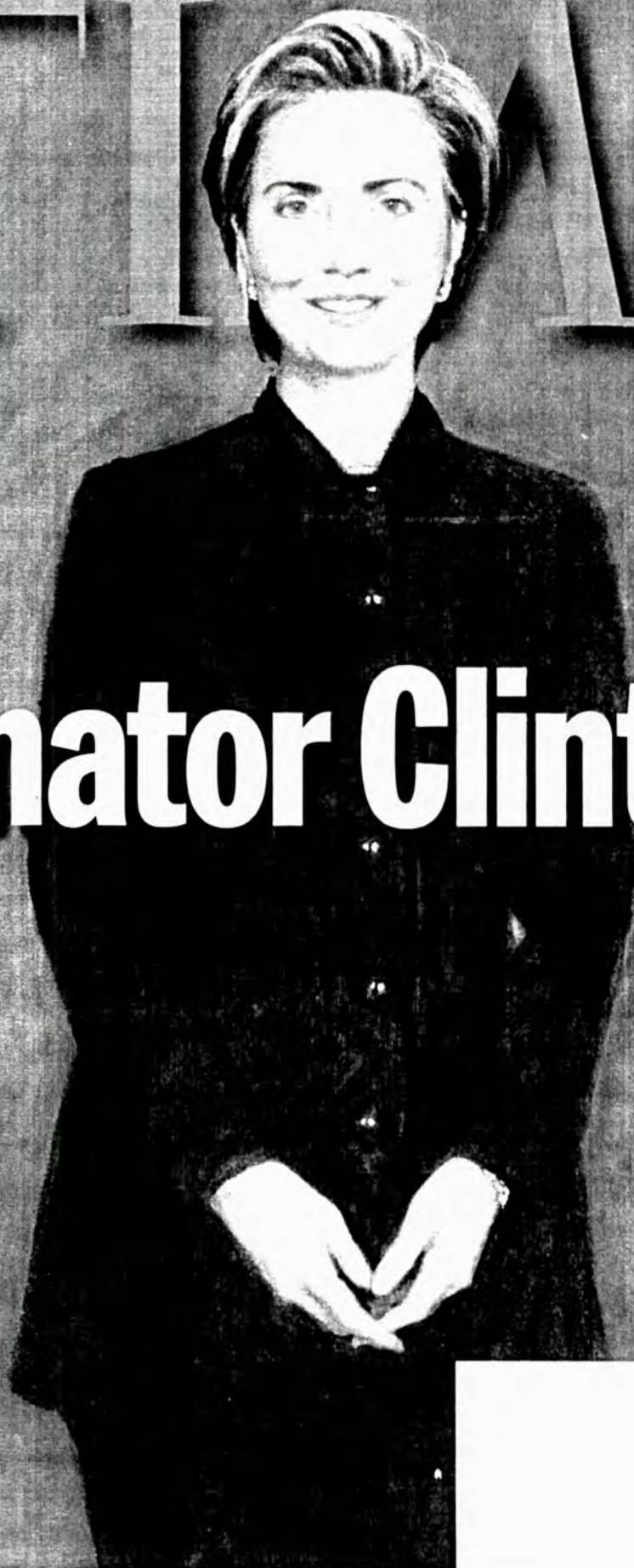
Time to cash in political capital

Hillary and Rudy Giuliani under the watchful eye of Mrs. Roosevelt

TIME



Senator Clinton?





N A T I O N

A RACE OF HER OWN

Hillary ignites the country with talk of a New York Senate bid. But will she do it, and—with the media and maybe Rudy lying in wait—can she win?

By ROMESH RATNESAR

CHARLIE RANGEL KNEW HE HAD Bill Clinton cornered. Air Force One was streaking toward Mexico early last week when Rangel, the 14-term Harlem Congressman with the inimitably raspy voice, was presiding over a meeting in the White House. He was telling Hillary Rodham Clinton should aim for the Senate seat in New York in 2000. But the President had issued any number of orders that would make it difficult for her to do so.

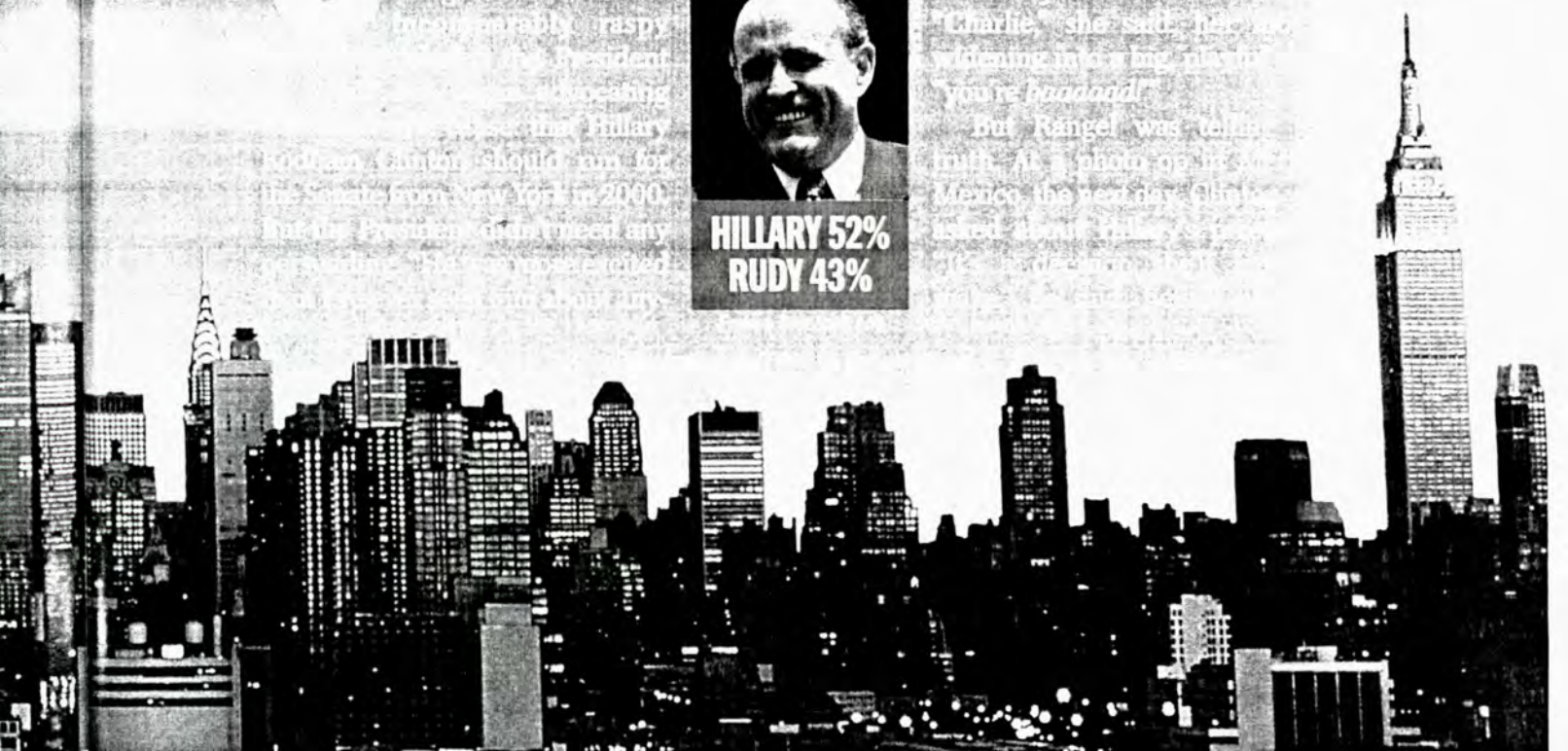
“We gotta hold back the President. He rippin’ rarin’ to go! He says we gotta have an agenda. We gotta let him know because he’s ready to go!” Rangel says. So Rangel moved on to the First Lady. For weeks he had been goading her about running. Now he told her, “We gotta hold back the President. He rippin’ rarin’ to go! He says we gotta have an agenda. We gotta let him know because he’s ready to go!”

Hillary turned to her husband. “Charlie,” she said, “he’s not kidding, is he?” Rangel replied, “You’re *baaaaad!*”

But Rangel was telling the truth. At a photo op in Mexico, the next day, Clinton asked about Hillary’s plans. “I’ve got a lot to think about,” she said. “I’m not sure I’m ready to go.”



HILLARY 52%
RUDY 43%



out his feeling that "she'd be great if she did... I think she would be terrific in the Senate."

So began a week in which talk about a Hillary run—which had been at a low buzz since January—rose to a clamorous din and then to a round-the-clock media roar. Just when the Republic thought it could safely turn its attention toward more pressing matters (How could the Yankees trade David Wells? What will *ER* do without George Clooney?), the Clintons snagged the headlines and talk shows for themselves—but with some good news for a change. Daniel Patrick Moynihan anointed the First Lady heir to his Senate seat, gushing over her "magnificent, young, bright, able, Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm." When Virginia Senator Chuck Robb appeared at a White House forum on Social Security, he noted that he was the only one there from the Senate. "Of course, that's only the *current* U.S. Senate that I am referring to," he said, to gales of knowing laughter—and, hey, was that Bill and Hillary winking at each other behind his back?

The speculation grew so fervid that the First Lady on Tuesday issued a statement announcing that—gasp!—she was thinking about it: "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year." Released shortly before 6 p.m., perfectly timed to be read by the network news anchors, the statement revved the Washington-New York gossip machine. By Friday, when Hillary met for a private lunch with Moynihan, and Clinton again signaled his support during a press conference with French President Jacques Chirac, political hacks were salivating at the prospect of a celebrity death match between Clinton and New York City's imperious mayor, Rudolph Giuliani—a notion that makes the state's Democrats as giddy as 12-year-olds at an 'N Sync show. According to a TIME/CNN poll of New York voters last week, if the election were held now, Hillary would whip Giuliani (52% to 43%), and she would be in a dead heat with New York Governor George Pataki (49% to 47%).

All this hypothesizing may prove foolishly premature. There is the chance that the Hillary boomlet is being stoked by the Administration as the perfect post-impeachment diversion: a party in honor of the scandal's only victor, a celebration that doesn't appear smug. Who better than Hillary to fill the media vacuum left by That Woman? And what better way to create a diversion from the ongoing Clintonian sleaze watch, including the newly published allegation of a Clinton sexual assault in 1978 and the possibility

DO IT, HILLARY! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS THE WORLD

You're an international icon, and New York is the global crossroads. Arkansas? Illinois? Nah. You're bigger than that

OUT FROM HIS SHADOW

Thirty years carrying Bill's water? It's your turn now. No more teas with the spouses! No pretending not to make policy!

A REAL BULLY PULPIT

Sure, the First Lady's office is big, but it's all about china and antiques. Senators have teeth. It's time to make some laws!

Clinton has told friends he thinks she'll run



that Judge Susan Webber Wright will hold him in contempt for his testimony in the Paula Jones case? For the White House staff, Hillary for Senate is a much needed balm. "Whether it's serious or not," says Clinton spokesman Joe Lockhart, "it's fun."

BUT IS IT REAL? THOUGH HILLARY HAS ALWAYS had large political ambitions, close friends at first thought the Senate idea was essentially frivolous, something she would swat down before long. When Rangel began pushing her to run in November, after Moynihan announced his retirement, Hillary seemed more flattered than serious. But she didn't discourage his overtures. Friends say she is ambivalent about doing the kind of high-profile good works—for the United Nations, for private founda-

tions—that others often assume are in her future. And the more Rangel talked, the more she listened, tried the idea on for size and liked the way it fit.

In early January, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli surmised on *Meet the Press* that Hillary would run. For Torricelli, who chairs the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, there were political reasons for keeping Hillary's name in play: the prospect of her as a candidate instantly made it harder for the G.O.P. to recruit its own candidates for New York's open seat, which Democrats desperately need to keep.

The draft-Hillary effort soon took on a life of its own. When powerful New York

TIME/CNN POLL OF NEW YORK STATE VOTERS

■ If the next election for U.S. Senator from New York were held today, for whom would you vote?

	Total	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate
Hillary Rodham Clinton	52%	68%	41%	44%
New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani	43%	28%	52%	51%
Hillary Rodham Clinton	49%	71%	42%	34%
New York Governor George Pataki	47%	26%	54%	61%



FUHGEDDABOUTIT! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS HELL

Giuliani makes Ken Starr look like a patsy. He'll make you crazy. And the tabloids—don't get them started

PAY OFF HIS DEBT

It's hard to whittle down \$8 million in legal bills on \$134,000 a year. What about your book—and the speech circuit?

TRENT LOTT IS YOUR BOSS

President Gore could name you to the Cabinet—how about U.N. ambassador? Why toil in obscurity as one of 100?

county-by-county results from 30 years' worth of past New York races.

Meanwhile Rangel has kept up his offensive. In January Hillary invited him to the White House after the State of the Union address. He brought New York Representative Nita Lowey, who has designs on the Democratic Senate nomination; she pledged to step aside if Hillary were to run. The next day Hillary and the President appeared before a throng of supporters in Buffalo, N.Y. In a neat reversal of their usual roles, Hillary kept Clinton waiting 15 minutes while she worked a rabid rope line. The next time Rangel and Hillary spoke, it was she who made the call. Last Tuesday, before she released her statement of noncommitment, she phoned Rangel again. "Thank you for all you've

done," Rangel says she told him. "I am very, very serious about this."

Signs of a fledgling Hillary-for-Senate operation have started to emerge. Former White House aide Harold Ickes, a seasoned New York operative who managed the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign, has reappeared as Hillary's chief political adviser. "I'm trying to provide her with information about the New York political situation," Ickes told TIME. "I don't see my function as urging her to run or urging her not to run." Mandy Grunwald, Clinton's media adviser in 1992 and veteran of three Moynihan campaigns, has also been invited into the inner circle. On the day of the Senate's vote on impeachment last month, the President dropped in on the First Lady, having lunch with Ickes—a strategy session at which Hillary instructed Ickes to set up meetings with New York power brokers. The President later told an aide, "If anyone had seen us, they would have seen us laughing, but not about what they would think." The aide took

that to mean they were talking New York politics, not impeachment. Privately, Clinton has said he thinks his wife will go for it.

Now might be her moment. Her favorability rating is at 78% in New York City and at 65% statewide. Her bravura performance in the run-up to last November's elections, when her stumping and fund raising helped seal Senate victories for Boxer and New York's Charles Schumer, enhanced her star power. She has fully returned from the psychic sojourn that followed Clinton's August admission of his affair with Lewinsky. She exerts a strong influence behind the scenes, and her fingerprints were all over dozens of items in the President's budget, from a tax credit for stay-at-home moms to increased funds for research into childhood asthma.

Once the initial euphoria subsides, however, a draining, expensive Senate race that would start long before the Clintons have vacated the White House may look unappealing. The First Couple's colossal legal debts are one hindrance. Hillary has always been the breadwinner, but if she were elected, Senate ethics rules would drastically diminish her earning power. "It weighs heavily on her mind," says a close adviser. (To which Rangel responds, "What about Bill? Let him get a job.") The demands of campaigning would make it impossible for her to cash in right away by writing a memoir. And with the trial of her former Little Rock law partner Webster Hubbell set to begin in June, Hillary hasn't fully emerged from the shroud of investigation just yet.

As Al Gore might be tempted to men-

Democrats pestered Rangel about the First Lady's plans, he suggested they call her office themselves. Reporting back, they told Rangel, "You know what? She really is thinking about it." Earlier this year, Hillary asked California Senator Barbara Boxer—whose daughter is married to Hillary's brother—to approach Moynihan, with whom the Clintons have had cool relations, about a meeting to discuss a Senate race. Boxer went to Moynihan twice during the impeachment trial; he agreed to meet once it was over. Last Friday the First Lady received the Senator for lunch—"a chitchat, a little séance," as an aide put it—at the White House. Moynihan came armed with

■ Who would do a better job of handling the following issues:

	Hillary Rodham Clinton	Rudolph Giuliani
Health care	65%	26%
Education	64%	28%
Bringing federal money back to New York	49%	36%
Taxes	44%	40%
Crime	32%	59%

From a telephone poll of 219 registered voters in New York State for TIME/CNN on Feb. 17-19 by YankeeDiner Partners Inc. Margin of error is ±3.4.

■ Hillary Clinton has said that she favors the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	43%
Disagree	24%
Not Sure	32%

■ Would Clinton's favoring a Palestinian state be a sufficient reason for your voting against her as Senator?

Yes	25%
No	70%

*Asked of those who disagree with Clinton's Palestinian-state position

tion to her, Hillary already has a campaign to pour her energies into. Gore needs Hillary's fund-raising and crowd-pleasing skills to win the presidency. She reminds swing voters of the things they like about the Clinton presidency, and she connects on the emotive issues—children, families—that Gore has trouble with. Last week Gore told *Time* he has not discussed the prospect of her running with either the First Lady or the President—an astounding assertion, given that every other Democratic notable seems to have had such a chat. In an interview, he twice deflected the question of whether he would prefer her to campaign for him or herself in 2000. "She'll be a positive force for Democrats," he said tersely, "whether she runs for the Senate or not."

Gore would no doubt be happy if Hillary decided to wait until 2004 to run in her home state of Illinois. Or there's Arkansas (where she owns a half interest in her mother's condo) in 2002, when backbench Republican Tim Hutchinson comes up for re-election. Since Tim is the brother of Asa, one of the House impeachment managers, knocking him out would satisfy Hillary's taste for political vengeance.

But Hillary knows about violent swings of public opinion. Riding high in the polls, she may sense that this is her best chance. Says Torricelli: "There is nothing less relevant than a former elected official." (Except, perhaps, a former nonelected official.) "I don't think Hillary wants to become part of the Rosalynn Carter or Nancy Reagan or Betty Ford routine," he says. "She doesn't want to talk about the good ole days."

The Clintons have never been patient. Bill ran his first campaign at the age of 28. In 1991, when George Bush's stratospheric approval ratings persuaded many Democrats to sit out the primaries, Bill and Hillary seized the opportunity. And now they may be doing it again. Ickes has set up a flurry of meetings and phone calls for next week with union leaders, local pols and minority leaders. The goal, says an adviser, is "to get a real feel for the politics of the place and the issues that matter there." But Hillary plays for keeps. The aim of all this preliminary work is chiefly to find out whether she can win. And that means figuring out how to beat Rudy Giuliani.

Though Giuliani is as yet undeclared—and may even opt to run for Governor in 2002 if Hillary goes for the Senate—contemplating the matchup is irresistible. The contrast between their public personas is delicious—Giuliani, the pugnacious former prosecutor who cleaned up the New York City streets; Hillary, the dignified stateswoman so long scrutinized by another prosecutor—and yet they have similarly ruthless instincts. The duel puts political junkies in a

IF SHE CAN MAKE IT THERE...

As First Lady she has visited New York 78 times. And recent stops looked a lot like campaigning



ROSIE SHOW

To promote her book—and mid-crisis cool—she did O'Donnell's program last December

PARTNERS?

In the Senate, Mrs. Clinton would be the junior colleague to New York's Charles Schumer







BRIGHT LIGHTS

The First Lady marveled at the mirrored bathroom in Louis Armstrong's New York City home

ROPE LINE

While touring historic sites last July, Mrs. Clinton worked a crowd in Ithaca

BACKSTAGE

Before Rosie O'Donnell's show, she shared a laugh with press secretary Marsha Berry

MIXED PAIR

At a women's rights celebration last year, Hillary met with Governor George Pataki



PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY DIANA WALKER

wistful mood. "It would be a fabulous campaign," says Fred Siegel, a political scientist at New York City's Cooper Union. "They're both tough, and they're both mean."

Democrats—who will have a hard time keeping the Moynihan seat against a well-financed, recognizable Republican like Giuliani if Hillary doesn't run—are all too cocky about Hillary's chances if she does. "She'd blow Giuliani out of the water," says Tony Podesta, a Gore adviser, voicing an opinion echoed by many—and one that is rosy in the extreme. In all likelihood, the race would be very close, and the winner would be the one who proved the more surefooted on New York's treacherous campaign trail.

As a contender, Hillary would start out with some tremendously favorable condi-

tions. "She's an icon in New York," says Republican Gerald Benjamin, a dean at the State University of New York in New Paltz. "She transcends ordinary politics here. The analogy is Bobby Kennedy"—another out-of-stater who was elected to the Senate in 1964. New York has 1.9 million more registered Democrats than Republicans, and Hillary's presence in the race would whip them into a frenzy. Among the Democrats' core constituencies—Manhattan liberals, women, unions and minorities—Hillary would bury Giuliani. The mayor's relations with blacks, especially, are precarious. The city's crackdown on crime has led to an increase in complaints against police and a sense of siege among blacks. The police shooting last month of Amadou Diallo, an

unarmed Guinean immigrant, has ignited passions. Though the crisis will be over long before the election—replaced, no doubt, by some other New York nightmare—community leaders say they won't forget. "This has unified blacks and Latinos," says Ruben Diaz Jr., a state assemblyman from the Bronx, "and together, they will vote against Giuliani and in droves for Hillary Clinton."

But make no mistake: against Giuliani, she would be in for a bruising fight. Sources say Ickes has warned her to gird for the battle of her life. "This is not a shoo-in," admits an adviser. Giuliani and his surrogates would try to make an issue of her carpet-bagging and question her commitment to fixing potholes in Syracuse. As much as she will energize Democratic loyalists, her can-

IN CASE SHE WANTS SOME FREE ADVICE...



GERALDINE FERRARO, former Congresswoman As a Democrat, I would love it if Hillary were to run. Not only is she right on the issues, but if she runs, she wins—and generates such a large turnout that she helps Democrats in every race. And, yes, I would love to see a woman representing New York in the U.S. Senate! But should she? Is it in her best interest to take on a campaign at this time?

I have run for the Senate twice in New York—unsuccessfully, alas—and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family. The media and Hillary's Republican opponent would surely attack her as a carpetbagger, revisit her commodities investments and Whitewater representation, distort her views on a Palestinian state and serve up snide analyses of her marriage. But I think she can successfully rebut them all. We have elected two men from out of state—a Connecticut Republican, James Buckley, and a Massachusetts Democrat, Bobby Kennedy—to represent us in the Senate. Hillary has spent more time in New York over the past seven years than either of them did in the years just before they ran. Mile for mile, event for event, cause for cause, she can't be equaled.

So why should she even consider saying no? The polls, the wooing, the potential of the Senate as a springboard for national office—all are highly seductive. But there are other things to be considered. Hillary is now in the second most powerful po-



sition in the country. Can you imagine giving that up to be a junior member of the minority in the Senate? And she would have to give it up. The people of this state would expect her to focus on the issues of concern to New York. They'd

want to see her in every county, and they would want to hear her views on health care, education and Social Security reform but also the cost of air fares upstate, PCBs in the Hudson River, the aquifers in Nassau County and on and on. And though she wouldn't have to live in New York, she'd have to run a campaign in New York, which might be tough to do from the White House. Federal election rules are very specific about what a campaign can and cannot do. I believe she'd be stepping into a quagmire trying to sort out what expenses could be paid by the taxpayer, because they were incurred in her role as First Lady, and what expenses would be paid by her campaign. The right wing would deluge the Federal Election Commission and Justice Department with complaints in an effort to derail her.

Does she need this? I don't think so. She's young and can wait four years to have her Senate seat. In 2004, Republican Peter Fitzgerald will be up for re-election in Illinois, a state that really is Hillary's home. By then, her book will have been written, her husband will be settled into a new job, Chelsea will be an adult, and the Senate will have a Democratic majority. Forget us politicians, Hillary. Do what's best for you.

didacy would mobilize the right, become fodder for C.O.P. direct-mail fund raising and unite New York's upstate conservatives—good news for Giuliani, who has never recovered their good graces since endorsing Mario Cuomo in the 1994 Governor's race.

For a Republican, Giuliani also runs extremely well with many Democratic-leaning swing voters. His brutally efficient success in reducing crime, paring welfare rolls, fighting smut and ending vagrancy has endeared him to middle-class white ethnics outside Manhattan; his pro-choice, pro-immigrant, opera-friendly moderation on social issues makes him palatable to soccer moms. While hardened city dwellers mutter about Giuliani's safer, duller New York, suburbanites love it. In the TIME/CNN sur-

vey, Giuliani received a favorability rating of 40% among New York City voters but outpolled Hillary 52% to 41% in the suburbs.

Then there's her Jewish problem: she will have to explain to Jewish groups what she really meant last year when she called for Palestinian statehood. In the TIME/CNN poll, half of Jewish voters, who account for 10% of the state's registered voters, say they disagree. While most say her position wouldn't be sufficient reason to vote against her, Giuliani—who won 7 of 10 Jewish votes in 1997—is already exploiting the issue; last week he slapped her for “siding with the Palestinians against the Israelis.” This is, after all, the man who in 1995 had Yasser Arafat ushered out of a city-sponsored party for the U.N.'s 50th anniversary.

In many ways, Rudy and Hillary will be battling each other on the same centrist policy terrain. It will heighten the chance that the campaign will turn on personal politics—who gets uglier, and more rattled, in the charge and countercharge of a New York election. Giuliani won't hesitate to go negative. In 1997 he accused his over-matched opponent, Ruth Messinger, of giving a party in the 1970s for an Attica prison inmate; suggested she supported X-rated video stores; and all but blamed her for the Brooklyn Dodgers' 1957 move to Los Angeles. But Giuliani could pay a price for personal attacks on Hillary. So he may let the tabloids shred her instead—as they did her husband during the 1992 primary.

When it comes to press relations, the



ED KOCH, former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani will run the vilest possible campaign. He has no scruples, and he'll do anything to win. Nevertheless, Hillary has a spine made of steel and will overcome it. There'll be no surprises for her in terms of the garbage that will be hurled at her by Giuliani and his supporters. She'll beat Rudy Giuliani.

JIMMY BRESLIN, columnist Is she going to bring her husband up here? She's allowed to run; residency doesn't matter. In New York everybody comes from someplace else. [But] I know I can't vote for her. Anybody with a modicum of taste will not touch them. They brought us the worst scandal we've ever had, and now she wants to walk out of it and say she had nothing to do with it? She got on television here in New York and said it was a right-wing conspiracy—that was a bigger lie in its way than the one Clinton told on television. Come on. I really don't care what she does. They're over. They blew it.

DAVID GARTH, media consultant The real problem is how she handles herself under direct personal pressure. She did an amazing job standing by her husband, but when the gun is pointed at her, it becomes a more difficult problem. Plus, Rudy Giuliani has a very substantial record. He may not be the guy you want to go to the dance with, but he certainly is the guy you want to see lead the band. One trap she has to watch out for: a lot of people are emotionally bent on being anti-Giuliani. If she gets sucked into that by the media, I think she will not do well. She has to really keep her cool. If she started to become the heavy and started to get nasty, it wouldn't be appropriate.

MARIO CUOMO, former New York Governor You've never had to face the scrutiny of a press corps that is among the most competent, the brightest, most experienced and meanest in American history. You have to avoid saying the wrong thing. She should start by reminding people that her strength has been her intelligence and commitment to issues. Her slogan should be no slogans. Except for my son Andrew—who is considerably taller than the First Lady—I can't think of anybody who would make a better candidate than Hillary.

DICK MORRIS, former Clinton adviser I don't think she has a shot in New York. In places such as Elmira and Plattsburgh, people are not going to be voting for a Senator from Arkansas. Second thing is that Giuliani, while at the moment slightly weakened, is a very strong candidate. All of the issues that Hillary could use to win are issues on which Giuliani basically agrees with her. Finally, nobody knows what is going to happen after she leaves office, in terms of any of the rumors that have been circulating concerning indictments. By 2004 in Illinois, all of that stuff will be out of the way, but now she can't definitively say that, and Giuliani, a former prosecutor, will hammer it home.

SUSAN MOLINARI, former Congresswoman Mrs. Clinton can go out a winner as First Lady, or she can run in a race where she will be treated like we all are, with all our warts exposed, where every question is asked. The mayor wins this race handily.

CALVIN BUTTS III, pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church Someone from New York would be better.
—Reported by Ratu Kamlani

polished Clinton might seem to have a natural advantage over the mercurial mayor, but Giuliani deals with New York reporters every day, albeit icily; Hillary deals with them not at all. "The New York media being what they are," says Bill Cunningham, who ran Moynihan's last campaign, "they would be looking for new ways to bring up old questions." How would Hillary hold up under scrutiny into Filegate, Travelgate, Whitewater, her commodities trades, to say nothing of inquiries about her marriage? On recent p.r.-friendly trips, she has frozen up when reporters pulled out their notepads. "She's essentially been protected from the press for most of her First Ladydom," says a friend and adviser. "If she runs, there's going to be a pile-on." Grunwald describes dealing with the New York press as "a hazing process. If you can take it, they respect you." And if you can't, they destroy you.

Why would she want to put up with it, especially when the prize is a six-year stint as a junior Senator? Perhaps because the alternative ways of pushing her issues are less lustrous. Grunwald says that "when somebody suggests that the U.S. Senate might be the best platform, you don't dismiss it." And there is a larger reason for Hillary to run. She has spent much of Clinton's second term trying to define—in wonky confabs with intellectuals, party leaders and foreign heads of state—a "third way," a progressive politics that hews neither to the left nor right and marries compassion with responsibility. Clinton's education agenda—accountability and school choice but not vouchers—fits the mold. The trouble is that it looks too much like the moderate conservatism practiced by Giuliani and George W. Bush. Clinton's fight for survival hasn't allowed him to highlight differences with G.O.P. centrists; he has more effectively defined himself against far-right zealotry. That leaves the task to Gore and Hillary. A Hillary campaign could help forge a guiding agenda for the post-Clinton era.

So will she or won't she? Maybe it is better to ask whether she should. "She may be the only person in the country," Torricelli says, "who can contribute to the national debate simply by entering a race." A Clinton-Giuliani matchup is tantalizing in part because, at its best, it would engage people in a way politics is seldom capable of doing these days. In 1964, on the night he won the U.S. Senate seat in New York, Bobby Kennedy quoted Tennyson: "Come my friends, 'Tis not too late to seek a better world." That sort of belief in the possibilities of American politics no longer exists. Hillary's run might just be a step toward restoring it. —*With reporting by Jay Branegan and James Carney/Washington, John Cloud and Elaine Rivera/New York and Karen Tumulty with Gore*

For more on Hillary Clinton, visit time.com

DIVIDING LINE

Jack E. White

Endangered Species

The police component in black-on-black crime



NO MATTER WHAT THE COURTS EVENTUALLY DECIDE ABOUT THE police shooting in New York City of Amadou Diallo, the mild-mannered African immigrant who was laid to rest in his native Guinea last week, many African Americans will agree with Johnnie Cochran that Diallo's death was yet another summary execution of an innocent black man by white racist cops. How else would you describe four members of an elite anticrime squad with a reputation for aggressiveness firing 41 shots at a skinny 22-year-old street merchant armed with nothing but a pager?

Well, you could call it business as usual. The sad truth is that in far too many places in America, black life is cheap. As outrageous as the police conduct in the Diallo case seems to have been, it is only a highly publicized example of the slaughter that has made black men an endangered species. Despite overall declines in the homicide rate, murder at the hands of another black man remained the leading cause of death for black males ages 15 to 24 through much of the '90s.

The underlying causes of the carnage—drugs, poor schooling, high unemployment and the breakdown of the family—are no secret. But there's another

factor that gets less attention: the conduct of the police. The Black Panthers may be defunct, but many inner-city residents agree with them that the cops are an occupation army more concerned with keeping minorities in check than with fighting crime. Special squads like the N.Y.P.D.'s street-crime unit, whose members killed Diallo, stop and frisk tens of thousands of people whose only crime is being black. Despite lawsuits by the A.C.L.U., African-American motorists are routinely pulled over by police in many states for



Diallo, top; plastic cups, above, mark shell casings found at the scene of the shooting

DWB—driving while black. Such tactics make it clear that to some cops, every black male is a suspect.

Decades of police abuse have completely destroyed inner-city residents' confidence in the criminal-justice system, argues Elijah Anderson, a social scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, in his forthcoming book, *Code of the Streets: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. The result is an every-man-a-vigilante mentality that makes violence inevitable. "Even decent people in inner-city neighborhoods are so distrustful of the police that they feel they have no choice but to take matters of personal defense into their own hands," says Anderson. "Instead of relying on the police to protect them, they let other people know that they can defend themselves with overwhelming force, which these days means having a gun and being willing to use it." The inflated sense of confidence that packing a gun engenders, especially in young men, can easily escalate a petty argument into a fatal confrontation. Step on somebody's shoes, and you could wind up dead.

Anderson says the heavy-handed tactics police employ to control the violence only make things worse, because they convince the vast majority of law-abiding inner-city residents that cops are the enemy. Unfortunately, too many people—and too many politicians, such as New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani—have not made the connection. As Hugh Price of the National Urban League puts it, even poor people have "a right to be protected by the police, not be preyed on by them." Until the cops figure that out, it will be open season on black men. ■

The Associated Press

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*MB Comments
on HRC
Senate rule -
as of 2/9/99*

January 8, 1999, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: National Political

LENGTH: 857 words

HEADLINE: Speculation grows about first lady seeking Senate seat

BYLINE: By RON FOURNIER, AP Political Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Could the first lady soon be a junior senator?

Hillary Rodham Clinton's supporters are quietly circulating her name as a possible candidate to run for the Senate from New York in 2000, replacing retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. She has not ruled out a Senate campaign, and casually has discussed the possibility with intimates.

"She's aware that people are speculating about what she might do in 2000, but at this point she has no plans to run for elective office," said spokeswoman Marsha Berry. "For the next two years, she wants to make the most out of being first lady. I'm not in the position to rule it out. I'm just telling you I can't tell you."

Several confidants of Mrs. Clinton, all of whom spoke on condition of anonymity, said she is not actively considering the campaign - at least not yet. But they say there is something to all the speculation.

One close friend said this week that she has talked to the first lady about possibly running for the Senate seat. The conversations were casual and not substantial, but Mrs. Clinton knows friends are circulating her name, the source said.

A leading Democratic official in New York said allies of Mrs. Clinton have discussed a possible bid with state leaders. It does not appear to be an organized, aggressive operation, but the talk helped sparked the recent spate of rumors, the official said.

An administration official close to the Clintons said the first lady would not rule out a campaign because she cannot give it serious consideration until after the Monica Lewinsky controversy subsides.

After that, she probably will take a look at it, though the official said his best guess is she will not run.

The Associated Press, January 8, 1999

That assessment was echoed by several others close to the first lady, who say no polling or political organizing has begun.

But there are definite signs of a whisper campaign.

Judith Hope, chairwoman of the New York Democratic Party, said Mrs. Clinton asked her several months ago not to encourage speculation about running for the Senate. "I would be surprised if this is what she chose to do," Hope said Thursday, echoing her comments to other news organizations in recent days.

A few hours later, she called back to say, "I have reason to believe that my comments have been too negative. If she decides to run, it would be terribly thrilling. ... I have reason to believe this possibility has not been ruled out."

Hope would not say what prompted her to suddenly view a Hillary-for-Senate campaign in a less negative light, though a spokesman later said she had talked to state politicians, including Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y.

Rangel has urged Mrs. Clinton to run for the Senate.

Friends say Mrs. Clinton has several political options opened to her, including seeking Senate seats in Illinois or California and even a presidential race somewhere down the line. Given the family's massive legal debt, they say, she may instead join corporate boards, return to practicing law or write a book to make serious money.

She has never been a hotter political commodity.

With the scandal-ridden president a liability to most campaigns, Mrs. Clinton was a big draw in the 1998 midterm elections and addressed fawning New York audiences. Polls show a healthy majority of Americans view her favorably. In New York, one poll on prospective Senate candidates showed her in a dead heat with Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York City.

Mrs. Clinton is not the only potential New York Senate candidate with White House ties.

Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, the son of former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, is expected to announce by early next week whether or not he will run. If Cuomo sought the seat, Mrs. Clinton would be unlikely to challenge him, say allies of both. If Cuomo bows out, speculation about a first lady candidacy would skyrocket.

Donna Shalala, secretary of health and human services, no longer is giving the race a serious look.

John Marino, former New York party chairman, said he would love to see Mrs. Clinton run but she must decide quickly. Other potential Democratic candidates need a heads up, he said, and she cannot wait much longer to start raising money.

Residency would not be a problem.

The Associated Press, January 8, 1999

Lee Daghlion, spokesman for the state Board of Elections, said she would have until Election Day to rent or buy in New York. Robert Kennedy was a latecomer to New York when he won a Senate seat in 1964.

Getting elected would be tougher. Party leaders say New Yorkers would not be dazzled by the "first lady" title. The state media would be typically hard-knuckled. No politicians, Democratic or Republican, would pull their punches.

Said Bill Cunningham, a Moynihan adviser: "I don't know if everybody will put their ambitions on hold just because the first lady wants to become senator."

Speculation on a possible Senate campaign for Mrs. Clinton intensified when Sen. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J., said Sunday that Mrs. Clinton might run, though his spokeswoman said Wednesday that the senator has no inside knowledge.

Torricelli has used intermediaries to urge the first lady to run, White House aides say.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 1999

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January 9, 1999, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1107 words

HEADLINE: New York Democrats Pin Hopes On Clinton (Hillary, That Is)

BYLINE: By ADAM NAGOURNEY

BODY:

When Charles E. Schumer wanted a compelling figure to campaign with during the final hours of his Senate race last year, he turned to a Democrat who has never even lived in New York State: Hillary Rodham Clinton. Mrs. Clinton flew in for a clamorous reception at a Schumer rally in midtown Manhattan. After the votes were counted, Republicans and Democrats agreed that her four visits had a lot to do with Mr. Schumer's defeat of Alfonse M. D'Amato by nearly 10 percentage points.

All of which accounts for why an apparently unauthorized political trial balloon, floated by the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee on television last weekend -- that Mrs. Clinton might run for the Senate from New York in 2000 in a bid to replace the retiring Daniel Patrick Moynihan -- has stirred such interest. Polls indicate there is virtually no public figure who is as popular as the First Lady among New York voters these days, and Mrs. Clinton clearly demonstrated her skill at political warfare with her relentless attacks on Mr. D'Amato last fall.

"This woman is just an exceptional human being with a broad breadth of knowledge on national and international politics," Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of New York and one of Mrs. Clinton's most enthusiastic promoters, said yesterday. "I've seen her on the campaign trail and as a witness in Congress. Her ability to do most anything well is unbelievable."

By most accounts, the prospect of Mrs. Clinton seeking the Senate nomination is, at this point, only the hopeful figments of the imagination of Democrats contemplating the difficult task of keeping Mr. Moynihan's seat under their party's control. The First Lady's associates say Mrs. Clinton has shown little interest in moving to New York and entering partisan politics, and that in any case, she has other things on her mind these days besides a Senate race two years away in a state where she has never lived. She intends still to be occupying the White House with her husband in 2000.

It will probably be months before Mrs. Clinton offers a final word on her political plans. But the excitement stirred by these whispers is evidence of something else: the underlying weakness of New York's Democratic Party, notwithstanding the party's strong showing in November, when Democrats won the Senate seat and the state attorney general and comptroller jobs.

The New York Times, January 9, 1999

Andrew M. Cuomo, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and son of former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, announced yesterday he is skipping the contest. Page B5.

Mr. Cuomo's decision has apparently left the Democratic Party with a weak bench of backup candidates to replace Mr. Moynihan in a race in which the Republican might be Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, an accomplished and well-financed politician.

The Democrat that Mr. Moynihan had hoped would run for his seat, H. Carl McCall, the State Comptroller, declined, calling the fund-raising demands too exhausting.

Mr. Cuomo's decision is sure to be interpreted, by some, as testimony to Mr. Giuliani's strength, even though many Democrats were skeptical of how the younger Mr. Cuomo, who has never run for public office, might do in a race against someone of Mr. Giuliani's guile and aggressiveness.

As of now, several lesser-known public officials are thinking about running -- like Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester and Assemblyman Michael J. Bragman of Syracuse -- but there does not appear to be another Mr. Schumer out there. Mr. Schumer, who had nine terms in the House of Representatives, devoted years to preparing a campaign.

Many Democratic leaders are concerned. When Judith Hope, the state party chairwoman, said earlier this week that she doubted Mrs. Clinton would run, she was warned by Democrats not to say anything that might discourage the First Lady "if there was the remotest possibility of her making this race," Ms. Hope said.

"Obviously, the prospect of the First Lady considering a race for Senate from New York is a very exciting one," Ms. Hope said yesterday. "I know that certain political leaders from New York are encouraging her to give it serious consideration. I know that six months ago she suggested to me that such speculation was a distraction for her at that period in time."

The Democrats who are looking to Mrs. Clinton to protect the "Moynihan seat," as Ms. Hope called it, are taking solace in Mrs. Clinton's refusal to rule out a campaign.

The only requirements to run for the Senate is that a candidate must be at least 30, be a citizen of the United States for at least nine years and establish a residence in the state where he or she seeks office.

"Clearly, there's a lot of speculation about what she would do," said Marsha Berry, the First Lady's press secretary. "To the question of elective politics, she says she has no plans."

Mr. Rangel said that Mrs. Clinton, in a conversation the other day, said nothing to dissuade him from advancing her candidacy. "The First Lady told me that we should put any discussion of this subject on hold, until after the President is done with impeachment proceedings in the Senate," Mr. Rangel said. "Me being an optimist, I consider that very favorable. Yes, I still have my hopes there."

Still, while such carefully parsed statements are often intended to signal that a public official is thinking about running, some of Mrs. Clinton's

The New York Times, January 9, 1999

associates say that is not the case here; the First Lady and her friends are simply trying to keep her options open, for any possibility.

This is not a particularly good time, one friend said, for Mrs. Clinton to contemplate her own career. She told one friend that she would be more inclined to think about a Senate race in 2002 than in 2000, when she expects to be still in the White House.

One thing seems certain: the longer she holds herself in abeyance, the more potential she has to shape the field. And that is not necessarily a good thing for the Democrats. Contributors are not likely to begin giving money to lesser-known possible candidates, and other candidates might decide to sit out the race. The specter of Mrs. Clinton as an outsized political figure inevitably reduces the stature of the other Democrats.

As time passes, she will come under more pressure to declare her intentions.

"I think it would be very exciting if she were a candidate," said John Marino, the former state Democratic chairman, who pressed the younger Mr. Cuomo to enter the race. "She would be a very strong candidate. But I would urge that if she were seriously thinking about doing this, I would encourage her to do it sooner rather than later."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Hillary Rodham Clinton with Representative Charles E. Schumer last fall during his successful campaign for the Senate seat held by Alfonse M. D'Amato. (James Estrin/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 9, 1999

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Roll Call

January 11, 1999

LENGTH: 1459 words

HEADLINE: New York's Team? Trial Blocks Talk of Senate Bid Report Says Andrew Cuomo Won't Run

BYLINE: By Rachel Van Dongen

BODY:

With enthusiasm in New York growing for Hillary Rodham Clinton to bid for the Senate in 2000, Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) said the first lady told him in a conversation last week that any talk about a Senate bid must be delayed until the end of the impeachment proceedings against her husband.

"The first lady said that she believes, and I agree with her, that we ought to put discussions on hold until such time as the President has gone through impeachment proceedings," said Rangel, who has been actively lobbying the first lady to enter the race to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) two years from now.

But the grassroots pressure continues to build among Empire State Democrats, with a local Democratic Party committee passing a unanimous resolution last week to urge the first lady to throw her hat into the ring.

Removing a major barrier to Clinton's potential entry into the race, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo (D) told New York magazine, in an article to be published today, that he will not run for Moynihan's seat, despite the exit of many high-profile potential Democratic contenders in recent weeks.

"I love my brother-in-law Joe (Kennedy), I love fishing and I love the water and I love boats. I love spending time with my little girls. But I happen to believe that public service is important," Cuomo told the magazine. "And the way I can best serve the public is as secretary of HUD."

"Here, we're really doing things in an area I'm interested in. I'm not just making speeches. I have the seat at the table. I have the President's ear. And I have \$25 billion to work on issues I really care about."

And Rangel said he has been approached by a number of political leaders in the state urging him to draft Clinton into the race.

"There are any number of political leaders, county leaders, that have already come out and endorsed her. Business people and campaign contributors and the leaders of the labor unions in New York City have come to me and said they want to talk to her."

"She's aware that people are speculating about what she might do in 2000, but at this point she has no plans to run for elective office," Marsha Berry, the first lady's spokeswoman, told The Associated Press. ||

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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February 4, 1999, Thursday, PM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 638 words

HEADLINE: Party Leader: 50-50 chance Hillary Clinton will seek NY Senate seat

BYLINE: By MARC HUMBERT, AP Political Writer

DATELINE: ALBANY, N.Y.

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton vs. Rudolph Giuliani?

While many Democrats and Republicans don't think it will happen, the leader of state Democratic Party said Wednesday that she now believes there is a 50-50 chance the first lady will enter New York's U.S. Senate race next year.

Giuliani has said he is considering the race and many top New York Republicans expect the New York City mayor to run for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Just weeks ago, state Democratic Party Chairwoman Judith Hope was telling everyone she did not believe Mrs. Clinton would enter the race. The first lady had asked her several months ago not to encourage such speculation, Hope explained.

"Now you hear me saying something different," Hope said Wednesday.

The party leader said that after spending time with the first lady at a \$10,000-a-person Democratic fund-raising event in New York City on Tuesday night, "it's my very strong impression that she has not ruled this out ... I'm sharing with you my impressions that she left with me and I think with others."

"My best guess is that it's 50-50," Hope said.

The state party leader refused to say if she had spoken directly to Mrs. Clinton or close aides to the first lady in recent days about the situation.

State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, one of the state's most powerful Democrats, did speak to Mrs. Clinton at Tuesday night's event and asked her to run for the Senate seat, Silver spokeswoman Patricia Lynch said.

"She said she was not ready to make a decision just yet," the Silver aide reported.

At the Tuesday night event, attended by Clinton and the first lady, the president said with a smile: "It's highly likely that I will increasingly be

known as the person who comes with Hillary to New York."

Told about Hope's comments, spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Mrs. Clinton was "not in a position right now to rule anything in or to rule anything out." //

"I think that when things in Washington have settled down, we'll see an announcement (from Mrs. Clinton) one way or the other," Hope said. "I think we will not be kept in endless suspense."

A Senate vote on President Clinton's possible removal from office is expected later this month.

Hope's comments came as a statewide poll showed Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani in a theoretical matchup for next year's Senate race.

The new poll, from Quinnipiac College's Polling Institute, had Mrs. Clinton favored by 51 percent of registered voters to 42 percent for the Republican mayor. Six percent of voters were undecided.

Last week, a poll from Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion had Mrs. Clinton leading Giuliani, 53 percent to 42 percent.

There has been some concern in Democratic circles that other potential Senate candidates will have a tough time getting ready for the Senate race as long as Mrs. Clinton leaves the door open for a possible candidacy. Hope said such fears are unwarranted.

"If she freezes the race on one side, she freezes it on the other side as well," the Democratic leader said. "If I'm thinking about writing a check to Rudy Giuliani, I'm going to think twice about it if I think there's a strong possibility, or any possibility, that he may be up against Hillary Clinton."

In New York, other Democrats still considered possible contenders are U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey of Westchester County, state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman and New York City Public Advocate Mark Green.

On the Republican side, U.S. Rep. Rick Lazio and Peter King are mentioned as possible Senate candidates as is Alfonse D'Amato, defeated in November in his bid for a fourth Senate term by Democrat Charles Schumer.

Quinnipiac's telephone poll of 1,191 registered New York voters was conducted Jan. 26-Feb. 1 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1999

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Post

February 4, 1999, Thursday

SECTION: All Editions; Pg. 005

LENGTH: 253 words

HEADLINE: HILLARY HAS 9-POINT LEAD ON HIZZONER IN NEW POLL

BYLINE: FREDRIC U. DICKER State Editor

BODY:

ALBANY - A new poll shows Hillary Rodham Clinton could beat Mayor Giuliani in a race for U.S. Senate - and a top state Democrat says there's a "50-50" chance the First Lady will run.

State Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope, who had downplayed the likelihood of Mrs. Clinton running, said she changed her mind after discussions with the First Lady at a Democratic fund-raiser at Le Cirque in Manhattan Tuesday night.

"My best guess is that it's 50-50," said Hope, who a few weeks ago said she didn't believe Mrs. Clinton would run for the seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"Now you hear me saying something different," Hope said. "It's my very strong impression that she has not ruled this out."

Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (D-Manhattan) said he had urged Mrs. Clinton at the fund-raiser to enter the Senate race.

"He told her that if she enters the race, she'll have the support of the Assembly Democrats," said Silver spokeswoman Patricia Lynch.

"Mrs. Clinton indicated to him that she has not made a decision and is not prepared to make one just yet," Lynch continued.

Marsha Berry, the First Lady's spokeswoman, wouldn't comment on Hope's prediction, other than to say Mrs. Clinton is "not in a position right now to rule anything in or to rule anything out." ||

While many New York Democrats say Mrs. Clinton would be their party's strongest candidate, many also privately predict she won't enter the race.

GRAPHIC: HILLARY CLINTON "50-50" chance she'll run.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1999

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The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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January 27, 1999, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: State and Regional

LENGTH: 557 words

HEADLINE: Poll: Mrs. Clinton strong for Senate; Gore has no lock on New York

BYLINE: By MARC HUMBERT, AP Political Writer

DATELINE: ALBANY, N.Y.

BODY:

A statewide poll shows Hillary Rodham Clinton in a strong position for a possible Senate race in New York, but Vice President Al Gore with no lock on the state's presidential voting.

The poll, released Tuesday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion, had the first lady leading Republicans Rudolph Giuliani and Alfonse D'Amato in theoretical matchups for next year's Senate race.

The poll also found Texas Gov. George W. Bush running strongly against potential Democratic presidential opponents in the heavily Democratic Empire State. And, it showed former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley running almost as well as the vice president against the potential Republican candidates.

"I think it's good news for everybody but Al Gore," Marist pollster Lee Miringoff said.

In the poll, the first lady was favored by 53 percent of registered voters while Giuliani, the New York City mayor, was the choice of 42 percent of voters. About 6 percent were undecided.

Against D'Amato, defeated by Democrat Charles Schumer in November in a bid for a fourth Senate term, Mrs. Clinton leads, 57 percent to 38 percent, with 5 percent of voters undecided.

A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton declined to comment on the poll results.

While some New York Democrats are boosting the first lady as a potential candidate, spokeswoman Marsha Berry said Tuesday that "right now, she's just not in a position to be thinking about making this kind of decision."

Both Giuliani and D'Amato have said they are considering running for the GOP nomination.

D'Amato couldn't be reached immediately for comment while Giuliani said "it would be silly to comment on a poll about an election that nobody has decided on. It may take place, it may not take place."

The Associated Press State & Local Wire

The mayor then proceeded to provide some analysis of the polling, telling reporters "the popularity of Mrs. Clinton rests in large measure - I shouldn't say in large measure - I think some of it has to do with the fact that people empathize and sympathize with her, given some of the way in which she has been treated and the husband has been treated."

Whatever the reason, pollster Miringoff said "Hillary Clinton has substantial name recognition and would clearly bring celebrity status to the race." Nonetheless, the Marist poll also found nearly a third of New York voters have an unfavorable view of the first lady.

In the race for New York's 33 presidential electoral votes, Gore was favored by 48 percent of voters to 44 percent for Bush with 8 percent undecided. In other potential matchups, Gore is at 47 percent to Elizabeth Dole's 42 percent; he is at 50 percent to New York Gov. George Pataki's 41 percent; and at 53 percent to Giuliani's 37 percent.

With Bradley as the Democratic candidate, the former New York Knicks basketball star is at 46 percent to Bush's 45 percent. Other matchups have Bradley at 45 percent and Mrs. Dole at 43 percent; Bradley at 47 percent to 44 percent for Pataki; and Bradley 50 percent, Giuliani 36 percent.

Fifty-eight percent of New York voters said Pataki shouldn't run for president while 68 percent said Giuliani should skip the presidential race.

In New York, Democrats outnumber Republicans by a 5-3 margin.

The telephone poll of 513 registered voters was conducted Sunday and has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 27, 1999

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N.Y. Democratic official: Hillary Clinton says yes, she'll run for Senate
UPDATE2: Grafts 9-11 with remarks from Ickes, saying Gigante misunderstands;
grafts 25-26 about looking for a house in Westchester; edits throughout.

By BILLY HOUSE

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON A prominent state Democrat said Tuesday that Hillary Rodham Clinton told him Monday night she is running for the U.S. Senate from New York next year.

The party official, Staten Island party chief Robert Gigante, said the first lady gave him the word at a Manhattan fund-raising event for Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y.

"My wife and I walked over to her, and I said, 'Do you have any good news for the people of Staten Island?,' " Gigante recalls. "She said 'yes.'"

"And so, I said, 'Does that mean you're going to run?,' " Gigante said. "She said, 'yes'."

"I was more stunned than anything else. I even double-checked with my wife to make sure that is what we heard. And she said yes. I guess maybe (Mrs. Clinton) told me because I was the only one to ask her point-blank."

And Gigante said he stands by his story despite receiving telephone calls Tuesday morning from former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, a top adviser to Mrs. Clinton. He said Ickes wanted to know exactly what was said, then suggested he should not tell the story anymore.

"He said 'Look, our position is that she has not made a decision,' " Gigante said of Ickes. He also said Ickes added: "I'm telling the press it was a misunderstanding."

"He didn't say she didn't say it," Gigante said. "He just said our position to the press is that she hasn't made up her mind yet."

Ickes, in a later interview, said exactly that.

"I think there was a good-faith misunderstanding," said Ickes. "I talked to Mrs. Clinton this morning, and she said what I expected her to say that she has not made up her mind."

Ickes also acknowledged calling Gigante, and said, "I told him I've known him for a long time, and that he's been a real good Clinton supporter," but that he's mistaken.

Gigante's story comes as New York Democratic Party chairwoman Judith Hope said her own in-depth talks with Mrs. Clinton in recent days have "made it clear to me she is leaning toward" running.

"But," Hope cautioned, "she could still decide not to do this. She still has not made a decision, let me be very candid with you."

Hope, who talked with the first lady Friday and Monday, said she thinks Mrs. Clinton will withhold any formal announcement even of the formation of a campaign exploratory committee until after a trip in late June to Israel, and possibly into July.

An exploratory committee would enable the first lady to raise money for travel expenses and other costs of events that are purely political and not tied to her White House duties.

Ickes had also said he doubted Mrs. Clinton would be making any announcement during June, or even perhaps anytime in July.

Hope's and Gigante's remarks came a day after she and the first lady spent part of Monday together, including Mrs. Clinton's appearance at several events, including the \$1,000-a-plate event for Lowey.

On Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton departed with President Clinton for vacation in Yulee, Fla., where Hope says Mrs. Clinton plans to further mull her potential candidacy. The Clintons plan to stay in Yulee until late Sunday.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said that while the first lady plans to rest and relax, "she did say that she planned to spend some time thinking about this."

"I think she's thinking about that stuff all the time," Berry said.

In the interview, Hope also said that while Mrs. Clinton is now publicly

saying she will be moving to New York, the first lady never suggested to her that she and her husband are at the point of specifically looking for a home within New York City, Westchester County or anywhere else.

Mrs. Clinton has said she plans to live in New York ``no matter what I end up doing.''

And the New York Times reported Tuesday that friends say she has people looking at residences in the northern New York City suburban county of Westchester. Hope said that's never come up in her extensive talks with the first lady.

``No. Absolutely not. I cannot verify that is correct,' ' she said.

But Ickes said: ``She's always said to me she wants to live in New York. And Westchester certainly is a logical place. But there are a lot of other logical places.''

``It wouldn't surprise me if she's looking in Westchester County,' ' said Ickes, though he added he did not know for sure.

``I am convinced that they (Mrs. Clinton and the president) are going to live in New York,' ' Hope said of what the first couple plans to do after leaving the White House. ``But I do not think that's conclusive evidence she will run for the Senate.''

Mrs. Clinton's office said the first couple has not gotten to the point of narrowing down their consideration of where they might live in New York.

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2 pages

Hillary say yes to U.S. Senate race

By Judy L. Randall

ADVANCE POLITICAL EDITOR

Tuesday, 05/25/1999

, Section: News, Page A1

EXCLUSIVE

LEADIN: Island Dem boss asks first lady if she's running, and...

NUT: Mrs. Clinton stuns Party Chairman Robert Gigante with her unequivocal answer at a Manhattan fund-raiser; officially, a formal declaration isn't expected until next month

"We have a candidate!" an exuberant Staten Island Democratic Party chairman Robert J. Gigante declared last night, revealing that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told him she will run for the U.S. Senate next year.

"I asked her, 'Do you have good news for the people of Staten Island?'" said Gigante, who attended a fund-raiser Mrs. Clinton headlined in a midtown Manhattan hotel. "And she said, 'Yes.' So I said, 'Does that mean you're running?' And she said, 'Yes.'"

"I was stunned, stunned. We have a candidate!" he said.

Gigante said Mrs. Clinton made her remarks during a chat with him and his wife, Barbara, as the first lady worked the room at a \$1,000-a-head fund-raiser for Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester). Mrs. Lowey has said she will run for the seat if Mrs. Clinton does not.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to make the race could not be independently confirmed late last night, nor could her White House spokeswoman be reached.

If Mrs. Clinton gave Gigante a straightforward answer about her plans, maybe it's because he flat-out asked her if she is running. Because of the aura surrounding any first lady, and because Mrs. Clinton has let it be known that she needs private time in which to make her decision, most party leaders probably have been tip-toeing around asking her the question outright.

Officially, her camp has said Mrs. Clinton will make a final determination within the next week after a family vacation in Florida and that she will announce her plans sometime in June or July. But state Democratic Party bigwigs have been quietly urging that she make her intentions known sooner rather than later.

If Mrs. Clinton confided in Gigante, she continues to be coy about her political plans, except perhaps to a small cadre of longtime loyalists. However, in recent days there has been a growing consensus that Mrs. Clinton will seek the seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

For one thing, after repeated visits here in the last two months, Mrs. Clinton's office put out the word yesterday that she has decided to make New York City her home when she leaves the White House — if not before.

In order to run for the Senate in New York, a candidate has to reside in the state.

Mrs. Clinton has been running neck and neck in the polls with Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who has all but announced for the seat. Perhaps as a measure of growing concern over her interest in running, Giuliani has been calling the Chicago native and Arkansas transplant a carpe-thagger for whom New Yorkers would be wary of voting.

Previously, Giuliani said he did not think her residency should be an issue.

Also in the Senate mix is Rep. Rick Lazio (R-Long Island). Lazio has been critical of Giuliani in recent days, calling him a "reluctant Republican" for the mayor's failure to take a

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more conservative stance on a variety of issues ranging from abortion and gay rights to welfare reform and the commuter tax.

While there is every indication that Giuliani and Lazio would be prepared to go head-to-head in a GOP primary, Mrs. Lowey has said she will step aside for Mrs. Clinton. For her part, Mrs. Clinton has been eager to help Mrs. Lowey raise money for a possible Lowey-for-Senate campaign so that she cannot be later accused of stifling Mrs. Lowey's ability to build a war chest while she was contemplating whether to run. Mrs. Lowey took in an estimated \$1 million last night.

Prior to the start of last night's fund-raiser, Gigante and a handful of other Democratic leaders from around the state met privately with Mrs. Clinton. While the topic of her candidacy was never raised, Gigante said she "spoke like a candidate" in her discussion of the war in Kosovo and the student massacre in Littleton, Colo.

He also said that unlike a month ago when he met her and she was surrounded by the Secret Service, Mrs. Clinton was permitted to walk freely in the ballroom, greeting guests of Mrs. Lowey.

"This time there was no rope line," said Gigante of the literal barrier the Secret Service usually puts between the first lady and a crowd of well-wishers. "She was able to work the room like a candidate."

Gigante was an early supporter of Bill Clinton for president, back in 1991. Clinton won Staten Island in 1996, the first Democrat to do so since President Lyndon Johnson in 1964.

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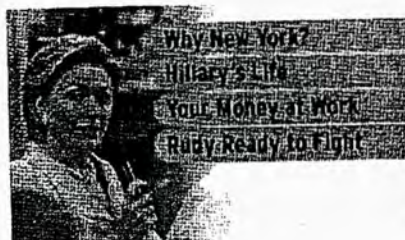


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There's No Going Back Now



Hillary Crosses N.Y. Political Threshold

Get used to it! Hillary Clinton takes questions during a recent visit to upstate New York. Click on the bars at left to go to summaries of the stories in this series. (Michael Okoniewski/AP Photo)

By [Brian Hartman](#)
[ABCNEWS.com](#)

WASHINGTON, June 10 — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton says she's just having fun, exploring New York while considering a potential Senate candidacy. But she is nearly beyond the point of no return.

On her first visit back to the state since declaring she would form a Senate exploratory committee, the first lady on Wednesday met jeers, sign-waving protesters and tough policy questions about local issues that would make even a native New Yorker sweat.

And her once-soaring poll numbers in the state are returning to earth — bringing her into firing range of expected GOP challenger Rudolph Giuliani, the mayor of New York.

Fight of Her Life

To say Mrs. Clinton is in for a fight is to understate the case. Last year's Senate race in New York was the nation's meanest, with then-Sen. Alfonse D'Amato and Democrat Charles Schumer bashing each other relentlessly on the airwaves for months. And the notoriously tough New York media certainly aren't going to lay

SUMMARY

Even though she's still hedging publicly, Hillary Rodham Clinton is heading full speed for the New York political spotlight.

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York media certainly aren't going to lay down their pens.

But no matter how bad it gets — and regardless of how much she denies having made a decision yet whether to run — Hillary Rodham Clinton will find it more and more difficult to back out of a race in which no Democrat waits in the wings. Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey announced she would rather return to the House next year, leaving no one inside the party in the first lady's way.

Moreover, if she were to drop out now and most assuredly hand the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan to the Republicans, how could she ever show her face in party circles again?

ABCNEWS.com this week takes a closer look at Mrs. Clinton and the forthcoming New York political battle. Stay with us through Election Day as we follow this race with exclusive coverage from New York and Washington.

Hillary Faces Carpetbagger Charges

As Hillary Rodham Clinton weighs her bid to become the Empire State's next senator, the question of just why someone born in Illinois and wed in Arkansas is ready to represent New York continues to dog her. Gayle Tzemach reports. ►

First Lady in Waiting

Much of Hillary Clinton's career has prepared her for this historic run for the Senate. Ann Compton reports. ►

Flying High on Taxpayer Dollars

Who's been paying for all those trips to New York? Taxpayers are footing at least some of the bill. Josh Fine reports. ►

Republicans Sharpen the Long Knives

If he enters the race, brash New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani will give Hillary Rodham Clinton the fight of her life. But first he'll have to make it through the GOP primaries. J. Jennings Moss reports. ►

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The Empire (State) Strikes Back

Carpetbagging Charges Dog First Lady's Senate Exploration

Anti-Hillary Rodham Clinton protesters in Johnson City, N.Y., demonstrate against Clinton's anticipated run for a Senate seat in the state. (Michael OKoniewski/AP Photo)

By Gayle Tzemach
 ABCNEWS.com

WASHINGTON, June 10 — One question continues to dog first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as she weighs a bid to become the Empire State's next senator.

What qualifies someone born in Illinois, wed in Arkansas, and steeped in a Washington life to represent New York state?

When she came to visit with workers in upstate New York on Wednesday, a few dozen protesters met her, toting signs with such welcoming phrases as "Carpetbagger Go Home" and "Go Back to Your Village."

Mrs. Clinton seemed to take the criticism in stride, however. Breaking with her usual tradition of staying far from the mass of reporters following her every move, she instead stopped and offered something of an explanation to the question: Why New York?

"New York really is the Empire State and is a state that is on the cutting edge of where we're going in the future," she said.

Republicans Stress Residency

Of course, that kind of answer isn't going to satisfy either of her likely opponents — New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani or Rep. Rick Lazio — for a New York minute.

Though Giuliani initially said he did not think her residency would be a major issue in a potential campaign, he has now launched a full-out assault on the first lady's lack of New York roots.

His fledgling Senate campaign set up a

SUMMARY

Critics take Hillary Rodham Clinton to task for her lack of ties to New York state.

sidebar

The Kennedy Precedent

In This Series

[Expanded Coverage: Empire State Senate Battle](#)
[First Lady Enters N.Y. Political Fray](#)
[Hillary Reaches for Power, Vindication](#)
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His fledgling Senate campaign set up a "HillaryNo!" Web site taking a shot at her lack of New York knowledge. And in a recent fund-raising letter, he told supporters, "To me, New York is not a political 'stepping stone.' New York is my life."

Giuliani even traveled to Arkansas, joking of a possible run for office there. And he is scheduled to return to President Clinton's home state for a fund-raiser next month.

Voter Concern Apparent

New York pollsters say Giuliani's "carpetbagger" allegations are meant to tap into voter unease.

"There is a fairly large portion of the electorate that is concerned about the fact that she is not from here," says New York political consultant Joe Mercurio. "I think ultimately it is going to be a real problem for her."

Says pollster John Zogby, "The stakes are very, very high and whatever works as an issue," the candidates are sure to exploit.

An Upstate Battle

Demographics also will complicate her bid. New York City, a cosmopolitan area used to welcoming glamorous out-of-towners, now accounts for only about 27 percent of the state's votes. Hearts will be even harder for Mrs. Clinton to win in upstate New York, a region anything but urban, where the big city's economic boom has yet to trickle down.

Upstate Democrats, however, say Mrs. Clinton can get past the residency issue.

"What she must do is point to the history of senators in New York who have not been longtime residents of the state, like Robert Kennedy and James Buckley, but who made tremendous contributions to the state and the nation," says Steve Jones, a Democratic leader in central New York.

However, say Democratic supporters upstate, that means she has got to get out of Manhattan and up to visit the less-trafficked regions of the state.

"Northern New York remembers people who come and make an appearance and hear the issues and concerns," says Charles Merrell of Lewis County, who recently invited Clinton to a county fair next month.

And Democrats point to the fact that Giuliani, too, runs into problems once he leaves New York City.

"I think Giuliani's reputation in New York will not translate necessarily into a good reputation upstate," says Jones. "While there has been a boom in the economy downstate, we're still in economic downturns upstate."

Celebrity Both Good and Bad

Though the carpetbagging questions are not going away anytime soon, more than a few political

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observers without a party preference say the first lady can overcome her Illinois roots and win on the issues.

"She can get past it simply because she is supranational, she is a larger-than-life figure," says veteran Democratic strategist Hank Sheinkopf. "She needs to get here and make New Yorkers believe she is real."

Sheinkopf also warns of the downside of her national celebrity.

"People tend to have fixed opinions" of the Clinton name, he says. That means that the best thing going for her — and the worst thing — is that she's first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The Kennedy Precedent

In August of 1964, less than a year after his brother's assassination, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy decided to move to New York and run for the Senate, despite the fact that he lived in Virginia and voted in Massachusetts.

Like first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Kennedy faced charges of carpetbagging and protesters urged him to head back to Massachusetts, where his family's political dynasty was created.

And just as Mrs. Clinton's supporters now are doing, Kennedy aides tried then to blunt that criticism by pointing to New York's history of electing leaders from outside the state. Among them: Rufus King, the state's first senator, who originally represented Massachusetts in the Continental Congress.

Kennedy cited King in his acceptance of the Democratic nomination, telling the crowd King "was from Massachusetts. And he served this state well."

But unlike the first lady, Kennedy backers could also counter the out-of-towner charge by stressing RFK's early childhood in New York. (Kennedy was even an altar boy at St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Bronxville, N.Y.) Kennedy also had the Camelot legend to draw upon, at that time still very much alive and well.

But critics saw Kennedy as a ruthless politician simply looking for fertile land to sow his presidential ambitions. He had, they charged, little real interest in either New Yorkers or their problems. His opponent, incumbent Republican Sen. Kenneth Keating, called Kennedy's effort "the most arrogant campaign New York State has ever witnessed," according to a Kennedy biographer.

And despite both sides' stated ambitions to keep the race clean, the competition wallowed in mud by campaign's end. Allegations of Nazi collaboration, weak commitment to civil rights and disregard for nuclear limitations were exchanged in the campaign's home stretch.

In another similarity to the current situation, polls taken before Kennedy entered the race showed him beating Keating by 52 to 35 percent.

By September, after he entered the race, Kennedy's lead was evaporating. In early October, Kennedy's pollster showed Keating — despite New York's traditional Democratic tilt — had taken the lead.

In the home stretch, though, Kennedy came on strong, buoyed by two days of campaigning with the popular President Lyndon Johnson, who helped bring traditional Democrats back into the party fold.

By the end of October, RFK had regained the lead for good.

good.

In the end, Kennedy won the race by more than 700,000, helped in good part by Johnson's landslide win over GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater.

Johnson's far-reaching coattails landed Democrats in charge of both the House and Senate in the most resounding presidential triumph since 1936.

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Air Hillary



Campaign-Style Trips Covered by Taxpayers

First Lady Hillary Clinton, seen here with New York Senator Charles Schumer, is expected to run for Senate. Her repeated trips to the Empire state have people wondering who is paying the tab for these visits. (AP Photo)

By Josh Fine
ABCNEWS.com

NEW YORK, June 10 — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made 11 trips here this year.

She's hugged babies, met with working parents, and caucused with Jewish groups. She even showed off a New York Yankees baseball cap that a fellow Democrat gave to her. If all this sounds like the makings of a Senate campaign, don't tell that to her staff. According to Mrs. Clinton's office and the White House counsel's office, none of her trips to New York will be billed to her campaign because she hasn't been doing any campaigning.

It's tough to estimate the exact cost of these trips and the White House has not released any dollar figures. But hauling a Secret Service squad and an entourage of official staff around the Empire State on official U.S. government aircraft — usually following on the heels of an advance team that prepares each site visit — doesn't come cheap.

Hillary & The Bill

According to Federal Election Commission law, all "exploratory activity" looking into a congressional candidacy must be billed to an exploratory committee. If a committee doesn't exist, as in the first lady's case, Mrs. Clinton would be billed directly.

So aides say her trips to New York have not been exploratory, but rather "official" and "political." Official trips are done under the auspices of the Office of First Lady and financed by taxpayer dollars.

SUMMARY

Who has been paying for first lady Hillary Clinton's trips to New York? Your tax dollars have covered a big chunk of the costs.

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[Expanded Coverage: Empire State Senate Battle](#)
[First Lady Enters N.Y. Political Fray](#)
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Office of First Lady and financed by taxpayer dollars. Political trips are those paid for by the Democratic Party, usually when the party believes her presence will help them raise cash for other candidates. Many of her trips to the state, including her most recent visit, have featured both official and political events.

If she were to hold meetings with potential staff, aides say, those trips would be "exploratory." To stay within the law, she has purposefully held those interviews in Washington.

Frequent Flier

But increasingly Mrs. Clinton is coming under fire for her travels through the Empire State. Government watchdog groups say she has crossed the line, even if she isn't breaking the law.

"It would seem that New York has been getting an inordinate amount of the first lady's time," says Charles Lewis of the Center for Public Integrity.

Mrs. Clinton has been to New York eight times in the last seven weeks, including a trip today to a New York City school. She hasn't made more than two trips to any other state all year.

"There's a little bit of disingenuousness by the first lady's staff," Lewis says. "They've tried to portray it entirely as first lady proper, official duties and I think most people and common sense would show that there's a little bit more to it than just the first lady doing her duties."

Splitting the Check

To date, billing for her trips has been split between the taxpayers and the Democratic Party based on the ratio of time spent on political vs. official events. For example, on a recent trip to New York, Mrs. Clinton attended a labor lunch, a fund-raiser for a congressional candidate, and spoke at the graduation for City College of New York.

Two-thirds of that trip was financed by the party, while a third was considered official travel and paid by the government. But even something as innocuous as a graduation speech can be laced with campaign-driven themes, according to C. Boyden Gray, the former White House counsel to President Bush. Gray says once a speech deals with issues that are specific to New York, she is campaigning.

"She'll be making arguments that have nothing to do with the national picture but are local to New York," Gray says. "She ought not to be using White House-paid speechwriters to do those speeches."

Mrs. Clinton recently took the advice of her top advisers and announced that she will form an exploratory committee to avoid further questions about the cost of her trips. That committee can raise money and pay for Mrs. Clinton to campaign in New York. It also can cover charges for past trips — something Mrs. Clinton's staff says will not be

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

July 9, 1999, Friday, CONSTITUTION EDITION

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HEADLINE: First lady 'polished' early in N.Y. tour

BYLINE: Jill Vejnaska, Staff

SOURCE: Cooperstown, N.Y.

BODY:

She runs late, she runs long, and if she doesn't totally run away from personal questions, she seems determined to dance around them.

Everybody gets a listen on the issues. Nobody gets much in the way of answers yet.

And sometimes, as happened here Thursday, Hillary Rodham Clinton even admits to having learned from a mistake.

"You may recall I had some thoughts about health care in the past," Clinton told a packed room at Bassett Healthcare, peals of laughter greeting her gently self-mocking reference to her far-reaching reform efforts back in 1993. "But I now come from the school of smaller steps."

If it both does and doesn't sound like a typical political campaign, make no mistake about it: It's Hillary Clinton's version of one. And on the second day of her much-ballyhooed "Listening Tour" across central New York state, something else became clear.

To some extent, it's sinking in.

Said Joseph Sellers, a Bassett physician and avowed Republican with a barely contained sigh, "I was very much impressed with Mrs. Clinton. She was polished."

Moments earlier, Sellers had snapped to attention parts of the packed meeting room by rising in the audience and informing Clinton that much of largely rural central New York's health care woes could be traced to the region's poor economic conditions.

He even invoked President Clinton's memorable 1992 campaign phrase, "It's the economy, stupid," causing Mrs. Clinton to exclaim, "That's a very good point." That got much of the seemingly snoozing press contingent suddenly vying for interviews with Sellers.

The Atlanta Journal, July 9, 1999

Day two of Clinton's four-day visit here contained none of the drama or glamour of Wednesday's endorsement by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan among the hay bales and weathered buildings of his 900-acre farm.

Instead, Clinton conducted two more "listening sessions," each marked by the would-be candidate's attempt to demonstrate her grasp of issues affecting the health care community and the elderly, and her almost endless willingness to let people talk to her.

Both sessions started on what has been called "Bill Clinton time," getting under way nearly an hour late. And despite what members of her exploratory committee staff suggested ahead of time, neither ended after only an hour.

Indeed, she almost appeared to be begging for more time with her audience Thursday afternoon at Utica's East Side Senior Center, telling a crowd that had just spent some 45 minutes bending her ear about the need to protect Social Security, reduce crime and lower prescription drug costs, "I'd like to learn from you. What else can we do to better economic conditions here?"

Most of the senior center audience responded enthusiastically when Clinton reminded them of "my husband's" announced intention to direct budget surplus dollars to assuring the future solvency of Social Security.

Such unwavering loyalty was not totally in evidence earlier in the day, however, when Clinton took pains to tell her Bassett audience when she didn't think the president's health care policies went far enough.

"Something my husband and others in Washington, D.C., think we need is to empower patients more through the Patient's Bill of Rights," Clinton said. "But even that is a diversion. I'm for it. I hope it passes. But at the end of the day, we'll have more people arguing over what should be done for patients. "

More evidence emerged later Thursday that the all-but-announced candidate is as willing to publicly separate herself from her husband on certain issues as she is to invoke his successes in the appropriate settings.

Her campaign released a letter she wrote last week to Mandell Ganchrow, president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congress of America, stating that she viewed Jerusalem as "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel" and would advocate to move the U.S. embassy there from Tel Aviv.

That would seem to put her at odds with her husband, who recently blocked the embassy shift and maintains that Israel and the PLO should together determine Jerusalem's fate.

Hillary Clinton's statement on Jerusalem may play well with the large Jewish community in New York and could help reverse the negative attitude many Jews have toward the first lady for a statement she made several years ago in support of a Palestinian state.

Now if only she could approach her husband's campaign mastery.

Asked Thursday about reports President Clinton had advised her on communicating with voters, she seemed to confirm that. Sort of.

The Atlanta Journal, July 9, 1999

"If I decide to run I will certainly do that, and I will practice in front of my husband," she said in an interview session with reporters from New York newspapers, a transcript of which was made available. "If he gives me a passing grade, then I will go out and tell the world."

GRAPHIC: Photo

A kiss for luck: After impressing Hillary Rodham Clinton with a placard saying, "I'm 92 and I'll vote 4 U," nursing home resident Gilda Mazzura shows her affection for the first lady Thursday in Clinton, N.Y. The first lady is on a "listening tour" as she considers running for the Senate. / Ron Frehm / Staff

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July 9, 1999, Friday

SECTION: USA; POLITICAL NOTES; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 811 words

HEADLINE: Throngs 'listen' with the first lady

BYLINE: Ron Scherer, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y.

HIGHLIGHT:

In Day One on campaign trail, Hillary Clinton survives trick questions, media horde

BODY:

At the only traffic light within miles of this country intersection, Katherine Engert is holding a "Go-Home" sign for Hillary Rodham Clinton. As a long black limousine slides past, Ms. Engert and others around her start waving their signs in the hope Mrs. Clinton will get the message.

But she is not in the stretch limo: The occupants are, of all people, members of a Japanese television crew.

Yes, Japanese television crews, not to mention 250 other journalists, gathered Wednesday in a hayfield to watch Clinton start her "listening tour," a prelude to her formal candidacy to run for a US Senate seat in New York State.

Only a few days earlier, bales of hay had been rolled and shrink-wrapped outside of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm, where Clinton kicked off her tour. Now, the field is sprouting trucks with satellite antenna. White House reporter Andrea Mitchell from "NBC News" is soiling her shoes along with local reporters from "Inside Albany."

This spectacle of both celebrity and local reporters comes during a slow news week in Washington. The media horde has come to a place so small - it's not even a dot on local maps - to get the ultimate sound bite as a first lady finally embarks on a campaign trail for herself.

"Will someone come down here and turn me on?" Clinton says after her microphone failed during her first listening session.

"She's such a character," says Osmau Sorimachi of Japan's Fuji television network. "In Japan, there are not so many women - none - who are so ambitious."

That ambition has nearly every political reporter in the nation salivating. They

are analyzing, looking for nuance, trying to trip Clinton before she even leaves the gate. They need to find something to write about, after all.

Does she have an opinion on the design of the Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls? asks one local reporter, knowing the candidate would rather talk about Medicare reform and changing the education system. "I'll leave that to the experts," Clinton says as Sen. Moynihan quickly moves to another reporter at a first-day press conference.

In fact, at the end of the day many reporters were left scratching their heads, looking for a second-day news story. Would it be Mrs. Clinton's visit to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown? Would she wear an Oneonta Tigers baseball cap? How would she care to rate the barbecued chicken at Brook's House of Bar-B-Q in Oneonta?

Judith Hope, the state Democratic Party chairwoman, is expecting that national reporters contemplating such dramatic journalistic coups will feel compelled to go back to Washington. There will be no battle with Andrea Mitchell or Barbara Walters for air time. "As she keeps coming back, local reporters will get all the access they want," she says.

What they are likely to hear is more of the same. At this stage in her campaign, Clinton is taking the high road. On Day One, she said she was contemplating the run because "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

When reporters tried to get her to talk about White House scandals, Monica Lewinsky, or some questionable dealings in her Arkansas past, she talked about education and health care. Didn't she have chutzpah to run in a state where she's never lived? asked one reporter. Yes, laughed Clinton, the word had entered her head when people first suggested she run for the seat.

During the afternoon of Clinton's first day on the trail, she held her first listening session at the State University at Oneonta. Clinton asked five local residents to talk about the education system and how it could be improved.

It was the perfect forum for the first lady, who can talk about educational theory with almost anyone. She supports pre-kindergarten classes, mothers reading to children, and families eating together around the kitchen table.

By the time Clinton gets around to telling the locals she is "serious about listening and learning about upstate New York," many of the reporters have left. As many people are yawning, Clinton says she is looking forward to the "slow relaxed pace."

By the next morning Clinton is in Cooperstown talking about another of her favorite topics-health care. Then she goes to Utica for a session on technology. Then on to Syracuse for an economic development panel. "There are no stump speeches, just listening," says Clinton's spokesman Howard Wolfson.

The farmlands of upstate New York are Republican strongholds. So, it's not surprising that almost everywhere Clinton goes there are protesters. But, she seems unfazed by the activity. When she actually does go by Ms. Engert at the intersection, she sees the Rudy signs. She waves and smiles. This is also part of the listening and learning tour.

ABC NIGHTLINE
SEPTEMBER 13, 1999

CHRIS BURY, ABC News: (voice-over) She isn't even a candidate yet but she's already hitting potholes on the campaign trail.

UNIDENTIFIED COMMENTATOR: It appears as though whatever, whatever helps on that day to get elected is what will be said by Mrs. Clinton.

JACK NEUFELD (ph): To be so tone deaf to the ethnic nuances of New York makes me wonder who she is and where she's coming from.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) And there are questions about whether the President and his policies have become real liabilities.

HILLARY CLINTON, First Lady: There are times when I will disagree with the President and the administration and my friends.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) Tonight, would-be candidate Hillary Clinton and the long shadow of the White House.

ANNOUNCER: From ABC News, this is Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Chris Bury.

CHRIS BURY: You probably recall that when Bill Clinton first ran for president, he liked to say that voters could buy one, get one free. By that, of course, he meant that Hillary Rodham Clinton, an accomplished figure in her own right, would wield real power and influence in his White House. No sooner had he been sworn in than Mr. Clinton kept that promise, putting his wife in charge of reforming health care. That endeavor failed. But by all accounts, Mrs. Clinton has remained a powerful, if less visible, force in the West Wing.

Now that the First Lady appears to be embarking on a historic candidacy of her own, though she has not officially announced, the tables are turned. Everything the President does is being scrutinized for its impact, real or imagined, on the likely race between Hillary Clinton and Rudy Giuliani.

Tomorrow, the U.S. Senate is expected to approve a resolution condemning the President's grant of clemency to the Puerto Rican nationalists who were released from prison over the weekend. In any other Senate race, that issue is probably small potatoes. But because she rooms with the President, the clemency question has already snared Mrs. Clinton in the messy briar patch of New York's ethnic politics.

For any prospective candidate, that territory is tricky enough. But it's even more treacherous for an outsider who happens to be married to the President of the United States.

UNIDENTIFIED CLINTON SUPPORTER: Well, actually before I do that I want to present--Mrs. Clinton, hopefully this will fit you.

HILLARY CLINTON: Thank you.

UNIDENTIFIED CLINTON SUPPORTER: Mr. President?

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) For Hillary Clinton, the first stumble may have been that cap. The sight of this Illinois native, long-time Arkansan and current Washingtonian in a Yankees cap annoyed even some of those New Yorkers who support her candidacy.

ED KOCH, Former Mayor New York City: I do think putting on the Yankee cap was ridiculous.

CHRIS BURY: (on camera) Why?

ED KOCH: You don't become a Yankee fan by putting on a Yankee cap when you've been supporting other teams over the years.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) Jack Neufeld, (ph) a columnist for the New York Post, calls himself a Bobby Kennedy Democrat but he could not abide that cap.

JACK NEUFELD, New York Post: I've seen her on television at Cubs games. That's OK, to be a Cubs fan. But to say, put on the hat and then say I've always been a Yankees fan and now when I come to New York I'm going to root for the Yankees, it was bogus.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) To further establish New York credentials, the Clintons, with the help of a wealthy Democratic fundraiser, bought this home in the New York City suburbs and they even vacationed upstate. But soon, Mrs. Clinton found herself in a full blown political uproar over that White House offer of clemency to 16 jailed Puerto Rican nationalists.

Critics accused Mr. Clinton of trying to help his wife curry favor with New York's Puerto Rican voters, a charge the White House denies. One conservative group even aired this commercial on a local station during the Clintons' vacation.

(Clip from political commercial)

ANNOUNCER: So we ask you, Mrs. Clinton, while you're here vacationing and listening, tell the President that pardoning terrorists is wrong.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) At first, Mrs. Clinton, through a spokesperson, said she supported the clemency with certain strings attached.

HOWARD WOLFSON, Hillary Clinton's Spokesman: At that time Mrs. Clinton made two things very clear. One, that she had no involvement in or knowledge of the President's decision prior to it being made. And two, that she believed the prisoners should not be released unless and until they renounced violence.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) Law enforcement officials were outraged. A New York City detective who had been injured by a terrorist bombing accused the Clintons of playing politics with convicted criminals.

ANTHONY SENFT: When Mr. Clinton can commute my sentence and give me back my life and my eyes and my hips, OK, and my family, then I will accept their clemency.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) But when the First Lady retreated and denounced the clemency deal, it angered New York's Puerto Rican politicians.

Rep. JOSE SERRANO, (D), New York: The average term is 13 to 18 years for murder in this country. These folks are nearing 20 years for believing in the independence of an island which is still a colony of the U.S.

LEE MIRINGOFF, Director, Marist Poll: Well, it's a major political liability for her, and it's another bump in this transition from celebrity Clinton to candidate Clinton which has been somewhat rocky for her as she's tried to become acclimated to the New York political environment.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) Last week, Mrs. Clinton tried to make amends.

HILLARY CLINTON: I have to admit that the consultation process was not what it should have been, and that will never happen again.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) But the damage had been done.

ED KOCH: It is a net loss in terms of impact basically because I think that what Bill Clinton is doing is an outrage. I think the people who advised her that this was something that should be supported were just dead wrong.

1st REPORTER: I wonder whether you could explain the apparent inconsistency between endorsing clemency and then revoking that position?

JACK NEUFELD: It just raises the question in my mind why doesn't she run in New Jersey, in Illinois, in Arkansas? What is the rationale for coming here to run? To be so tone deaf to the ethnic nuances of New York makes me wonder who she is and why she's coming.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) By now, the First Lady faced another problem, her relationship with her husband.

Pres. BILL CLINTON: She didn't know anything about it until, as far as I know, until someone from her office called and asked her for a comment because I did not discuss it with her.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) But, in fact, Hillary Clinton had recently told Talk magazine, "We talk in the solarium, in the bedroom, in the kitchen. It's just constant conversation."

JACK NEUFELD: I don't think anybody believed that they never discussed it. She's running in New York. The Puerto Rican vote is big in New York City. Of course they discussed it. Come clean, tell us the truth, don't say you never discussed it.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) But on so many other occasions during her so-called listening tour of New York, Mrs. Clinton has been quick to tout her influence with the President. Critics say she is trying to have it both ways. But Mrs. Clinton has made it clear she will publicly differ with the President when it serves her interests in New York.

HILLARY CLINTON: You know, there are times when I will disagree with the President and the administration and my friends and I will express that disagreement. I think New Yorkers expect someone who might be a senator to express their feelings and their opinions and to be a strong advocate.

CHRIS BURY: (voice-over) But navigating New York ethnic politics is another thing, especially when Mrs. Clinton is presumed to have the President's ear. Some Jewish activists are lobbying her for the release of convicted spy Jonathan Pollard. Puerto Rican groups are demanding she fight the navy on the future of a tiny island now being used as a bombing range. And certainly more pitfalls lie ahead.

JACK NEUFELD: Though no one excess of pandering is going to be remembered 15 months from now when the election takes place, I think all of these bogus gestures are synergistic and they're creating a wrong, negative first impression.

CHRIS BURY: (on camera) Has she done enough to convince New Yorkers of why she should be representing the state of New York now?

ED KOCH: Of course not. I mean this election is not this year. It's next year. People seem to forget that. And I hope we don't get bored between now and next year and the 14 or 15 months where candidates are going to be pounding one another and the analysts are going to be examining every word. She'll have plenty of time in which to establish her credentials.

CHRIS BURY: For the First Lady, it's bound to be a complicated balancing act. The question is can she regain her footing?

When we come back, we'll be joined by three reporters who are covering Mrs. Clinton on the campaign trail.

(Commercial Break)

CHRIS BURY: Joining us from New York are three journalists who have been covering Mrs. Clinton's visit to that state. Tish Durkin is the political writer for the New York Observer. Adam Nagourney is a political reporter for the New York Times. And Joel Siegel is the senior political correspondent for the New York Daily News.

Adam, Mrs. Clinton seems to have finally acknowledged that she blundered on the clemency question but she hasn't quite apologized for it, has she?

ADAM NAGOURNEY, The New York Times: (New York) That's right. She never said that she thought that what she said initially was incorrect, in other words, agreeing with her husband or apparently agreeing with her husband that the FALN prisoners should be granted clemency. What she said was that she was wrong in how she handled informing people of her decision, which I think is a reminder to many of us that for all of her sort of high public posture and her experience, she remains a novice candidate.

She's been trained at the feet of one of the best politicians that I think we've seen in our lifetime, but nonetheless she's never run for office before and this was very much a basic beginners kind of mistake of not informing your supporters of what you were going to do, especially if it was this unpopular.

CHRIS BURY: Tish, isn't that a bit surprising given that Mrs. Clinton is widely supposed to be a very quick study and someone who, as Adam just said, has been studying at the feet of one of the most gifted retail politicians in American history?

TISH DURKIN, The New York Observer: (New York) You know, I don't find it that surprising because of exactly what Adam's pointed out, which is that there is a very great difference between being near candidates and being a candidate. And I also think that this whole FALN business points up something, it's an interesting contrast to all that's been said and written about the great advantages of running for Senate from the White House, i.e., you know, ability to raise money, 100 percent name recognition, the ability to sweep out the primary field just by virtue of expressing active interest, all of those are very real, solid advantages.

But the disadvantages are that anything that the President does or fails to do that touches a hair on the head of political life in New York is going to cause her, you know, a terrific amount of anxiety at least.

CHRIS BURY: Joel Siegel, this has been the topic du jour of the pundits and the chattering classes. Is there any evidence yet that you've seen on the streets of New York that it's actually a cutting issue with voters?

JOEL SIEGEL, New York Daily News: (New York) It's really unclear. There's been no significant polling done on this issue. Clearly within the Puerto Rican community and the Hispanic community some people are talking about it. This does seem, though, to be an issue that's clearly rankled the leaders of that community more than the rank and file people on the street. As far as the voters statewide, the non-Puerto Rican voters, it's not clear if this is a real big issue right now.

CHRIS BURY: Is the real problem here one of pandering? In other words, Jack Neufeld pointed out in the opening piece that there seems to be a combination of factors going back to the Yankees cap and her vacation in New York and now her flip

flop on the clemency issue. Is that the real problem for Mrs. Clinton, the perception that she seems to be almost craven in appealing to certain groups of voters in New York?

ADAM NAGOURNEY: I think, yeah, I think the biggest, the two points I would make is first of all I don't agree that the President initially did this to help Mrs. Clinton because I think the President's political instincts are too good and anyone who would release 12 convicted terrorists 18 months, 14 months before an election is not doing anyone a favor. I mean ask Michael Dukakis

TISH DURKIN: But.

ADAM NAGOURNEY: But the second--I'm sorry, Tish. Quickly, the second point I was going to make is the biggest error here, as Joel was saying, I'm not sure it really hurts her with the vast majority of Puerto Rican voters or any voters. But I think it begins to create this mindset that she will do, fairly or not, anything that it takes to get elected, the pandering question that you were raising before.

TISH DURKIN: Right, and just further to Adam's first point, the, there is really no reason to believe that Mrs. Clinton had any reason whatsoever to pander to Puerto Rican voters. Mayor Giuliani's relationship with minority voters in the city of New York is a political train wreck in which she certainly did not have to, in front of which she certainly did not have to throw herself, especially given the fact that everyone knows that this is a race that's going to be won or lost with white suburban voters.

CHRIS BURY: At the same time, Joel, it seems to be part of the problem for Mrs. Clinton that she failed to consult the Puerto Rican politicians and it was that as much as the clemency position which seems to have angered them.

JOEL SIEGEL: Well, that was a problem. New York clearly is a very difficult state to run in. There are lots of different ethnic groups, religious groups. All of them are significant blocs that you have to put together to win an election. But I think another thing going on here is that Mrs. Clinton has had no opportunity to road test her act.

From the minute she became a possible candidate, she's gotten saturation coverage. When she announced that she was seriously exploring a race in Senator Moynihan's farm, there were 250 reporters and photojournalists up there and while the number of people has declined somewhat, there's a huge horde following her at every turn and any, anything she does is being looked at under a microscope.

Four or five months before Chuck Schumer had election day, his election, there was maybe a bus load, I mean a van load of people following him. That's not the case with Mrs. Clinton. Everything she does is being looked at very, very carefully.

ADAM NAGOURNEY: You know, it's interesting, talking before about the advantages, it's the down side. I mean the fact of the matter is I was last week on another assignment covering Dan Quayle in New Hampshire. I was the only reporter with him. You know, I come back to cover Hillary Clinton and I swear, Chris, there were reporters with her than there were with Bill Clinton back in New Hampshire after Gennifer Flowers.

CHRIS BURY: One of the reasons for that intensity may be that new questions have been raised about Mrs. Clinton's credibility, and we'll discuss that topic When we come back.

(Commercial Break)

CHRIS BURY: And we're joined again by our three New York political reporters.

Joel Siegel, let me start with you. One of the problems for Mrs. Clinton last week seemed to be that new questions were raised about Clinton credibility. Is that the larger problem in this for her?

JOEL SIEGEL: Well, that's certainly an issue. I mean let's take something as simple as her putting on a Yankees cap and saying that she's been a Yankees fan for a long, long time, that was her favorite American League team. That immediately was the subject of huge criticism, derision. A lot of people refused to believe that. Now part of that is the partisanship that's going to happen in a race like this and I think part of it is the credibility gap, that people are very leery of believing certain things out of the Clintons that they don't, you know, that doesn't seem to pass the first test.

ADAM NAGOURNEY: Especially when it's starting off from the fact that she does not live in New York. She's moving into New York so she already has this sort of credibility obstacle to overcome. The Yankee cap was one of those really, for the campaign, bad seminal moments, I thought.

CHRIS BURY: Tish, what about when the Clintons said that they never discussed this clemency issue on a question that was certainly going to be important to at least one segment of voters in New York?

TISH DURKIN: Again, it's one of these strange issues where what, even if that's true it doesn't really matter because no one believes it. The thing that's interesting about this whole issue is that, you know, as soon as the clemency was announced, whatever its, you know, organic merits or shortcomings, it seemed that absolutely nobody even entertained the possibility that the President could have been doing the right thing or taking a courageous stand or doing anything other than doing something kind of shallow and political on behalf of his wife. The same is true in this instance.

You know, people who are familiar with, you know, the White House may argue that certain issues are not likely to be discussed between the President and the First Lady but, you know, the average person, the average voter, the average reporter is, you know, left having read, you know, an interview in Talk magazine a few weeks ago where they had this constant conversation, you know? There seems to have been a lull in that conversation.

JOEL SIEGEL: Also.

TISH DURKIN: So we just don't know what to believe about them as a couple or about her as a candidate and that's the root of her problem. She does have.

CHRIS BURY: Joel, you want to jump in here?

JOEL SIEGEL: Well, also one of the beauties of this race is not only does the First Lady have a powerful platform, but so does Mayor Giuliani. And let's not overlook the fact that he had a role in fomenting criticism to this whole clemency issue. He had his police commissioner, an appointee of his, out there almost every day with victims or relatives of victims of the FALN bombings, you know, criticizing the Clinton decision on this.

Vito Pacella, (ph) a very close political ally of the mayor and a congressman from Staten Island, took the lead down in Washington in having press conferences and criticizing the Clintons on this. So there's.

CHRIS BURY: You also had Ed Koch, though, who's a sworn enemy of Rudy Giuliani and a backer of Hillary Clinton criticizing her on it.

JOEL SIEGEL: Oh, that's--no. Oh that's absolutely true. I'm just pointing out that there's, there's another dynamic at work here, that there are people who are willing and are eager and are able at every misstep to jump in and make it worse.

TISH DURKIN: It.

ADAM NAGOURNEY: Mrs. Clinton got a, I was going to say Mrs. Clinton got outmaneuvered here and again I think it goes back to the point that she is a novice candidate putting together a staff. The fact of the matter is you're right, Joel. Giuliani did a very good job of sort of drumming up opposition to what happened.

Mrs. Clinton, at the beginning, I think, figured she could sort of finesse this issue by sort of saying halfheartedly that she supported what he husband did and then in the end tried to pull away from it. The result was that she ended up angering both Puerto Rican activists and people who were sort of, didn't want to see the FALN people get released in the first place.

TISH DURKIN: And, you know, further to both those points, it wasn't in the first day or two after the clemency was announced that this, you know, storm burst out. It was in the context of the mayor making a great big deal about it, which goes back to our earlier discussion of whether or not this can have been a political calculation on the part of the President. I mean would anybody think that the mayor, who does not enjoy strong support among Puerto Ricans and therefore had virtually nothing to lose, would not make a tremendous issue out of this? So Mrs. Clinton's running.

CHRIS BURY: Tish, I think that raises the question of whether any of you are seeing the hand of the President in his wife's campaign. He loves to play the political game. He gave some advice to Al Gore on the front page of your paper, Adam. To what extent do you see him involved in Mrs. Clinton's campaign?

ADAM NAGOURNEY: I'm not sure I see him involved yet in a positive way. I mean, you know, if you wanted to be very diabolical about it, we could wonder whether he was trying to disrupt her campaign by releasing those, or offering the clemency to the FALN people. But, you know, again, you know, we were watching the Clintons on the vacation. Bill Clinton is the single best politician I've ever covered and I think that he is sort of going to be giving her day to day advice on how to handle her campaign and what to do. I am not so sure that he will be doing, unless he figures he can get away with it, blatant things out of the White House to help her.

JOEL SIEGEL: Well, I'm sure one thing the White House has learned in this whole episode is that everything they do now is going to be looked at through the prism of the New York race and if they don't calculate the impact that any action they have will have on the New York race, then they're open to another mistake like this.

CHRIS BURY: Given that we are 14 months away from the election and given that this is just a listening tour, although it looks like Mrs. Clinton is doing a lot of talking, I wonder if each of you could just quickly give us your best guess as to whether you think she will, indeed, run.

ADAM NAGOURNEY: I think she'll, yeah. I think if she were to not run at this point she would look pretty silly. I mean you never know with the Clintons.

CHRIS BURY: Tish?

TISH DURKIN: You never know with the Clintons, but she's running. If she's not running, I will just be in shock.

JOEL SIEGEL: Unless her numbers completely fall off the table it's hard to imagine her not running.

TISH DURKIN: But her numbers are not going to fall off the table. The most important thing to remember at this juncture, and it's a comforting thing for the First Lady, is that she does not have a primary.

CHRIS BURY: Tish Durkin, Adam Nagorney, Joel Siegel, thank you very much for joining us. We'll be back in just a moment.

(Commercial Break)

CHRIS BURY: It's one of the most powerful storms ever to threaten the U.S.. For the latest update on Hurricane Floyd, tune in tomorrow to Good Morning America.

But that's our report for tonight. I'm Chris Bury in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

END

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HEADLINE: Proud North Side **Yankee** Fans

BODY:

Cynics may be rolling their eyes at Hillary Rodham Clinton's expression of a lifelong allegiance to the **Yankees** in tandem with "being a Cubs fan" [Style, June 11]. To a life-long Cubs fan raised in Clinton's hometown of Park Ridge, Ill., however, her assertion rings true.

The Chicago White Sox of the 1950s often contended for the pennant while the hapless Cubs invariably headed in the other direction. We Cubs fans were jealous of the Sox' relative success and thus became curdled White Sox-haters.

Our resentment would typically peak when the Sox edged into first place in August. The **Yankees** would then storm into town for a weekend set. When the dust had cleared, the Bronx Bombers would have settled the White Sox' hash by sweeping the series. The New Yorkers would go on to win the pennant and usually the World Series as well. We Cubs fans loved it! Out of the ashes of dashed White Sox hopes grew a North Side love of the **Yankees** that was firmly rooted in Schadenfreude, a joy in South Side troubles.

On the theory that the enemy of my enemy is my friend, therefore, we North Siders became fervent **Yankee** fans. My mother used to chide us by saying, "Boys, I know you love the Cubs, but if they can't win the pennant, why not root for the other Chicago team?" We would look at each other and sadly shake our heads; she just didn't understand.

Nor, I'm afraid, does Richard Cohen ["The First Pretender," op-ed, June 29]. But Hillary Clinton got it right. In the Chicago of our youth, a combined allegiance to the Cubs and the **Yankees** went down as smoothly as peaches and cream.

-- David Hart **Nelson**

GRAPHIC: PH.,BILL O'LEARY

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 10, 1999

CNBC News Transcripts
SHOW: UPFRONT TONIGHT (7:30 PM ET)

May 24, 1999, Monday

LENGTH: 783 words

HEADLINE: WHETHER HILLARY CLINTON WILL RUN FOR THE SENATE SEAT IN
NEW YORK AND
HER CHANCES OF SUCCESS AGAINST RUDOLPH GIULIANI IF SHE DOES

ANCHORS: DIANE DIMOND

BODY:

DIANE DIMOND, co-anchor:

So how would the first lady fare with New Yorkers, if she decides to run, that is? Well, it depends on which poll you read. One has her ahead; the other shows exactly the opposite, 5 points up in one poll, 5 points down in another.

Joining us now to discuss all this is Andrew Kirtzman, longtime political reporter here in New York. In addition to hosting a political show on NY1 every night, he's written a book on Mayor Giuliani--or you're in the process of writing it.

Mr. ANDREW KIRTZMAN (Political Reporter, NY1): That's right, at work right now.

DIMOND: We--welcome to the broadcast, Andrew.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Thank you.

DIMOND: So first and foremost, will she or won't she? Is there any doubt left?

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Well, there is doubt left. If you take a look at what she's put forth today, on one hand, she announced to "60 Minutes," I understand, that she's moving to New York, no matter whether she runs for Senate or doesn't run for Senate. On the other hand, as your reporter just showed, she's appearing at a fund-raiser for kind of the fallback candidate if she decides not to run. So...

DIMOND: Right.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: ...she's kind of the--the expert at mixed signals here. I

would have to think, though, that if she decides at this juncture not to run, it's gonna go down in history as the biggest political tease since Mario Cuomo decided not to run for president, and probably an even bigger tease than that.

DIMOND: Yeah. And it puts Nita Lowey in a very bad position, too, doesn't it? Let--let me--let--let's just say for the sake of argument Hillary does run. I think that's a pretty safe assessment now. And Rudolph Giuliani, the mayor of New York, the Republican candidate, runs. Who's gonna win?

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Well, that's an interesting question, too. The reason...

DIMOND: Come on, make a prediction.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Well, this is--I'll go this far: She comes into this race as the presumptive favorite. Giuliani's got a lot of baggage right now. He's in the middle of a racial crisis. The state Republicans hate him. The--the governor today held this huge endorsement ceremony to endorse Governor George W. Bush for president and decided not to invite Rudy Giuliani, his fellow Republican. So Giuliani is facing a primary challenge from Congressman Rick Lazio of Long Island.

DIMOND: Right.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: And that should give him a lot of problems. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton is riding a tide of--of terrific poll numbers right now. She's--she's adored...

DIMOND: Well...

Mr. KIRTZMAN: ...in New York. In New York state, her favorability ratings are up. The--the head-to-head matchup, I guess, is more--is tighter.

DIMOND: Yeah, it's a--5 points up, 5 points down...

Mr. KIRTZMAN: That's right.

DIMOND: ...depending on which poll you look at.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: That's exactly right.

DIMOND: You know, I--I remember a Republican saying recently, 'Can you imagine Hillary Clinton at a 4-H Club meeting in upstate New York milking a cow?' Is--is she the kind of candidate that New Yorkers will vote for?

Mr. KIRTZMAN: It--that's an interesting question. If you're talking about the upstate vote, Rudy Giuliani's biggest problem up until now has been the

prospect of being seen as a city guy. And people upstate are--have never been particularly fond of people who have been seen that way. On the other hand, he has been zeroing in on her main problem right away, even before she decides whether to run; that is the fact that she's from out of town. So he--he--in one way or another, he's gonna look like the local guy, even to the people upstate.

On the other hand, Hillary Clinton has a lot more experience than Rudy Giuliani does dealing with soccer moms, dealing with people on farms.

DIMOND: Right.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Giuliani was born in Brooklyn, raised in Long Island, is mayor of New York City. You know, she--you could say she has the edge. The con--the conventional wisdom is that she wins the city, the liberals down there; he wins upstate, the conservatives upstate...

DIMOND: And it's kind of...

Mr. KIRTZMAN: ...and the battle is fought in the suburbs...

DIMOND: Right.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: ...which are considerably moderate.

DIMOND: Andrew Kirtzman, come back and talk to us as this race goes on.

Mr. KIRTZMAN: Love to.

DIMOND: Thanks for being with us.

GERALDO RIVERA (Co-anchor): It's going to be a gas, I'll tell you that.

DIMOND: Yeah, sure is.

RIVERA: Oh, we have a live picture? Let's go back to--if Meathead's out of the way. All right, good.

DIMOND: There you go. And UPFRONT will be right back.

(Announcements)

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 25, 1999

CNBC News Transcripts

SHOW: UPFRONT TONIGHT (7:30 PM ET)

May 24, 1999, Monday

LENGTH: 555 words

HEADLINE: HILLARY CLINTON SPEAKS AT FUND-RAISER FOR NITA LOWEY IN NEW YORK,
RAISING MONEY FOR LOWEY'S SENATE CAMPAIGN IF HILLARY CLINTON DECIDES NOT TO RUN FOR THAT SEAT

ANCHORS: GERALDO RIVERA

REPORTERS: LINDA VESTER

BODY:

GERALDO RIVERA, co-anchor:

She certainly didn't come for the weather. The first lady visiting stormy New York tonight, making it ever more immediate, the most frequently asked political question of the year: Will she or won't she be running for the New York Senate seat? Newsweek magazine reporting the first lady's gone from, quote, "'Tell me why' to 'Tell me why not.'" And even though she's criticized for not actually living in New York, the first lady certainly spends a lot of time here, more than many a traveling native. Since her husband was elected president, she has been here 90--that's right, nine-zero trips to New York, 10 this year alone, these first five months of the year.

NBC's Linda Vester joins us live from New York's Grand Hyatt Hotel, the site of Hillary's latest New York stop. Tell us what's going on, Linda.

LINDA VESTER reporting:

Well, Geraldo, I have to speak sort of quietly because the first lady is still speaking. But she is here, as she has been in the past, to raise money for Democratic candidates. She has come previously to raise money, for example, for Senator Chuck Schumer. Tonight, she's here to raise money for Congresswoman Nita Lowey.

Unidentified Man: Keep it down a little bit. The first lady's speaking.

VESTER: Sorry, we're--we have security right here. Anyway, as I was saying,

she is--of course, everybody is speculating about whether or not she will decide to make a run for Senate. If she doesn't, Nita Lowey is expected to be the Democrat who runs for this seat, so she is here--Mrs. Clinton is here to raise the money for Nita Lowey if Nita Lowey runs for Senate. If she does not run for Senate and Mrs. Clinton runs for Senate, this money that's raised tonight would be for a re-election campaign for Nita Lowey. So talk about covering your political bases. Geraldo.

RIVERA: It really is covering her political bases. Can you ask your cameraman, Linda, to push--let's see what the first lady looks like up there. Can you push it?

VESTER: Sure. Wing--I'm gonna ask our cameraman if we can just sort of widen out...

RIVERA: OK. Push into it.

VESTER: ...so we can see the first lady as well.

RIVERA: There you go. There you go. Good. There she is.

It is funny to see her pitching--Linda Vester, pi--see her pitching for Nita Lowey when she's knocking Nita Lowey out of--out of contention if she indeed decides to run. I doubt Nita Lowey needs very much money to win back her congressional seat.

VESTER: Well, exactly. But you wouldn't hear Nita Lowey saying anything.

Man: Excuse me, this is inappropriate. I'm sorry, but we are on.

VESTER: Oh, sorry.

Man: The first lady is speaking, and this isn't...

RIVERA: OK, OK, OK, we didn't mean to disen--the first lady of the United States, we didn't mean to mess around.

DIANE DIMOND (Co-anchor): Live television.

RIVERA: Live TV. I wonder who that big head was.

DIMOND: That was--we--we got a good--I don't know, but she'll get a name, I'll bet.

RIVERA: Any way, 90 times.

DIMOND: We got another guest, so...

RIVERA: She's gonna run; you heard it here first months ago.

DIMOND: You're betting \$ 5, huh?

RIVERA: Oh, at least \$ 5. I bet--I bet everything in my pocket.

DIMOND: Yeah, well, that's all I can afford.

RIVERA: It's at least \$ 6.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 25, 1999

literally block out their own schedule the way they want, the programs they want their children to see or not to see.

KING: What do you feel is wrong with the safe harbor idea?

VALENTI: Because the definitions are going to be vague and meandering. Does this mean you can't show "High Noon"? Or what about "Schindler's List"? Does it mean that you can't show some "Little Caesar" from 1930? What does it mean? What are the definitions?

KING: Senator, what is that? You've got to define it.

HOLLINGS: Oh, yes. And what we say, excessive, gratuitous violence, Jack. You know and I know that "Schindler's List," "Saving Private Ryan," all of these shows -- the Civil War series -- violence is incidental to the plot. It's got to be gratuitous, and it's got to be excessively gratuitous. And that's how the FCC will define it. They can define indecency. They certainly can define violence or excessive gratuitous violence.

Now, right to the point, you talk about the v-chip. The v-chip will depend, No. 1, on the particular ratings. Now, we have got six regular ratings and four content ratings, and that's 10 different ratings, and you've got 64 channels here in Washington. Can't you see a mother early morning saying, wait a minute, I've got 64 channels and 10 different ratings and I am going to run around to get the three TV sets in the home and set with the v-chip and everything else like that, which a child will undo by the time she slams the door? Come on. That's not going to work.

Seventy percent of those surveyed said we're not going to even buy the

v-chip. It costs about a hundred bucks, and it will be 10 ten years before all the sets in the home will be v-chipped.

VALENTI: Well, my answer to that, Senator Hollings, obviously, you know that Congress passed this overwhelmingly. They thought it had some merit. I certainly believe it has. I think it ought to be given a chance to work. And I think the reason why that the Congress tabled the Safe Harbor bill last week was because they wanted to give the v-chip a place -- chance to work.

By the way, if there are a hundred channels on television, is the FCC going to define all of these channels?

KING: But it doesn't control cable, does it?

VALENTI: I beg your pardon?

KING: Can the FCC control...

VALENTI: Well, but if you're not going to have cable then, what good is a safe harbor if there are only five networks and the other 95 channels? So I mean, the whole thing has to do with parents making their judgments about what they want their children to watch.

KING: But Senator Hollings had a point about Europe, which has this kind of law and does not have children shooting up schools.

VALENTI: Well, now let me answer that. Our movies go all over the world. They're devoured by Japan and Western Europe. They see everything we see.

Japan has the lowest crime rate of any country in the world. Western Europe has crime rates significantly below ours. And by the way our crime rates are dropping now. Juvenile crime is down since 1994.

Now, one of the main reasons why Japan and Western Europe have lower crime rates is they banish guns from the streets. Guns are almost inaccessible in those countries.

KING: Let me have Senator Hollings pick up on that in a minute. We'll be right back with some more with Jack Valenti and Senator Fritz Hollings. And then our discussion about Hillary.

Tomorrow night, Congressman Cox will be here. He releases his report tomorrow on the Chinese influence and secrets and the like. Also, Secretary Richardson will be here as well. Tomorrow night, a full discussion of the report by the people who prepared it and the people who are attacked in it. We'll be right back.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

DANIELE: We would also like to thank our friends, our neighbors and our community for their compassion and their kindness during the lowest time we have ever had in our lives. For tomorrow, we ask God to please guide us and please help us understand why.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: Senator Hollings, Jack Valenti says you're looking in the wrong place. Look in the gun shows, in the gun shops for your answer.

HOLLINGS: I agree. We looked into the gun shops last week, and we voted to close down those gun shows as well as the gun shops. And we all voted for that. It was a struggle. This is not a single solution or a silver bullet. The family is right. The school is right -- the church. Obviously, the gun, excessive niche of guns in America, and now, excessive violence on television because this money -- has the history of broadcasting, tell Jack to look at that.

50 years ago -- and I read from it, "therefore although other crimes may be introduced, somebody must be murdered, preferably early with the other crimes to follow on." In other words, for 50 years they have known the money -- we had just last year the finer study of all of the national television and violence studies that included the American Federation of TV and radio artists, the producer's guild, the writer's guild, the director's guild, all of Jack Valenti's crowd out there in Hollywood. They joined in the study and they said for example on the v-chip, 79 percent of the violent shows are not rated violent. They're not even adhering to their own rating system.

KING: Jack, will you agree that violence must play some part in our thinking? The violence presented in the culture...

VALENTI: Yes, but the answer is I don't know how much and what. All the surveys taken when you ask ordinary people and parents what's causing some of this youth violence? Even though the perception is contradicted by the facts, they say, first, accessibility of guns; second, lack of parental supervision; third, a lack of moral and spiritual values that come, as Senator Hollings said, from the church and home and school. And somewhere in the middle down in the fifth, sixth or seventh, is visual images. There are places in the human brain, Larry, where advanced medical science has never penetrated -- unfathomable urges like this kid that just wounded -- we don't know what happens. We don't why, no one does.

KING: We're going to do a lot more on this. I thank you both. Senator Hollings thanks for joining us. Jack Valenti, as always, good to see you. I wish we had more time.

VALENTI: Thank you, senator.

KING: He said thank you, senator.

HOLLINGS: Thank him also.

KING: You two like going to see premiers, right?

We'll be back to discuss the candidacy, possible candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton for the senate of New York. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: We now welcome to LARRY KING LIVE; in Washington, David Maraniss, writer at large of "The Washington Post" who wrote a terrific book called "The Clinton Enigma," got one coming out soon on Vince Lombardi, also in Washington, Helen Thomas, White House correspondent for UPI, and in New York, the famed Cindy Adams, the girl who is columnist with the "New York Post."

David, we know Hillary is moving to New York, Hillary and Bill. That has been said. We have wrote it in the columns. She's told everybody out here in Los Angeles. Is she going to run, David? DAVID MARANISS, "THE WASHINGTON POST," I

think she'd like to be a senator. I think she'd like to be appointed to the Senate. But I think there's still a question of whether she actually wants to run to be a senator. Everything points in the direction that she's doing it now, but my study of her history indicates that at the last minute she could back out of this.

You know, she almost ran for governor of Arkansas in 1990 and when the polls showed that it was an iffy proposition she did back out. Last year I would have said no way. Now I think there is a possibility that she will run, a likelihood, but I would still hold out one measure of doubt.

KING: Helen Thomas, yes or no?

HELEN THOMAS, UPI, WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT: I think she's definitely moving

in that direction. I don't think she would be teasing this thing along for so long, and the idea that she's going to set up an exploratory committee and so forth. I think everything points in that direction. I suppose she does have a

last-minute chance to back out, but everybody -- I mean, she has indicated she wants to run if she can work out the logistics, practicalities.

KING: Do exploratory committees mean anything? Helen, you've seen them form for years.

THOMAS: No, I think it's a facade. I think you make up your mind or you don't.

KING: Cindy, you were with Hillary today. She was at a book party for our dear friend Matilda Cuomo -- has got a great new book out, by the way we're proud to be part of that. Did she say anything to you today?

CINDY ADAMS, "NEW YORK POST": No not today, but barring the conflagration of Kosovo who knows what'll happen. And she has to be first lady. If the country is burning and things are impossible that she can't control, and it would look dreadful not to play first lady, and it would look dreadful to be hustling for votes. Barring that, I think, yes she's going.

KING: Does that surprise you from when you first heard the possibility she might go?

ADAMS: No, because I didn't hear of the possibility. I made the possibility. The headline 99.9 percent she's going to run in the "New York Post." That headline was my story, and that sort of started the whole feeding frenzy.

KING: Wasn't it Charlie Rangel who first bemused about the idea when no one even mentioned it, he just one day said, maybe Hillary ought to run?

ADAMS: Possibly so, but the fact is when I finally said 99.9, it was because I knew she was already on the road. Listen, some people want to be a doctor or a lawyer when they grow up. She wants to be president when she grows up. She needs a job first.

KING: David is that a good step to you? Do you see this as Senate then presidency?

MARANISS: Well, you know I...

KING: Assuming she wins.

MARANISS: I keep thinking back to exactly 25 years ago when Hillary first left Washington when she was working on the Nixon impeachment staff and drove out to Arkansas to hitch her start to Bill Clinton. For 25 years, she wanted to get to the White House but not on her own.

I think that now, Cindy, actually, is sort of right. I think, absolutely, that the last seven years in the White House for Hillary Clinton have been as frustrating as they have been anything else. And I think she, too, is looking for some measure of redemption as is her husband. This is one way to do it.

KING: Helen...

ADAMS: Larry...

KING: Yes.

ADAMS: I wrote in the column a couple of weeks ago that one of the finger pointers will be where she wants to vacation. It's not going to look like it's going to be Jackson Hole or Martha's Vineyard. It looks like she's shopping for a vacation place in New York -- another finger-pointer.

KING: Helen Thomas, when Bobby Kennedy successfully ran for the Senate by moving into the state, he said who can do more for New York, me or Kenneth Keating? And he won rather decisively. Will that be her theme, do you think?

THOMAS: Well, I think that she has to shed the whole idea that she's a carpetbagger, for one thing. She has to establish residence in New York. What is this? Her eighth or ninth trip there? So I think she is identifying. I think she wants the identity on her own. She wants to win public office on her own, and I think she is shooting for the stars.

KING: We'll take a break and ask what this does to the Al Gore campaign right after this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GOV. GEORGE PATAKI (R), NEW YORK: I think it's a tremendous endorsement of our policies by Hillary Clinton, the fact that she has chosen to consider moving to New York state. But on the other hand, we have 18 million bright and talented New Yorkers. Any one of them is capable of being a fine senator in Washington. We don't need someone from Washington moving to New York, we need someone from New York moving to Washington. (END VIDEO CLIP)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: David, what does -- effect, if she runs, does this have on the Gore campaign?

MARANISS: You know, on the surface it doesn't do anything good for him. It takes away a lot of the energy and interest to New York, distracting it from his campaign. A lot of the money will go there. I think that superficially, it

looks like it's not going to help him at all.

If there's one silver lining for him, it might be that the only person in the country more associated with Bill Clinton than Al Gore is Hillary Clinton. So maybe a lot of the negative focus will be shifted over to Hillary, and Al Gore will be able to separate himself a little from that and run on his own a little better if she's over in New York. That's a possibility, but who knows?

KING: Cindy, a major poll out today, just this afternoon, has her quite comfortably ahead -- I know not in the "New York Post" poll but another poll -- and has her way ahead in New York City.

ADAMS: Look she's already organized the carpetbagger situation. She is rootless, stateless and homeless. She will have -- she was born in one station, Illinois. She went to school in the -- New England. She lived in that town called Arkansas -- that state, wherever it may be.

KING: Southwest.

ADAMS: Thank you. I know it's east of Newark. And then she -- west of Newark, wherever the hell it is -- and then she's been loving New York. She's going to live in New York. She's actually rootless and stateless. Would you like to know, also -- I mean, I don't have to tell you guys. You know everything -- but Mr. Gore is not terribly excited about the fact that Hillary is doing this. He thinks that she should be on his team, kind of helping him.

KING: Helen, what about covering this? What's it going to do to the press that -- if we've got a Senate race like this and a presidential race going on, you know, who gets the major attention on the nightly news?

THOMAS: I think she will.

KING: You do?

THOMAS: At least in the beginning, yes, I do. I think there will be a tremendous gravitation toward her in the spotlight and so forth. She'll be very high profile.

KING: So in other words, David, Gore is speaking in Chicago; Bush is speaking in Dallas; Giuliani is speaking in Utica; and Hillary is speaking in Times Square. Who's covered first? MARANISS: You've got probably Hillary first, maybe Bush second, depending on when it happened. Al Gore will be lucky to be third in that scenario.

ADAMS: You know, it's not...

KING: OK, well in that way, it doesn't play, Cindy. It just doesn't -- if the Secret Service are all over New York, I mean, it doesn't play.

ADAMS: Listen, you act like there's an enormous Gore juggernaut. I mean, my -- I have an Uncle Max. He's a very nice man. Mr. Gore is also a very nice man. My Uncle Max had a charisma bypass and so did Gore.

KING: But if he's the presidential candidate, he's the presidential candidate.

ADAMS: Maybe, but he doesn't exactly attract fire. You can't get across town when Hillary is in town. You just can't get anywhere. It's "Hillarylock." It's not necessarily "Gorelock" when he's here.

KING: Helen, what does this do, do you think, to President Clinton?

THOMAS: Well, I think that he likes the idea of his wife running. In fact, I think he's pushing it, in a way. He has already signed on to lick envelopes or to do anything he can to help her.

KING: Why?

THOMAS: Why?

ADAMS: Why?

THOMAS: Well, I think it's kind of a repentance gesture. He wants to help her. He knows she's stood by her man in all through these horrendous things that have happened to the family. So it may be sort of, you know, kind of a gratuitous thing to help her.

KING: David, what will the race be like, Clinton-Giuliani?

MARANISS: Well, Cindy's right that Hillary does attract something that's sort of larger than herself. She is a charismatic figure, not so much in person but just because of what she represents. But the race itself will probably be very, very tough. And I think that Hillary is an incredibly able person, but not a particularly smart political operative. I think she'll make some mistakes, and it will be a very interesting race and not nearly the runaway that the polls might suggest now.

KING: Cindy, what do you think it will be liking?

ADAMS: I think it's going to be very tough. Giuliani is not going to lay down and play dead, but the Hillary people are micromanaging everything. They're looking at every neighborhood, even where they might live. This one is

too liberal, this one is too elite, this one is too rich. They are actually zeroing in on what neighborhood in which she should live. They're not leaving a whole lot to chance.

The big thing is: What will he do when he grows up? Play Mr. Senator? What's he going to do?

KING: We're out of time. Helen, we'll be seeing a lot of you in New York.

Thanks for joining us.

Tomorrow night: The Cox report comes out tomorrow. He's on this show tomorrow night.

Thanks for joining us and good night.

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