

THE ARCHITECT OF AMERICA'S MOST STUNNING URBAN TURNAROUND IS SUDDENLY UNDER HEAVY FIRE FROM THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT. HE MAY FACE THE FIRST LADY IN HIS NEXT RACE.

## Rudolph Giuliani

*Rudy Giuliani, Republican Mayor of New York City and almost certainly a candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, may occupy center stage in the most-watched political drama of 2000: Will he be the man who vanquishes Hillary Clinton, or a steppingstone in her path to the U.S. Senate?*

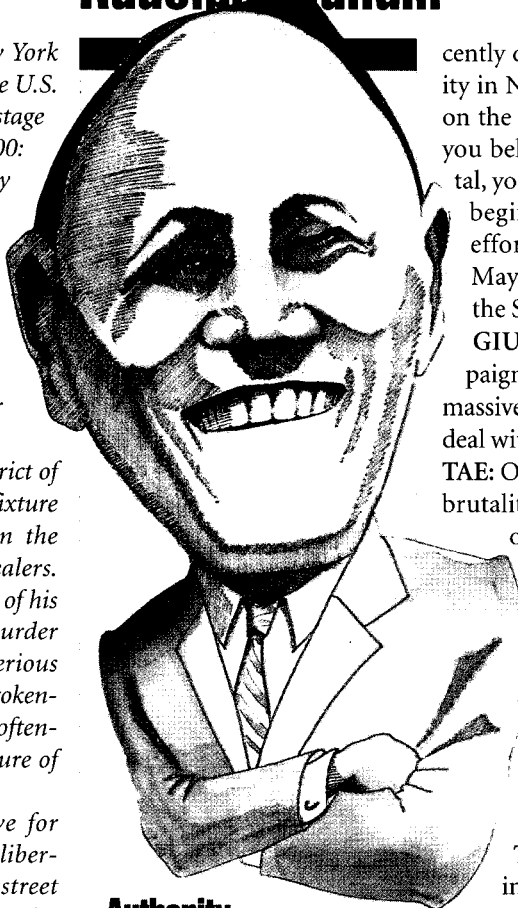
*Rudolph William Giuliani is a Brooklyn boy whose parents owned a bar and grill. He loved opera and the Yankees, and still does, and hated the Mafia, which shut down his grandfather's cigar stores when he would not pay tribute money.*

*As a U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, Giuliani became a nightly-news fixture for his high-profile prosecutorial wars on the Mafia and various Wall Street wheeler-dealers. Crime-fighting has also been the centerpiece of his mayoralty. Under his tenure, the city's murder rate has fallen by 70 percent and overall serious crime has been cut in half. The NYPD's "broken-windows" policing, which cracks down on often-ignored "petty" crime, has restored a measure of safety, even civility, to city streets.*

*His critics maintain that in his drive for order, Giuliani runs roughshod over civil liberties. The February killing of an unarmed street vendor named Amadou Diallo, who was mistakenly shot 41 times by police officers on the trail of a serial rapist, has galvanized anti-Giuliani sentiment. For the first time, President Clinton has shown interest in the subject of police brutality, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has scheduled May hearings in New York City on the subject.*

*Mayor Giuliani was interviewed during what looked a lot like a campaign stop in Syracuse by two upstate New Yorkers: TAE editor-in-chief Karl Zinsmeister and associate editor Bill Kauffman.*

**TAE:** It's clear police brutality will be the cudgel your opponents will try to use to discredit you. In the *New York Post*, former Clinton advisor Dick Morris noted that the President had re-



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cently devoted a radio address to police brutality in New York, and also planned a conference on the subject in the city. Morris remarked, "If you believe Clinton's remarks were coincidental, you sure don't know Hillary. They were the beginning of a very carefully orchestrated effort to use the White House to dirty the Mayor so the First Lady can beat him for the Senate."

**GIULIANI:** I've been through three campaigns for Mayor of New York City, including massive negative campaigning; you learn how to deal with it.

**TAE:** One of the principals in the current police brutality protest is Al Sharpton, who, to many outside New York City, appears to be a buffoon. Are we wrong?

**GIULIANI:** Irresponsible is the correct description, and somebody who has engaged in racial con jobs for years and has unfortunately sold significant numbers of people on the fact that he's somehow mainstream, which is part of the sadness of political correctness in New York.

**TAE:** Why is the Democratic party treating him as perfectly legitimate?

**GIULIANI:** I don't know. You'd have to ask the Democratic Party that. These rallies include signs like "NYPD=KKK," and if you really believe that, you're disconnected from reality. They'll have pictures in these rallies equating me with Hitler, which I would think would be enormously offensive to anybody who had to undergo the Holocaust. But there's a different standard for Al Sharpton. Maybe he charms the media, but he doesn't charm me. Never has.

**TAE:** Does the current debate over police brutality pit the working and middle classes for whom the police are a reassuring presence against an alliance of wealthy liberals and poor blacks?

**GIULIANI:** At the extremes it's probably true, but there's a whole big middle that wants both

effective policing and good relationships with the community.

There are some police officers that people should be fearful of, but the overwhelming majority of people should have a strong connection with police officers. The overwhelming majority of police officers instill a sense of awe and a sense of decency. The overwhelming number of people are murdered by other citizens, and we need police officers to interrupt that and stop that and reduce that. We have to be very measured and careful in what we say about the police so that we can re-create a decent and safe society. The city of New York is safer than it has been in a long time.

The police brutality issue is ultimately not the thing that defines people in politics. I don't think people divide themselves as Republican, Democrats, liberals, conservatives over police brutality. It's economic issues and a much broader set of law and order issues that divide Right and Left.

**TAE:** If elected, Hillary Clinton would become the third carpetbagging senator that New York has elected since 1964. What does it say about New Yorkers that we're willing to elect aliens to represent us in the U.S. Senate?

**GIULIANI:** Because [Senator James] Buckley was from Connecticut, I don't think there was a real sense he was an outsider. The carpetbagger issue was damaging to [Senator Bobby] Kennedy. He ran way behind Lyndon Johnson on the top of the ticket in New York, and I think Johnson always believed that if it weren't for his coattails, Bobby Kennedy might not have won in 1964, because there was a strong reaction against his being an outsider.

You have to separate New York City from the rest of the state. New York City is very, very Democratic and isn't going to care as much if you come from New York. As you go further away from New York City, I find a very strong reaction against Hillary Clinton on the carpetbagger issue: People feel that this is very opportunistic, that she has no connection to New York, that this is more about her advancing her future than anything to do with the good of the state. If she runs, this is going to be a serious issue outside New York City.

**TAE:** Would you be willing to raise ethical questions about disappeared billing records, commodity trading, and that sort of thing?

**GIULIANI:** I don't think you have to raise questions like that. The press raises all those questions. If you're a candidate in New York of either political party, every conceivable question about

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you will be raised. Some of it's probably going to be very unfair; some of it you even sympathize with your opponent.

**TAE:** Bill Clinton took New York twice, but things have changed since those elections. Do you consider at this point the Clinton name to be an advantage or an albatross in New York?

**GIULIANI:** I think President Clinton is still more popular in New York than he is unpopular. So I would say, at this point at least, there's probably an advantage. The lack of connection to the state is a disadvantage. President Clinton was running for President. If all of a sudden you're running for the Senate in a place you haven't lived in, that's a different phenomenon.

**TAE:** An upstate New Yorker has not been elected to the Senate since 1958. Should New York be two separate states so that upstaters are not disenfranchised?

**GIULIANI:** If I represented the state, upstate would not be disenfranchised. When I ran for Mayor of New York City, it was part of my goal to make sure the boroughs outside of Manhattan would not be disenfranchised. Staten Island wanted to secede from New York City when I arrived. I think if you ask the people in those boroughs now, they would tell you that I have made them feel like part of the City of New York again.

My predecessors, going way back, always ruled solely for the benefit of Manhattan. They were perceived that way. That's not totally true, but there was a lot that was Manhattan-centered.

**TAE:** Should taxpayers in Onondaga County be forced to subsidize a renovated Yankee stadium or a dome in Manhattan or wherever the Yankees are eventually housed?

**GIULIANI:** Or vice versa. Should New York City subsidize the things that happen in upstate New York? It's a two-way street.

What I would do if I were a candidate is to say, if I've done a good job fighting for New York City and my constituency becomes New York State, I'll do a really good job fighting for New York State.

New York City, since I have been mayor, has outperformed the state in job growth, and in the four years before I was the mayor, New York City underperformed the state in job growth. So I must be doing something right.

**TAE:** Do you regret having endorsed Mario Cuomo in 1994?

**GIULIANI:** I don't know if I regret it. I didn't know all the things that I knew later. I made the decision very much out of my responsibilities as the mayor, and I've learned that you can't go

back and change the things that you do. I think I have re-established my position as a strong and very loyal Republican.

TAE: You are a pro-choice Catholic. Does that make you queasy?

GIULIANI: No. Government should not be dictating solutions about deeply personal matters when people of good conscience disagree.

TAE: Do you think abortion is the taking of a human life?

GIULIANI: Do I look at it in the same way as you would look at murder? The answer is no, but neither has it ever been looked at that way. Even when abortion was illegal, it was not equated to murder. It was seen as a different kind of offense.

TAE: Do you attend Mass regularly?

GIULIANI: You know, I really don't think you should ask me questions about my religious practices. No, I don't attend Mass regularly, but I go to Mass occasionally.

TAE: You've pointed out the apparently superior job that Catholic schools do compared to public schools. Why?

GIULIANI: Because they're better organized along sensible principles that public schools could easily copy without copying the religious teaching, although they would have to include ethical training to substitute for the religious training.

TAE: You're sifting out the God part?

GIULIANI: In a public school, you can't teach a particular religion, but you can remove the massive bureaucracy. The parochial school system has virtually no bureaucracy. All of its money goes directly into the classroom. That doesn't happen in the public school.

The discipline—both academic discipline and moral discipline—is much greater. The teachers are more easily disciplined. There is no principal tenure. There is no teacher tenure. It's a much more student/classroom-oriented system, whereas the public-school system has become a large job protection system first and a school system second.

One of the things Catholic schools, and all parochial schools, have going for them is the child is there by choice of the parent—the child is not forced to be there. If the public school system were much more open to competition and less a job protection system, then you could have choice within the public schools. You could do what's being done in Milwaukee, and you'd still have a large number of parents selecting public schools. You would see a significant number of non-Catholic

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parochial and private schools develop. You would see many of the Protestant denominations develop parochial schools that would attach to their churches, and you would see private groups putting together schools because the funding would be there for it.

TAE: That means war with the teachers unions and the bureaucracies.

GIULIANI: The Republican party here has a great issue. By "great issue," I don't just mean political. We have the freedom to do something that the Democratic party doesn't have the freedom to do, and that is to break up the educational monopoly, to be fighting for more freedom for people.

We should be advocating the Milwaukee example all over the country. It's a small step that is enormously frightening to the job-protection monopoly because they fear it will be successful. If it is successful, shouldn't it happen? Successful means more kids who are poor get a better education. Why not let that happen?

Minority parents are going to make it happen faster than anyone else. It isn't there yet, but over the next five to seven years, this is the direction that we'll be going in. And it doesn't matter who fights it. Parents want more control over the education of their children. They do not want state control over the education of their children.

TAE: How did you become a devotee of the "broken windows" theory of crime prevention?

GIULIANI: I was instrumental in putting together in the first couple of weeks of the Reagan administration the Task Force on Violent Crime. Professor [James Q.] Wilson was a cochair of that task force. Their report is probably one of the best things written on what needs to be done to turn around violent crime.

That's when I first became familiar with broken windows as an articulated theory. Before that, as a knee-jerk matter, even though I had been a prosecutor, I probably subscribed to the notion that the police were too busy for the small things. Unfortunately, that list of small things was growing so much that it began to include very big things.

Senator Moynihan described it as "defining deviancy down." Things that used to shock us in the '60s no longer shocked in the '70s. Things that used to shock us in the '70s stopped shocking us in the '80s, and by the '80s, street-level prostitution, drug dealing, public urination, and aggressive panhandling—to the point where it was really assault and battery—were all being ignored as if they weren't important.



So the broken windows theory made a lot of sense to me. If you focus on these things that are being ignored, then you stop the crime problems from developing at an early stage and you set a different tone for your community.

TAE: Are you familiar with the research by John Lott and Gary Kleck that says one of the best things you can do to reduce crime is to get *more* guns in the hands of law-abiding folks?

GIULIANI: I have not read their material. Instinctually, I'd probably react against it, being the mayor of a very crowded, densely populated city, where guns have been an enormous problem.

TAE: Do you think that private handgun ownership is a basic American right?

GIULIANI: I think that possession of arms is a basic American right. I don't have to think that. It's the Second Amendment of the Constitution. It's both a basic American right, and it's a right that's subject to regulation, like every other basic right.

TAE: At the federal level, would you support a ban on handgun ownership?

GIULIANI: I would support a uniform law. Handgun ownership should be subjected to the same kind of regulations as driving. States could have a certain degree of latitude, but at least there would be some basic things that would be agreed on, to assure society that handguns are in the possession of people who are intelligent, emotionally stable, not criminals, and understand the rules of safety that are attached to the possession of a gun.

TAE: As a prosecutor, were you licensed to carry a weapon?

GIULIANI: I was when I was a deputy marshal, but I never did. I was actually trained by my uncles in the use of a weapon because they were police officers when I was very young. And then I was retrained when I was associate attorney general and U.S. attorney, but I never carried one.

TAE: How enduring is the switch of blue-collar ethnics—Reagan Democrats—to the Republican party?

GIULIANI: It's not. It has to be re-established in every election. In a state like New York, most pronounced in the city of New York, the Republican candidate clearly has to be better in order to win those votes. If the two candidates are equal, the automatic reaction is going to be to vote for the Democratic candidate. Ronald Reagan had a very strong message that was very compelling to Reagan Democrats, right? And he ran against a very weakened President, Jimmy Carter. Then the second time he ran against a traditional, left-wing Democrat. But Clinton

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did a good job of occupying the middle. That doesn't mean he actually occupies the middle. He did a good job of making appearances that he occupied the middle.

TAE: Are you going to leave a Republican party legacy in New York City, or ten years from now are we going to look back at the Giuliani blip?

GIULIANI: You never know that until ten years from now, but some of the changes that we've made will, for a very long time, affect the way politics is conducted in the city. It's going to be very hard to go back to the dependency state.

Let's say somebody succeeds me and unemployment goes up very high; businesses start leaving the city again; crime in certain areas goes up significantly. Or there's no tax reduction for two or three years, and businesses start to complain. We were getting some breaks and we were all coming back to New York and we had big job growth, and now it's slowed. I think the next mayor would have a tough time getting re-elected.

When I first ran in '89 and '93, there wasn't an experience like this one in the city's history to point to. I was talking about things that had *never* happened in New York City and a lot of people just didn't believe it.

When I was first elected in '93, I was a desperate hope. Even the people who voted for me weren't convinced that I could do it: "How could he possibly do worse? We've got 2,000 murders a year, we've lost more jobs than at any time since the Depression, most of us believe that the city has seen its best days, and we have a very weak mayor. So the things he's talking about, we don't think can happen in New York, but why not give it a shot?"

By '97, we could run on a record of having actually done many of the things people thought were totally impossible in '93: reduce welfare rolls by 460,000, taxes by \$2.4 billion. Last year, we passed the nation in economic development. New York City's economy grew by one-tenth of a percent more than the national economy. That hasn't happened in a long, long time.

What Ronald Reagan did in 1980 created the conditions that made it possible to balance the budget in 1998. He changed the political debate; he made it necessary for a Democrat to be more moderate if the Democrat wanted to be elected President. Similarly, I think we have permanently changed the political debate in our city.

TAE: You have extensive experience prosecuting political corruption. Let's imagine you had been appointed Independent Counsel instead of Ken Starr. What would you have done?

**GIULIANI:** (Laughter) Ken is a good friend of mine. I don't know the evidence that he had or the choices that he made; so I'm not in a position to second-guess him. I have tremendous respect for him.

**TAE:** The United States may soon claim the distinction of having the highest proportion of its population behind bars of any nation in the world. Are too many people in jail?

**GIULIANI:** If you reduced the prison and jail population in New York by 20 to 30 percent right now, you would see crime rates go back to where they were six years ago. That, unfortunately, is a necessary part of reducing crime.

In New York, we've reduced crime so much that with regard to property crime, we now compare favorably to European cities. We compare very favorably with regard to violence now to other American cities. But when you compare America to Europe and elsewhere, we just murder a lot more. I haven't been able to pursue philosophy since I was in college, but I've often thought that at the core of this is not so much the American outlaw mentality but a disrespect for authority in America. Authority, understood in a proper way, brings you freedom; freedom is a combination of liberty and responsibility.

There's a whole feeling in America, easily tapped into, which thinks that "freedom" really means "license," that freedom really means you can do anything you want, any time you want, and anybody that imposes any limitations is an authoritarian.

The other thing I should mention is the breakdown in families, particularly the number of children that are born out of wedlock and brought up without a father. It's absolutely devastating.

If there were one thing that you could change to reverse the crime rates, you would want to find a magic formula to ensure more children could be born in wedlock in families in which there was a father and mother that loved them and took care of them. Eighty percent of the people who are in prison for serious violent offenses were born out of wedlock; there was no father supporting them.

**TAE:** You're frequently criticized for an authoritarian style. Can some of this be ascribed to anti-Italian bias in the media?

**GIULIANI:** At the outer fringes. When they use the word *fascist* and *Mussolini*, yes, I think that's correct. More of it has to do with what I was talking about: this discomfort that we have in America in not understanding the combination of freedom and responsibility.



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**TAE:** The great Italian-American film directors—Scorsese, Coppola—return to organized crime time and again. What do you think of these movies?

**GIULIANI:** I enjoy the movies. I like those filmmakers a lot, maybe because I lived through so much of that as the United States Attorney.

When I first became U.S. Attorney in 1983, I began prosecuting cases against the Mafia. I remember when we did the first one, I referred to the organization as “the Mafia” and created a tremendous stir. Some of the Italian-American civil rights groups wanted the Justice Department to fire me.

I spent a lot of time thinking about it. I talked to some of my relatives, talked to people that I respected, and I came to a very strong view about this. It exists. It is made up of Italians and Italian Americans. It killed a lot of people, and it’s a horrible organization, and it’s the dark side of Italians and Italian-Americans.

Face it. It’s there.

**TAE:** But it’s glamorized in the popular culture. You can’t watch *The Godfather* and not admire some of those men.

**GIULIANI:** I’ve found some of them very humorous. I’ve found some of them to have certain qualities that are ad-

mirable, but I’ve also found them to be horrible, vicious, awful killers and murderers, and not representative of the overwhelming majority of Italians and Italian Americans.

The best way for Italians and Italian Americans to face it is not to be defensive about it but to just be honest about it. It’s a small percentage of us, the worst of us—so don’t be so prejudiced as to think that all of us are like that. This is essentially what I’m trying to say to people about anti-black attitudes. Do not judge blacks by the blacks who are bad, because most aren’t. Do not judge the police by some cops who are bad: most cops are good, some cops are tremendous heroes.

I think I developed that way of looking at these things through focusing on how the Mafia prejudice has hurt Italians.

**TAE:** Last question: Is the *New York Times* a fair and honest newspaper?

**GIULIANI:** (Laughter) I can’t answer that question. When I write my book, I’ll answer it.

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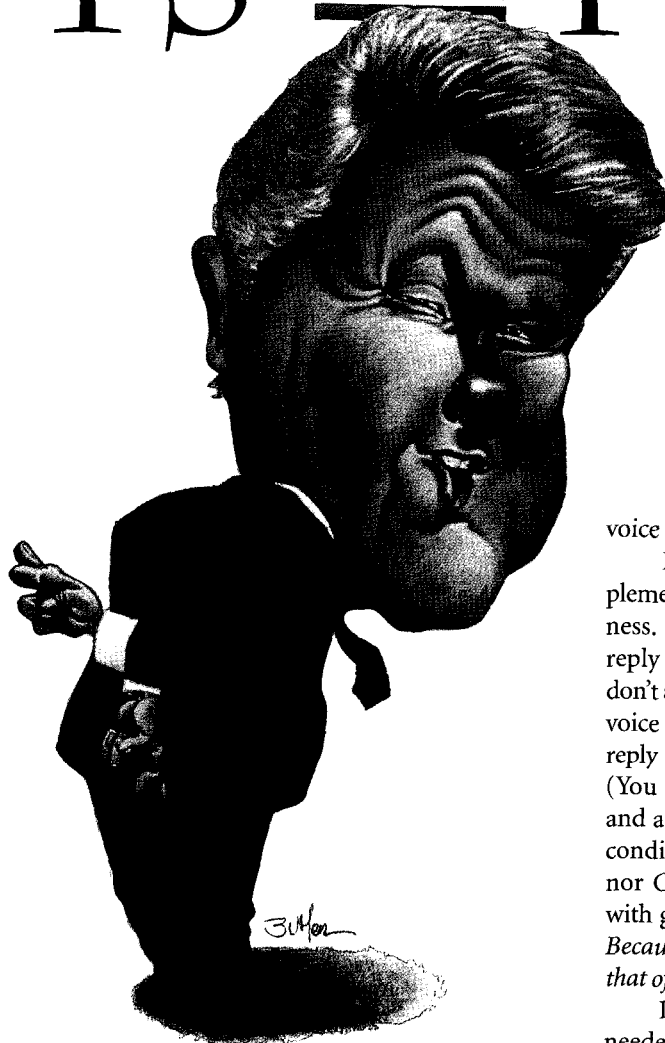
# LIAR, LIAR, PANTS ON FIRE

## "IT'S OUR TURN" Swallowing the Lies of Bill Clinton

By Christopher Hitchens

In New Hampshire in the winter of 1992, I helped form a shivering cluster of hacks standing around Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers. The Gennifer Flowers tapes had all been transcribed and they proved to contain a political element. In conversation with Ms. Flowers, the Arkansas candidate—as he then was—had said some pungent things about Senator Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) and also about Governor Mario Cuomo of New York. Concerning the latter, he'd resorted to cliché and (gasp) *stereotype* about the Sicilian business community. Cuomo's endorsement and favor counted for a lot—for no reason I could see then or can see now—and he was known to be very offended. The Clinton campaign had apologized with great speed to the king-maker from the Big Apple for any hurt he'd suffered. So I had a question for Ms. Myers, and I like to think I phrased it with care.

You have several times said, I began, that the so-called Flowers tapes are a fabrication, conducted for mercenary reasons? Yes, came the reply. And you are now apologizing to Governor Cuomo for what is said about him on these same tapes? Yes. Why, if it's not Mr. Clinton's voice on the tapes, and if as you say he barely knows Ms. Flowers, are you apologizing for what the tapes say? Silence. Do you now admit that it is Mr. Clinton's



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voice we hear on those tapes?

I had, you may believe, a supplementary question or two in readiness. But I wasn't prepared for the reply I received, which was: No, we don't agree that it's Governor Clinton's voice on those tapes. Biting back the reply of the rube that was on my lips (*You don't?*), I threw in my reserves and asked: Why then are you so unconditionally apologizing to Governor Cuomo? The answer, delivered with great pitch and immediacy was: *Because we're very sorry for anything that offends Governor Cuomo.*

I thought that this exchange needed to be written down and treasured right away—I had no recording device and could easily be called a liar or conspiracist for telling this story even now—and I also felt somewhat as if I'd trodden on the place where the last stair ought to have been; so I took a step back. As I did so, I heard Ms. Myers make a fast-talk transition to the other hacks who'd been waiting their turn and were part of the permanent

press entourage. (No, this hasn't hurt us at all. Contributions were even up a bit over the weekend....) So, not only was evidence not really evidence, and induction not really induction, but the very proof that the lie was true lay in its failure to interrupt the fund-raising process. I look back on this now as an almost Edenic moment.

Ralph Butler