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DAILY NEWS, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2001

# The true Rudy

## *A complicated legacy, despite Sept. 11*

By DAVE SALTONSTALL
DAILY NEWS STAFF WRITER

It's a picture that will likely endure in American history: the tuxedoed Rudy Giuliani, keeping his promise to walk a fatherless Brooklyn bride down the aisle, just five days after terrorists unleashed the deadliest assault in U.S. history upon his beloved city.

At that moment, Giuliani was Winston Churchill standing in the rubble of a blitzed London, circa 1940. He was John F. Kennedy at the Berlin Wall. He was the picture of grace and resolve — a friend, a father, a chaplain, a field marshal.

"I'll never forget that moment for as long as I live," said newlywed Diane Gorumba, 23, who asked the mayor to give her away after death claimed her father, grandfather and brother last year. "It started out that he was doing me a favor, but after what happened, it was like he did it for the entire City of New York.

"It gave a lot of people reassurance that there wasn't anything to be sad or scared about," added Gorumba last week, just back from a two-week honeymoon to Disney World with her husband, Michael Ferrito, a police officer. "Life goes on. That's what my mom always says."

As New York now faces the end of Giuliani's eight years as mayor, it is inevitable that many will always view him through the prism of Sept. 11 and its wrenching aftermath. All the man's talents and quirks — his energy, his faith, his sheer bullheadedness — seemed to combine to match the city's needs perfectly.

But Giuliani's legacy will most certainly cast a much more complicated image than the white hot glare of the past two months. His numbers alone over the last eight years guarantee it.

Since Giuliani first took to the podium outside City Hall on that wintry morning in 1994, in what seems like another age, overall crime in the city has dropped by 52% and murders by 68% — to points not seen since a ride on the IRT cost 20 cents.

The number of New Yorkers on welfare — in 1994, one out of every seven — has been more than halved, to levels unheard of since former President Lyndon Johnson first talked about building a Great Society.

A new Administration for Children's Services has found homes for more than 27,000 children, a dramatic increase over prior years, while the once endless street reconstruction projects of yesteryear are now wrapped up on schedule 85% of the time.

And, at least before Sept. 11, private sector jobs, tourism and property values were booming, at the same time that some 23 separate taxes were being reduced or eliminated and city coffers were brimming with surpluses.

"I think the first thing he did is make New York believe in itself again," said Peter Powers, a former deputy mayor and one of Giuliani's closest friends. "When he ran, people always said, 'Why would you want to be mayor? New York City is ungovernable.' But he never believed that — and I don't think anyone believes that today.

### What might have been

But many would say that the same qualities that made these achievements possible for Giuliani — his single-minded determination, his love of confrontation, his unyielding faith in his own moral center — also will cast a lingering shadow over his tenure.

His critics — and they still run the gamut from former mayors and union leaders to large chunks of the city's growing black and Latino communities — see a mayor who always was more interested in forging new programs than new relationships.

They see a mayor who instead of disagreeing with critics often chose to disparage them as well, and who could banish friends and potential allies from his inner circle at the slightest sign of criticism.

And while Giuliani's statistics may indeed be impressive, others choose to talk about the record number of homeless families and individuals now in city shelters — 28,989 at last count, 12,000 of them children — as well as the deep rifts that still exist between the police and minority communities, and the steep decline of affordable housing during his tenure.

This is the New York that Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer spoke of in his campaign for mayor, which, while unsuccessful, clearly struck a deep chord in dozens of neighborhoods and nearly catapulted Ferrer into the general election.

"Rudy proved that he could drive th bus, and he could get his arms aroun two of the most important questions tha affect New Yorkers — crime and qualit of life," said Ferrer last week.

"The bad side is that too many peopl were left at the bus stop, standing in th pouring rain, and they were not just th so-called minorities of the city," adde Ferrer. "He just never understood tha this was a diverse city with a multiplicit of needs."

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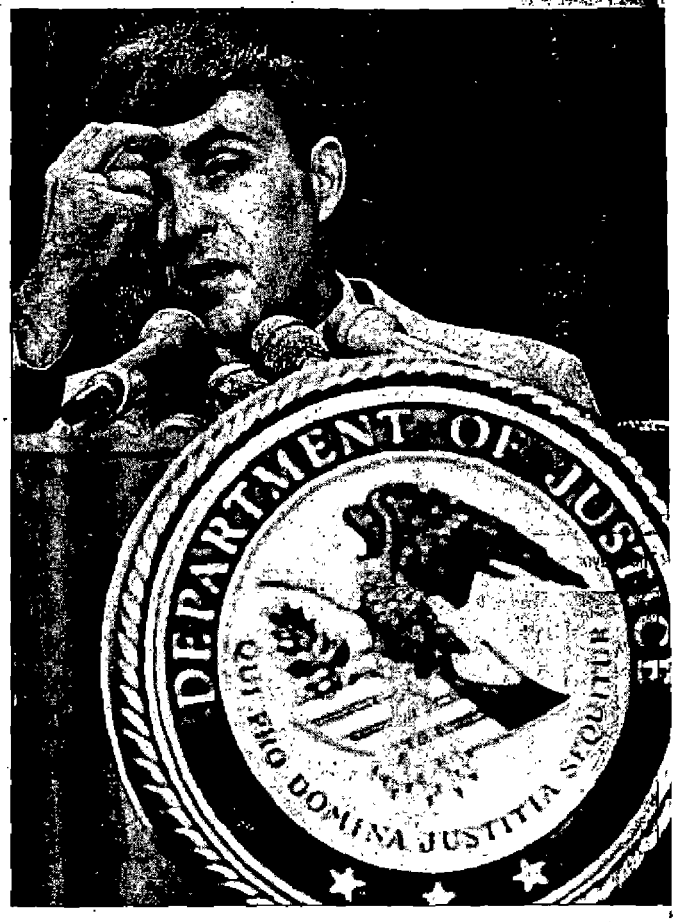
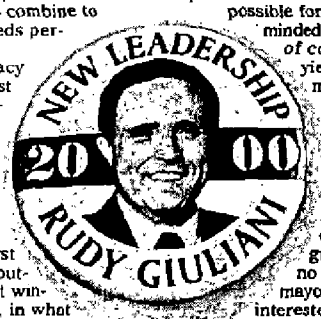



In 1982, Rudy Giuliani answered questions as an associate U.S. attorney general.

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ANDREW SAVULICH DAILY NEWS

The mayor walked Diane Gorumba down the aisle at her wedding five days after the terrorist attacks, keeping a promise and proving that life would go on.



LINDA CATAFFO DAILY NEWS

On Election Night 1993, Giuliani became mayor-elect by defeating incumbent David Dinkins.

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# AMERICA'S MAYOR




The mayor cast a long shadow at an appearance in 1997.

SUSAN WATTS/DAILY NEWS

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Many now view the Giuliani era as almost tragic, given the tempered way he handled the events of Sept. 11.

Why is it only now, they ask poignantly, in the final moments of his tenure, that the city sees a mayor so capable of embracing and unifying all segments of a torn metropolis?

How much more could he have accomplished, they wonder, had he chosen to reach out so artfully during the entire eight years?

"I think he has been a good mayor, generally speaking, but I think he probably missed the opportunity to be a great mayor because of his insensitivity to the very nature of our city," said the Rev. Calvin Butts, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem and one of the few African-American leaders to have defended the mayor at times over the years.

It was Butts who in April 1999 put rancor aside and hugged Giuliani at an interfaith service at St. Patrick's Cathedral, called to try and heal wounds left from the police shooting of unarmed immigrant Amadou Diallo.

"I am not saying that these ethnic and racial divisions are good," said Butts, adding that Giuliani still never returned his calls after the service. "But I think you have to be sensitive to them if you expect to govern well."

## Many faces

In the end, it's almost as if there are several Giulianis for history to measure. There's the swashbuckling former prosecutor who charged into office promising to end crime and welfare as we knew it — and succeeded — while at the same time presiding over one of the greatest influxes of money and new immigrants to the city in its history.

This is Field Marshal Giuliani, the tireless cheerleader who always seemed most at home when combatting disaster, natural and man-made, and who has seemed at times since Sept. 11 to hold the city together through sheer force of will.

There also is Giuliani the moral crusader. This is the Bishop Loughlin High School grad who came into office talking about respect and civility and managed to restore a little bit of both to many of the city's public spaces. He is the young man who considered joining the priesthood but instead found his calling in politics, where he tried to strip the Brooklyn Museum of Art of its public funds because it featured art he regarded as anti-Catholic.

Finally there is the Giuliani who often appeared to be more bully than warrior. This is the mayor who during a radio call-in show in 1999 told a Hispanic mother whose son, an 18-year-old robbery suspect, had been shot and killed by police that perhaps she should question "the way he was brought up."

Closer to home, some say this is the husband who in May 2000 informed his wife, Donna Hanover, that he planned to separate from her by announcing it — live — at a news conference, where he simultaneously sang the praises of his new girlfriend.

"Look, he thrived on confrontation, and his failures were mostly failures of excess," said Mitchell Moss of NYU's Taub Urban Research Center. "But the irony is that while everyone will focus on Sept. 11, his great success was demonstrating that government could actually work when given the resources and appropriate management to make the city safe."

## In the beginning

To fully appreciate the long road Giuliani traversed, it helps to recall the city he inherited on that morning in 1994 as he stood before City Hall and gave his first inauguration speech.

It's a moment that might be best remembered for the antics of Giuliani's then 8-year-old son Andrew, who clowned for the cameras so exuberantly that "Saturday Night Live" later turned it into a skit starring the late, overweight Chris Farley as the podium-crushing Andrew.

What's remarkable about the speech today is how much of Giuliani's vision was laid down then. Indeed, in hindsight, many believe that Giuliani notched virtually all his major successes in the first two years, and that the remaining six were just an exercise in keeping the pressure on and picking away at jaywalkers, renegade cyclists and other created enemies.



SUSAN WATTS DAILY NEWS

**The mayor, whose relationship with the city school system was often tempestuous, was principal for a day at Public School 123 in Brooklyn in 1998.**



BRIANA GEWITT DAILY NEWS

**Giuliani, emphasizing his war on crime, made William Bratton police commissioner in 1994. Giuliani forced him out two years later.**

"Change in many forms is coming to our city," promised Giuliani that morning, ticking off stricter law enforcement, a crackdown on quality-of-life crimes, handguns, and new programs that make more "realistic" the help offered to the poor.

Each proclamation he capped with a Caesar-like flourish: "It should be so, and it will be."

Of course, many would argue that a dictator was precisely what was needed by the end of 1993. Although crime in general already had started to inch down by then — thanks largely to an expansion of police ranks begun under former Mayor David Dinkins — there were still almost 2,000 murders that year in the five boroughs.

Some 300,000 private sector jobs had fled the city in the previous four years, a period marked by race riots in Crown Heights, a bloody brawl in Tompkins Square Park and one particularly menacing upper West Side man, Larry Hogue, famously dubbed "The Wild Man of 96th St."

Meanwhile, the city's budget shortfall was hovering near $2 billion, although its full depth would not be known for several more months.

It was enough to make Staten Island talk seriously about seceding from the city and, more ominously, have it be taken as a credible proposal.

## Moving the consensus

What soon became clear, however, is that Giuliani wasn't much interested in continuing any of the old debates surrounding street crime, welfare and the other supposedly intractable problems afflicting the city.

He wanted to change the debate altogether — a goal he knew would force him into the cross hairs of what he derided as the city's largely Democratic "intellectual establishment." It was a battle that Giuliani undertook almost gleefully.

As he told The New York Times in late 1995, "New York is a great intellectual center that has become one of the most backward parts of America — unwilling to think a new thought.

"I absolutely love, and maybe I overdo this a little, to suggest something new and then watch the reaction to it," the mayor added. "Sometimes I'm not even sure we should do it, but I love to watch the reaction from the so-called intellectuals."

It was an "establishment" that often included the press, a group that Giuliani never warmed to and often tried to contain — physically, by keeping street reporters in barricaded pens, and otherwise by controlling the release of even minor information from City Hall. He declined to be interviewed for this article, and calls to his press office seeking information were not returned.

Gabe Pressman, the veteran television political reporter and chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee of the New York Press Club, has covered eight mayors and today ranks Giuliani as by far the most restrictive — a fact that led City Hall into numerous First Amendment lawsuits, all of which the city lost.

"Now Rudy has something called an 'availability' every day with the press, which reminds me of an audience with the Pope," said Pressman. "It has become part of the jargon of New York, which is crazy. It's like royalty."

## Rudy as opera

But after eight years, most would agree that Giuliani has, in fact, largely changed the way New Yorkers view their city, in ways both large and small.

He proved that New York could be governed, an assertion which ever since the fiscal crisis of the 1970s had seemed a genuinely open question.

He made the city a place where parking your car on the street is no longer an invitation to robbery, and where the trash actually gets picked up when it is supposed to, at least most of the time.

Along the way, he provided more than a little drama in his personal life — and often more than many wanted.

After he announced his separation from his wife of 16 years on TV last year, for instance, Hanover took to the air herself and acknowledged that it had been "difficult to participate in Rudy's public life because of his relationship with one staff member."

The comment was a clear reference to Cristyne Lategano-Nicholas, Giuliani's former press secretary who, by then married and out of City Hall, quickly denied any suggestion of an affair.

It was only two weeks earlier that Giuliani had announced he had prostate cancer, an illness that — combined with his messy personal life — would ultimately force him to drop out of his Senate race against then-First Lady Hillary Clinton.

Just how messy his private life had become would be made more apparent later, when Giuliani became embroiled in divorce proceedings so bitter that his lawyer once admonished Hanover to "stop howling like a stuck pig."

Then emissaries of the mayor revealed that he had become impotent, an announcement aimed at reducing the status of Judith Nathan from girlfriend to just



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The mayor's feelings about the Fire Department were apparent at a promotion ceremony for 168 firefighters after the World Trade Center tragedy. Fire Commissioner Thomas Von Essen looked on.

RON ANTONELLI

iend in the eyes of his divorce judge.

"They really have a very profound rela-onship," said one Giuliani pal at the time.

## hanging the debate

Against the backdrop of Sept. 11, these *e chapters in Giuliani's life that could* de in any historical account.

What will likely remain is a sense that e fundamentally changed the outlines of veral long-running, public debates.

Few now argue, for instance, against re-irements that able-bodied welfare recipi-rs be required to work in exchange for ir benefits, a proposal that bordered on eresy when Giuliani took office. And hereas rising local taxes once seemed as nstant as the Hudson River current, Giu-ni proved that taxes could be lowered.

He succeeded largely by forging a new alition of voters — made up mostly of hite, outer-borough Catholics, conserva-ve Jews and a sizable chunk of the city's ispanic population — that city Democ-*its have lately failed to penetrate in any* eaningful way.

It is the same coalition that Giuliani all ut bestowed on Mayor-elect Michael loomberg, thus ensuring that City Hall emains in Republican hands for a third, nsecutive term — a first in the Democ-tic heavy New York.

"I think at the end of the day what he d is attack the central core belief of the ew York City liberal establishment," id Heather Mac Donald, a fellow at the nservative Manhattan Institute, a kind f philosophical annex to City Hall un-er Giuliani. "It was a belief that said ou demonstrate your compassion by ncomplainingly paying incredibly high xes to support an incredibly inefficient cial services leviathan."

"Maybe he had just observed life long ough to see the hard bargain that life often is," Mac Donald added. "Because the changes he was trying to bring about really came out of a profound understanding of human motivation, and how human civilizations hold together."

## Broken windows

No initiative of Giuliani's underscored that notion more fully than his crime policies, which began with a then-revolutionary theory called "broken windows."

The idea, first put forward by UCLA political science Prof. James Wilson and Rutgers University Prof. George Kelling, suggested that if a single window is broken on a building, others will likely follow, eventually creating the impression that no one in the neighborhood cares much about maintaining order.

The trick was preventing that first broken window, and making sure that police crack down on other small crimes as a way of keeping the bigger ones at bay.

It was a theory that Giuliani seemed to grasp implicitly, Kelling says today, recalling a meeting he had with the former *prosecutor during his 1993 campaign.*

"He was not one of those politicians who just seemed concerned that their staff get it," Kelling said recently. "He was asking questions, he never left the meeting, he never said, 'Wrap it up.' I mean he was into this."

*To move from theory to practice, how-*ever, required a revamped police force, one much more attuned to local hot spots and much more aggressive at rooting out low-level criminals.

Thus was born Compstat, the brain-child of former Police Commissioner Bill Bratton and his dapper, homburg-wearing deputy, Jack Maple, a one-time Transit Police detective with an uncanny intuition for tracking crime.

Using massive 55-foot-long maps, Bratton and Maple pioneered the prac*tice of tracking crimes using color-coded* pushpins, then flooding hot zones with additional cops.

The system drove down crime dramatically when Bratton headed the Transit Police from 1990 to 1992 but was never computerized and pushed citywide until *Giuliani brought Bratton back in 1994 as* commissioner of the NYPD.

The results were staggering: By 1996, when Giuliani forced Bratton out in a typical tiff over the commissioner's increasingly national profile, murder had plummeted 50% and overall crime by 39%.

"The administration understood that root causes and explanations for crime were all well and good, but people needed safety and they needed to get it done through the Police Department," said Peter Reinharz, chief of the city's Family Court division.

Others would argue that the city's plummeting crime rate was really just the leading edge of a national drop in crime, or was linked inextricably to the drop in *the city's murderous crack-cocaine trade,* or was simply a dividend from police investments started by Dinkins.

But the impact of Compstat, in retrospect, is impossible to ignore. Experts such as Reinharz argue that Bratton's experience at transit — where he lowered subway crime dramatically at the same time that felonies were at all-time highs above ground — proved the policy's power, as did its successful replication in hundreds of other cities since then.

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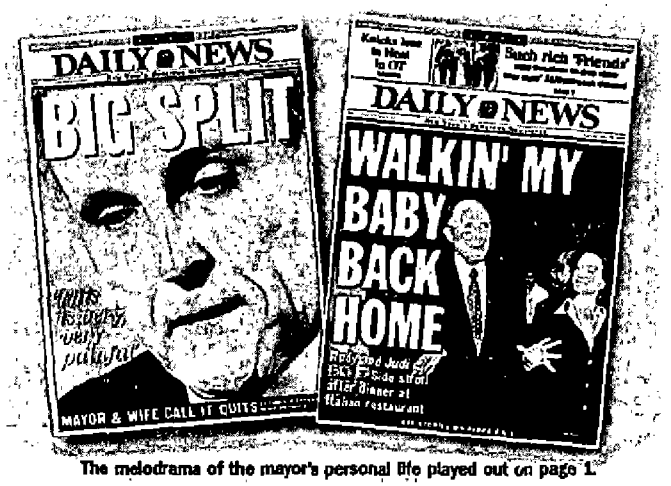


The melodrama of the mayor's personal life played out on page 1.



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## A prosecutor at heart

In addition to street crime, the law-and-order Giuliani also set his sights on organized crime, winning battles for the city that have since paid millions in dividends.

Using the city's little-known licensing laws, the former U.S. prosecutor took on commercial garbage haulers and the Fulton Fish Market — both notoriously mob-run outfits.

"In each of those areas, there was literally a mob tax," said Randy Mastro, a former chief of staff for Giuliani. "But the mayor said, 'We as a city are not going to do business with organized crime associates, and we are not going to give you a license if you are an organized crime associate.'"

It worked. The fish market was soon rid of the mob, eliminating an arcane system of costly kickbacks previously triggered anytime someone touched a fish at the market.

And the corrupt carting industry, which for years had blackmailed every business in the city into paying the highest hauling fees in the nation, was soon wiped clean. The result was a 40% decline in the city's $1.5 billion waste-hauling costs within the first two years — a savings of $600 million between 1996 and 1998 alone.

"He felt it was a moral imperative to take on organized crime," Mastro said. "So he took the fight to them, and he won."

*Today, crime reduction both focuses and enlarges many of Giuliani's greatest accomplishments, from the booming tourist trade that it ushered in to the simple peace of mind that follows many new subway riders down to the platform.*

## Race relations

Yet it also is the source of a widespread resentment toward Giuliani that still burns bright in many minority neighborhoods, where the mayor's crackdown on crime often took the form of random stop-and-frisk searches.

Some would argue that overly aggressive policing created the environment that led to the torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in a Brooklyn stationhouse in August 1997.

Experts such as Kelling blame many of the tensions that followed that incident on another fundamental policing choice made by Giuliani: the widespread use of special units to attack certain crimes.

It was the street crime unit, for instance, that focused on getting guns off the street. At its height, the 380-officer unit made up just 1% of the department but accounted for 40% of its gun arrests.

But the unit's officers also stopped and frisked more than 45,000 people in a two-year period — of whom only 9,500 were arrested.

And on Feb. 4, 1999, members of the *street crime unit fired 41 bullets at an unarmed African immigrant named Amadou Diallo, sparking what may have been the most turbulent phase of Giuliani's reign. More than 1,100 protesters* were arrested outside police headquarters *in the following weeks, including* many of the city's top leaders.

*It also was a specialized narcotics* squad that shot Patrick Dorismond, an off-duty security guard who was killed after scuffling with police outside a midtown bar in March 2000.

Kelling and other experts today look back at both events as evidence of Giuliani's overreliance on specialized units, which often feel pressured by their own success to keep arrests up even after a particular threat has been reduced.

"There is an incentive for net widening," said Kelling. "And my concern, as I look at the NYPD, is the generic problem of special units and when do you decide to stop them."



AP

**Rudy Giuliani's profile of courage and leadership was raised around the world after the twin towers atrocity.**

## Burned bridges

*It was at turbulent moments such as* the Diallo and Dorismond crises that *Giuliani's general failure to build bridges* became most apparent. There were times *when City Hall seemed under siege,* an impression not helped by Giuliani's decision *to barricade the surrounding park* and bar protesters from the building's steps, citing security concerns.

Never the consensus builder, this was the my-way-or-the-highway mayor who had to be forced into meeting with black elected officials at the height of the Diallo furor.

His network of allies was often so thin — in many minority communities, in Albany, at the Board of Education — that if his own appointees or a handful of friends couldn't help, he was boxed in, left to rail against his critics.

This was never clearer than during his dealings with city schools over the last eight years: he single-handedly drove out *two school chancellors, Ramone Cortines* and Rudy Crew, by relentlessly attacking *their visions for public schools.*

"As great as his legacy is in public *safety, it is as lacking in public education,*" said Randi Weingarten, head of the *United Federation of Teachers and a frequent* thorn in Giuliani's side.

In fairness, *Giuliani did boost arts education* and after-school literacy programs, pushed for the end of social promotion — the practice of advancing children to the next grade even if academically unprepared — and made it *easier to fire bad principals.*

But many fail to see in that a clearly *thought out vision for the city's schools.*

"He will dispute this, but I don't think there was any philosophy there," Weingarten said. "He always thought he could solve the problem with a top-down, punitive approach but it doesn't work that way. Education comes down to what happens between a teacher and kids in the classroom, and he could never understand that."

## Zeroes for heroes

It remains one of the great ironies of Giuliani's tenure that even though he always heralded the city's police and firefighters — even in the midst of controversy — many rank-and-file workers remain deeply bitter about his tenure.

His reviled "zeroes for heroes" contract in the mid-1990s — during which police and firefighters got no raises for two years, followed by small increases in later years — remains a galling footnote for many of the city's Finest and Bravest.

And despite flush times, the city's police, firefighters and teachers have all been without a contract for more than a year — a problem that the next mayor will have to confront.

"He did a great job in fighting crime and making New York City a better place, but he gave nothing to the working people — the people who made it happen," said Tom Manley, the sergeant at arms for the 8,900-member Uniformed *Firefighters Association.*

## The final frame

*So how will Giuliani be remembered?* In truth, most New York City mayors, if they are remembered at all, get distilled down to a single, defining moment.

For LaGuardia, it was reading the comics over the radio to a city darkened by newspaper strikes. The dapper John Lindsay walking through Harlem on the night Martin Luther King Jr. was killed, keeping the peace in an edgy city. And the wisecracking Ed Koch seemed always to be asking, "How'm I doin'?"

For Giuliani, maybe it's the wedding. Or maybe it is the dust-covered Rudy, arm outstretched, as he takes command amid the swirling chaos of Sept. 11. Or perhaps we are left with just a feeling — of calm amid the storm, of bravery amid fear.

In that way, Giuliani is not unlike the city's firefighters, a brotherhood he has often extolled in recent weeks. His uncle was once a member of the department, and he reminded those assembled at a bittersweet promotions ceremony for firefighters that he attended on the very same day that he walked Diane Gorumba down the aisle.

He spoke then of how his uncle once was thrown from his rig as he raced to an alarm, breaking both his legs and seriously injuring his back. And in the telling, he seemed to open a tiny window into the strength that has followed him through the streets in these final days.

"*My mother would take me to visit him* almost every day at Kings County Hospital," *Giuliani recalled.* "*He was in tremendous pain, but one of my earliest memories was his talking about wanting to go* back to work. It was the thing that got him *through, the thing that sustained him.*

"He would talk about how he loved his job. And even as a 5- and 6-year-old, I could figure it out. Here was a man who had broken both of his legs and maybe his back, and he wanted to go back to the work he loved. And he did.

"And he was one of my early heroes."

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