

ITS KNICKS BEAT PACERS, TAKE 3-2 SERIES LEAD 1D

s & Sun-Bulletin

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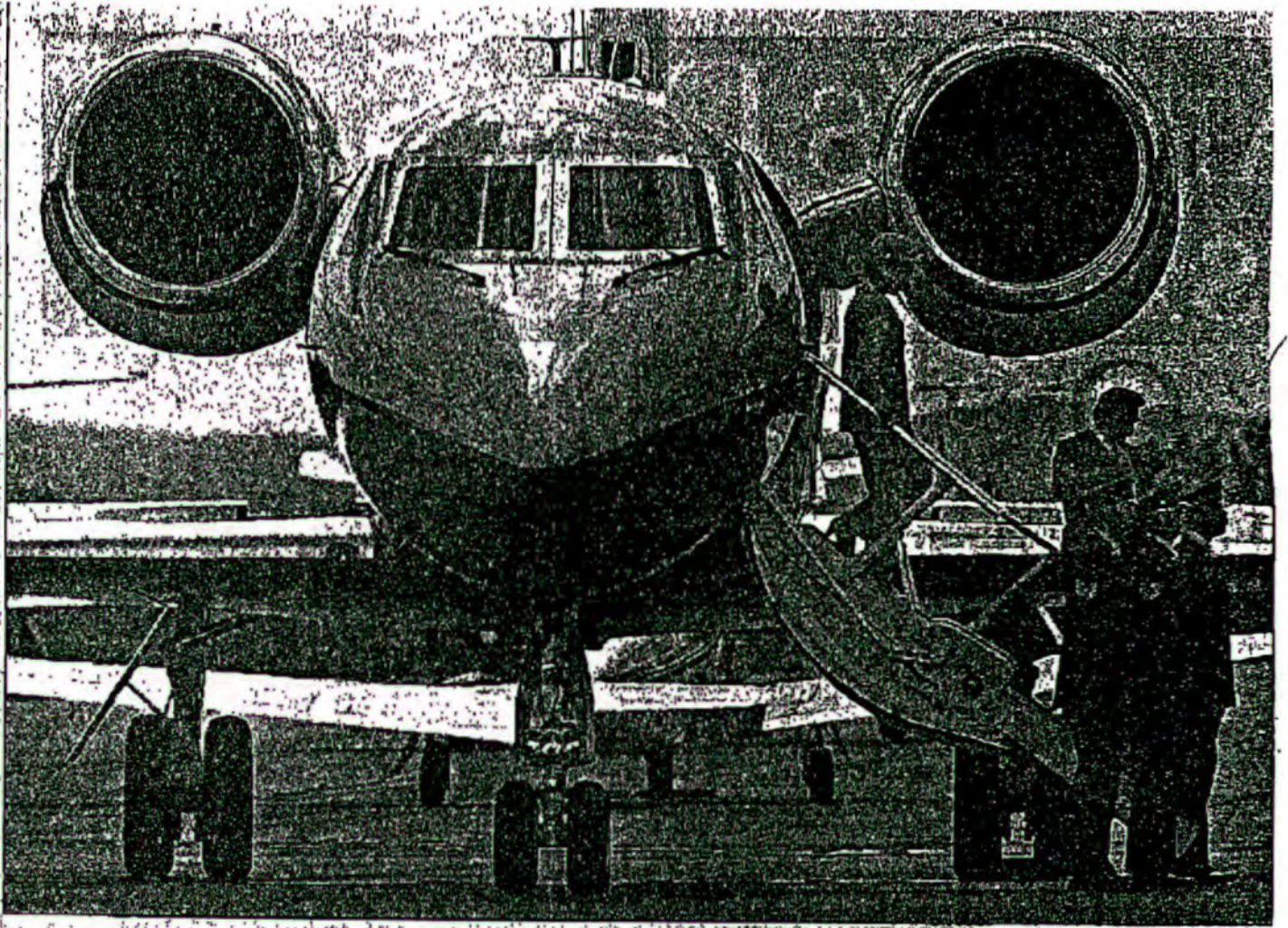
FIFTY CENTS

FIRST LADY'S VISIT



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

Illness Bingham Clinton makes a warm welcome of a fund-raiser for U.S. Rep. Maurice Hinchey on Wednesday at the Holiday Inn Arena in Binghamton



DAVE KENNEDY staff photographer

First lady Hillary Clinton exits her plane Wednesday after landing at Binghamton Regional Airport. It was the first lady's first visit to Binghamton and Broome County. Congressman Maurice Hinchey is leading Clinton out of the plane.

Clinton says too far in future

First lady talks economic issues with Lockheed Martin workers

BY ERIKA STUTZMAN

Assistant Business Editor

Though the format was casual, Hillary Rodham Clinton's message Wednesday was clear: The country needs to take advantage of prosperous economic times by looking forward, investing more in research and taking risks by establishing new industry.

Seated on chairs on the concrete manufacturing floor at Lockheed Martin Control Systems in Johnson City, Clinton and about 40 randomly selected workers discussed economic issues. The group, which included U.S. Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, D-Saugerties, talked for about an hour Wednesday afternoon.

The stop was Clinton and Hinchey's first in Binghamton. It was followed by a fundraiser at the Holiday Inn Arena.

Clinton said new developments, such as those that benefit the environment, can result in job growth — as long as someone is willing to take a chance. New jobs will result from private marketing, public incentives, and "a lot of education and attitude changing," Clinton said.

"We are all such prisoners

of our past," Clinton said. She said too many people think things that benefit the environment, like Control Systems' electric bus, will simply cost too much, rather than seeing the chance to spur job growth.

Clinton also said the government should spend more on research and development.

"We all have a big stake in R&D," Clinton said. "We've got to see into the future."

Clinton said that through better relationships among government, business and higher education, the country would be in a better position to design the next generation of consumer products.

Though the economy was the main topic of conversation, a question asked by employee Valerie Magdich brought Clinton around to a favored topic: health care.

Magdich, a nurse at the plant, asked Clinton what is being done so that more Americans have equal access to medical care.

Clinton said she will continue to work on the issue in Washington. She said a better health care system, one that would cut down the numbers of uninsured, is sorely needed.

"I hope that as a nation, we will try to make these changes in the next couple of years," she said.

Workers said they were satisfied with and flattered by Clinton's visit; the only disappointment for most was that the visit was too brief.

The only hint that the first lady is mulling over a run for Senate was when James Scanlon, Lockheed's Control System's president, handed her a Lockheed Martin sweatshirt.

"Just in case you might want to move north," Scanlon said.

But the will-she, won't-she run question, though never asked by employees, was clearly on their minds.

"I hope she runs," said Cheryl DeMara, a Lockheed Martin employee who lives in Owego. "But I didn't make any decisions on whether I would support her today."

DeMara said the jobs and economic development focus of the meeting was interesting to her as a Lockheed Martin employee, but as a New York citizen, she could have learned a lot more from the first lady.

"It was too short," agreed Tam Pham, an employee from Endwell. "I would have liked a little more time, maybe 15 minutes to talk about New York."

Workers said they were impressed that Clinton lis-

tened rather than lectured.

"She seemed so genuine and interested in what we had to say," DeMara said.

At the end of the session, Clinton walked around the circle shaking hands with each, and pausing for a short conversation with many.

No one was happier in Clinton's choice of a meeting place than Larry Stone, the spokesman for Lockheed Martin in Johnson City.

Faced with the prospect of having his company be in a national spotlight of sorts, Stone said the visit was good publicity for a company looking for workers.

The facility hired about 200 people last year, and is looking to hire about 50 more this year. Like many local firms, they are struggling to find qualified workers.

Control Systems makes electronic systems for defense, civil and commercial markets. One of the products highlighted for Clinton was the HybriDrive, a battery-and-diesel fueled vehicle with very low emissions.

"Kids today have their choice of where they want to go," Stone said. "They may not know about Lockheed Martin, and they're less likely to know about Binghamton, so the attention we could get (from the first lady's visit) is good."

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Kennedy comparisons abound —

CONTINUED FROM 1A

away all the more convinced that Clinton will enter the 2000 election for the seat being vacated by New York's senior Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But Burns was especially taken with the first lady's Kennedy-like praise for America's commitment to easing human suffering and her repeated calls for civic responsibility: "We as citizens have a responsibility: ... What will we do?" she said.

"She's got great poise. She's got great delivery. She knows the issues and cares about people. She'll be a very good candidate," said Burns, a former state Democratic Committee Chairman and long-time patriarch in the local Democratic organization.

Ostensibly in town to help raise money for U.S. Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, D-Saugerties, the first lady peppered her upbeat message with

many of the issues that have helped define her reputation: increasing federal support for public education and school construction, addressing the needs of working families and their struggle to raise children in a two-income economy, and improving employment prospects without sacrificing environmental protections.

"We are all in this together," Clinton said in a theme-like reference applied to several of her points. "We all have a stake in it."

For those listening for the sounds of a candidate in the speech, her concluding words about the greatness of America and the rightness of its stand against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo seemed unmistakable.

"She sounds like a candidate to me," said Gregory T. Quinn, the recently appointed local representative to U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer. "She's more than just passing through town."

Former Broome County Executive Timothy M. Grippen said if Clinton hasn't actually decided to run, it is clear she is getting ready to.

"What we heard was more Hillary Clinton than Hillary the first lady," Grippen said.

The first lady has said she will establish an exploratory committee early next month, clearing the way for her to begin raising money for a campaign, among other things. Matthew J. Hiltzik, deputy executive press secretary for the New York State Democratic Committee, said although it's tempting to conclude a candidacy is in the offing, people also need to remember the importance of promoting America and its citizenry as part of her current job.

"It was a great example of how she represents this country as well as how exceptional a candidate she'd be," Hiltzik said.

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charms Broome supporters



KAREN VIBERT-KENNEDY staff photographer

Hillary Rodham Clinton got a look at the HybriDrive, a battery- and diesel-powered bus, at the Lockheed Martin plant in Johnson City after a round-table discussion with workers. STORY, 5A

For some, Clinton's visit echoes Robert Kennedy's '64 Senate run

BY DON SBARRA

Staff Writer

With picketers jostling and yelling outside and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talking about making America a better place inside, John J. Burns Sr. couldn't help thinking about a race for the U.S. Senate 35 years ago.

"It's like the Kennedy days have come back," said Burns, who in

of Binghamton and upstate campaign chairman for Senate candidate Robert Kennedy. "I went all over the state with Bobby, and it was just like this: the enthusiastic crowds cheering him on, and the picketers lining the roads and hollering every place we went."

Like so many others listening to the first lady's 20-minute speech in downtown Binghamton Wednesday night, Burns came



JOHN J. BURNS SR.

First lady connects with workers, voters during 3-hour visit

BY SAMME CHITTUM

Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton did far more than test the political waters in Binghamton Wednesday. She swept through the crowds like someone trying very hard to make a good first impression — like an outsider who wants to be accepted as an insider.

But she didn't have to work hard for acceptance on a day when she brainstormed with workers at Lockheed Martin in Johnson City and ended her three-hour visit rubbing shoulders with the region's high-powered Democrats at the Holiday Inn Arena in downtown Binghamton.

The political themes she explored were predictable. There was no dramatic announcement of a run for U.S. Senate. Smartly dressed in a pink pantsuit, Clinton supplied the expected star power at a fund-raiser ostensibly all about Congressman Maurice Hinchey.

Throughout her visit, Clinton seemed aware that she lacked that hometown advantage and tried to overcome it. She talked about her childhood family vacation in the region, shook



Inside

■ Lockheed Martin workers share economic concerns.

■ Clinton's daughter brings her daughter to the fund-raiser.

■ Protesters, supporters gather at Holiday Inn Arena.

PAGE 5A

hands, made eye contact, posed for pictures and talked one-on-one with the dozens of people seeking her attention.

Ticket holders — a crowd of about 300 already high on the first lady and her politics — arrived praising her brains and strength and left

SEE CLINTON AD

PM-Mrs Clinton Senate,370

Mrs. Clinton opens campaign bank account

By MARC HUMBERT= Associated Press Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton has set up a bank account and has begun depositing checks sent in by supporters for a New York Senate campaign, her top adviser said today.

Harold Ickes, a former White House deputy chief of staff advising the first lady on her possible Senate race, said he was not certain how much money had already come in.

"It's really dribs and drabs, an inconsequential little amount of money," Ickes said, adding that checks didn't begin arriving until last week. "She hasn't done anything in terms of making fund-raising calls yet."

Ickes said he expected Mrs. Clinton to begin making such calls in early July, shortly after she formally creates her Senate exploratory committee.

"There's a lot of money to raise," he said.

Estimates of the bankroll needed to be competitive in the race for the Senate seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan have ranged from \$15 million to \$20 million.

The race is being eyed on the Republican side by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, among others. Mrs. Clinton is expected to have no real competition for the Democratic nomination.

Ickes said he wasn't aware of the technical aspects of creating the campaign bank account, but said "legally you can do that prior to actually filing the exploratory committee."

Creation of an exploratory committee allows a prospective candidate to raise and spend money for campaign-like purposes.

Ickes said that heading up Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising operation would be Terence McAuliffe, President Clinton's chief fund-raiser in 1996, and Laura Hartigan, who was McAuliffe's chief deputy then.

Gabrielle Fialkoff, a New York City-based operative who was in charge of raising money for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's unsuccessful run for governor, has been hired by Mrs. Clinton's camp to concentrate on New York fund raising, Ickes said.

Wall Street tycoon Roger Altman, who was deputy treasury secretary during President Clinton's first term, also will be heavily involved in fund-raising work for the first lady, Ickes said.

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DJ Hillary Rodham Clinton Starts Banking Contributions ALBANY, N.Y. (

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Hillary Rodham Clinton Is an Opponent's Dream

■ **Politics:** Giuliani will have plenty of ammunition if they square off for U.S. Senate seat.

By ALEXANDER COCKBURN

If Hillary Rodham Clinton formally enters the New York Senate race against New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, it will be the first time she'll stand square in the sights as a candidate and thus be forced to respond directly to all charges flung at her along the campaign trail.

It's true that she's been the target of investigation before, but the venues of combat have been depositions, a grand jury session and one appearance before Congress to justify her health program, where the legislators treated her with ermine gloves. Besides, Bill has always been the numero uno target.

So what are her immediate vulnerabilities, after seven years of close scrutiny?

Remember, 80% to 90% of the Whitewater scandal had HRC's fingerprints all over it. She was the corporate lawyer who finagled the lucrative land deals and mortgage arrangements. It was the billing records from that phase of the Clintons' property operations that first went missing and finally came to light in HRC's private White House quarters.

Hillary's riposte on such matters will no doubt be that she and Bill have emerged unscathed from the most ferocious scrutiny in American investigative history, by Ken Starr and his team. But Starr never did issue a report on Whitewater, although HRC apparently narrowly escaped indictment for alleged perjury committed in the course of her grand jury deposition testimony in connection with the case. Hickman Ewing was handling this aspect of Whitewater for the Starr probe. He found that HRC was safe under the statute of limitations but vulnerable to a perjury rap.

In the end Starr didn't choose to indict, but HRC may not be quite out of these particular woods yet. Her erstwhile partner at the Rose Law Firm, Webster L. Hubbell, has had Starr's charges restored against him by a federal appeals court and faces trial on the matter of whether he was bribed into silence when he got highly lucrative consultancy fees after he'd left the Justice Department and, in some cases, after he'd been originally indicted. This Hubbell trial is set to start in August, and HRC will obviously be a prime focus of the prosecutor and the press. As a corporate lawyer, Hillary Clinton has plenty of unwholesome skeletons rattling in the closet, quite aside from Whitewater. The Rose Law Firm was not a charitable institution. Her firm's work in the sale of the Beverly nursing home chain is perhaps something that Giuliani's researchers will take a passing interest in, since the sale handled by Rose

Law did leave a number of old folks facing higher fees and was exactly the sort of "unconscionable profiteering" that Clinton herself later accused the health industry of doing.

Then there was the LaFarge cement and incineration business on whose board Hillary Clinton sat. Any third-party Green candidate might take an interest in the polluting conduct of this enterprise. And as HRC tries to muster the support of labor unions, Giuliani will perhaps evoke her years on the Wal-Mart board, a company not noted for the proud union tradition of Gompers and Debs.

There's also the matter of Clinton's inexplicable enrichment, the manner in which, under the kindly guidance of Jim Blair, chief corporate counsel for Tyson Foods, and also of the futures magician Robert L. "Red" Bone, Hillary's modest investment of \$1,000 in cattle futures bloated up to the \$100,000 level.

More unsettled business comes in the form of Travelgate, another chapter in the Starr investigation. Starr did say nothing impeachable had come out of his Travelgate probe, so far as Bill was concerned. But Bill was a peripheral figure in that affair. Hillary was at the heart.

Suppose Clinton accuses Giuliani of violating civil rights or of having about his person the aroma of the police state. Now imagine the righteous prosecutorial finger of Rudy Giuliani pointing straight back at Hillary Clinton, reminding her and the voters of New York of Filegate. Once again, HRC has been accused of bringing on board D. Craig Livingstone—who amassed several hundred files on enemies of the Clintons (who knows, maybe even on Rudy himself)—to head up White House security.

Hillary Clinton will defend herself from all charges of scandal by deploring these souvenirs of Starr's long and costly effort to beat down Bill Clinton. She will insist that Giuliani concentrate on substance. But her own record on substance isn't so hot. Her supervision of health reform in 1994 ended in debacle. And although she doubtless will be offering herself as a friend of the poor and downtrodden, evoking her work as board member of Marian Wright Edelman's Children's Defense Fund, the dismantling of the welfare system that is occurring on the Clintons' watch is perhaps not an achievement she will want to boast about. After all, Peter Edelman, Marian's husband, resigned from Health and Human Services in protest.

Oh, Hillary has taken one principled stand—on Palestinian rights, and Giuliani has lost no time in reminding New York voters of this.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation, the New York Press and other publications.

Hillary Pillory

In response to Peggy Noonan's June 8 editorial-page commentary "The Mad Boomer": The real story here is that "Senator Hillary" is just a prelude to "President Hillary." Does anyone really believe Hillary Clinton wants to be a plain ole senator from New York?

Mrs. Clinton knows that only in New York state would she have a chance of being elected to anything; the base of New Yorkers she is appealing to for votes would elect Mickey Mouse if the platform were liberal enough. If she wins in New York, it's Rudy Giuliani's fault. I will contribute to Mr. Giuliani's campaign because we in New Jersey do not want a Clinton presence nearby—eight years of the gruesome two-some is enough.

I've three more years in my business and I'm out of the Northeast for good, heading to "Jessie Ventura Country." The Republican Party is in tatters and from the ashes we will not rise again. Boomers want less government; we want to lead ourselves outside of a party system, outside of Washington. My political philosophy mirrors Colorado, Minnesota and other progressive West and Midwest states.

PAT DESAULES

Princeton, N.J.

Wow. Sounds as if Peggy Noonan has hated our first lady for a long time. I wish I lived in New York. I'd vote for Hillary—even though I have no use for her—just to spite Ms. Noonan's venom. As it is, I'll just have to see if she keels over from apoplexy if Hillary wins. On another issue, why don't you change the name of that little "Asides" feature to "Asnides." It's like tuning in to a group of querulous geezers as they discuss, and cherish, the nefarious plots against them.

KEN COLLINS

Royal Oak, Mich.

Doesn't Ms. Noonan have anything really bad to say about Hillary? So far, all she's told us is that Mrs. Clinton will act like a politician. Surely there must be something else that makes her worse than Messrs. Giuliani, Schumer, D'Amato and the others. Come on, no more Ms. Nice Gal.

JUDD KAHN

New York

Ms. Noonan ignores, I believe, an essential issue of the upcoming senatorial race—Hillary's opponent. Mayor Giuliani owes it to his fellow New Yorkers to deliver a strong campaign and committed message about his own convictions. He must control his patronizing attitude and sardonic wit about the absurd Mrs. Clinton. He must not ever go to Arkansas to upstage Mrs. Clinton's carpet-bagger act. He must stop arguing about who is the bigger Yankee fan. What he must do is convince us why he should be our Senator, and not just because he's displayed an ability to be the toughest tough guy in a city that needed it at the time . . . and certainly not just because he grew up here.

The Mayor must run on his own merits and his vision for a future for all New Yorkers. Then he must convince us that he's grown to fit the role, that he's not going to self-destruct with power in Washington.

SUSAN MARK

New York

I generally look forward to writing by Peggy Noonan. She is an easy read, gifted in the use of words even though unencumbered by any sense of impartiality. She quotes unnamed (a frequent habit) Democratic voters who want Ms. Clinton to stay away from New York, most of them women she knows. The most obvious gaffe is her statement that "It will be hard for Republicans to blast her (Ms. Clinton's) positions in advance, because her pollsters haven't told her what they are yet." Not to worry. Ms. Noonan then proceeds to let us know in great detail what Ms. Clinton's positions and practices will be as she lays out her whole campaign. So now Republicans and Ms. Noonan are free to attack Ms. Clinton's positions even before she has articulated any.

Ms. Noonan is a talented writer. Too bad she uses assumptions as facts.

MORTON GOULD

Tulsa, Okla.

H I L L A R Y

Pick Knicks, Whip GOPs

DONNING A YANKEE CAP AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST week, confirmed Cub fan Hillary Clinton displayed an affection for the defending world champs. Good manners, better politics. Other smart choices the carpetbagging First Lady needs to make to win New Yorkers' hearts and votes:

Bills vs. Jets Bills! Eating your Flutie Flakes may wrest GOP-leaning upstaters from Rudy.

Food Put Bill on a New York diet: swap Big Macs for Papaya King's 50-cent dogs; bagels replace doughnuts.

Clothes Sure, Manhattanites all wear black: see how long your pastel pantsuits last on grimy NYC streets.

Letterman vs. Leno Dave! Liddy owns

Leno. Letterman's Broadway venue allows you to pop in for a quick Top Ten.

Vacations The Hamptons get you close to deep-pocket fundraisers, but the Adirondacks or Saratoga broaden your upstate base.

Stadium deal Steinbrenner wants to move your Yanks, saying fans need more parking. Nix it: as senator, you'll chopper in.



Cubs fan covers her bases

In 2000 Senate Races, Voters Have Chance To Choose Third Way

Attorney **Geoffrey Fieger** seems unlikely to wage an Independent bid in the Michigan Senate race, but at least a handful of other people across the country are still contemplating third-party Congressional candidacies for 2000. And that can only add confusion and uncertainty to an election cycle that looks as confused and uncertain as ever.

Independent candidates in Florida, New York, Minnesota and New Jersey could determine the outcome of Senate races in those states, and the threat of a credible Reform Party presidential nominee hangs over next year's presidential race.

In Florida, state Rep. **Willie Logan's** (D) possible candidacy is widely regarded as a potential windfall for the Republicans.

Logan's strained relationship with the Florida Democratic Party, which stemmed from the fact that he was dumped by his party from a leadership role in the state House, has the him looking at a Senate bid. But insiders have little doubt that Sunshine State Republicans are trying to entice Logan into the race in order to fracture the Democratic base.

Democrats insist the ploy won't work, arguing that a Logan candidacy would light a fire under black political leaders to discredit Logan and mobilize the African-American electorate for the near-certain Democratic nominee, state Insurance Commissioner **Bill Nelson**.

But Logan wouldn't need to corral all of the black vote to hurt Nelson's chances. Every vote he might get would come out of the commissioner's hide, making it very tough for Nelson to win the election, especially if the Republicans nominate state Education Commissioner **Tom Gallagher** rather than Rep. **Bill McCollum**.

Potential third-party candidacies in the New York and New Jersey Senate contests could prove fatal to Republican prospects in both states. A conservative, third-party candidate in New Jersey could siphon off enough votes from Republican Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman** to throw a close contest to her Democratic opponent, especially given that she has won nailbiters in each of her last two races (when she appeared to hold comfortable leads going into them).

But the situation in New York is even worse for the GOP than it is in New Jersey. It's possible that New York Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** (R) will be the Liberal Party nominee, Rep. **Rick Lazio** will win the Conservative Party nomination and Giuliani and Lazio will compete for the GOP nomination. If both Republicans are on the ballot in November, first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** will have a huge advantage in the race.

In Minnesota, it's unclear whom the Reform

Party will nominate, though it seems unlikely that popular former Democratic Rep. **Tim Penny** will be wooed into the race as a Reformer. And with the Democratic nominee far from decided, it's hard to know how a third-party nominee will affect Republican Sen. **Rod Grams'** political future.

Finally, in Vermont, Independent Rep. **Bernie Sanders**, is the most serious threat to Sen. **Jim Jeffords** (R), though Sanders has not made a final decision about whether to run. If he does run, a Democrat could play the role of spoiler.

And then there is the presidential race, where the possibility of a credible Reform Party nominee still looms.

While the Reformers haven't succeeded in institutionalizing their

party, it's clear from **Jesse Ventura's** gubernatorial victory and **Ross Perot's** two presidential showings that there are plenty of voters just itching to opt for a nontraditional politician. The problem for the Reform Party is that it hasn't credentialed anyone for a presidential bid. Still, even a Ventura-like candidate could draw significant votes in 2000, creating uncertainty for the two major-party nominees.

But the Reformers have a problem in the presidential race that independent and third-party candidates don't have elsewhere: A number of presidential hopefuls are running as non-traditional politicians, giving them at least a partial claim to potential Reform voters.

Democrat **Bill Bradley** regularly takes on "special interests" and por-



trays himself as an outsider, as does Republican **Steve Forbes**. **Elizabeth Dole**, **Gary Bauer** and **Pat Buchanan** have never held elected office, and even Gov. **George W. Bush** (R) can avoid the tag of Washington insider because of his Texas office.

Even Sen. **John McCain** (R-Ariz.) uses his shoot-from-the-hip reputation to position himself as a nonpolitician, and former Vice President **Dan Quayle** uses the media's treatment of him to cast himself as an anti-establishment leader.

Only Vice President **Al Gore** is stuck with his insider image. And maybe that's why, even in great economic times, some Democrats are concerned about Gore's ultimate appeal, regardless of whether or not there are a number of strong Independents or third-party candidates on the ballot next year.

Giuliani Plans Ark. Event

By Rachel Van Dongen

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton may still be looking for a home in the Empire State, but New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) is being welcomed with open arms in the state that propelled the Clintons to the White House.

Arkansas Lt. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (R) has invited the mayor, who has formed an exploratory committee to run for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), to a July 27 fundraiser in Arkansas. The event is slated to be a luncheon, and may include a tour of Little Rock.

Although the guest list has yet to be finalized, the state's top Republican officials will be invited, said Richard Bearden, the former executive director of the Arkansas Republican Party who is organizing the fundraiser.

"The lieutenant governor did make a phone call the day after it was reported that Mayor Giuliani had donned a [University of Arkansas] Razorback cap and jacket and invited him to come to Arkansas," Bearden said. "Rockefeller has strong family ties to New York and he knew some people that worked for the mayor in his administration."

"Mayor Giuliani called him back, they had an extended phone conversation and Win said, 'I'd love for you to come to Arkansas.'"

Giuliani aides were gleeful about the opportunity to play up their argument that the first lady is a carpetbagger.

"Since the first lady is exploring New York, we thought we'd go down and explore Arkansas," quipped Bruce Teitelbaum, the head of Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee.

Continued on page 20

Giuliani Takes Race to Clinton's Home Turf Next Month

Continued from page 13

"Obviously, there are people in Arkansas who are very interested in helping the mayor," he added. "It just seems like it's the natural thing to do."

The Arkansas gathering isn't the only unusual fundraiser the mayor has up his sleeve. Thirteen GOP Senators — including National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell (Ky.), Majority Leader Trent Lott (Miss.) and Majority Whip Don Nickles (Okla.) — are hosting an event for the mayor at the NRSC this Thursday.

Although McConnell is officially neutral in the Senate race, he has lavished praise on Giuliani, who could face a primary fight with Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio and possibly Rep. Peter King. Three other GOP Senators hosting the Washington event — Paul Coverdell (Ga.), John McCain (Ariz.) and Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas) — have already endorsed Giuliani.

"It's probably somewhat unusual to have that much support from the incumbent Republican Senators," commented Stuart Roy, an NRSC spokesman. "But this is an important race and it's one of three open seats that are currently held by Democrats in the year 2000, and it's going to be expensive."

A recent Quinnipiac College poll showed Clinton leading Giuliani in a general election matchup, 48 to 42 percent, among 807 registered voters. In a GOP primary, Giuliani was leading Lazio, 36 to 8 percent. But New York Gov. George Pataki (R), who toyed with the idea of entering the Senate race, led both in a primary, taking 45 percent of the vote.

Talk of a Giuliani visit to Arkansas began after the mayor mocked the first lady as a carpetbagger at a May fundraiser. It also comes on the heels of Clinton's 11th trip to New York this year, and a mini-controversy over her donning a Yankees cap at a White House

ceremony last week honoring the 1998 World Series champions.

Wearing a red Arkansas jacket and cap, Giuliani delighted about 1,750 guests at the Sheraton Hotel and Towers in Manhattan by saying, "I'm going to say, 'I've never lived in Arkansas, I've never worked in Arkansas, I've never been to Arkansas, but I love Arkansas. In fact, I love it so much I'm going to be running for the Senate.'"

On Friday, it was unclear how many peo-

ple would be invited to attend or how much money would be collected at the Arkansas fundraiser. Although there had been some talk that the proceeds might be shared with the state GOP or among Arkansas Republican candidates, Bearden said that was not the case.

"The event is for Mayor Giuliani. There is no split," he said Friday.

Bearden said invitations would be mailed to a "select group" of Arkansas Republicans, including Gov. Mike Huckabee (R), who replaced Clin-

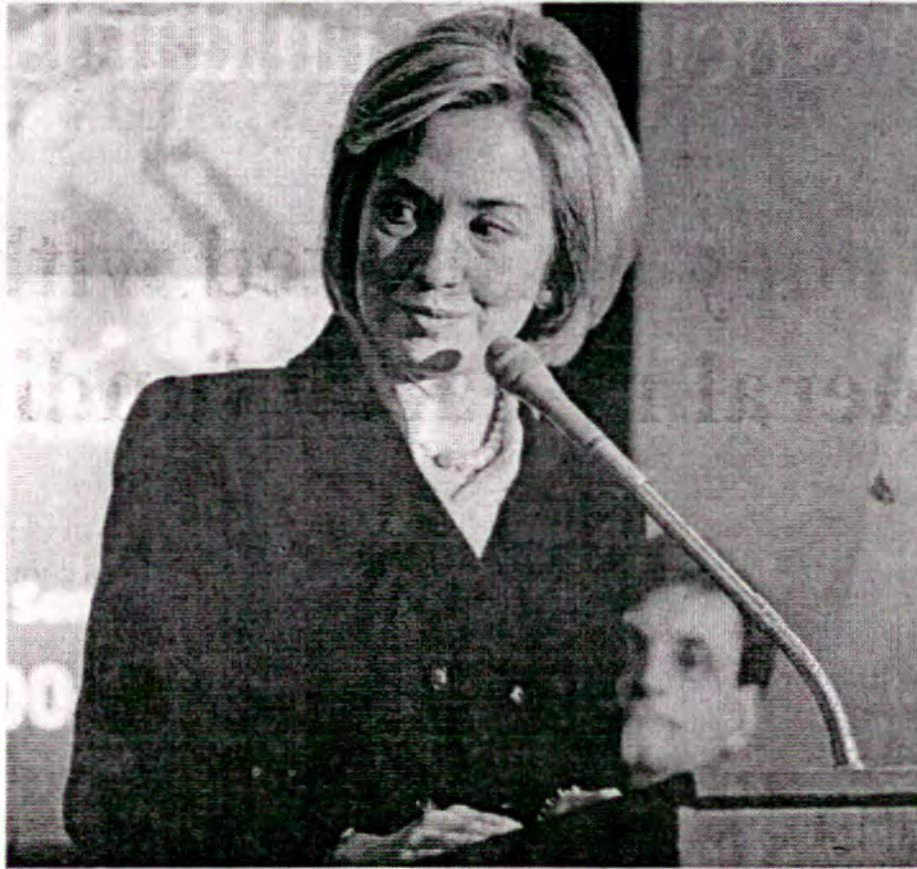
ton ally Jim Guy Tucker (D) when the latter was convicted on fraud charges related to Whitewater, and the GOP members of Arkansas' Congressional delegation: Sen. Tim Hutchinson and Reps. Asa Hutchinson and Jay Dickey.

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File Photo by Rebecca Roth

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But Bearden did not think Arkansas Republicans, even longtime enemies of the Clintons, would get too heavily involved in the New York Senate race.

"I don't think there's going to be some big desire to poke her in the eye one more time," he said. "The real people who dislike Hillary and Bill Clinton will tell you they're glad that they're not coming here. They don't care where they're going."



AP



By Karen Ballard/The Washington Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton, a long-standing fan of her hometown Chicago Cubs who threw out the Opening Day pitch in 1994 (left), recently sported a New York Yankees cap (right) and said she has always liked the Yanks.

Go Sabres!

Ever since Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Washington, we've observed the loyalty she's shown her "hometown team" — the Chicago Cubs.

But Mrs. Clinton knows that New Yorkers like winners — be it baseball or politics. Sorry, Cubs, you're out. Bring on the New York Yankees.

"Well, now, the fact is I've always been a Yankees fan," Mrs. Clinton declared on national television last week.

And just in the nick of time, as she inches closer to a possible race against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (a legitimate Yankees fan) for a seat in the Senate.

And to think last January, Mrs. Clinton, suburban-Chicago native that she is, invited Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa to be her personal guest for President Clinton's State of the Union Address.

Or the month before, when she hooked up with Mr. Sosa to light the national Christmas tree.

And don't forget Opening Day of the baseball season in 1993, when Mrs. Clinton was in the Windy City to throw out the first pitch.

"She's a big Cubs fan," gushed Mrs. Clinton's former spokeswoman Lisa Caputo. "They're her hometown team, and she used to go see them play at Wrigley."

Which isn't to say the Cubs have always battled for the first lady.

Take Opening Day 1994, when Mrs. Clinton sat next to former Cubs great Ernie Banks. She'd just thrown out the first pitch, and requested a small stipend — a player jersey autographed by the Cubs players.

Relief pitcher Randy Myers refused to sign.

"I'll do it when she cuts my taxes by the 20 percent she raised them," he complained.

Mrs. Clinton shrugged it off.

"Being a Cubs fan prepares you for life — and Washington," she said. "I'm glad I learned to play hardball as a little girl."

Next, Mrs. Clinton will say she played hockey at Wellesley.

"Now wouldn't you think that, if your wife were going to run for the U.S. Senate in the state of New

York, you would not want to make just about every citizen in the state's second largest city — Buffalo — angry at you?" writes Suzanne Scherer of Wilson, N.Y.

"That is exactly what happened last [Thursday] evening when Buffalo Sabres fans, who had been getting hyped-up all day about the big Stanley Cup playoffs, learned that the game would be delayed on television for the president's big speech on Kosovo.

"Fans in watering holes all over the greater Buffalo area were incensed that, after waiting all day, they had to wait . . . to watch their beloved Sabres."

Inside Politics



Big difference

Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle didn't leave any telltale fingerprints when asked on CNN how voters in his home state of South Dakota would react if first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton moved there and tried to run for the Senate as she seems poised to do in New York.

"Well, South Dakota is not New York, thank goodness," Mr. Daschle said Saturday on "Evans, Novak, Hunt & Shields."

"There's a big difference," he said, adding:

"In New York, there are practices going all the way back to James Buckley and to Robert Kennedy. They have a practice there that is probably not enjoyed and utilized elsewhere. Let's say that."

Mr. Daschle went on to say Mrs. Clinton "is already being widely accepted in New York. I saw her with a New York [Yankees] baseball cap, and she looked perfect."

"A very diplomatic answer for both New York and for South Dakota," said pundit Al Hunt, who asked the senator the sensitive question in the first place.

Take the punishment

Hillary Rodham Clinton admitted to close friends that she felt terrible over her husband's scandalous affair with an intern and turned to God, Newsweek reports, citing the new book by investigative reporter Bob Woodward, "Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate."

"I have to take this punishment. I don't know why God has chosen this for me. But He has, and it will be revealed to me. God is doing this, and He knows the reason. There is some reason," Mrs. Clinton supposedly told a friend.

After hearing how another high-profile wife dealt with her husband's affair by deciding the relationship was worth fighting for, Mrs. Clinton reportedly told a friend: "Man, that's exactly what I'm thinking."

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1999

Hillary may hurt chances of Gore

Barbour sees her aiding GOP

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Vice President Al Gore "has to be disappointed" that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will likely run for the Senate in New York, since she's "going to soak up" campaign money and resources, said former Republican Party Chairman Haley Barbour.

"But more than anything, she's going to keep Bill Clinton and Clintonism in the forefront of the 2000 campaign," Mr. Barbour said on "Fox News Sunday."

"And I don't think of anything that could be worse for Al Gore than for people to be reminded of the things they're very tired of — sick of — about the Clinton administration."

Roy Romer, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told CNN's "Late Edition" he does not believe a Senate campaign by Mrs. Clinton will mean less money for other Democrats running in New York.

"She's being drafted. . . . I think the funds raised for her will be extra funds; they won't cut into central funds," said Mr. Romer, former Colorado governor.

Former White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, who also ap-



Haley Barbour

peared on Fox, said Mrs. Clinton's candidacy offers both "pluses and minuses" for Mr. Gore and others running in New York. "Obviously, it's going to take some attention away from [Mr. Gore's] campaign," said Mr. Panetta.

But he said he believes a Senate bid by Mrs. Clinton will be "more helpful" than harmful for Mr. Gore's presidential aspirations.

"She is a very distinguished lady. I think the American people support her and what she's about," said Mr. Panetta.

"She is certainly going to be a very formidable candidate in New York. That is an important state. . . . She is someone who is going to continue to support Al Gore at the same time that she's running for office."

Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat and lifelong New York resident, bowed out of the race for the Senate seat held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan when it became apparent that Mrs. Clinton intended to run.

Republican New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Republican Rep. Rick A. Lazio are considering running for Mr. Moynihan's seat.

PUBLIC LIVES

Harold Ickes Returns, a Happy Warrior for Mrs. Clinton

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON
WITH all the cuts and bruises he bears from the Clinton incumbency — five grand jury summonses and a searing banishment by the President himself — Harold M. Ickes would seem the last guru in town to be advising Hillary Rodham Clinton on the joys of the political arena.

But here he is, attracting hail-fellow backslaps and waves in a restaurant a block from the White House, a man restored to his combative element as he eagerly maps out the First Lady's approach to a Senate run in New York.

"I guarantee that Hillary Clinton will go toe to toe with the best of them," Mr. Ickes says as exuberantly as a prize fight cornerman summoned back to the championship canvas. "In any ring, I'd put my money on Hillary."

As he relishes that possibility, Mr. Ickes's own passion for politics is glaringly clear, all the way back to clubhouse fights in New York with the likes of the late former Congresswoman Bella S. Abzug, a beloved politician in his memory. "Listen you, I'll mash you into Broadway!" he recalls threatening Ms. Abzug as they exchanged brickbats in the old days.

No less will Mrs. Clinton be up to whatever Abzugian cut-and-thrust might still be required in the streets and rural hamlets of New York, Mr. Ickes firmly insists, even against the pugnaciously ambitious Republican contender, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Creatively profane and fiercely partisan, Mr. Ickes is a 59-year-old Democratic warhorse and former deputy chief of staff at the White House. Through thick and thin, Whitewater and campaign finance, he labored in the West Wing — only to be dropped by the President in a power squeeze two years ago as Mr. Ickes hoped for the chief of staff's job. Thereafter, as he sought to establish a consulting business, Ickes & Enright, he has been relentlessly summoned and vetted a dozen times by prosecutors and Republican Congressional committees searching for Administration scandal.

After such rough times, Mrs. Clinton's evolving candidacy is presenting him a note of grand



Dish Pran/The New York Times

Harold Ickes, finds "grand redemption" in possible Clinton candidacy.

redemption.

"First of all, they're my friends," Mr. Ickes said, spiritedly responding to the question of why, after all his travail in associating with the Clintons, he would be there for them now. "I've known them for 25 years," he said, describing them as two of the most progressive and effective Democrats he has known in 35 years of politics.

Years back, he had avoided politics and sneered at Washington power-tripping as the teen-age son of Interior Secretary Harold Ickes in the Roosevelt Administration. He became a dropout who preferred working at the family's bluegrass sod farm in Olney, Md.

"I was running away from my father for years," he admitted, noting he drifted west to become a horse wrangler and get a pilot's license, and then finally went to college at Stanford. There, he signed up for the 1964 summer protest tour against racial segregation in the Deep South, where he lost a kidney in a mob beating. By 1967, at the side of Allard K. Lowenstein, the storied liberal organizer, Mr. Ickes was fully hooked, plunging deeply into the Democratic insurgent politics that, in 1968, toppled President Lyndon B. Johnson over the issue of the Vietnam war.

In the years since, he worked for assorted candidates, scuttling about convention halls, raising money and becoming a specialist in

campaign law arcana that he refers to as "the incumbents protection act." In a way, Mr. Ickes has now come full circle, operating as an unabashed political insider in the capital he once shunned. He and his wife, Laura R. Handman, a lawyer, have a 13-year-old daughter, Charlotte Jane, who attends Sidwell Friends, the exclusive school spurned by the young Mr. Ickes (and which Chelsea Clinton attended).

BUT friendship and ideas, not clinging to power, is the true stuff of politics for him, he maintains. His shepherding of Mrs. Clinton in what he calls her "great adventure" is a matter of abiding friendship, he says, stressing she is deep into the venture, ready to rebut all carpetbagging notions.

"Did you know — Hillary just told me — that Orange County is the largest producer of onions east of the Mississippi?" Mr. Ickes asked with an innocent grin.

"I told Hillary the only time I would urge her not to run was if I felt she could not deal with the press," Mr. Ickes said, admitting concern and foreseeing a "trial period" if she runs, when "the Fourth Estate will see if she can take the heat."

"It's almost like a hazing period," he said, insisting Mrs. Clinton would weather it favorably.

"She has the chutzpah and the grit," he said with the panache of the wannabe cowpoke. "Even if she loses it will be worth the candle — for her and her supporters. The cautious side of our nature says, don't do it; the bold says, go for it. You know what? You've got to give her credit: she'll probably go for it."

Swearing happily at the idea, Mr. Ickes exulted that all the shared trials and tribulations of the Clinton incumbency might yet prove, for Mrs. Clinton, to be mere roadwork for a match with Mayor Giuliani. "My view?" he said, hunching in like a corner-man before the bell. "Keep her cool. Her initial instinct might be to take him head-on. But I suspect she'll end up feinting, sidestepping, and then coming back at him," he said, flashing a jack-o'-lantern grin as he envisioned his fresh prospect. "As you grow older, you learn to feint more."

Giuliani Plans Ark. Event

By Rachel Van Dongen

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton may still be looking for a home in the Empire State, but New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) is being welcomed with open arms in the state that propelled the Clintons to the White House.

Arkansas Lt. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (R) has invited the mayor, who has formed an exploratory committee to run for the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), to a July 27 fundraiser in Arkansas. The event is slated to be a luncheon, and may include a tour of Little Rock.

Although the guest list has yet to be finalized, the state's top Republican officials will be invited, said Richard Bearden, the former executive director of the Arkansas Republican Party who is organizing the fundraiser.

"The lieutenant governor did make a phone call the day after it was reported that Mayor Giuliani had donned a [University of Arkansas] Razorback cap and jacket and invited him to come to Arkansas," Bearden said. "Rockefeller has strong family ties to New York and he knew some people that worked for the mayor in his administration."

"Mayor Giuliani called him back, they had an extended phone conversation and Win said, 'I'd love for you to come to Arkansas.'"

Giuliani aides were gleeful about the opportunity to play up their argument that the first lady is a carpetbagger.

"Since the first lady is exploring New York, we thought we'd go down and explore Arkansas," quipped Bruce Teitelbaum, the head of Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee.

Continued on page 20

Giuliani Takes Race to Clinton's Home Turf Next Month

Continued from page 13

"Obviously, there are people in Arkansas who are very interested in helping the mayor," he added. "It just seems like it's the natural thing to do."

The Arkansas gathering isn't the only unusual fundraiser the mayor has up his sleeve. Thirteen GOP Senators — including National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell (Ky.), Majority Leader Trent Lott (Miss.) and Majority Whip Don Nickles (Okla.) — are hosting an event for the mayor at the NRSC this Thursday.

Although McConnell is officially neutral in the Senate race, he has lavished praise on Giuliani, who could face a primary fight with Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio and possibly Rep. Peter King. Three other GOP Senators hosting the Washington event — Paul Coverdell (Ga.), John McCain (Ariz.) and Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas) — have already endorsed Giuliani.

"It's probably somewhat unusual to have that much support from the incumbent Republican Senators," commented Stuart Roy, an NRSC spokesman. "But this is an important race and it's one of three open seats that are currently held by Democrats in the year 2000, and it's going to be expensive."

A recent Quinnipiac College poll showed Clinton leading Giuliani in a general election matchup, 48 to 42 percent, among 807 registered voters. In a GOP primary, Giuliani was leading Lazio, 36 to 8 percent. But New York Gov. George Pataki (R), who toyed with the idea of entering the Senate race, led both in a primary, taking 45 percent of the vote.

Talk of a Giuliani visit to Arkansas began after the mayor mocked the first lady as a carpetbagger at a May fundraiser. It also comes on the heels of Clinton's 11th trip to New York this year, and a mini-controversy over her donning a Yankees cap at a White House

ceremony last week honoring the 1998 World Series champions.

Wearing a red Arkansas jacket and cap, Giuliani delighted about 1,750 guests at the Sheraton Hotel and Towers in Manhattan by saying, "I'm going to say, 'I've never lived in Arkansas, I've never worked in Arkansas, I've never been to Arkansas, but I love Arkansas. In fact, I love it so much I'm going to be running for the Senate.'"

On Friday, it was unclear how many peo-

ple would be invited to attend or how much money would be collected at the Arkansas fundraiser. Although there had been some talk that the proceeds might be shared with the state GOP or among Arkansas Republican candidates, Bearden said that was not the case.

"The event is for Mayor Giuliani. There is no split," he said Friday.

Bearden said invitations would be mailed to a "select group" of Arkansas Republicans, including Gov. Mike Huckabee (R), who replaced Clin-

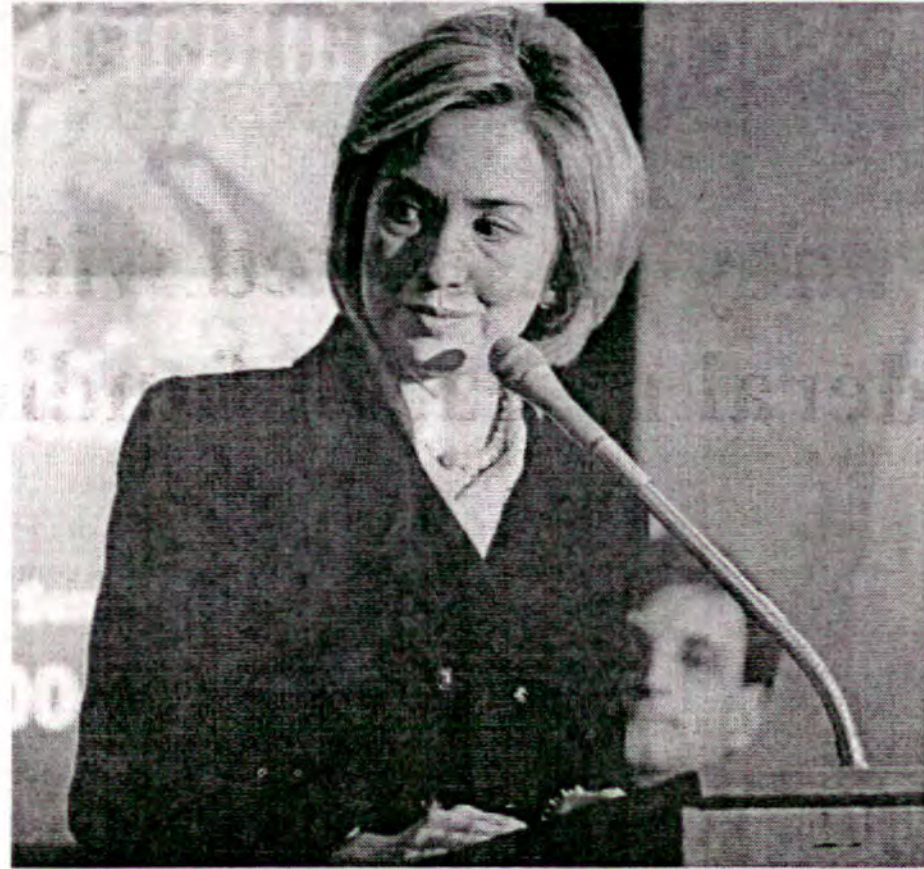
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File Photo by Rebecca Roth

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Chicago Tribune, Friday, June 11, 1999

Hardball time: First lady joins Yankees' fandom

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON—Hillary Rodham Clinton, who grew up rooting for the Chicago Cubs, donned a New York Yankees cap at a White House ceremony Thursday honoring the Bronx Bombers for winning the 1998 World Series.

The first lady, mulling a run for the U.S. Senate from New York, proclaimed herself a Yankee fan since an early age—an American League complement to the National League Cubs, she explained—and added that she is pulling for the New York Knicks as they chase a pro-basketball title.

The keen interest in New York's sports teams by Clinton, who was raised in the Chicago suburb of Park Ridge and has spent most of her adult life in Arkansas, did not go without comment by a potential GOP rival in the Senate race, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

"I am not disputing that she's a Yankee fan, but I've been to Yan-

kee Stadium maybe a thousand times in my life and I've yet to see Hillary Clinton there," Giuliani said.

The chairman of the Republican National Committee, Jim Nicholson, said Clinton's appearance was "a cynical use of the Yankees and a tacky insult to the intelligence of every true Yankees fan."

During a trip Wednesday to upstate New York, the first lady was met by protesters carrying "Carpetbagger Go Home" signs.

On a trip to New York City on Thursday, she said: "Now I'm a Knicks fan, absolutely."

On NBC's "Today Show," she explained her allegiance to the Yankees: "The fact is I've always been a Yankees fan. As a young girl, I became very interested and enamored of the Yankees."

She added, "I am a Cubs fan. But I needed an American League team because, when you're from Chicago, you cannot root for both the Cubs and the Sox," she said.



Wearing a New York Yankees cap, Hillary Rodham Clinton watches a White House ceremony Thursday honoring the 1998 champions.

Also Thursday, Clinton postponed a planned trip to the Middle East while Israel struggles to form a new government. The State Department advised against the trip when it became clear Israeli Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak was having problems forming a government, an official said.

REGION'S BEST READ NEWSPAPER

Chicago Sun-Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1999



Hillary Rodham Clinton has become a Knicks fan.

First lady slam dunks da Bulls for Knicks

BY LYNN SWEET
SUN-TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU

NEW YORK—Hillary Rodham Clinton on Thursday proclaimed herself a New York Knicks fan and distanced herself from the Chicago Bulls.

It's a step she had to take if she wants to run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York, which she is considering. The Knicks are wildly popular in New York and are one victory away from being in the finals for the first time since 1994.

Turn to next page

Clinton

Continued from previous page

The Bulls are losers, anyway.

"I am a Knicks fan now," she said after she wrapped up an event at an elementary school in East Harlem.

Clinton, a Chicago native, went to Bulls games and gave the impression over the years she had a certain fondness for the team—until she started cutting ties to her hometown and putting down roots in New York.

So what happened to the Bulls?

"What did happen to the Bulls—good question," she said. It's politic to be identified with a winner, and the Bulls ended the season 13-37.

Later Thursday, Clinton, an avowed Cubs fan, hoisted a Yankees hat on her head during a White House ceremony to honor the 1998 World Series champions.

The Clintons have said they will move to New York in 2001 even if the first lady does not run for the Senate. She's been looking around for a home.

"Oh, I don't know, I don't have any place to live yet," she said. "Any ideas from any of you [reporters] are more than welcome."



JON SALL/SUN-TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton stands during the National Anthem at a February 1997 Bulls game. Now she pledges allegiance to the Knicks.

Picture this: Mitty is a hit vs. Hillary

A tip of the hat (Panama) to Walter Mitty — James Thurber's most enduring creation:

The mild-mannered columnist scanned the AP headline: "First Lady Still Without N.Y. Home." Could he publicly offer to rent Hillary the spare bedroom in his Upper West Side apartment?

Nope, he had read that piece elsewhere. The columnist closed his eyes — just for a moment — to summon up inspiration...

"Ten minutes to the debate, sir," Perkins announced, sticking his head into the green room. "I had one other idea for your closing statement."

Mitty sighed. Perkins was bright, but a little too bushy-tailed. "Everything's under control," the candidate said softly, saving his rich baritone for his televised faceoff with Hillary.

Perkins paused awkwardly in the doorway. He's a good kid, Mitty thought, favoring his loyal aide with the incandescent smile that had so charmed New York voters. "I don't know how you came up with this snapshot," Mitty said, "but tonight, it's going to put us over the top."

Mitty reached into the manila envelope to savor the glossy black-and-white image. The photo showed an exuberant and youthful Hillary Rod-



HYPE & GLORY
By Walter Shapiro

ham, her hair flowing wildly in 1960s fashion, wearing a Chicago Cubs cap. The setting was unmistakably Wrigley Field, and the visiting team none other than the New York Mets.

"I hear Mrs. Clinton has been prepping for this debate like it's a giant spelling bee," Perkins declared, his confidence restored. "She thinks you'll quiz her on upstate counties like Schoharie and Rensselaer."

That's always the fatal flaw, Mitty thought, underestimating your opponent. He savored the memory of the dismissive *New York Post* headline when he entered the primary race: "TRUE-LIFE WALTER MITTY FANTASY: BEATING HILLARY." Little did the first lady and her high-priced retainers realize how much New Yorkers love a feisty underdog — a squeaky-clean candidate with an unblemished marriage and a simple, honest slogan: "I LIVE HERE."

Mitty recalled the report-card stunt that helped establish his credibility. It was fun to call a press conference and dramatically brandish a blowup of his kindergarten teacher's assessment: "Walter displays superior skills in playing and sharing with others." Leave it to the tabloids to find one of Mrs. Clinton's nursery-school classmates who claimed Hilla-

ry had hogged all the blocks.

It took Mitty a second to realize that Perkins was asking him a question: "Who's on first?"

"Since this isn't an Abbott and Costello routine," Mitty replied. "I assume you're talking about that original Met phenom, Eddie Kranepool, though he platooned late in the season with Donn Clendenon."

Perkins beamed. "Mr. Mitty," he said, "you're about to strike Hillary out with the bases loaded."

The first 40 minutes of the debate featured the kind of high-minded exchanges on the issues so beloved by C-SPAN viewers and so reviled by ratings-obsessed TV producers. Social Security, health care, the plight of upstate dairy farmers — Hillary's self-assured mastery of policy questions was matched by Mitty's coiled intellect and his charismatic charm.

Then came the moment that Mitty had been waiting for with the unflappable confidence of a born competitor. Under the debate format, Mitty was allowed to directly pose a question to the first lady.

"Mrs. Clinton," he began, savoring the drama, "I was tempted to ask you about Ed Charles. But —" Primed for combat, Hillary aggressively broke in, just as Mitty had expected.

"Ed Charles is a city councilman in Troy," she said triumphantly. "And both Mr. Charles and his wife, Mary,

are strong supporters of my campaign for a better future for New York's children."

Mitty beamed at the camera, unfazed by the onslaught. "I'm sure Mr. Charles is a fine public servant," he said. "But I was thinking of the Ed Charles who shared time with Wayne Garrett at third base for the Mets." A puzzled frown crossed the first lady's face, as Mitty continued. "But what I wanted to ask you instead," he said, "was where were you on the afternoon of Aug. 13, 1969?"

"That, that, was before Whitewater," Hillary stammered. "I wasn't even in law school yet. There were no billing records."

Mitty smiled indulgently. "Perhaps this will refresh your memory," he declared in a Perry Mason voice. Mitty held up the photograph for the cameras. "Isn't it true you were at Wrigley Field, rooting for the Cubs against the Miracle New York Mets? And you presume to represent the baseball fans of New York?"

Hillary's gasp was drowned out by applause as...

The mild-mannered columnist rubbed his sleepy eyes. Must have dozed off, he realized in panic. Gosh, it's almost deadline and I've got a column to write.

Walter Shapiro's column appears Wednesdays and Fridays. Past columns on USATODAY.com

N.Y. SENATE RACE: Hillary Rodham Clinton has been "drafted" by New Yorkers and can more easily represent its citizens than most natives of the state, Democratic Party officials said in arguing against carpetbagger claims by Republicans. Calling New York a "very cosmopolitan place," Democratic National Committee Chairman Roy Romer said the first lady would be an ideal candidate and rejected the argument that she is ill-equipped to address topics distinct to the state just because she has never lived or worked there. Clinton, meanwhile, told NBC that "I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorkers and just having a good time."

— Gannett News Service



BY BILL O'LEARY—THE WASHINGTON POST

A perfect fit? Hillary Clinton, eyeing a New York seat in the Senate, tries on a gift from her guests, the Yankees, as owner George Steinbrenner and the president watch.

Infield Chatter

Hillary Clinton Toasts the 'Home' Team

By FRANK AHRENS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Can Hillary out-Yankee Rudy?

The first lady—oh, yeah, and her husband, the president—hosted the 1998 World Series champion New York Yankees on the South Lawn yesterday. This is a common photo-op: champion athletes of all sorts get to come to the White House. But what curious timing, this visit by the Yankees—it comes *eight months* after they won the World Series but only days after Hillary Rodham Clinton announced she was forming an exploratory committee to run for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate.

That would be the same New

York Senate seat being eyed by or Rudolph Giuliani, mayor of New York City and perhaps Yankees fan No. 1. Giuliani wears a Yankee cap like a king wears a crown. He wants to build a new Yankee Stadium on Manhattan's West Side. He wears his Yankees jacket to City Hall.

The Yankees coming to the White House?

Ouch.

If political campaigns trade symbolism, this was was Hillary dropping the Big One, right on Rudy's head. In New Yorkese, she was telling the mayor: "Exploit this, pal!"

See YANKEES, C4, Col. 1

Surprise! She's a Yankees Fan!

YANKEES, From C1

It was the first lady, not her husband, who opened yesterday's ceremony, revealing that Yankees owner George Steinbrenner has been a "great friend" to the First Couple and, apparently, a copious correspondent, offering affirming homilies during the Clintons' tough times.

Yankees Manager Joe Torre gave both Clintons team caps. He watched the first lady put hers on.

"Perfect," he said.

On yesterday's "Today" show, the first lady played her familiar wink-and-a-nod, maybe-I'm-running-maybe-I'm-not shtick with host Katie Couric, who asked Clinton first about the New York Knicks—currently battling in the NBA playoffs—and then about the Yankees.

"Are you a big Knicks fan?" Couric asked.

"I'm becoming a big Knicks fan," the first lady re-

sponded, laughing.

"More and more every day, huh?" Couric parried.

And then a sleepy-eyed nation collectively hurred.

Later, Clinton asserted that she'd "always been a Yankees fan." Couric correctly challenged her, saying she thought the first lady, a native of Illinois, was a Chicago Cubs fan.

"I am a Cubs fan," Clinton said. "But I needed an American League team . . . so as a young girl, I became very interested and enamored of the Yankees."

If the first lady's campaign advisers are smart, they will urge her to "distance" herself from the Cubs, who haven't won a World Series since, oh, the Mesozoic Era. Even with spectacular slugger Sammy Sosa, the Cubs seem destined to always be "Lovable Losers"—baseball's equivalent of Hubert Humphrey.

There is a school of thought, however, that says there's no way Hillary can out-Yankee Rudy, so she should aim her efforts elsewhere. This strategy has historical success: During the 1968 presidential election, Republican Richard Nixon knew there was no way he could "out-liberal" Democrat Humphrey, so he ignored the noisy left and campaigned to the conservative "silent majority."

Could it work for the first lady?

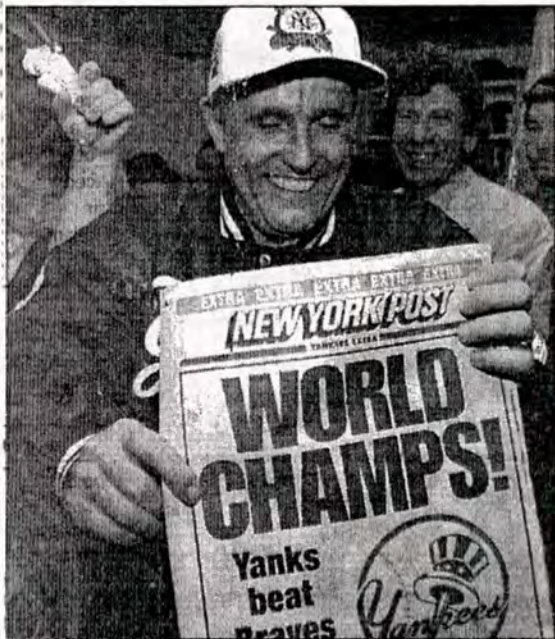
"The White House should pay attention to the Mets," says Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Policy Institute. "There's no way anyone could wear the Yankees uniform as much as Rudy Giuliani, so rather than trying to compete with the mayor on his dedication to the Yankees, she'd be better to go with the Mets."

But aligning herself with the Mets—who've existed only since 1962—could help opponents who tag Clinton as a carpetbagger. She'd be better off sticking with the Yankees, whose lineage goes back to the 19th century, when they were called the Knickerbockers and you could get runners out between bases the New York way—by hitting them with the baseball.

As for Giuliani, yesterday's White House affair reduced him to harrumphery.

"Funny, I haven't seen her at a Yankee game," the mayor said yesterday. "I've been at Yankee Stadium maybe 1,000 times and I haven't seen Mrs. Clinton."

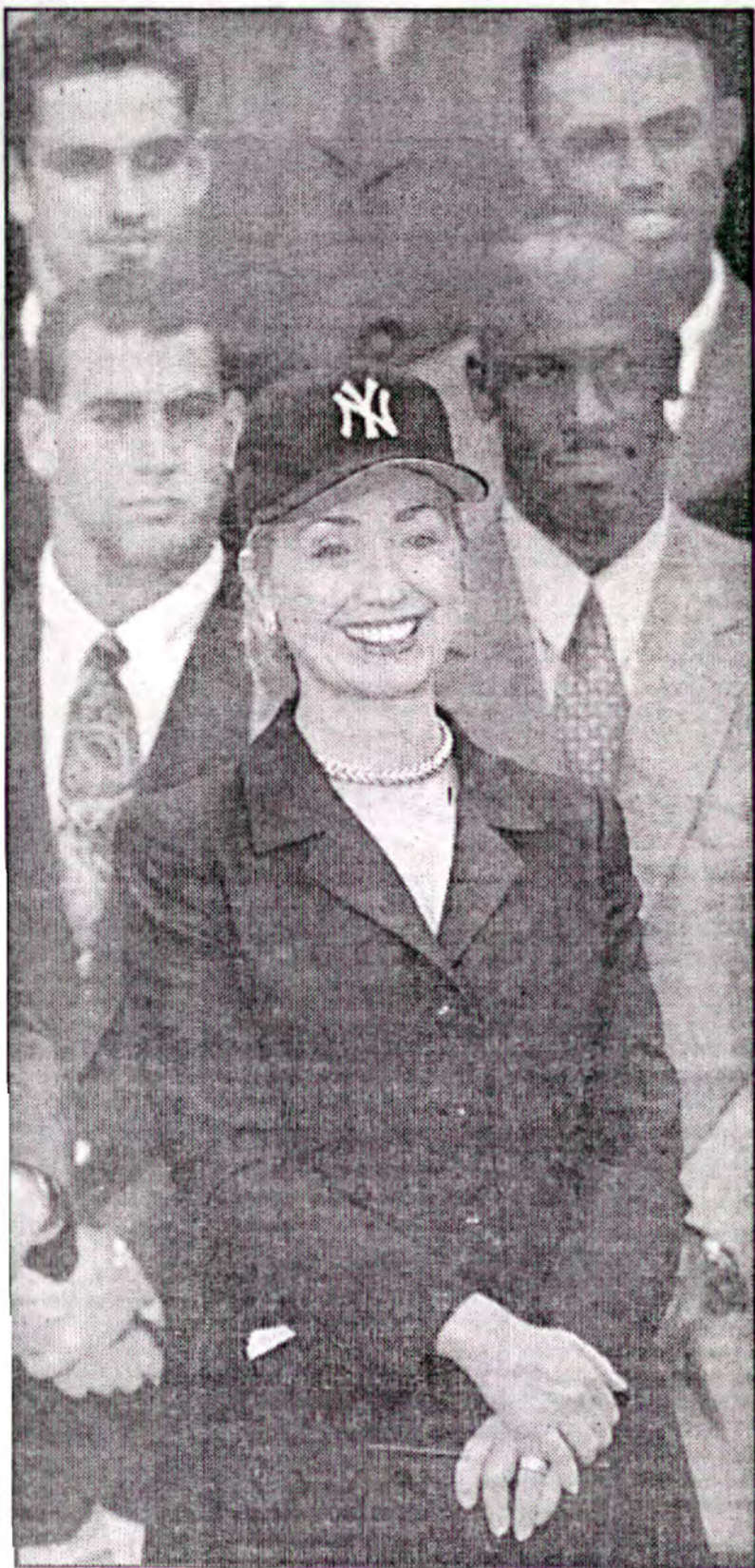
Staff writer Michael Powell contributed to this report.



FILE PHOTO/JOHN BAZEMORE—ASSOCIATED PRESS

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the first lady's likely Senate opponent, is an unsurpassed Yankees devotee.

HILLARY AND RUDY OUT OF HARMONY



FAIR-WEATHER FAN: "Yankee fan" Hillary Rodham Clinton joins Bombers (clockwise from top left) Jorge Posada, Mariano Rivera and Chili Davis at the White House yesterday.

Greg E. Mathieson/MAI

Potential Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Mayor Giuliani sounded some sour notes yesterday when they clashed over music and arts programs in the city schools.

The two undeclared candidates also tried to claim the pinstriped mantle of the Yankees for themselves — on a day the president and First Lady welcomed the Bronx Bombers to the White House in honor of last year's World Series victory.

The day's campaign-like maneuvering began when Mrs. Clinton visited PS 72 on East 104th Street in Manhattan as part of cable channel VH1's "Save the Music Foundation," which has donated money and musical instruments to school systems across the country.

Speaking to a packed auditorium of about 250 students and teachers, Mrs. Clinton noted that funding for arts in schools nationwide has been drastically cut over the last decade.

"In this particular school, I learned that about 10 years ago, there was a music program, a great music program I've been told," Clinton said.

"But like so many schools over the past decade, the music program was cut way, way back to a single piano and organized music classes.

"We have to rebuild the structure of support that was torn down — not just here — but in many places around our country."

At City Hall, Giuliani later bashed Clinton and Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew, who attended the event with her.

"Did I think that the appearance of the chancellor and the First Lady, did I think that was basically a politically motivated event? The answer is yes," the mayor said.

Both Mrs. Clinton and the mayor are seriously considering running for U.S. Senate from New York.

By Brian Blomquist in Washington and Robert Hardt Jr. and William Neuman in New York

Later in the day, Mrs. Clinton jetted back to Washington for the Yankees bash — where she donned a team cap given her by manager Joe Torre.

"We're going to relish this moment together," the First Lady said.

She kissed Yankees owner George Steinbrenner — a Republican who has been trying to get Giuliani to help him build a new stadium. She called Steinbrenner a "great friend of the president and me" who frequently wrote them letters.

Later, Steinbrenner said Hillary "is a legitimate Yankee fan. I know she cares."

Mrs. Clinton went on NBC's "Today" show yesterday morning to declare that, although she grew up a Chicago Cubs fan, she was also a longtime fan of the Yanks.

That drew more sniping from Giuliani — who makes no secret of his love of the Yanks.

"It's funny. I haven't seen her at a Yankee game," Giuliani said. "I've been at Yankee Stadium maybe a thousand times in my life, and I've yet to see Hillary Clinton there."

The Right Circumstance For Landing the Pomp

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1999

By JAY MATHEWS
Washington Post Staff Writer

You might imagine that Vice President Gore decided to give the commencement speech at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology next week because the Fairfax County school symbolizes his commitment to scientific research and technological advances.

The vice president likes those things, to be sure. But what really is bringing him to Jefferson are the efforts of Katie Day, basketball star and senior class co-historian.

How did Day manage to persuade

Gore to come? She succeeded in the way most high-schoolers find commencement speakers: she knew somebody. In this case, the key contact was her father, McLean builder and architect Bart Day, who has been Gore's friend since high school.

That's how the game is played when Washington area high schools search for a famous person to speak at graduation. Every June, some schools get the visitor they craved while others, lacking the right connection, wind up with nothing more

See **SPEAKERS**, B9, Col. 1

SPEAKERS, From B1

than some regretful replies written on celebrity stationery.

At most high schools, the senior class officers are in charge of finding a speaker, with the help of a faculty adviser. The seniors "want to have someone who they think will be worthwhile to the students, and they will put big names on their lists," said William G. Smith, a faculty adviser to the seniors at Damascus High School in Montgomery County.

School administrators often encourage that approach. A famous politician, athlete, actor or writer brings attention to the school and confers a sense of importance on all who attend the graduation.

Famous parents are usually the easiest to get. Queen Noor of Jordan spoke at her son's graduation at the Maret School in Washington this month, as did columnist George F. Will at his daughter's graduation from the National Cathedral School.

But the celebrity-hunting effort often requires some patience and savvy. Hillary Rodham Clinton agreed to speak at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School graduation after receiving a letter last fall from seniors Carter Beach, Jonathan Ruckman and Micah Baskir. All three have parents who know the Clintons. The letter was delivered personally to the White House by Carol Beach, Carter's mother, who writes for Hillary Clinton.

According to Carol Beach, the letter pushed every conceivable button. It mentioned the 1937 Bethesda-Chevy Chase commencement address of Eleanor Roosevelt, referred to the school's diverse student body and public service programs, and noted that the commencement would be in Constitution Hall, just a short stroll from the White House.

At some schools, the same celebrity is pursued year after year. Washington-Lee High School in Arlington has landed such speakers as Colin L. Powell and Attorney General Janet Reno, but actress and alumna Sandra Bullock still hasn't been able to find a hole in her schedule.

Principal William Sharbaugh, who is retiring this year after 24 years at the school, remembers Bullock as a pleasant student and fine cheerleader. He said she had tentatively promised to speak two years ago, but had to cancel "because she was doing one of those 'Speed' movies, or whatever it was."

Bullock had to turn the school down again this year, but Sharbaugh said "she promised she would take care of us someday."

This year's Washington-Lee seniors also had hopes of getting an acceptance from Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, a friend of one student's parents, but Albright's spring proved to be too busy. The graduates instead will hear Lawrence R. Baca, president of the Native American Bar Association, who also has connections to a Washington-Lee student.

Some celebrities are so hot that they're worth inviting even when they have no link to anyone at the school. Famous young actors Jennifer Love Hewitt, Leonardo DiCaprio and James Van Der Beek fall into that category, several Washington area students said. If nothing else, the graduation committee will have the thrill of examining the signature on the rejection letter. The invitee might even follow the example of Frank Sinatra, who would send large checks with his



FILE PHOTO BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who spoke at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase graduation, is hugged by senior James Finlay.

regrets, telling the class to spend it on the prom.

Seniors typically write to their dream choices in the fall. Reality sinks in around Christmas and they begin to focus on a somewhat less prominent group of names.

But some schools have sworn off celebrity speakers altogether. Debby Messer, a teacher at Hammond High School in Howard County, said students and faculty began to reconsider their annual hunt for a big name after a well-known politician—she refuses to identify him—addressed a Hammond graduation in the early 1980s.

"It was an election year, and a political speech, and it was so blatant and so removed from what mattered to the kids," she said.

The next year, the students decided that henceforth they would have a student be the keynote speaker.

That is also the system now used at T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria. The school's last celebrity speaker was President Gerald R. Ford, who addressed his son's graduation.

Manassas Park High School students have made it their policy to invite a teacher to give the main address. "This year they came and said they wanted to have, not a teacher from the high school, but an eighth-grade teacher many of them really liked," said Principal Margaret Huckaby. Coming up from Florida, where she has been living in retirement, is Patricia Zahl, who exposed a generation of Manassas Park middle-schoolers to the wonders of science.

At Jefferson, students appear to be happily anticipating Gore's speech and have congratulated Day and the other senior officers for their hard work. After Day's father spoke to Gore, the class leaders followed up with a letter pointing out how much the vice president's frequent emphasis on the Internet and advances in technology matched the school's goals.

Day said she has heard a few students worrying that a man running for president will likely have a political message. "But," she said, "I am very, very sure that is not going to happen."



TRAITOR? Just eight months ago, Hillary was a Cub fan. AP

She'll root with voters

Here are some of Hillary Rodham Clinton's past sports loyalties:

Arkansas Razorbacks

Married to Hogs fan extraordinaire President Clinton, Hillary has also cheered on his home team. After the Razorbacks won the NCAA basketball tournament in 1994, the First Couple honored the team with a Rose Garden ceremony.

Chicago Cubs

Hillary has made no secret of her love of the Cubs, dating back to her childhood in a Chicago suburb.

"I'm glad I was a Cubs fan because being a Cubs fan prepares you for life. It also prepares you for Washington and politics," Hillary said in 1994.

Chicago Bulls

Her Chicago roots also qualify her as a Bulls fan. She even dropped in for a locker-room visit to Michael Jordan's team in 1997.

The Olympics

The First Lady and daughter Chelsea cheered on American athletes at the Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994.

Yankees

Hillary revealed her Yankees fetish last year as the Bombers were rolling to a World Series sweep. Speaking at the Park Avenue Synagogue, she said she'd picked the Yanks early on as her American League club.

"You can't be a Chicago Cubs and a Chicago White Sox fan, so I chose the Yankees," she said. "I don't let many people know that, so keep that just among us."

Compiled by The Post library staff

LETTERS TO THE TIMES



J.D. CROWE, San Diego

Hillary Clinton

■ Re "In Pursuit of Traditional Power," by Dee Dee Myers, Opinion, June 6: Do I understand the scenario correctly? Hillary Clinton is a person with "old-fashioned" beliefs. The misplacement of her telephone records and her spectacular success in commodities speculation—did these also stem from her concept of "old-fashioned beliefs"?

If, as Myers mentions, Mrs. Clinton is running for the Senate in order to distance herself from the president, are her contributors and we supposed to fund her inability to resolve the problems in her life?

Mrs. Clinton would be, as the governor of New York suggested, well advised to stay out of the "rough and tumble" campaigning that takes place in New York, with the vulnerability of her background and motivation.

MARSHALL KLINE
Los Angeles

■ Can someone splash Myers with some water? Reading her love letter Opinion piece praising Hillary Rodham Clinton, you'd think Clinton was the first woman to ever run for national office. Perhaps she's testing some new spin for the Democrats; Ms. Clinton now a "moderate." But an honest assessment of the political landscape shows at least a half-dozen women of presidential timber. It's just that they're all Republican.

CLAYTON VERNON
Austin, Texas

■ If Myers really believes that "only government can make the kind of sweeping changes that improve people's lives," we are lucky to have her out of Washington. Does she really believe government is responsible for the revolution in computers, the Internet, the outpouring of lifesaving drugs and surgical treatments, the tens of millions of jobs that have been added to the economy, or the increase of a trillion dollars or more in the personal wealth of Americans?

All of these are sweeping changes that have improved people's lives, but to attribute them to government is to deny the enormous power of what people can accomplish through private means. Government has its place, but it is certainly not the be-all, end-all of human existence.

A. DONALD ANDERSON
Ojai

Carpetbagger label will stick to first lady, critics say

By Ann McFeatters
BLOCK NEWS ALLIANCE

A top Democratic Party official, trying to put the carpetbagger issue aside as Hillary Rodham Clinton explores a run for a New York Senate seat, said yesterday that it would "be easier for her to learn about traffic in the Bronx than to catapult a [New York] politician into the national arena."

Roy Romer, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a former governor of Colorado, insisted he meant no offense to New Yorkers. But his remarks to reporters yesterday are likely to

resonate unfavorably with some voters there.

Many political analysts think the fact that Mrs. Clinton is not a resident of New York will be her single biggest problem if she goes ahead with her current plan to run for one of New York's two Senate seats.

New York GOP Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is likely to run against Mrs. Clinton for the Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has already begun to ridicule her for wanting to be a senator representing a state where she has never lived. He has jokingly suggested that he might run for a seat from

Arkansas, her adopted state. She grew up in Illinois.

Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, also has mocked her as a carpetbagger.

"Bad enough that Hillary Rodham Clinton never lived in New York, never bought a bag of groceries in the state nor ever paid a toll on the New York Thruway," he said when she vacationed at the last month in Florida.

Mrs. Clinton, who has made 11 trips to New York this year, should be spending time in New York, not Florida, Mr. Nicholson said.

The DNC is trying to nullify the

carpetbagger issue, saying that New York Democrats "drafted" her to run because of her broad experiences as first lady and her interests in families and children.

But GOP politicians such as former Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, who lost his seat to Democrat Charles E. Schumer and took great pride in making local problems in New York his priority when he was in the Senate, say that the first lady will be relentlessly attacked as a carpetbagger if she runs.

New York's lax residency law would not require her to move to New York before deciding to run. She could even live in the White

House until just before the November 2000 election. Two other carpetbaggers were elected senators from New York — James Buckley in 1970 and Robert F. Kennedy in 1964.

Mrs. Clinton said on NBC-TV's "Today" show yesterday that she has not yet bought a house or rented an apartment. "I'm going around collecting offers of, you know, people's guest rooms and extra beds and pullout couches."

The first lady denied that she would cause problems for Democrats if after other Democrats have dropped out of the race, she would decide not to run. "Well, I think a

Democrat will win the Senate race. And I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorker and just having a good time."

She also said she is becoming "big Knicks fan" and has always been a Patrick Ewing fan, in part because he went to Georgetown University, her husband's alma mater.

As for the New York Yankees she said, "The fact is, I've always been a Yankees fan. . . . As a young girl, I became very interested and enamored of the Yankees." But she also is a Chicago Cubs fan, she said.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard

Christie rolls up welcome mat for Hillary

On eve of first lady's visit, Governor bashes her liberal philosophy

By Ron Marsico
STAR-LEDGER STAFF

Hillary Clinton is coming to New Jersey today, but Gov. Christie Whitman already has issued a testy political welcome, branding the first lady a big-government liberal who botched the one job the President ever trusted her with.

The two women are expected to be running in high-profile U.S. Senate contests in neighboring states next year, with Clinton eyeing the vacant seat in New York and Whitman seeking the seat from New Jersey.

Both women had been ignoring the possibilities



WHITMAN



CLINTON

those tandem races offer.

Until yesterday.

Whitman said Clinton will be a sympathetic political figure with lots of valuable name recognition. But, she added, it won't help.

"People will remember, once they're over that, that the one time that she was given government responsibility was when the President

put her in charge of creating a new health care system for the nation," said Whitman.

"And she was proposing something that was going to be the largest federal bureaucracy that we had,"

PLEASE SEE HILLARY, PAGE 24

Hillary

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Whitman bashes potential candidate

continued Whitman. "And that's pretty hard to imagine given the size of some of the bureaucracy that exists in Washington today."

Whitman's comments, made yesterday during the taping of State of the State, a cable television show, came on the eve of Clinton's second fund-raising trip to the Garden State in less than two weeks. Today, the first lady helps raise money for Rep. Rush Holt (D-12th Dist.) and visits a middle school in Ewing to talk about combating school violence.

Little more than a month ago, there were reports that there was some rancor between the Governor and first lady's staffs during a visit to Fort Dix to welcome the Kosovo refugees.

According to the reports, Whitman staffers grumbled that the Governor was not invited to greet arriving buses of refugees with the first lady. But the Governor brought toys and managed her own welcome for the refugees anyway.

The Governor, a moderate Republican, said she believes the GOP candidate will beat Clinton — though she did not mention the party's likely standard-bearer, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, by name.

"Her answer to questions is very much more government and more government from Washington — as much as possible," said Whitman of the first lady, "and I don't believe the people of New York state are going to want to see that. They've certainly shown that they want to get away from that kind of response in both their elections of the mayor of New York City and the governor of the state."

The first lady's office let the swipe go.

"Her answer to questions is very much more government and more government from Washington — as much as possible."

— GOV. CHRISTIE WHITMAN

"We wouldn't want to comment," said Marcia Berry, a spokeswoman for the first lady. "Right now, Mrs. Clinton is in the position of exploring this (potential race). She's not a candidate yet."

Whitman's comments came on the same day a Quinnipiac College Poll found her maintaining a substantial

lead in a potential rematch against former Democratic Gov. Jim Florio, whom she beat for the governorship in 1993. Florio is considered the front-runner for the Democratic Senate nomination.

Quinnipiac's survey found that Florio "gained a little ground," but still trails Whitman 50 percent to 38

percent among 1,109 New Jersey residents who say they are registered voters. The poll, taken from June 2-7, has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.9 percent. A March 31 Quinnipiac survey showed Whitman ahead of Florio by 51 to 35 percent.

"It's much too early to put too much stock in polls," said Whitman. "Obviously, I'm glad that I'm ahead, but neither one of us has started to campaign or define ourselves to the other."

The poll also found that radio talk-show host Bob Grant, who is considering running as an independent, has a favorable rating of 15 percent with a 19 percent unfavorable rating, with 12 percent mixed and 54 percent holding no opinion.

The Governor said that she believes that Grant would hurt her chances if he decides to run for Senate as a third party candidate.

Whitman said she hopes Grant does not run.

"I don't think there's any question but that if he runs that he would pull some from what should be considered my base," said Whitman. "I think it's too bad if he does. We share a lot of the same philosophy and attitude toward government. Obviously we've had some disagreements."

Grant dismissed suggestions his candidacy would hurt only Whitman.

"If I'm in the race, I'll hurt both parties. Because I'll win," said Grant in a brief interview yesterday, in which he said he was not surprised by Whitman's remarks. "I wouldn't be doing it just to hurt the Governor. That would be silly."

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The Empire (State) Strikes Back

Carpetchagging 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.

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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.

In This Series

[Expanded Coverage: Empire State Senate Battle](#)
[First Lady Enters N.Y. Political Fray](#)
[Hillary Reaches for Power, Vindication](#)
[First Carpetbagger?](#)
[Giuliani Prepares to Battle Hillary](#)

REAL AUDIO

[Political Director Mark Halperin's Analysis of the N.Y. Senate Race](#)
[Expert Mandy Grunwald discusses Hillary on Here's the Point](#)

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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



necessary.

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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.

In This Series

Expanded Coverage:
Empire State Senate Battle
Hillary Reaches for Power, Vindication
First Carpetbagger?
Hillary N.Y. Trips Covered by Taxpayers
Giuliani Prepares to Battle Hillary

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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.

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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. ▶



Clinton leaves Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Yankees owner George Stephanopoulos at her side, dons a cap at the White House.

Hillary's appetite for Apple voracious

By Barbara J. Salter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made 66 solo trips to New York state at taxpayer expense since 1993, 10 of them in the first five months of this year, a review of travel records by The Washington Times shows.

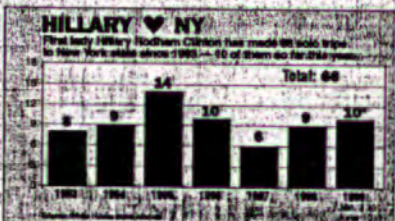
Over the previous six years, Mrs. Clinton averaged nine solo trips a year to New York. That rate has doubled so far this year as she edges closer to running for the Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a fellow Democrat.

states the first lady's stepped-up travel to New York is not related to her likely Democratic candidacy for the open Senate seat.

"There are a lot of people who have asked her to participate in events in New York," Ms. Berry said.

Neither the White House nor the Democratic National Committee (DNC) will disclose how much the first lady's trips cost. But will they say exactly how much the government has been reimbursed for the political portions of her travel as she stumps for other candidates and promotes herself?

Spokeswoman Maura Berry is- see HILLARY, page A14



HILLARY

from page A1

This refusal, despite a federal law mandating such reimbursements, infuriates some government watchdogs.

"We should know where every dollar goes... no matter who is in power," said Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan research group that has studied the costs of campaign travel. "The average American does not want to subsidize someone seeking political office."

The Times' review of White House travel summaries and Mrs. Clinton's public schedule shows her she:

- Favored New York as a domestic travel destination this year over all other states. She traveled to New York 11 times — just once with President Clinton — while visiting her trips to neighboring New Jersey to three visits and going only once or twice to 11 other states.

- Headlined at least 12 Democratic fund-raisers in New York so far this year, including events for five incumbent members of Congress.

- Traveled to New York without her husband a total of 66 times since 1993, more by far than other active states such as California, Florida and Illinois. (Counting trips with Mr. Clinton, she went to New York 12 times.)

New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a likely Republican contender for the Senate seat, has asked her to fund a Mrs. Clinton's picnic in running for federal office in the state without ever having lived there.

"I think that Hillary wanting to come to New York is a really fine thing," Mr. Giuliani said Monday night before a Republican dinner in Niagara County. "She can look around, try to find out something about the state... if she wants to live and work in New York like the people, that's terrific. But there's another question whether or not she should represent a state you never lived in, you never worked in and you know nothing about."

The first lady's three most popular destinations since 1993 are California (38 trips), her home state of Illinois (28) and Florida (26). Arkansas, her adopted home, warranted 18 trips. On many trips, she accompanied the president.

Mrs. Clinton returned yesterday on her 10th solo trip to New York since January.

Travel records indicate her official events in New York as first lady continue to focus on issues he has stressed for years — education, children and health care.

But she also is cramming her schedule day and night with political appearances on behalf of Democratic candidates — stops that could boost her own unannounced Senate candidacy.

She appeared Wednesday at a fund-raiser in Binghamton for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, New York Democrat, and attended a 3,000-a-plate DNC fund-raiser that targeted homosexual donors and was held at a private residence in New York City. In April, atop the World Trade Center, she helped raise money for Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat who supported the president during his impeachment trial.

Also this year, the first lady addressed loyalists at the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum and headlined a state Democratic party event. She helped attract donors for Rep. John J. LaFalce, New

M. Lowey, the New York Democrat who last week said she would not challenge Mrs. Clinton in a Senate primary race.

When Mrs. Clinton appears on behalf of candidates, federal law requires that the candidates reimburse the government for the portion of her travel costs related to their campaign.

The DNC bills candidates in advance for prorated expenses incurred by Mrs. Clinton and her staff, including food and lodging. After receiving payment, the party deposits the money in an escrow account used to reimburse the government, said a committee spokesman who asked not to be identified.

Even after such reimbursements, taxpayers still feel the pinch of the first lady's partisan travels.

That's because the law requires that campaign committees cover only the price of a first-class airline ticket, although the taxpayers' tab is thousands of dollars each time an Air Force jet flies Mrs. Clinton somewhere.

It costs \$2,179 an hour to fly the C-99 jet — similar to a DC-9 — that she frequently uses, said Master Sgt. Rick Corral, a spokesman for Andrews Air Force Base. It costs \$3,615 an hour to fly the newer, smaller C-70, which sometimes is used by the first lady and resembles a Gulfstream corporate jet.

The Pentagon calculates the flight costs of all military aircraft. The numbers are based on fuel, maintenance, and flight and ground crew required for a trip, Air Force spokesman Maj. Tyrone Woodyard said.

Lodging and food for the crews and other expenses on the ground — even in the case of overnight stops — are not included in calculating costs, Maj. Woodyard said.

When she travels, the first lady takes along a trip director, photographer and press secretary, Ms. Berry said. A specialist on the issues she will address often comes along too.

Secret Service officers travel with the first lady, who typically rides in a motorcade once on the ground. Her staff sometimes requires local transportation.

The White House traditionally has not disclosed exactly how much travel by a first lady costs taxpayers.

"There's a little bit of wink-and-nod subterfuge here about the actual costs," Mr. Lewis said. "We don't know what the actual costs are and we probably never will know. The White House isn't under any legal requirement to tell us."

After the 1996 presidential race, the Center for Public Integrity analyzed air travel costs and found that the Clinton-Gore campaign "paid just a fraction of the real cost of flying." Air Force One, it costs \$35,300 each hour the 747 is aloft, an Air Force spokesman said.

"The subsidies that make these flights possible appear nowhere in the reports" filed by the campaign with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), the study concluded.

FEC reports due next month will provide some information on the DNC's reimbursements to the government for the first lady's air travel. But the committee will not release details, DNC spokeswoman Jenny Beckus said.

"We make public what's required by the FEC," she said.

However, interviews with candidates for whom Mrs. Clinton has stumped provide a glimpse of associated costs.

When Mrs. Clinton appeared briefly at the April 19 fund-raiser for Mr. Nadler — which pulled in

spokesman said. It would list contributions and expenses from July through December of this year.

Ms. Berry said the first lady will not form the committee until July because of foreign travel scheduled for later this month.

Researcher Clark Eberly contributed to this report.

tee next month. If she had formed that committee this month, the law would have required her to file a campaign finance report to the FEC by July 15 covering activities during the first half of the year.

By starting a committee in July, Mrs. Clinton would not have to file a report until Jan. 31, 2000, an FEC

ard Wolfson, said the congressional woman will not disclose details of her campaign's reimbursement payment for Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising help.

Mrs. Clinton, who is poised to become the first lady to run for national office, plans to set up an exploratory campaign committee.

about \$400,000 — the DNC sent the New York congressman a bill for \$4,338.45.

Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, another New York Democrat, gave the DNC roughly \$8,500 to defray expenses for the first lady's appearance at a June 2 fund-raiser.

Mrs. Lowey's spokesman, How-

Source: White House, Associated Press, The Washington Times

ABC-GOOD-MORNING-AMER-15

First Lady Makes Campaign-Style Trip To New York

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Sect: NEWS>

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ANTONIO MORA: Yesterday, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made her first campaign-style trip to New York since her announcement on Good Morning America last week that she expects to form an exploratory committee for a run for the Senate. While visiting a Lockheed plant in Binghamton, she was greeted by about three dozen protesters, some shouting go home. In an editorial in the local paper was headlined ``Not Senate Material.' ' Mrs. Clinton dismissed the protests as a fact of political life.

Joining us now to talk about political life from Washington are Cokie Roberts, the co-host of ABC's This Week, and Margaret Carlson of ``Time'' magazine.

Good morning to you both.

COKIE ROBERTS, ABC News: Good morning, Antonio.

ANTONIO MORA: Cokie, The First Lady has been insulated from criticism this past year because of all of the events. How do you think this first taste of criticism is going to affect her?

COKIE ROBERTS: Well, this is the least that will happen to her in a New York Senate race, a few people saying carpetbagger go home. She's got to know that. She's got to know that the adoring crowds into which she walks in New York now will also have some nonadoring people. That's a mild statement. And that's got to be one of the things that she calculates as she makes her final decision about making this run. It's not going to be a cakewalk by any means whatsoever. It's going to be a very rough and tumble, hard race.

ANTONIO MORA: It is going to get a lot tougher. And, Margaret, there are those who speculate that she has really backed off so much that she hasn't even been reading all the criticism over this past year. Do you think it'll hurt her in any way, that she will have trouble dealing with it?

MARGARET CARLSON, ``Time'' Magazine: Well, nothing could be harder than this last year. The last year's been good training for running for the Senate in New York. One of her problems is if the first question you have to answer is why are you coming here? It keeps you off what you really want to say, and that's what she confronted yesterday.

An opponent that she might not have, but could still have, Rick Lazio, a Congressman from New York, says she needs an exploratory commission committee to find Binghamton, where she was yesterday. And a lot of the stories are about where is she going to live, where are they going to vacation. This is not a good way to start.

COKIE ROBERTS: It was interesting in that Lockheed plant where she was yesterday, someone asked her, according to the reports, why isn't the federal government doing more about mag-lev technology. Now anybody can be forgiven for not knowing what mag-lev technology is. It's magnetic levitation. But New

York has been very concerned about that because it has to do with transportation and getting -- getting goods and people quickly up and down the Eastern seaboard. So that is something that all New York members of Congress know a great deal about.

ANTONIO MORA: She's going to have to be a quick study. I want to stay on the psychology of all this. When the health care initiative crashed, she was able to back off. But at times during her husband's -- particularly the first presidential campaign, she really bristled at criticism. Do you guys think that she's going to handle it well when it really gets into the heavy rough and tumble?

MARGARET CARLSON: Well, as Cokie said, this is the best it will ever be for her. She may think she's campaigning, but she's actually been in a cocoon of protection -- Secret Service, Air Force One. Soon, if she actually declares, she's going to have to be taking the Delta Shuttle and she's not going to have all the protection she now has because she'll actually be a candidate herself. And people expect more -- to know more and to get closer to the candidate than the candidate's wife. So this will be a real awakening.

COKIE ROBERTS: The question of whether she bristles or not is going to be one of the issues in the campaign if she does. But, you know, it's been my experience, Antonio, that when your spouse or children or parent is criticized that you tend to take it harder than if you, yourself, is criticized. I think that's part what have we might see here.

ANTONIO MORA: If I could get a quick answer from both of you, is there anything you think will make her back off from running for the Senate?

MARGARET CARLSON: Only if she plummets in the polls and just sees there's not a way to win.

COKIE ROBERTS: I mean, at this point she'd leave the Democrats high and dry. They do not have another candidate.

MARGARET CARLSON: The Clintons are used to leaving wreckage in their wake, but this would be real wreckage.

ANTONIO MORA: Thank you, Margaret Carlson from ``Time'' magazine and Cokie Roberts from This Week. Thank you both.

When we come back, supermodel Christie Brinkley spreading a little goodwill.

And taking a message home from the war in Yugoslavia.

(Commercial Break)

(Byline: COKIE ROBERTS, ANTONIO MORA)

(Guest: MARGARET CARLSON)

(High: PROTESTERS GREET MRS. CLINTON AT LOCKHEED PLANT)

(Spec: HILLARY CLINTON / NEW YORK / SENATE)

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**** filed by:FDCH(--) on 06/10/99 at 15:24EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/10/99 at 15:31EDT ****

IS A BAD

When students came to hug her, she was uncomfortable; sensing this, a Secret Service agent pushed them away.

ing those comments any-

more." Then there's the fact that Hillary Clinton is burdened, perhaps unfairly, by comparisons with the campaign style of her husband, who wins over audiences with charm, wit and a genuine desire to dive into a rope-line with both hands at the ready. We forget that for many years it's been him, not her, who's been handed the babies to hug, the hands to shake.

"She's been insulated in the cocoon so long that she's definitely uncomfortable," said WNBC reporter Gabe Pressman, the dean of the city's press corps and president of the New York Press Club.

"She's not used to hugs and it shows. But she can learn to do it, just like that other alleged carpathagator, Bobby Kennedy. He was stiff when he started, too."

It's a problem she will need to work on if she wants to connect with voters outside the cozy party fund-raisers and hand-picked audiences to which she's played. Unlike Mayor Giuliani, her presumptive rival, Clinton has not made herself available to reporters every day. At such sessions, Giuliani is forced to defend his stewardship of the city and his positions on every issue from commercial garbage to community gardens.

Clinton's media advisers, on the other hand, inform camera crews to be prepared for a "70-foot throw" — campaign-speak for the distance reporters will be kept from the candidate.

At the Grissom school appearance, an announcement over the PA system even went so far as to tell the students that "There is to be no approaching her under any circumstances."

And when one student told a touching story about his fear of being beaten up by older gang members, Clinton started ever so slightly to comfort the student — only to withdraw her hand before making contact.

And when she dutifully posed for more photos with Democratic Party officials from all over the state last week, Clinton always made sure to keep plenty of daylight between her and her supporters.

And yet, whether you listen to polls or to loyal New York Democrats, Hillary Clinton is already a star.

Democratic officials go beyond the usual party bias when they talk of

CAMPAIGNER

Hillary Clinton. To them, she is more than a standard-bearer who's "right on all the issues," as one county chairman said.

She is their Teflon candidate, a woman who stood by her man yet didn't alienate feminists; who failed on health care, yet didn't alienate liberals; who hasn't advocated any specific policy since her health-care debacle, yet hasn't alienated the wonks; and who advocated a Palestinian state, yet did not fully alienate Jewish supporters such as Sen. Chuck Schumer.

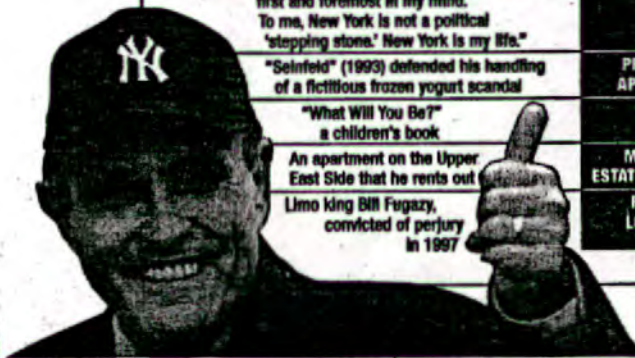
"She is the best crowd-producer we've ever had," said Erie County Democratic Chairman Steve Pigeon, pointing out the toughest challenge of politics. "And the reason that she fills a room is because she's a historic figure. Everyone wants to meet her."

When the First Lady was presented with a Yankee cap at a fund-raiser last week, she didn't put it on — killing a great photo opportunity.

New York Post: David Hadden

RUDY VS. HILLARY: A TALE OF THE TAPE

RUDY	CANDIDATE	HILLARY
55	AGE	51
Tenacious like a pitbull	CAMPAIGN STYLE	Exhibits an icy, Queen Elizabeth-like reserve in public
Always tell them, to their horror, how their problems are the same as New York's problems	GRATUITOUS APPEAL TO UPSTATE	Frequently mentions Elmira and farm products
What hairstyle? You mean the Rudy comb-over?	HAIRSTYLE	Finally settled on a feathered, modern Maggie Thatcher look
Spouse wants him to move to D.C. and be Senator	MARITAL STATUS	Spouse wants her to move to New York and be Senator
Dressed as a drug user and scored crack in Washington Heights	LOWLIGHT OF LEGAL CAREER	Misplaced billing records from Rose Law Firm
"Love me or hate me, I don't think there is anyone in our state who would ever accuse me of not having the interests of the people of New York absolutely first and foremost in my mind. To me, New York is not a political 'stepping stone.' New York is my life."	STUMP QUOTE	Vague rhetoric such as "We have to pursue strategies that work... that actually lift up students, not just score political points."
"Seinfeld" (1993) defended his handling of a fictitious frozen yogurt scandal	PRINCIPAL TV APPEARANCES	Defended her husband on "60 Minutes" (1992) and "Today" (1993)
"What Will Be?" a children's book	BOOKS	"It Takes a Village" and "Dear Socks, Dear Buddy"
An apartment on the Upper East Side that he rents out	MAJOR REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS	Whitewater
Limo King Bill Fugazy, convicted of perjury in 1997	FRIENDS IN LOW PLACES	Webster Hubbell, who went to jail in 1994 for bliking law clients



WHY HILLARY

By GERSH KATZMAN

It was the kind of bonnet and lib that usually gets a spouse in trouble.

Hillary Rodham Clinton — First Lady of the United States and would-be senator from New York — recently invited former Wesleyan classmate to dinner at the White House and, as part of the affair, she and her president husband posed with each and every guest.

The president was in his element, laughing and enjoying the several-hour photo op.

When one guest thanked the president for taking the time to fire, he joked, "Well, Hillary needs the practice."

The president wasn't just kidding around.

During the First Lady's "practice" sessions around New York — today's trip to the city will be the 12th — we have seen a person committed and informed about the issues, but, as I know firsthand from having followed her, a

active campaigner.

There's no question that the Hillary Clinton gives a good speech, honing in on the concerns of her audience, but one-on-one or in an impromptu situation, she's made more than one startling faux pas.

For instance:

■ After a party fund-raiser recently at Tavern on the Green, she tentatively worked the crowd — one that had already been thinned by advance Secret Service agents.

As faces swarmed around her and shouted everything from "You're great!" to "When are you going to come to Germany?" she shook only a few hands.

■ At the Tavern fund-raiser last week, teachers-union President Randi Weingarten presented First Lady and would-be Sen. Hillary Clinton with a Yankee cap. The First Lady held it aloft for a split second, smiled weakly and immediately put the hat on the floor behind her — and with it the chance to have her picture in every

newspaper in the state.

■ At the City College graduation the same day, students spilled into the aisle to hug her as she made her way to the podium. The First Lady shook some hands, but she was clearly uncomfortable. Sensing this, a Secret Service agent — dressed in a graduation gown to better blend in with the students — pushed graduates away.

■ Days after the Columbine HS massacre, the First Lady served as principal for a day at the Virgil Griesom JHS in Queens, where she was asked what government should do to prevent future school shootings.

Instead of knocking that softball out of the park, Clinton bumbled, delivering a five-minute lecture on a monologue that touched on America's "culture of violence," gun control, parenting skills and school-based mental-health services, yet, oddly, never actually advocating a policy.

"One thing is certain," she concluded, taking no chances, "we can't just wing our hands or walk away in denial."

The president is right: His wife needs the practice.

The question is why? After years of stumping for her husband and for her issues, you'd think Hillary Clinton would be adept at the give and take of on-the-fly campaigning.

Those who know her — and those who have studied her — say that Hillary Clinton's discomfort may stem from over-sensitivity arising from mistakes she made earlier in her public life, as when she seemingly mocked str-at-home moms who "take cookies and make tea or when she complained of a "vast, right-wing conspiracy."

She's much more cautious now because she's been burned by those remarks," said Joyce Milton, author of "The First Partner," a biography of Hillary Clinton. "One don't see her mak-

HILLARY'S ROLE MODELS



President Clinton has never had trouble working a crowd — even a very young one.

New York Post: David Hadden



Bobby Kennedy wasn't a natural at dealing with the public, but he warmed up to the task.

Auditions for first lady

Hillary Clinton's decision to form an exploratory committee with the expectation of making a run for the Senate in New York may forever change the job description of first lady.

Like the office of vice president, it's likely to be seen in the future as a stepping stone to something bigger. It sheds light as well on the first lady's job, suggesting that it's not



Suzanne Fields

as demanding as we've been led to believe, if Hillary can conduct a strenuous campaign for the Senate in a state several hundred miles away while at the same time presiding over the White House.

Instead of "get two for the price of one," the president can now tell the American people they'll get "one for the price of two." The first lady may not be on a government salary, but she gets a hefty sum for staff, travel and entertainment.

The role of first lady, as we all know, reflects the role of women in society at a given time and is something of a Rorschach inkblot for women. Hillary has always described herself as a transitional figure. That sounds about right. She is first lady at a time when lots of wives enjoy (endure?) dual-career marriages, though she's more fortunate than most. She has a lot of highly paid help at work and play.

Hillary, more than any other first lady, has pushed the envelope. While we focus on her run for the Senate (and before a new first lady enters the White House), we should debate what we actually expect the first lady to be.

When Hillary headed the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, for example, she was judged by a court to be the equivalent of a government employee. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia decreed that she was a "virtual extension of her husband" and "the functional equivalent of an assistant to the president."

This may strike us as academic

now, but it had important repercussions for her health care meetings and the manner in which she conducted them. She could keep her meetings closed to the public. They were not subject to the "sunshine laws" which forbid closed meetings unless everyone at the table is a government employee.

Judge James L. Buckley, one of three judges who dissented from the court opinion, raised a provocative point about the role of first lady as an extension of her husband. He said: "She has been neither appointed to nor confirmed in the position of first lady. She has taken no oath of office and she neither holds a statutory office nor performs statutory duties."

What if she disagrees with her husband's policy? A first lady can't exactly resign from a task to which she is assigned, although Hillary probably has had moments over these past six-and-a-half years when she would have resigned as wife if she could have kept the perks.

A politically ambitious first lady confronts other problems. She can't take a paid job in her husband's administration because a nepotism law enacted after John F. Kennedy appointed his brother Bobby as attorney general forbids it. The law makes sense, but it certainly limits the options for the president's wife.

So what's an ambitious first lady to do? Elizabeth Dole pondered the question when she stood at the side of her husband in 1966. If Bob Dole is elected, she said, there would be two Presidents Doles. One would be president of the United States and the other would remain as president of the American Red Cross. But as they say in feminist studies, that's "herstory."

Tipper Gore, as second lady, is suddenly struggling with the question of what kind of first lady she wants to be if her husband is elected president. "I think the way for people to understand me the best," she told the New York Times, "is for you to understand that I'm not of the political milieu." Not of the milieu, perhaps, but certainly of the political stew.

As President Clinton's "mental health policy adviser," she held the first White House conference on mental health this week. She looked and sounded a lot like she was trying out for first lady.

We've come a long way since Dolley Madison as first lady remarked that politics was the proper "business of men." But we still haven't settled on the proper business of a first lady.

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears here Monday and Thursday.



PLAYING OPRAH: Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Rep. Maurice Hinchey, talks to workers in Binghamton. AP

Hill energizes 'campaign' at upstate electro-plant

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday brought her still-undeclared U.S. Senate campaign to an upstate high-tech manufacturing plant, fielding questions from factory workers for nearly an hour.

The Oprah-like appearance at a Lockheed-Martin electronics plant in Binghamton was Mrs. Clinton's 11th visit to New York this year and her first since she announced last week that she will form an exploratory committee next month.

Mrs. Clinton strolled onto the factory floor, decked out in a bright pink pants suit, with a pearl necklace, in contrast

By Gregg Birnbaum in Binghamton and Robert Hardt Jr. in New York

to the 40 casually dressed employees who were seated in a circle around her.

Mrs. Clinton — who said she had come to hear what was on the minds of the employees at one of the biggest companies in town — appeared stiff and visibly nervous at the start of the event and stumbled when one employee mentioned a high-tech rail project known as "Maglev."

"Could you tell me what that technology is?" Mrs. Clinton asked, as she and the workers laughed.

"Maglev is a new phrase for me."

Maglev — which stands for magnetic levitation — is familiar to many New Yorkers in business and government because it was a highly publicized transportation program pushed by former governor Mario Cuomo.

There were no restrictions on questions that workers could ask, but none raised any about the First Lady's political ambitions in New York or about her husband.

Mrs. Clinton said she was aware the upstate region, known as the Southern Tier, had been hit hard economically in recent years and she called for more government spending on high-tech research and closer cooperation between businesses and universities.

"We don't have enough jobs, with enough growing incomes, for enough people," Mrs. Clinton said.

Leaving the electronics plant, Mrs. Clinton — who has been kept far away from the media during previous New York visits — stopped to take close-up questions from reporters who got toe-to-toe with her.

Mrs. Clinton chuckled when asked if she were

any closer to making a decision about running for the Senate.

The First Lady also was the star attraction later at a fund-raiser for U.S. Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-Binghamton), a close political ally of the Clintons.

Last night, Mrs. Clinton flew to New York City for a Democratic National Committee fund-raiser in the West Village home of composer Jonathan Sheffer and his partner, Dr. Christopher Barley.

About 50 guests were expected to attend the private \$5,000-a-head dinner at Sheffer and Barley's home.

Sheffer, who co-hosted a Hamptons cocktail party for the DNC last summer, told The Post he hopes Mrs. Clinton throws her hat into the ring.

Mrs. Clinton remains in New York today where she'll take part in an event sponsored by the cable channel VH1 about preserving music programs in city schools.

The "Save the Music" event in Harlem's PS 72 will also be attended by Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew and the singer Jewel.

Opposing commuter tax can help her

IF WANNABE senator Hillary Clinton wants to make mischief for Mayor Giuliani, she could come out against his commuter tax — and some local Dems are urging her to do just that.

Giuliani tops the First Lady by a whopping 2-1 in polls in the soccer-mom suburbs — and that's where most New York elections get decided, so she badly needs a way to play catch-up.

The commuter tax could be it. No doubt that's why, sources say, the First Lady has been asking local folks about how to handle it.

Analysts say coming out against the now-repealed commuter tax would be

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE WASHINGTON



very clever — even though heavily Democratic New York City is her base and the Big Apple wants commuters to pay the tax.

"It would be smart because she's not going to lose her base in the city anyway and it does score points in the suburbs," said Post pollster John Zogby.

"Her base is so bedrock Democratic and anti-Giuliani. Where else will they go?"

Besides, the commuter tax has been repealed. Opposing it is almost a freebie at this point. Even local Dems who back it aren't likely to howl.

"People in the city don't really care about forcing people in the suburbs to pay and they don't think they'll have to pay more. But people in the suburbs really do care — for them, it's a bread-and-butter issue," says a Democratic strategist.

"Opposing the commuter tax is a way of saying that Hillary Clinton may not be from New York but she's for the whole state while Rudy Giuliani is for the city at the expense of the rest of the state."

The First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, said: "She does not have an opinion [on the commuter tax] at this point. She is looking at it and knows that people are concerned about it."

There's an added charm for Mrs. Clinton to come out against the commuter tax — it puts her on Gov. Pataki's side against Giuliani and fuels the state's

Hillary can score in suburbs by opposing commuter tax

ORIN from Page 2

GOP wars at a time when many think Pataki and his ally, ex-Sen. Al D'Amato, want to do all they can to hurt Giuliani.

It also would put her on the same side as Rep. Rick Lazio (R-L.I.), who hopes to upset Giuliani in the GOP Senate primary. Any mischief she can make for GOPers is sure to help her.

Forget whether Hillary Clinton can spell Schenectady. Clinton-Gore land, it seems, can't even spell her likely GOP rival's name.

"The Hon. Rudolph Guiliiani" was the misspelled moniker on a fund-raising letter addressed to City Hall and signed by Hillary's hubby on behalf of Veep Al Gore.

Gore's team said a "political" list had Republican Giuliani's name and it wasn't improper

use of a White House guest list.

Remember all the questions about the White House Travel Office and the Clinton-Gore camp's use of government perks for politics? Funny, but Gore is using the taxpayer-funded White House Travel Office to set up press travel for his June 16 campaign kickoff.

Gore aides insist it's ethically OK because reporters pay their own way, but they won't say if they plan to keep doing it. GOP rivals like front-runner George W. Bush pay campaign staff to set up campaign travel. So does sole Dem rival Bill Bradley.

Asked if ex-Veep Dan Quayle used the White House Travel Office to set up travel for reporters, his ex-spokesman David Beckwith (who works for Bush) replied: "Definitely not."

The Washington Times Thursday June 10, 1999

Bowing to Hillary

Christopher P. Nicholson, an editor in Washington, remembers "a wonderful quote I heard 19 years ago during a contentious U.S. Senate race in Connecticut. A then-congressman decimated his New York-native opponent with a barb along the lines of, 'It was my understanding that the U.S. Constitution stipulates that each state shall elect two senators, not that each senator shall elect two states.'

"The then-candidate and eventual victor was Chris Dodd, and the unfortunate opponent was Jim Buckley, the brother of William F. I was only in the eighth grade at the time, but I remember the line well because it brought the house down," Mr. Nicholson notes.

In fact, he recalls Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat, "was so proud of himself that he recollected that moment publicly many times afterwards (I heard him do it as late as 1984 during a lecture to high school students).

"But for whatever reason, he seems to have stopped using that line," Mr. Nicholson says. "I'm wondering if he'd even claim it as his own at this point. Go figure."

We rang our good friend Mr. Dodd, who was dashing down to the Senate floor yesterday on more urgent business. But we understand he "chuckled" when Press Secretary Marvin Fast forwarded our message.

"This is totally apples and oranges," Mr. Fast said, referring to Mr. Dodd's race then and today's controversial New York Senate race, in which another outsider — first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — might enter. "It certainly doesn't apply in this case, because Buckley had been a sitting senator from New York."

Protests for Hillary at New York visit

First lady avoids subject of candidacy

BINGHAMTON, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton, met by protesters carrying "Carpetbagger Go Home" signs, told factory workers yesterday the nation has been successful "because of people who have been willing to try new things."

"There are too many people locked into old thinking . . . We are all such prisoners of our past," the first lady told about 40 hand-picked employees brought together at a Lockheed Martin plant just outside Binghamton to discuss economic issues.

During a nearly one-hour question-and-answer session, the subject of Mrs. Clinton's possible Senate candidacy never came up. But at the end of her visit, one company nurse urged Mrs. Clinton to keep working to improve the nation's health care system.

"I intend to," she responded.

While Mrs. Clinton addressed the high-technology work being done at the plant, her remarks perhaps shed some light on her own thoughts about seeking the New York Senate seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Outside the plant, some clearly sought to dissuade her from making the race.

About three dozen demonstrators chanting "Go home" were waiting for Mrs. Clinton when she left the plant. One sign said "Queen Hillary go home." But there also were a scattering of signs supporting the first lady.

"There are pros and cons and that's just the fact of political life," Mrs. Clinton said when asked about the protesters.

It was Mrs. Clinton's first visit to New York since announcing Friday that she will form an exploratory committee to continue preparations for the Senate race her advisers expect her to enter.

The race could pit her against Republican New York City Mayor

Rudolph W. Giuliani, who formed an exploratory committee in April. Also eyeing the GOP nomination is Rep. Rick A. Lazio of Long Island.

Mrs. Clinton planned to help fellow Democrats raise money during her trip to New York. Per-person ticket prices for a Binghamton fund-raiser for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey ranged from \$125 to \$500. The larger amount guaranteed a personal visit with the first lady.

Also on Mrs. Clinton's schedule was a \$5,000-a-person dinner organized by financial writer Andrew Tobias at a private home in New York City. The event, aimed at homosexual campaign contributors, was expected to raise at least \$200,000 for the Democratic National Committee.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said taxpayers would pick up part of the trip's tab — for the Lockheed Martin discussion on the economy — while Mr. Hinchey's campaign committee and the DNC would pay the rest. She did not have a breakdown.

The taxpayer financing for portions of Mrs. Clinton's campaign-like trips has already led to criticism. Advisers have said money raised by the exploratory committee may be used to cover such future expenses.

Some local Democrats were excited by Mrs. Clinton's decision to visit the Binghamton area as part of her attempt to get a better handle on New York issues.

"I'm thrilled. This is wonderful," said Barbara Paoletti, Broome County's Democratic Party chairwoman.

Some Republicans thought it was all hoopla for nothing.

"I'm probably the only one who still thinks she's not running," said state Sen. Thomas Libous, a county GOP leader. He theorized that Mrs. Clinton is toying with the Senate race "to take attention off the president and the war" in Kosovo.

Hillary Clinton, Visiting Binghamton, Praises New Technology

By JONATHAN P. HICKS

BINGHAMTON, N.Y., June 9 — Hillary Rodham Clinton stepped gingerly into her apparent political campaign today, taking questions from workers at an electronics plant and mixing with contributors at a fund-raising reception for a Democratic Congressman. It was Mrs. Clinton's first trip to New York State since she announced plans to form an exploratory committee to consider running for the United States Senate seat being vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

While she never specifically discussed the topic of her anticipated campaign, it was clear that Mrs. Clinton was being taken increasingly seriously by politicians and the public as the likely Democratic contender in next year's Senate race.

At the reception this evening, a fund-raiser for Representative Maurice D. Hinchey, Mrs. Clinton received an enthusiastic response. And while she spoke broadly on themes varying from the need for refurbished school buildings to manufacturing products under environmen-

tally friendly techniques, the crowd of more than 300 seemed most receptive to Mr. Hinchey's description of the First Lady as "an important resource for this state."

Speaking to reporters following the reception, Mrs. Clinton was asked about an issue that is expected to play a dominant role in the campaign: criticism of her as a carpetbagger who has never lived in the State of New York.

"I haven't made any decision yet," Mrs. Clinton said. "And when and if I do there will be plenty of time to talk about that."

Then, sounding as if she were already in the race, she said, "I have found in my many visits to New York that the kinds of issues that people in New York talk to me about are the kinds of issues that I have worked on for more than 30 years and have worked on very intensely in the last six and a half years."

She added that what New York voters "really care about is a partnership between the public and private sectors, about how we're going to keep good jobs; how we're going to

keep the best education system." Those issues, she said, "are the kinds of issues that I have a long interest and experience in."

In recent months, Mrs. Clinton has been trying use her frequent travels to New York as a way of establishing some connection to the state, where she has never lived. It was her 11th visit to New York this year. After the fund-raising event for Mr. Hinchey, a four-term Democrat who represents the Southern Tier near the Pennsylvania border, Mrs. Clinton departed for New York City, where she will appear on the NBC television program "Today," on Thursday morning, and visit a school in Harlem.

Mrs. Clinton's first stop here was at a Lockheed Martin electronics plant in Union, a town on the outskirts of Binghamton. At the plant, where electronic controls are made, Mrs. Clinton met with about 40 employees. She took questions on subjects including health care and Federal spending on research and development. But, as has been her custom in her last 10 visits, Mrs. Clinton's visit was carefully calibrated, keep-

ing her far from the public and at arms length from the press.

Perhaps as a harbinger of the passions her candidacy is likely to unleash, about 100 demonstrators stood outside of the Holiday Inn, where the fund-raising reception was held. Many of them jeered Mrs. Clinton, holding signs reading "Hillary Go Home" and "Hillary: Go Back to Arkansas, You Carpetbagger." There were also cheering supporters outside the hotel, holding signs saying "Hillary, Our Next Senator."

Her visit to the Binghamton area appears to focus on the kind of terrain that pollsters have suggested the First Lady will need in her apparent effort to win election next year: areas where Republicans have won but where Democratic candidates can still gain a receptive ear.

This area, which has voted often for Republicans statewide and overwhelmingly supported Gov. George E. Pataki, has been represented in Congress by Democrats since 1975. Before leaving for New York City, Mrs. Clinton pledged that she would return to the area.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1999

The Clinton Agenda: For Y2K, the Mall Is Where It's At

* * *

**The First Family Is Planning
A \$10 Million Celebration
Of Its Own in the Backyard**

By GLENN R. SIMPSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton may hope to make New York her adoptive home state, but don't expect to see her and the president in Times Square at the stroke of midnight this New Year's Eve.

The Clintons, it turns out, have for months been quietly plotting a \$10 million-plus New Year's celebration in their own backyard to rival the traditional Big Apple bash.

The National Park Service confirms that a group formed by the White House has requested a permit on New Year's Eve to reserve the Mall, the expanse of green that stretches from the Capitol past the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. The White House had planned to announce the affair during the annual July 4 celebration in the capital, but officials there confirmed the plans in response to inquiries.



Bill Clinton

The event remains shrouded in secrecy, but there are indications it will have many of the features people have come to expect from the Clintons. First friend and pop star Quincy Jones, along with George Stevens Jr. of the Kennedy Center, will help with the live musical entertainment. Director Steven Spielberg is shooting a 17-minute film that will be screened for the masses in the final moments before the turn of the century; Bill Clinton will narrate. Terence McAuliffe, best known for his prodigious efforts to raise money for the president's 1996 re-election, is handling the fund raising.

Ann Lewis, a White House spokeswoman, says the evening and three days of preceding festivities will make Washington, D.C., the place to be on New Year's Eve. "Where would you want to be as we change millenniums?" she asks.

But for Mrs. Clinton, who is expected to be in the thick of a campaign for Senate in



Hillary Clinton

New York by then, the answer isn't so easy. "I anticipate that she will be on the Mall," Ms. Lewis says of the first lady. Traditionally, the Clintons have been in Hilton Head, S.C., on New Year's Eve for Renaissance Weekend, a gathering of big-thinking policy wonks.

New York officials aren't likely to appreciate the unexpected emergence of a major rival to their own New Year's extravaganza. Aside from stealing some thunder from the Times Square globe-dropping, the Washington fete could swipe viewers who will watch the event on television. People familiar with the matter say the Washington organizers are in negotiations for coverage by one of the major networks, which would compete with ABC's annual broadcast from Times Square.

The Washington party is being organized by something called the White House Millennium Council, which is overseen by

Continued From First Page

Mrs. Clinton and was created last year by the president to organize events in the year leading up to the big day. The council even has a vanity phone number at its White House office: 456-2000.

In Executive Order 13072, which created the council, Mr. Clinton explained that the government's millennial role goes beyond worrying about the Y2K computer bug. "By leading this country in a grand educational celebration of the past and future," Mr. Clinton declared, "the Federal Government has an unprecedented opportunity to energize and unite the Nation with a renewed sense of optimism in the accomplishments and promise of America."

The Spielberg contribution will be "a 17-minute motion picture expressing the emotional highlights of the 20th century," says Spielberg spokesman Andy Spahn. An original score will be composed by John Williams, who also did the music for "Saving Private Ryan" and "Schindler's List." Mr. Spahn says the format will be inspired by Aaron Copland's "Lincoln Portrait," a 1942 orchestral work that used quotes from Abraham Lincoln and featured Henry Fonda as the narrator.

Ms. Lewis says the fireworks-laden party will cap "three days of family-centered events on the Mall," organized in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institu-

tion and the city of Washington.

The funds are being raised by an outfit called America's Millennium Leadership Committee, chaired by Mr. McAuliffe. The total price tag is expected to be in the range of \$10 million to \$15 million, and sponsors of the event can look forward to being recognized. Mr. McAuliffe says he expects the money to come from major corporate donors. "The goal is not to go after the people that are traditionally involved in politics," he says.

Mr. Clinton isn't expected to have to be directly involved. Potential donors will know the project is important to the president and first lady, Mr. McAuliffe says. "I don't have to say so," he says.

Still, as word of the latest expensive project has begun to filter through the halls on Capitol Hill, some Democrats wonder whether Mr. Clinton's well-oiled fund-raising machine may be overextended. The president is already committed to raising money for his wife, his would-be successor Al Gore, his presidential library, his birthplace, his legal-defense fund, his party, and of course, his Democratic friends in the House and Senate.

"I don't see this thing competing at all with other Democratic causes," says Mr. McAuliffe, who is also a top fund-raiser for Mr. Gore. "Clearly this is not about politics."

Hillary's knuckleball

The New York Yankees won the World Series back in October, but the White House has decided it is not too late to have them over for a photo-op with the president — and, no doubt, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has adopted New York in her presumed bid for a U.S. Senate seat.

"It's a disgrace," says WABC talk-show host Steve Malzberg, referring to Mrs. Clinton's expected participation in tomorrow's celebration of the Bronx Bombers at the White House.

"This is a perfect example of just how phony her 'love' for New York is," said Mr. Malzberg, who played up Mrs. Clinton's latest campaign knuckleball on his New York radio program. WABC is the flagship station for Yankee broadcasts.

"She is going to take advantage of the fact that the Yankees will be there, and turn this into one giant photo-op for her campaign. I don't recall her being there when the president honored the Detroit Red Wings for winning the Stanley Cup, or when the Florida Marlins were there for winning the Series in '97, or ever before, for that matter," Mr. Malzberg said.

The talk-show host said that after he got wind of Mrs. Clinton's plan to help honor the Yankees, he phoned team owner George Steinbrenner and urged him to boycott the event.

"George said that although he did not know that Hillary would be there, he wouldn't stand up the White House. But he did remind me that everyone in New York knows that Mayor Rudy Giuliani is the No. 1 Yankee fan in New York."



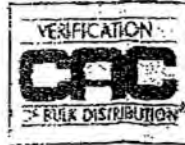
HILLARY: good box-office.

THE Albany press corps is salivating like Pavlov dogs at the near-certain prospect **Hillary Clinton** will run for **Pat Moynihan's** Senate seat. Traditionally, senatorial candidates from both parties attend the annual gala of the Legislative Correspondents Assn. which puts on a show of song parodies and skits lambasting the politicians. "Imagine how many tickets we could sell," said one capitol reporter. The LCA, which for years has used a hotel ballroom, is checking out the far roomier Albany Convention Center. And maybe they'll raise the ticket price, which is \$175 for this year's gala on Saturday.

Jun. 09 1999 11:56AM P1

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READY TO TAKE THE PLUNGE

WALL STREET FINDS LACK OF TRUST A KEY BARRIER TO INVESTMENTS
BY BLACKS; BUT POLL FINDS BLACKS READY TO TAKE GIANT STEP.

See story on page 10

Mrs. Clinton Takes Manhattan

DEATH BY HANGING RETURNS TO TRINIDAD &

(UPI Focus)

Hillary to salute New York Yankees

WASHINGTON, June 9 (UPI) Hillary Rodham Clinton has a couple of events in New York and New Jersey ahead, but she plans to rush back home in time to pose for pictures with the world champion New York Yankees.

The first lady has made nearly a dozen trips to New York in recent months, paving the way for her expected announcement that she plans to run for a Senate seat from New York. Hosting a reception for the Yankees should boost her political stock with New Yorkers.

On Thursday, she will visit a public school in Manhattan to announce \$1 million to purchase musical instruments for over 40 New York City public schools. The funds are being donated by VH-1 Save the Music and Time Warner Cable.

Afterward, she plans to travel to New Jersey to attend a luncheon in honor of Rep. Rush Holt, D-N.J., and then will participate in a program on youth violence at the Fisher School in Ewing.

Clinton is keeping her travel bags packed. She will fly to St. Louis to speak at a fund-raiser for House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo.

The first lady heads Friday to St. Louis for a fund-raiser for House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt, then Friday evening to Los Angeles, where she joins Tipper Gore at a fund-raiser Saturday morning for Vice President Al Gore.

Mrs. Clinton plans to travel later Saturday to northern California for a Democratic National Committee fund-raiser, then return to Washington in the evening.

The San Francisco Chronicle says the first lady has declined an invitation to join Mayor Willie Brown at the formal kickoff Saturday of his re-election campaign, and instead will spend time with her daughter, Chelsea.

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AM-NY--Mrs Clinton-Senate, 2nd Ld-Writethru,0820

Hillary Clinton talks jobs; raises cash for Dems

Eds: INSERTS new grafs 4-8 to UPDATE with color and Mrs. Clinton's comments;
Picks up 5th graf pvs bgng, `` ``I intend ...''

AP Photo

By MARC HUMBERT= AP Political Writer=

BINGHAMTON, N.Y. (AP) Prospective Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton told workers at a Binghamton plant Wednesday that the nation has been so successful ``because of people who have been willing to try new things.''

``There are too many people blocked into old thinking ... We are all such prisoners of our past,' ' the first lady said.

While Mrs. Clinton's comment dealt with the high technology work being done at the Lockheed Martin plant she was visiting, they also served to highlight her own thought process on the possible Senate race.

However, some people tried to dissuade her from thinking about running for retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat. About three dozen demonstrators chanting ``Go home'' were waiting for Mrs. Clinton when she left the plant.

Signs saying ``Queen Hillary go home'' and ``Carpetbagger go home'' also were waved at her.

``There are pros and cons and that's just the fact of political life,' ' Mrs. Clinton said in a brief interview with the media.

When asked why she was considering running for New York's Senate seat, she said, ``New York really is the Empire State and is a state that is on the cutting edge of so many changes.''

However, the subject of Mrs. Clinton's possible candidacy never came up during the almost one-hour question and answer session with about 40 plant employees. At the end of her visit to the plant, one company nurse urged Mrs. Clinton to keep working to improve the nation's health care system.

``I intend to,' ' the first lady responded.

It was Mrs. Clinton's 11th visit to New York this year and her first since announcing Friday she would form an exploratory committee to continue preparations for the Senate race her advisers expect her to enter.

The race could pit Mrs. Clinton against Republican New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who formed an exploratory committee in April. Also eyeing the GOP nomination is Rep. Rick Lazio of Long Island.

The first lady's latest New York foray continued later as she turned her attention to the personal campaign finance needs of fellow Democrats. Per-person ticket prices for a Binghamton fund-raiser for Rep. Maurice Hinchey ranged from \$125 to \$500. The larger amount guaranteed a personal visit with the first lady.

On Wednesday evening, Mrs. Clinton was to attend a \$5,000-a-person dinner organized by financial writer Andrew Tobias at a private home in New York City. The event, aimed at gay and lesbian campaign contributors, was expected to raise at least \$200,000 for the Democratic National Committee.

Berry said taxpayers would pick up part of the trip's tab for the Johnson City discussion on the economy while Hinchey's campaign committee and the DNC would pay the rest. She did not have a breakdown of the costs.

The taxpayer financing for portions of Mrs. Clinton's campaign-like trips has already led to criticism. Advisers have said funds raised by the exploratory committee may be used to cover such future expenses.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to visit the Binghamton area as part of her attempt to get a better handle on New York issues she has never lived or worked in the state had some local Democrats giddy.

``I'm thrilled. This is wonderful,' ' Barbara Paoletti, Broome County's Democratic Party chairwoman, said.

Some Republicans thought it was all hoopla for nothing.

``I'm probably the only one who still thinks she's not running,' ' state Sen. Thomas Libous, a Broome County Republican leader, said. He theorized she was flirting with the Senate race ``to take attention off the president and

the war'' in Kosovo.

But former state Democratic Chairman John Burns, a one-time mayor of Binghamton, said he believes Mrs. Clinton is in the race and will run well in the region. In Broome County, Republicans have a slight enrollment edge over Democrats.

``I think she's got a big women's vote around here,'' Burns said. ``I find that the men, Republican men and some Democrats and independents, might be a little standoffish about her. But I think she'll more than make up with women what she'll lose to the men.''

Nonetheless, Burns said the carpetbagger issue being raised by Giuliani and Lazio against Mrs. Clinton is something she has to overcome. The former state party leader said that on a visit earlier in the week to his wife's doctor, the talk quickly turned to the first lady.

``He said, 'The only thing I don't like about her is what does she know about New York?' It was the first thing out of his mouth,'' Burns said.

``It's an issue, but I think she can handle it,'' the former mayor added.

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 06/09/99 at 17:50EDT ****
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Hillary's Elmira Gap

It was Hillary Rodham Clinton at her most sanctimonious.

Smarting from gibes that the would-be U.S. senator from New York probably couldn't even find Elmira on a map, the First Lady boasted at a luncheon last week: "There are a number of people here from Elmira — I have been to Elmira."

It was said with a "that'll teach you" expression on her face. Predictably enough, her supporters rocked the rafters with cheers.

But is it true?

After veteran local Democratic leaders said they couldn't recall ever seeing Mrs. Clinton in the area, reporters checked with the White House and got this response: "She was in Elmira probably 40 years ago, on a family excursion between Chicago and Scranton." Oh.

As the local paper, the Star-Gazette, noted, whether Hillary Clinton ever came to Elmira is less important than whether she *understands* Elmira. But it's also important what kind of half-truths she self-righteously

thinks she can slip past the voters.

It's a technique her husband has honed to perfection. Three years ago, during the alleged epidemic of black-church burnings, an emotional Bill Clinton told the nation that "I have vivid and painful memories of black churches being burned in my own state when I was a child."

It was a powerful personal statement — except that those painful memories were of something that never happened. No one in Arkansas could recall any black churches having been burned in the 1950s or '60s — not the state historian or even the head of the state NAACP.

The White House released a list of three black churches in Arkansas that had burned in Clinton's youth. But it turned out that two of the fires weren't arson and no cause was determined for the other.

Mrs. Clinton's Elmira jibe is about more than local geography. It says everything about whether she enters the Senate race with a credibility gap that can only get bigger and bigger.

Hillary's Bleak Future Will Fuel Her N.Y. Run Now

•Republicans have been making the same mistake they usually do: Instead of getting a head start on their own agenda, they try to win by focusing on why Hillary shouldn't run.

The election will show that New Yorkers don't care that she's a carpetbagger, because they care about her issues. Hillary is going to come and show us just how much she does know about New York.

She knows New York is a liberal state, and she could win solely on her support of five key issues: abortion on demand, money for schools and teachers, more monetary handouts for those who can but won't work, universal health care and gun control.

As a pro-life and generally conservative voter, my political peers sound to me as if they are afraid of a Hillary campaign. Listen up, Republicans: Get your agenda together now, and present your issues clearly, with evidence and without shame before you blunder again.

Debra Arlante

Hopewell Junction (via e-mail)

•Dick Morris' suggestion that Hillary Clinton may "take the money and not run" for Senate in New York is implausible — Mrs. Clinton's lust for power far exceeds her self-respect and sense of discretion ("Hill might turn funds into Ill.-gotten gains," June 4). Look at who she stayed married to in order to keep house in Washington.

Mr. Morris wonders whether Mrs. Clinton will "use the Made in New York money to pay for

her political expenses for the next few years while she waits for a Senate race she can win." No, she won't. She can't. Between now and 2002, when she could choose to run for the Senate in Illinois, several things will happen:

Mrs. Clinton's husband will vacate the presidency in 2001, which will greatly weaken both of them politically. They will become much more vulnerable to criminal and civil prosecution. The charges could come from their political enemies, Ken Starr or Mr. Clinton's numerous sexual conquests.

Chelsea will no longer be taboo. The media could dig up information about her relationship with her parents that may prove to be very embarrassing.

If a Republican beats Al Gore in 2000, which is much more likely than not to happen, that Republican will sweep through the Executive Branch with a heavy broom. What we will discover about the extent of the present administration's incompetence, mendacity and corruption will make the Cox Report look like a carbon copy of the Constitution.

And if Al Gore wins the presidency and the economy goes south, all Democrats will be at risk, especially Mrs. Clinton.

If she loses in New York, she can blame it on easy targets like the carpetbagging issue, or her likely opponent, Mayor Giuliani, and still retain some "dignity."

Lee Nichols

Coram (via e-mail)

You can bet these caustic characters will run a grate race

THE Hillary-Rudy Senate battle will be Viagra for the media.

But for the voters, it will be a busted car alarm — screeching noise you can't shut off.

As a columnist, I welcome the pure theater of such Extreme Politics.

But as a New Yorker, I would have preferred Carl McCall vs. Peter King. Or Andrew Cuomo vs. Rick Lazio. I would have preferred a choice between candidates less deeply flawed and divisive.

The dirty little secret behind Hillary vs. Rudy is how similar they are.

They both favor gay rights, abortion rights and the death penalty; endorsed Mario Cuomo in 1994; opposed Bill Clinton's impeachment; and despise Al D'Amato.

They both have incomprehensible marriages.

They both leaked stories about dancing with their spouses.

They both loathe reporters and scapegoat the media.

They both want to be president, and see the Senate as a stepping stone.

They are both their parties' favorites because they can raise the most money and hire the most consultants.

They are both super-smart lawyers.

JACK NEWFIELD



The differences between Hillary and Rudy are just the generic differences between a moderate Democrat and a moderate Republican.

The biggest difference is Hillary's superiority on education and kids.

It will be a nasty, negative election because they are nasty, negative people who don't have a lot to argue about.

Giuliani is more of a known quantity, having been mayor since 1993.

Rudy is essentially a one-trick pony. He cut crime and improved the quality of life.

He never found a second trick.

Giuliani stopped growing. He stopped having strong people, like Bill Bratton, around him.

In his second term, Giuliani has become too dependent on insult and intimidation — attacking the Diallo protesters, feuding with the PBA and Gov. Pataki, bashing Rudy Crew, trying to deny other elected officials access to city records, repudiating his commission on police abuses.

Giuliani's strength was that voters thought he was a non-partisan problem solver. Now he seems like a chameleon, changing to blend in with his new upstate Republican environment.

In 1996, Giuliani accurately said, "Most of [President] Clinton's policies are very similar to most of mine."

Now he says, "Every single one of the 10 or 15 Republican candidates for president is better than Al Gore."

In 1996, he was blasting one of those currently superior candidates — Pat Buchanan — as anti-New York and insensitive to Jews.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is much more of an unknown quantity.

Her marriage is a complete mystery to the world. She hides her basic identity as if it were the nuclear code. She uses the Secret Service to keep reporters away as if they are plague carriers.

Hillary's biggest liabilities are all the scandals she has never effectively explained.

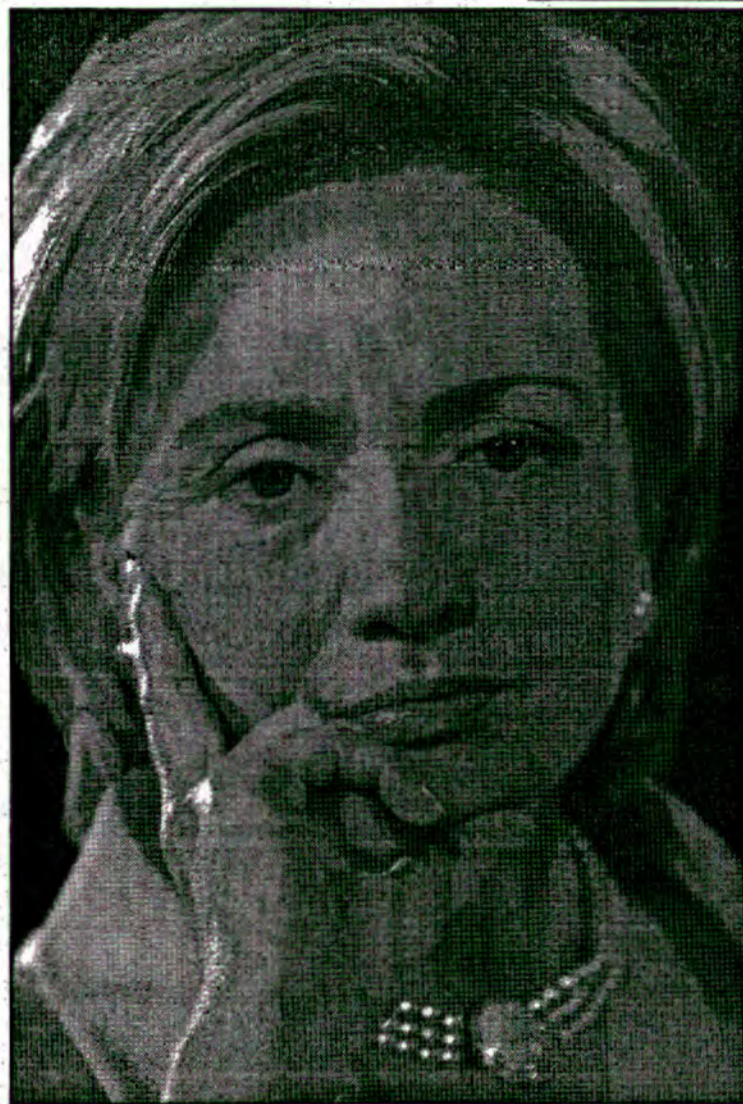
How did she make that \$100,000 profit on trading cattle futures? Her claim that she did it by reading The Wall Street Journal is preposterous.

She could become Giuliani's last insider-trading case.

Where were those billing records from the Rose Law Firm for two years?

What was she really doing in the Castle Grande real-estate scam?

In 1995, she swore to bank regulators she knew nothing about the deal.



MUCH TO ANSWER FOR: Hillary Rodham Clinton would have to address such scandals as her cattle-futures bonanza and Travelgate if she runs for Senate. *Reuters*

In 1996, Rose Law Firm records revealed she had submitted bills for 14 meetings and conversations with a Madison Guaranty bank exec about Castle Grande. We need full disclosure.

Why did she intervene to fire those seven employees of the White House Travel Office and hire cronies from Arkansas?

Remember the memo that quoted her telling David Watkins, "We need those people out, and our people in?"

This sounds more like Boss Tweed than Eleanor Roosevelt.

After reading the Hillary sections of the David Maraniss and Jim Stew-

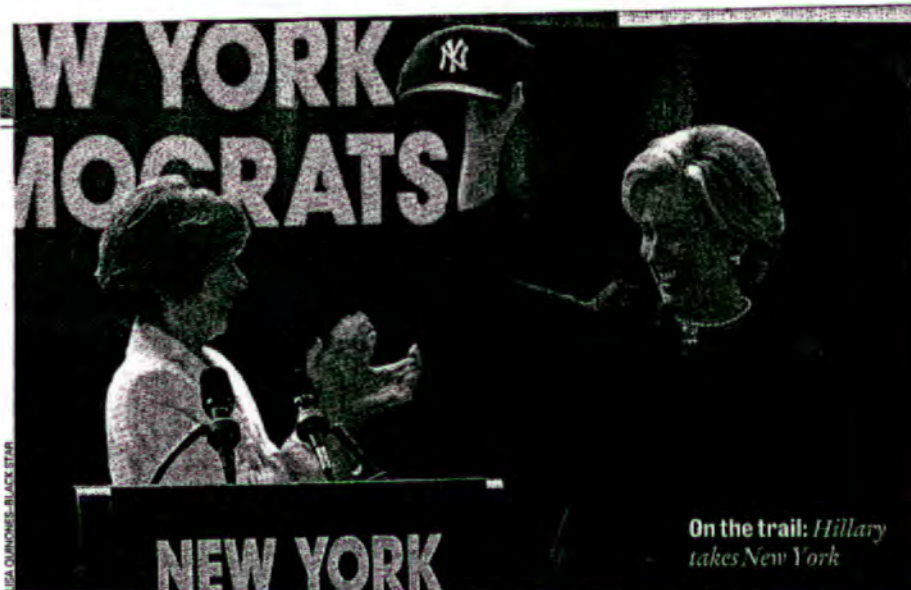
art books, she comes across as a grandiose, overly entitled materialist — almost a yuppie Ma Barker.

What a race, Ma Barker vs. Eliot Ness.

As a tabloid columnist, I'd love it.

But New York would be better off without it.

It will be a nasty, negative election because they are nasty, negative people who don't have a lot to argue about.



On the trail: Hillary takes New York

NEW YORK

With Foes Like These ...

Anticipating Hillary, the GOP is already wrangling

BY HOWARD FINEMAN

NOW HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON has confirmed it: she's jumping Ferragamos-first into the New York Senate race. She said last week that she would form an exploratory committee. She's expected to disclose this week that she's taken a lease on a Manhattan apartment. And while she's lost her first-blush lead in the polls, there's something encouragingly Clintonian about her political situation: she may share her husband's luck in enemies.



Rick Lazio

It's a Clinton family tradition to have Republican antagonists adept at overplaying their hand or tearing each other apart. Remember the House managers? In presidential campaigns, Pat Buchanan eviscerated George Bush (1992) and Bob Dole (1996) before they ever got to Bill Clinton. This time, it seems, the useful enemy could be former GOP senator Al D'Amato. Despite

his loss last year, D'Amato remains an important power broker, and he wants to exact revenge on both Rodham Clinton and the GOP's leading contender to oppose her, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. The resulting turmoil could help the First Lady.

In New York's street-gang-style politics, Giuliani and D'Amato are sworn enemies. The reason: Giuliani's 1994 decision to support a Democrat, Gov. Mario Cuomo, against George Pataki, D'Amato's handpicked candidate for gover-

nor. Pataki won, and won again in 1998.

Now it's payback time. First, Pataki taunted Giuliani by flirting with a Senate bid. Now D'Amato's allies are promoting Rep. Rick Lazio, a well-groomed young lawyer from D'Amato's Long Island base. Lazio is quietly raising a million a month, and is hoping to win the endorsement of the New York Conservative Party—an obscure but crucial ballot line. “I think we need to find the best candidate, whoever that may be,” D'Amato told *NEWSWEEK*. “I wouldn't presume to say who would be the better candidate.” Translation: Giuliani can forget it. “This could be a real bloodbath,” said upstate New York polltaker John Zogby.

The other object of D'Amato's loathing is, of course, Hillary Herself. As head of the Senate Banking Committee, he conducted a probe of Whitewater. As *her* payback, she made defeating him last year her own—and the Democratic Party's—chief objective. His loss was the biggest upset of 1998. Though Lazio says he wants to talk about the “issues,” D'Amato sounds eager to replay his investigation. “She's the one who made this personal,” he says. “She's *still* going to have to explain what happened to those law-firm billing records.”

But dwelling on scandals of the past could backfire. At least Hillary's allies think so. “Let 'em try,” said one top Democratic strategist with ties to the First Lady. “Her answer will be simple: they just want to talk about *my* past, but I just want to talk about *your* future.” If that theme sounds familiar, it is. Her husband used it to great effect as the Comeback Kid in New Hampshire.

With ELEANOR CLIFT

A Land Mine on the Path From First Lady to Senator

With all the political speculation swirling about whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York, there is a quirky constitutional landmine confronting her that has been overlooked. It isn't a disabling condition, but it could have an important effect on her status in the Senate if she were to be elected. New Yorkers should take special note.

The land mine is something called the Incompatibility Clause, found in Article I, Section 6, Clause 2 of the Constitution. It says: "No person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of

Rule of Law

By James Blumstein

either House during his [or her] Continuance in Office."

The Supreme Court hasn't had a lot to say on the Incompatibility Clause, presumably because the meaning is hard to miss. The last time it came up was the early 1970s, when Vietnam War protesters used it to challenge the ability of certain members of the House and the Senate to remain members of the armed-forces reserves.

The theory was that service in the reserves constituted holding an office, and, under the Incompatibility Clause, the members could not both be officeholders and members of Congress. The lower courts ruled in favor of the challengers, declaring that members of Congress were ineligible simultaneously to serve in the reserves. On appeal, the Supreme Court dodged the merits of the issue on a procedural ground.

The Incompatibility Clause doesn't suggest that a federal officeholder is barred from running for Congress, but it does

indicate that a person cannot serve in both capacities simultaneously. That would be a violation of basic principles of separation of powers.

The question regarding Mrs. Clinton is whether her position as first lady constitutes an "Office under the United States." That issue arose in the context of the administration's health reform task force that Mrs. Clinton chaired in 1993. A group of physicians asserted that the task force was a federal advisory committee and therefore subject to the sunshine provisions that apply to such advisory committees. The Clinton administration countered that the advisory committee law didn't apply because of an exception for groups composed solely of "full-time officers or employees" of the government. It argued that, as first lady, Mrs. Clinton was the functional equivalent of a government officer or employee.

Although noting that the issue was "not an easy one," the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit eventually accepted this argument. It concluded that "Congress itself has recognized that the President's spouse acts as the functional equivalent of an assistant to the President." The Office of the First Lady is established by statute and includes a full-time staff paid for with public funds.

The D.C. Circuit rejected the argument that recognizing the first lady as an "officer or employee" of the federal government could violate anti-nepotism laws. Those prohibit any public official (including the president) from appointing or employing a relative (including a spouse) "in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control." The court found that the White House wasn't such an "agency," so that the anti-nepotism laws weren't inconsistent with a conclusion that the first lady was a federal officer or employee.

The bottom line for the D.C. Circuit was that Mrs. Clinton was considered a "full-time officer or employee of the government" and therefore her task force did not have to comply with the disclosure rules applicable to advisory committees.

The problem this poses for Mrs. Clinton's potential candidacy for the Senate from New York in 2000 is that, if she is an officer of the federal government, she cannot serve as such an officer and as a senator simultaneously. How is this an issue? Under the 20th Amendment, senators elected in 2000 become eligible to take office after noon on Jan. 3, 2001, when the term of those senators leaving office expires. Under the same amendment, Mr. Clinton's term doesn't expire until noon on Jan. 20, 2001.



Hillary Clinton

Under normal circumstances the incompatibility could be resolved by the federal officeholder's resignation from her office. But in the case of the first lady, that isn't so easy. As the Court of Appeals noted: "How, one might ask, could she [Mrs. Clinton] be removed?" It is possible that the president "could withdraw any or all authority delegated to his spouse," but exactly how that would be done is unclear.

Of course, the president could resign from office early in deference to Mrs. Clinton if she were elected, but that would raise its own set of problems. Should Vice President Gore get to be president for 17 days—or, if he wins the presidential election, 17 extra days—so Mrs. Clinton can take her seat at the same time as the other senators?

Absent a presidential resignation,

however, one can predict a squabble in the Senate, which has the authority under the Constitution to determine the qualifications of its own members. Delay in seating a putative Sen. Clinton until Mr. Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, would be a likely scenario in light of the uncertainties associated with the alternatives.

Why might the delay of only a few weeks be of concern to anyone? The answer is Senate seniority—and that's important to New Yorkers.

Unless a special rule were adopted for Mrs. Clinton—and that would disadvantage all other newly elected Democratic senators and would be detrimental to the interest of the citizens of the states they represent—Mrs. Clinton would receive the lowest seniority since she would be the last to take office. That, in turn, could have an effect on her assignment to committees and to her assuming positions of leadership on those committees.

In Tennessee, for example, Sens. Fred Thompson and Bill Frist were both elected in 1994, but Sen. Thompson assumed office a few weeks before Sen. Frist because the incumbent senator left office early. As a result, Sen. Thompson has greater seniority and chairs an important committee while Sen. Frist is working his way up the ranks along with the other Republican senators newly elected with him in 1994.

So, as a result of the intersection of Mrs. Clinton's status as first lady and a little noticed constitutional provision, New Yorkers who might elect Mrs. Clinton as senator in 2000 may face a loss of some seniority for their newly elected junior senator.

Mr. Blumstein is a professor at Vanderbilt Law School.

Web site — www.dscc.org — has been referring to the first lady as Hillary Rodham. No Clinton."

Three mentors

Former New York first lady Matilda Raffa Cuomo's first book, "The Person Who Changed My Life," is a collection of essays from 79 prominent individuals who recall their mentors.

Hillary Rodham Clinton writes the foreword, while three presidential aspirants — Elizabeth Dole, Bill Bradley and, yes, Tipper Gore — reveal their mentors.

Mr. Bradley, former New Jersey senator and professional basketball star — who faces Mrs. Gore and her husband for the Democratic nomination for president — points to Ed Macauley, a former NBA player who taught him "to work endlessly on my game," which ultimately spread to "my life habits."

And Mrs. Dole remembers Mrs. W.W. Meant, her sixth-grade teacher, who "kindled lively discussions on current events that brought the world into our classroom."

The National Italian American Foundation is sponsoring a Capitol Hill reception for Mrs. Cuomo this evening. And tomorrow, from 7:30 to 8:30 p.m., she'll be joined by her son, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo, at a book-signing party at Barnes & Noble in Georgetown.

Lowly senator

We rang the Ladbroke Group, renowned London-based oddsmakers, after Hillary Rodham

Clinton announced she'd be forming an exploratory committee for a possible run at the Senate.

It's not our intention to further agitate Al Gore, but based upon what we've learned, Mrs. Clinton might just as well wager everything on the big prize — 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

"Back on March 31, we put Hillary's chances at becoming the next president of the United States at 1000-to-1," oddsmaker Ed Nicholson tells us. "She was a big outsider."

"But not anymore," he says. "We'll re-evaluate it, but certainly it would be a much smaller margin now."

You don't say?

"Yes, she would easily be half that today, perhaps 250-to-1 to become the next president of the United States."

Stop right there, Mr. Nicholson. Nobody said anything about the Oval Office. We were only inquiring of Mrs. Clinton's chances of becoming the next senator from New York, nothing more.

"We don't get involved in those kinds of bets," he says. "They're too small."

Distancing Hillary

Intriguing that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee's

House hunting with Hillary

Hello Bush! See ya, Scalia? Rubin for veep, Larry Summers's backhand

BY FRANKLIN FOER

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she plans on moving to New York—no matter what. But where in New York? A leading theory circulating in the White House places her in the burbs. The towns of Pelham and Bronxville, both in Westchester County, are cropping up as politically smart addresses that could boost her prospective Senate campaign: "Soccer moms will be key, and these towns are the heart of soccer-mom country," explains one New York politico. Meanwhile, some of Al Gore's aides are worried that the first lady's candidacy will enrage New York conservatives, sending them to the polls in droves. One adviser says, "New York should be a slam-dunk for Gore. It'll be a big problem if Hillary puts the state in play for a Republican presidential nominee."

Rosie for Liddy

Yes, she shills for Kmart, a gun dealer. But lately talk-show host **Rosie O'Donnell** has become a poster girl for Handgun Control Inc. First, there was her on-air joust with Tom "I am the NRA" Selleck. And in a recent meeting with Elizabeth Dole's staff, O'Donnell saluted the Dole campaign's new antigun stance. According to one aide, "Rosie even said she would raise money to the hilt for Mrs. Dole." Next Tuesday, Dole will make her *Rosie* debut.

Explaining W.

The presidential campaign has accelerated so much that

George W. Bush feels increasing pressure to flesh out his conception of "compassionate conservatism" much earlier than he had anticipated. The explanatory process will begin during his first campaign stops in Iowa and New Hampshire on June 12 and 14, respectively. Advisers say that he hopes to roll out his ideas over time rather than going for broke in a single "vision speech." One reason for this heightened interest in self-definition: The governor was miffed at Vice President Al Gore's recent speech extolling the importance of faith-based institutions in solving social ills—an idea Bush considers his own and thinks Gore is

stealing. "We can't let this happen," a Bush aide says.

Shocking realization

The White House and NATO insist that victory in Kosovo is near. But there are telling signs of doubt in the ranks. In recent days, the CIA held a session on "What's Gone Wrong?" One conclusion: NATO's strategy of gradually escalating the bombing was doomed from the start.

Dissenter will not hold

If Al Gore is elected, then conservative **Justice Antonin Scalia** will resign. At least, that's the spin Republican op-

eratives have been serving up. Their argument: The next president could pick a slew of Supreme Court justices. And Scalia has hinted that he isn't interested in becoming a dissenter, surrounded by Gore's liberal appointees. The spin behind the spin: Conservatives intend to use this scenario to strike fear into the hearts of their rank and file, mobilizing them for the upcoming election.

Friar Bill

President Clinton has a new look: He wants to remake himself as **Mother Teresa**. His latest cause is drawing attention to those left behind by the booming economy. He plans to visit Appalachia and the Mississippi Delta during July. Some of his advisers were initially skeptical of the jaunts, thinking that they would divert time from other projects and call attention to flaws in Clinton's economic policies. But in White House meetings, the president has insisted that he wants to spend much of his remaining months in office "bringing capital to these places." Advisers naturally enough relented.

Phantom Menace

After Littleton, you would think that Hollywood would be eager to clean up its act. Not so. Tinseltown's chief lobbyist, **Jack Valenti**, and his Motion Picture Association of America have been working the phones to weaken legislation that would create a commission on youth violence. Congressional aides claim that Valenti has lobbied hard to prevent the bipartisan



Will Hillary Rodham Clinton want to live in the burbs or the Big Apple?

PUBLIC EYE

Margaret Carlson

Uh-Oh, the Real First Lady Shows Up

On the stump, Hillary comes down in size and sounds more like Al than Bill

SO WHAT DO I DO NOW? HORDES OF MID-LIFE BABY boomers ask themselves that very question, often upon waking at 3 in the morning. But only one has the standing to answer, "Oh, I think it would be nice to move to New York and run for the Senate" and not be laughed at. As I trail around behind Hillary Clinton on her ninth visit to New York since January, her running has gone from unlikely to assumed. The buzz is now all about how best to obscure that she's a carpetbagger, and an especially giant one since she lives famously in a famous house in another city. If she heeds her friend Senator Chuck Schumer's warning not to try to live two lives at once, she will be the first First Lady to abdicate. That certainly turns two for the price of one on its ear.

But she has an even bigger problem: the initial glow of her candidacy has already worn off, and not just because New Yorkers are so easily bored. Those pushing her to run lost sight of the transient reason she had become the most admired woman in the country. It's not the wonders of make-up or the right hairdo or giving up the institutional power of being health-care czar and posing for the cover of *Vogue*. The reason she finally got to that 60% in the polls—to that Sally Field "you like me, you really like me" moment—was that she had become what she swore she wasn't in the *60 Minutes* interview: a long-suffering wife standing by her man.

Now, as she morphs from St. Hillary to Senate candidate, she risks losing the support of the wishy-washy who ardently did not want her husband run out of town by Ken Starr but are perfectly happy to have Clinton go quietly when his term ends. If people think Clinton fatigue is going to hurt Al Gore, imagine how much it could hurt an actual Clinton.

Then there's the fact that she's not a very good candidate. As much as voters want to know what a candidate will do, they also want to know who a person is, what gets them up in the morning, whom they love and why. And on these matters, Hillary is not going to give an inch, proudly. In an interview broadcast last Wednesday, Clinton nods her head patiently throughout, as if to humor Dan Rather, and laughs loudly and mirthlessly when he asks about her mysterious marriage. Despite the false bonhomie, she emits disdain for the idea that matters other than policy are anyone's business.

New York, where folks expect you to be happy when they stuff a blintz in your mouth, is no place for someone like this. Last week she started out at a party for Matilda Cuomo's new book, *The Person Who Changed My Life: Promi-*

nent Americans Recall Their Mentors, at Le Cirque 2000, where she posed for pictures in a small room with Tony Bennett, shoe mogul Kenneth Cole and arts maven Kitty Carlisle Hart, among other luminaries. She then emerged to make a few standard-issue remarks and then—poof!—disappeared, even though she had a crowd of People Who Need No Introduction hoping for some quality time with her. Hey, there's Stanley Tucci, there's Doris Kearns Goodwin, Harry Belafonte, Bob Morgenthau. Warm and funny with her inner circle, she is as eager to flee a room as her husband is to win over every one in it. She doesn't welcome a rope line or shake a hand she doesn't have to. She should have followed former Governor Mario Cuomo around for a few minutes as he pressed every bit of flesh there. ("Scotch-Irish?" he says to an attractive woman. "Your parents lied to you, you're Italian.")

Hillary's next stop was the Grand Hyatt ballroom, where she was the star attraction at a fund raiser for Congresswoman Nita Lowey, who patiently waits in the wings to run if the queen doesn't. Leaving aside the awkward body language (there was a lot of back patting as if each was trying to calm a colicky baby), here was Hillary in the red-hot center of Democrat Love, getting a warm but not ecstatic reception. The room was respectful of her recital of Democratic programs in a sing-song voice, not unlike Gore's, but not enthralled. One of the top party operatives, having shown her face, sneaked out before the speech. In the back, the deeply devoted had to shush those who had drifted off into their own conversations. The topics included how good Hillary looked considering all she had been through (as if she were a widow at a funeral) and whether the Clintons, who vacationed on a ranch in Wyoming because a pollster told them to, would be happy forgoing the Hamptons in favor of the politically correct Adirondacks, a place so sleepy there's a lawn chair named after it.

Two weeks ago, in Littleton, Colo., Hillary gave a touching, eloquent speech to Columbine students. It was the First Lady at her best. There are more of those to give, more causes to pursue, more crises to smooth over and more sunsets to watch from the Truman Balcony. It is generous of her to give up the wealth that awaits her after the White House for the chance to answer Trent Lott's quorum calls. But there are other ways to serve. If nothing else, before making up her mind, she should try out the

middle seat on the Delta Shuttle in place of the soft cocoon of Air Force One. Now that's a reality check. ■

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION: HILLARY CLINTON PHOTO BY BOREN—AP



60 - SECOND SYMPOSIUM

LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION

We asked New York real estate agents where Hillary Clinton should live if she aims to make New York her home and Senate seat.



"On Manhattan's East Side, Hillary could buy an apartment near the Armory. She could wave to fund raisers as they walked to the polls on Election Day. Or on Central Park West—the liberals, Hollywood celebs and quick escapes by helicopter would give her the life-style she has grown accustomed to." —Barbara Corcoran, the Corcoran Group

"Sagaponack, an oceanside hamlet, would offer Mrs. Clinton a quiet escape before attending those fund-raising parties. The paparazzi would concentrate on other high-profile celebrities, so she could flee the commitments and stop at the Sagg Main Store for a chicken pot pie." —Peter Hallock, Allan M. Schneider Associates

"Mrs. Clinton will need the refuge Westchester County can provide: a house near a university and airport, expensive yet unpretentious, with space to entertain, a pool and some acreage—a place for Chelsea's at-home wedding. Space for a doghouse is a plus." —Rita Steinkamp, Houlihan Lawrence

By Harriet Barovick, Autumn DeLeon, Michelle Derrow, Tam Gray, Daniel Levy, Lina Lofaro, Anne Moffett, David Spitz and Chris Taylor

TIME, JUNE 7, 1999

Deborah B. Mohile
06/07/99 06:47:59 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Marsha E. Berry/WHO/EOP@EOP, Toby C. Graff/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: fyi- Jewish wire service story

in case you haven't seen this yet:

**BEHIND THE
HEADLINES
If and when Hillary Clinton
runs,
she's going to need Jewish
votes**
By Matthew Dorf

WASHINGTON, June 7 (JTA) -- First lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton believes that it is in the
long-term interests of the Middle East for there
to be a state of Palestine.

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani had
Yasser Arafat removed from a 1995 concert at
Lincoln Center saying the Palestinian Authority
chairman is a terrorist and murderer.

If the two face off in a race to become the next
junior senator from New York -- as they likely
will -- the different approach to the Palestinians
is certain to be an issue.

For Clinton to win, she's going to need
overwhelming support from voters in and
around New York City -- that's where more
than 1 million registered Jewish voters live.

Clinton wants to focus on domestic issues such
as education and health care.

But already some Democrats are worried that
her views on the Middle East and Palestinian
statehood -- which they argue are not fairly
reflected by one comment that she made two
years ago to a group of Arab and Israeli
teen-agers -- will haunt her on the campaign
trail.

Last week, Clinton said she would form an exploratory committee in July to begin to raise money for the race. The announcement falls one step short of a declaration of candidacy.

Despite the questions about her view on Palestinian statehood, Clinton is believed to enjoy widespread support in the Jewish community, especially among women.

Once Clinton begins direct fund raising next month, officials expect Jewish campaign contributions to pour in. But whether Clinton can overcome charges of "carpetbagger" and convince Jews who have supported Giuliani to cross over and vote for her has yet to be seen.

To be sure, New York has its "yellow-dog Democrats," those who will vote for the Democrat no matter what, as well as its staunch Republicans. Only when Clinton hits the campaign trail will she test the loyalties of Jewish voters who lie in the middle.

Already, Jewish voters are the talk of political consultants who are looking at mathematical ways for Clinton to beat Giuliani if, as expected, he survives a likely primary challenge from Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.).

Just as Democrats can't win the White House without California, Clinton can't win New York without strong Jewish support, according to a Democratic activist.

"If Giuliani gets 40 percent of the Jewish vote, he wins," said this activist, who has a pessimistic view of Clinton's chances based on the mayor's track record of more than 60 percent support among Jewish voters in his two election victories.

A poll of 748 voters three weeks ago by Zogby International, a New York-based polling firm, showed Giuliani beating Clinton among Jewish voters 50 percent to 36 percent. Among all voters, Giuliani was ahead of Clinton 49 percent to 44 percent, the poll said.

Perhaps with this in mind, some of Clinton's first public events in the next few weeks will target the Jewish community.

A fortuitous coincidence has Clinton traveling to Israel only days before she is set to officially open the exploratory phase of her campaign.

According to a preliminary schedule, Clinton is slated to arrive in Israel on June 24 during a long-planned mission visit to the region. Clinton is also expected to visit the Palestinian self-rule areas, although no details have been released.

While the visit will give the first lady a high profile, she is also planning to step up her Jewish speaking engagements when she returns.

On June 27, Clinton is scheduled to speak to Hadassah's annual convention in Washington and then attend a National Jewish Democratic Council award celebration for Steve and Barbara Grossman. Steve Grossman is the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a former president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Most likely, she will reiterate to Jewish audiences what she said in April in a speech to the UJA-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

Referring to the question of Palestinian statehood, she cited the U.S. administration's position, saying, "We will stand behind any decision made between the parties and we will oppose any unilateral step that prejudices the outcome of negotiations."

But while the first lady "can spin Palestinian statehood away," the Clinton administration's Jerusalem policy "is going to dog her like crazy," a Democratic activist said, on the condition his name not be used.

Just this week, the Clinton administration notified members of Congress and Jewish officials that he would formally waive the provisions of a 1995 law that requires the United States to move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

According to participants at a closed-door briefing at last month's policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a top official with the lobbying group cast doubt on Hillary Clinton's support for Israel.

The pro-Israel community can be confident that there will be supporters in New Jersey and Florida, the official said, referring to the open seats where Sens. Frank Lautenberg, a Democrat, and Connie Mack, a Republican, are retiring.

"I wish I could say the same about New York," the official said, in an apparent jab at Clinton.

While no one expects the pro-Israel community to launch a campaign against Clinton, their opposition is a source of concern and irritation for some supporters who say her genuine support for Israel will shine through.

Both the president and Hillary Clinton believe in Yitzhak Rabin's analysis that the peace process is integral to Israel's security, according to Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Reform movement's Religious Action Center.

"If she's elected to the Senate, it's hard for me to imagine a senator more deeply committed to Israel and the special U.S.-Israel relationship and more able to convey that commitment to those feelings to large numbers of Americans," he said.

Still, reservations about her views linger. Several single-issue pro-Israel political action committees do not plan on supporting Clinton unless she renounces her support for Palestinian statehood. In contrast, they said they plan to contribute to Giuliani's campaign.

For its part, the Joint Action Committee, which focuses on Israel, abortion rights and church-state separation, won't weigh in until they see who all the players are, but many individuals in the predominantly women's PAC are supporting Clinton, according to Betsy Sheerr, national president of the group.

Polls show that the Jewish community is more committed to abortion rights and women's rights than any other, Saperstein said.

"The Jewish community will see in Hillary Clinton a true champion," he said.

But critics contend that the first lady's record on domestic issues of concern to the Jewish community is, as one activist put it, "very mixed." This activist cited specifically her role in encouraging the president to sign the 1996 welfare reform law, which eliminated federal entitlement to welfare benefits.

In the area of education, which is already emerging as a focus in New York, Clinton has a long track record.

Giuliani has staked out a position as an advocate of school vouchers, which Clinton adamantly opposes.

Clinton can draw on a long history that includes bringing the Israeli program known as HIPPY -- the Home Instruction Program for Pre-school Youngsters -- to Arkansas.

Clinton sat on the HIPPY board of directors from 1991 until her husband took office in January 1993.

The president of the National Council of Jewish Women, Nan Rich, who was instrumental in bringing HIPPY to this country, believes Clinton "would make a fabulous senator."

"She deserves the opportunity. She's been there for others. Now it's her turn," Rich said.

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PERISCOPE

NEWSWEEK JUNE 7, 1999

HILLARY

Listen for the Sound of Silence

FRESH FROM A FLORIDA vacation, Hillary Clinton heads for New York City this week. She'll give a commencement address at City College and attend a fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney. But friends say the First Lady won't announce that she's running for the Senate. What they're listening for is the sound of silence. "If she doesn't say an absolute 'no', then it's an implicit 'yes'," says an adviser. Mrs. Clinton is keenly aware that she can't stall much longer without dashing Democratic hopes of keeping the seat. She's just soul-searching now, friends say. Bill's been in favor of the race from the start and Chelsea gave her all-important thumbs up over spring break.

Barring a firm no, Mrs. Clinton is likely to wait until at least late June to announce the formation of an exploratory committee. The reason? She'll be out of the country most of the



Bill has favored a run, and Chelsea just gave her the thumbs up, too

month, traveling to the Mideast and accompanying the president to the G-8 summit in Europe. Meanwhile, she's been phoning Democrats all over the state, boning up on New York issues and trying to ensure that local pols say nice things about her if she runs. Her advisers are also talking to retiring Sen. Pat

Moynihan's staffers, in search of a New York pro to join her campaign. Reports suggest the Clintons are scouting property in Westchester County. But during a campaign, friends say, she would use the White House as home base and could commute to a rented or borrowed pad in New York state.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Deeper and Deeper Edition

As we dust off the Webbers and ponder our 401(k)s, the woes of Belgraders—not to mention Kosovars—seem far away. But the CW knows the mess isn't going away any time soon.

C.W.

Slobo	Indicted as a war criminal: Great. How do we negotiate with him now?
Bombing	Belgrade bombardment wearing us down more than the Serbs. Go to ground.
Hillary	Despite flat polls, she's running. Sleeper issue for New Yorkers: she's a Cubs fan.
Spike Lee	Anti-gun director jokes "shoot Heston." Do the right thing: shut up.
Wall St.	Heading for 24-hour trading. Good for Starbucks, bad for sex.
Austin Powers	Enlarged expectations, but will CW have turn into "The Hype That Shagged Me"?

JUNE 7, 1999 NEWSWEEK

PERSPECTIVES

"Everything that happens in America happens in New York."
*First Lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, discussing her possible plans
for a New York Senate bid with CBS's Dan Rather*

The New Yorker

Anybody seen Hillary Rodham?

"SHE DOESN'T bat an eye and she doesn't give an inch," Dan Rather is telling us in his own words, or rather clichés. She also "defines privacy on her own terms," Dan says, whatever that means.

One thing it means is that Hillary Rodham Clinton of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and definitely not Little Rock, Ark., any more, is running for public office in the most public of places—New York. Or at least she's thinking about thinking about it. Which is enough to get Dan Rather an interview.

It's a Wednesday evening and Hillary Clinton, the first victim, is on prime-time television Q-and-A-ing with "Oh, Dan!" on something called 60 Minutes II. What's that? It seems to be 60 Minutes with Dan Rather as Mike Wallace. Anyway, a Hillary interview with anybody anywhere about anything qualifies as news these days. It's big hint No. 143 that she Just Might Do It. Big hint No. 144: Nita Lowey, the actual New Yorker who was considering a Senate race, won't do it.

Of course everybody's hoping Hillary will. If by everybody you mean (a) writers and talk-show hosts from New York, or (b) Dan Rather. The man was practically auditioning for press secretary.

So let's sum up Miss Hillary's interview for those who have lives and couldn't watch: "Oh, Dan!"

Good stuff. No doubt. Way with words, she has. But what's even more fun than watching Hillary tease Dan is watching New Yorkers watch Hillary tease them. It's more fun than Star Wars, and the verbal sword fights promise to be almost as good. A Hillary Clinton-Rudy Giuliani contest, feud, name-calling and food-throwing match is a made-for-Maureen-Dowd moment. Already, *The New Yorker's* Joe Klein has come to understand what it's really all about. "The more we fantasize about the race," writes Mr. Anonymous, "the more it feels like a government subsidy for wayward journalists. Consider the alternative: meandering through Iowa with Al Gore, stumping with Steve Forbes in New Hampshire? No contest."

We can relate. The prospect of a Jay Dickey-Dewayne Graham debate doesn't exactly get the deadline juices flowing. But this time we politically saturated Arkies can enjoy the show from out here in the bleachers of Fly-over Land. We know the starters, and the managers. A first lady scorned running against the man who took Manhattan by (police) force. It's so grotesquely New Yawk that it's almost Southern.



HERE'S A riddle: The punditry has informed us that Americans are suffering not from scandal fatigue but Clinton fatigue, which is why nobody's interested in Al Gore. We can think of a few hundred other reasons nobody is interested in Al Gore, but okay. Sounds reasonable. Our question: Why, then, the interest in Hillary Clinton, as in Clinton? To date, her accomplishments in this administration include (a) developing a health-care reform plan that enabled the GOP to gain control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, and (b) well, it'll come to us.

Yes, she is big on education. We know this because Hillary tells us so. And she once reformed Arkansas'. (It needs reforming again by now.) But she's an old-school reformer. Which means she's against real reform like vouchers—*a.d.* for more federal spending which ought to go over like a day-old bagel in her newly adopted state, where it was just revealed that two out of three fourth-graders in New York City can't read. This despite the state's laying out some \$13 billion a year on education. Double that amount and—who knows?—maybe three out of three fourth-graders won't be able to tell Spot from Jane.

If there's one thing we should have learned about education by now in this industrialized country with the

highest spending on education and the lowest test scores, it's that money ain't everything. Sometimes it seems almost irrelevant. (Compare New York City's reading scores with Iowa's, or New Hampshire's, or Taiwan's for that matter.) By now we seem to have developed an almost inverse relationship between dollars spent and education improved.

But when it's about the Clintons, it's not about policy. Not any more. Those days are long gone—if they were ever here. The Clintons represented change in '92, not ideas. By '96, they represented good times and high fashion. Then came the Lewinsky Parentheses, and they became cheap entertainment. Now that it's over, they've come to represent expensive entertainment. Soon they'll be the toast of Hollywood East. Why do you think Hillary Clinton launched her campaign-for-something, anything, at the start of the year by appearing on all those hands-over-breasts magazines like *Vogue*? Politics has become a fashion statement, or is it the other way around? Yep, our gal's a corker—and she's about to be a New Yorker.

THE FIRST LADY'S designer hat may not officially be in the ring, but New York's literatti continue to fall all over themselves to produce the Ultimate Hillary piece. James Bennet gave it a go in last Sunday's edition of the *New York Times Magazine*. And he did better than most, managing to come up with one fresh paragraph: "But maybe it is simply time to stop caring so much. Maybe it is time to leave wondering if the Clintons truly love each other to the historians and focus on the accomplishments, failures and ideas that define his Presidency and would define her Senate race."

That's a noble sentiment and, like many these days, it seems to have no bearing at all on political reality. One might as well expect the Clintons to stop being Clintons. You might as well expect Tom and Daisy Buchanan to shape up and give *The Great Gatsby* a happy ending. For isn't the Clinton legacy their own kleig-lighted lives, not their ideas? What idea did he or she ever represent besides their own upward mobility? Was it the idea that the era of big government is over, or that it's still here? Was it Clintonian normalcy or continuing scandal, and what's the difference?

To start measuring Bill and Hillary now by their "accomplishments, failures and ideas" would seem not just unrealistic but cruel. They're not playing that game any more, if they ever did. Didn't Mr. Bennet watch 60 Minutes II in which Dan Rather played Barbara Walters, and Hillary Clinton played Lady Di?

THERE WAS one interesting moment during Oh Dan's! wet kiss of an interview with First Woman. It was a clip of an earlier 60 Minutes interview with both Clintons. They were on Super Bowl Sunday 1992, and Hillary Clinton was standing by her man as only she can. What she said doesn't matter any more, if it mattered then. But the way she said it brought a smile. Miss Hillary still had a hint of Arkansas twang in her voice then, and it got more pronounced as she got angrier. It was charming. It brought back a real person, a bespectacled young law prof full of feminine fury and her own integrity... but that was long ago and the wench is dead—or at least quietly dropped from the repertoire.

That down-home twang is long gone now. It's been replaced by the perfect pitch of a politician in pre-campaign flirtation. Listen and you can hear how she'd fit into the chorus of Blanche Lincoln and Charles Schumers in the United States Senate. Soon the vowels will begin to take on a certain Westchester gentility. Pay no attention to the ideas behind the curtain. It's the impression, the fashion, the stream of unconsciousness that counts now. It's Politics 2000. It's virtual reality, with the emphasis on virtual.

First Lady's Best Issues Could Shape Senate Race

Allies Point to Family and Health Expertise

By JAMES DAO

WASHINGTON, June 6 — As she inches closer to running for senator from New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton is preparing to build a campaign around education, family and health care issues — the areas where she has the clearest record of accomplishment, and failure, Democrats close to the First Lady say.

Those three areas would be a natural focus of Mrs. Clinton's campaign, because she cares passionately about them and has become a leading Administration voice on all three. For someone who has never run for office, Mrs. Clinton has also established a remarkably long and detailed track record on the issues during two decades of public life.

That record — established in leading an education commission in Arkansas, in her much criticized handling of the 1993 health care debate and in her more recent but less noticed role in negotiating adoption and bankruptcy legislation — is sure to be a target of Republicans.

But Mrs. Clinton's advisers believe that there would be a clear political payoff to constructing a campaign around her keenest interests. For one thing, they say, she has developed an encyclopedic expertise on the three subjects that enables her to debate arcane policy and give seamless speeches without a text or notes.

Democrats also assert that New York voters have grown increasingly concerned about the quality of their schools and the availability of health care, while crime — the issue on which voters tend to give higher marks to Republicans — has fallen somewhat in importance in polls.

"There were other moments when Mrs. Clinton might not have been the right candidate for New York State," a top adviser to Mrs. Clinton said. "But a happy confluence of events has made this an ideal time for her."

Finally, many prominent Democrats believe that Mrs. Clinton's positions on education and health care would provide the sharpest contrasts between her and the man they expect to be her Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Another possible opponent is Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican, who has said he might enter the race. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the three-term

Democrat who holds the seat, is retiring at the end of next year.

While Mrs. Clinton has yet to announce formally that she is running, she announced on Friday that she would register an exploratory committee with the Federal Election Commission. She has also spent recent months talking to advisers and aides about possible strategy for such a campaign.

Beyond policy, Mrs. Clinton's advisers also expect her to attack Mr. Giuliani's hard-edged style if he is the candidate. "The temperament to be a senator is very different from being a mayor," said State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, a Democrat. "Many people will not see Giuliani as somebody with the ability to get along with others."

Finding contrasts with Mr. Giuliani is important to many Democrats because, even though Republicans have sought to paint Mrs. Clinton as an extreme liberal, she and Mr. Giuliani agree on many of the issues that have historically separated Republican and Democratic candidates.

Both support the death penalty, abortion rights and homosexual rights — as does Mr. Lazio. She endorsed the welfare law that helped Mr. Giuliani shrink the city's welfare rolls. And he broke with other Republicans in endorsing the Clinton Administration's crime bill of 1994, which included gun control provisions and money for hiring police officers.

"The kind of contrast that I had with D'Amato on gun control and choice will not be as stark," said Senator Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, referring to former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, whom he unseated last year.

But on education, there are clear differences. Mr. Giuliani has clashed with New York City school officials over what he considers their excessive spending, and has strongly advocated vouchers to allow more students to attend private schools. Mrs. Clinton has been an ardent supporter of increased spending on public schools and an outspoken critic of vouchers.

On health care, many Democrats say that Mrs. Clinton should attack Mr. Giuliani for having tried to privatize the municipal hospitals. Those Democrats assert that even though



Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed New York Democratic labor officials last week during a luncheon in Manhattan. Friends say that despite Republicans' skepticism she is quickly learning state issues.

Mrs. Clinton's highly publicized efforts to win sweeping health care changes in 1993 was a signal failure of her husband's first term, most New Yorkers now support her goal of making health care coverage available for everyone.

"People are going to say she was out there way ahead of her time," said Mr. McCall, contrasting Mrs. Clinton with Mr. Giuliani. "People see him as someone who tried to downsize and privatize hospitals, not being an advocate for improving health care."

In recent New York appearances, Mrs. Clinton seems to have tailored her speeches to draw distinctions between herself and Mr. Giuliani, without mentioning his name.

"We can never lift up our public schools, or the students they serve, by tearing them down," she said to roaring applause at City College last week, in what seemed a reference to Mr. Giuliani's feud with Chancellor Rudy Crew.

And in an address at Teachers College at Columbia University in April, Mrs. Clinton urged her audience not "to be pulled off track by false debates" advanced by advocates of publicly financed vouchers.

Republicans have already begun attacking Mrs. Clinton by depicting her as being out of the mainstream,

and say they are likely to use the health care debate as evidence that she is at heart a big-government liberal. Her allies say she is more of a pragmatist than the Republicans realize.

Republicans also say they are likely to try to cast Mrs. Clinton as having grand but gauzy ideas on a few national subjects, but little knowledge of regional issues like dairy prices or mass transit. Mr. Giuliani has already repeatedly assailed Mrs. Clinton as an out-of-stater who cannot find her way around the state.

Democrats say she is well on her way to learning local issues. Those Democrats say Mrs. Clinton's greater challenge, similar to that facing Vice President Al Gore, will be to demonstrate that she has been more than just a spokeswoman for her husband.

But Mrs. Clinton can point to her own record on education, family and health care issues, dating back to her days in Arkansas.

On most issues, Mrs. Clinton's positions are indistinguishable from her husband's — which is not necessarily a bad thing in New York State, where the President's policies have been widely popular.

But there have been some cracks between Mrs. Clinton's and the Ad-

ministration's positions. For instance, Mrs. Clinton in 1998 endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state, position not taken by the Administration. Mr. Giuliani has already begun criticizing her stand.

Republicans are also likely to attack those Administration policies that are viewed as harmful to the state, trying to force Mrs. Clinton who would be the first First Lady to seek office, to choose between criticizing her husband or defending unpopular positions.

Paradoxically, Democrats have been the first to do that, urging Mrs. Clinton to oppose the Administration's efforts to cut Medicare. In a sign of how difficult it may be to run for office while living in the White House, 1190, the National Health and Human Service Employees Union, which is reliably Democratic, has begun an advertising campaign attacking the President's Medicare cuts. Though the campaign does not mention Mrs. Clinton, its message is clear.

"I have every reason to believe that Hillary Clinton will be defending the interests of all New Yorkers, and one of them will be defending the health care community of New York," said Dennis Rivera, the union president and one of Mrs. Clinton's strongest backers.

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1999

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON? GOPers FIRE AWAY AT FIRST OUT-OF-TOWNER

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Wasting no time, Republicans yesterday ripped into Hillary Rodham Clinton as a liberal carpetbagger with zippe know-how.

"I bet she can't even spell Schenectady," national GOP Chairman Jim Nicholson said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Just two days after Clinton finally revealed she'll set up a Senate exploratory committee next month, Republicans opened fire on her maybe-candidacy to replace retiring Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

"She's never lived here. She hasn't worked here. She hasn't spent one day of her life in New York outside The Plaza hotel," Rep. Rick Lazio, the Long Island Republican who might end up challenging Mayor Giuliani in the GOP primary, sniped on "Fox News Sunday."

"This is not about serving the people of New York. This is about personal power."

Democrats quickly came to Clinton's rescue — although Sen. Chuck Schumer, who's been palling around New York with the First Lady, admitted he's not totally sure she'll stay in the race for the long haul.

"You're never certain 'til she announces," Schumer said on ABC's "This Week," although he added that he'd be "very surprised" if she backed out.

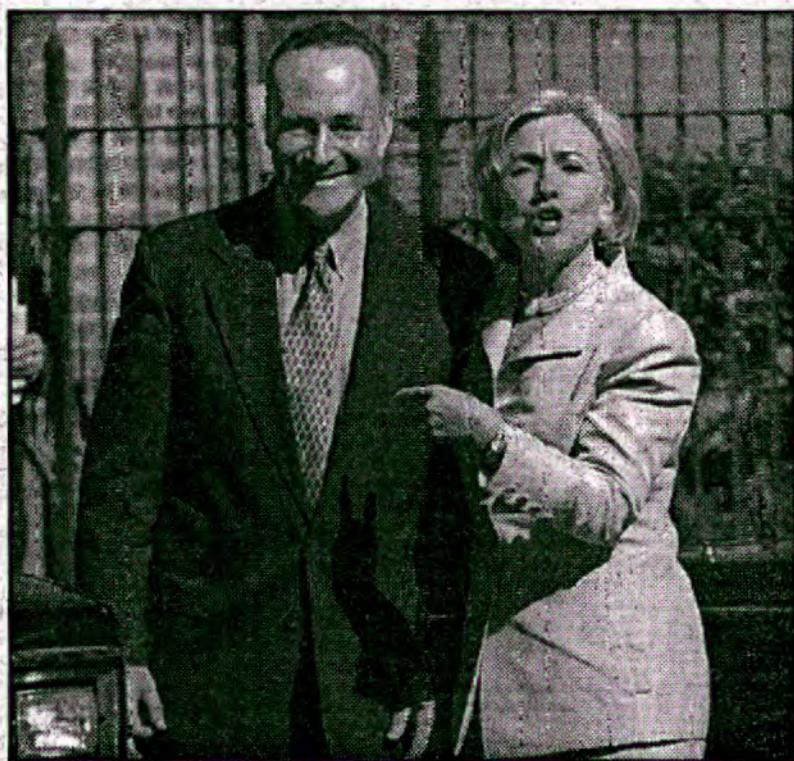
Schumer (D-N.Y.), who toppled incumbent Goper Al D'Amato last year in a mutually nasty mudfest, also warned that attacking the First Lady "doesn't work."

"The candidate that gives the voters a feeling that he or she is going to focus on issues... has a leg up," he said.

National Democratic Chairman Roy Romer claimed New Yorkers are so "cosmopolitan," they've not only embraced Mrs. Clinton as an outsider, "in some ways they've drafted her" — although polls show she'd lose to Giuliani if the race were held now.

One Republican, Giuliani supporter Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), also defended Mrs. Clinton, saying either contender would make a "good" senator.

"He's right on the issues but I



ALLIES: Chuck Schumer, who benefited from Hillary's campaign help last year, is sticking up for her this year. N.Y. Post: Tamara Beckwith

respect Mrs. Clinton," Hutchison said.

Nicholson, however, said there were "real serious questions about whether a liberal like Hillary Clinton can win in New York."

He and Lazio blasted the First Lady's lone foray into policy-making — her disastrous na-

tional health-care proposal, whose failure forced her to lie low for months.

"Hillary's never accomplished anything, really," claimed Nicholson who also took a potshot at Clinton for being a Chicago-raised Cub fan.

"I bet you she doesn't even know the Buffalo Sabres are in the Stanley Cup," he said.

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON?

Why New Yorkers must run from her if she runs for us



REP. NITA LOWEY
Left dangling by Hillary.

SHE is like some rich kids who want everything given to them — whether they deserve it or not.

Of course, I talk of Hillary Clinton, who has tired of being co-president and now wants to be senator of New York.

Well, at last, someone has asked the question not whether she is qualified to run, but why is she running.

"What is the rationale for her running?" Brit Hume asked his panel on Fox News yesterday.

Truth is, many absolutely more qualified than I can't quite put the finger on that button.

That is, of course, unless she wants to put a country mile between herself and that wandering minstrel, Billy boy.

Apart from knowing the floor plan of Saks Fifth Avenue better than Sen. Chuck Schumer, she knows about as much of New York as Chuck Schumer knows about North Dakota.

But here is the point.

The last time I looked, politicians were supposed to be representative of the streets, the farms, the mountains, the lakes, the beaches, the workers in the land whence they came.

Schumer fought long and hard in his neighborhood in Brooklyn, was a tough congressman for his district, and won his Senate seat for any number of good reasons.

Pat Moynihan pulled himself up by his bootstraps in Hell's Kitchen and knew everywhere from Buffalo to The Bronx as well as he knew his bow tie.

Al D'Amato scaled heights from the lowest in local politics to the highest to be our senator for 18 years.

Rep. Charlie Rangel for decades has fought like a lion for his constituency.

And yet, Schumer, who deserves high marks for his hard work and political savvy, said something yesterday on ABC that astounded me.

"When I was in Schenectady," he said using a word I

doubt Hillary could pronounce, "I spoke to her [Hillary] for about 20 minutes on the telephone and she was asking all sorts of interesting questions."

Chuck, you won your Senate race not by asking questions, but by giving answers.

In treating Rep. Nita Lowey (D. Westchester), who had announced months ago her intention of running for Senate, the way she did, Hillary showed just what a spoiled brat she is. She left Nita, a classy lady, dangling like an old-fashioned toilet chain.

Nita has shown some real class, but the Democratic leadership may have shot themselves in the foot.



STEVE DUNLEAVY

Because, as Fred Barnes told Brit Hume, Hillary is the one person who can unite Republicans — "the one candidate Republicans can demonize."

Barnes, of The Weekly Standard, was asked what question he would ask Hillary at a press conference, to which he replied: "Who is the starting third baseman of the New York Yankees?"

Juan Williams, of The Washington Post: "What is the meaning of 'oy vey'?"

Williams pointed out that she is going to hear those words quite a lot because of her support for a Palestinian state.

Cokie Roberts addressed a question which puzzles us all about Hillary's dual role in Washington and New York.

"Does a president hire a First Lady?" she asked.

The bottom line is — whether it be Schumer, Moynihan, D'Amato or Rangel — New York has studiously avoided being represented by spoiled brats with private educations paid for by rich parents.

Are we going to start now with a silver-spoon-fed, poor little rich girl from Illinois who probably sees herself one day in the Oval Office?

Considering the activities in that office of recent history, that would be quite a laugh.

A Land Mine on the Path From First Lady to Senator

With all the political speculation swirling about whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate from New York, there is a quirky constitutional landmine confronting her that has been overlooked. It isn't a disabling condition, but it could have an important effect on her status in the Senate if she were to be elected. New Yorkers should take special note.

The land mine is something called the Incompatibility Clause, found in Article I, Section 6, Clause 2 of the Constitution. It says: "No person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of

Rule of Law

By James Blumstein

either House during his [or her] Continuance in Office."

The Supreme Court hasn't had a lot to say on the Incompatibility Clause; presumably because the meaning is hard to miss. The last time it came up was the early 1970s, when Vietnam War protesters used it to challenge the ability of certain members of the House and the Senate to remain members of the armed-forces reserves.

The theory was that service in the reserves constituted holding an office, and, under the Incompatibility Clause, the members could not both be officeholders and members of Congress. The lower courts ruled in favor of the challengers, declaring that members of Congress were ineligible simultaneously to serve in the reserves. On appeal, the Supreme Court dodged the merits of the issue on a procedural ground.

The Incompatibility Clause doesn't suggest that a federal officeholder is barred from running for Congress, but it does

indicate that a person cannot serve in both capacities simultaneously. That would be a violation of basic principles of separation of powers.

The question regarding Mrs. Clinton is whether her position as first lady constitutes an "Office under the United States." That issue arose in the context of the administration's health reform task force that Mrs. Clinton chaired in 1993. A group of physicians asserted that the task force was a federal advisory committee and therefore subject to the sunshine provisions that apply to such advisory committees. The Clinton administration countered that the advisory committee law didn't apply because of an exception for groups composed solely of "full-time officers or employees" of the government. It argued that, as first lady, Mrs. Clinton was the functional equivalent of a government officer or employee.

Although noting that the issue was "not an easy one," the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit eventually accepted this argument. It concluded that "Congress itself has recognized that the President's spouse acts as the functional equivalent of an assistant to the President." The Office of the First Lady is established by statute and includes a full-time staff paid for with public funds.

The D.C. Circuit rejected the argument that recognizing the first lady as an "officer or employee" of the federal government could violate anti-nepotism laws. Those prohibit any public official (including the president) from appointing or employing a relative (including a spouse) "in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control." The court found that the White House wasn't such an "agency," so that the anti-nepotism laws weren't inconsistent with a conclusion that the first lady was a federal officer or employee.

The bottom line for the D.C. Circuit was that Mrs. Clinton was considered a "full-time officer or employee of the government" and therefore her task force did not have to comply with the disclosure rules applicable to advisory committees.

The problem this poses for Mrs. Clinton's potential candidacy for the Senate from New York in 2000 is that, if she is an officer of the federal government, she cannot serve as such an officer and as a senator simultaneously. How is this an issue? Under the 20th Amendment, senators elected in 2000 become eligible to take office after noon on Jan. 3, 2001, when the term of those senators leaving office expires. Under the same amendment, Mr. Clinton's term doesn't expire until noon on Jan. 20, 2001.

Under normal circumstances the incompatibility could be resolved by the federal officeholder's resignation from her office. But in the case of the first lady, that isn't so easy. As the Court of Appeals noted: "How, one might ask, could she [Mrs. Clinton] be removed?" It is possible that the president "could withdraw any or all authority delegated to his spouse," but exactly how that would be done is unclear.

Of course, the president could resign from office early in deference to Mrs. Clinton if she were elected, but that would raise its own set of problems. Should Vice President Gore get to be president for 17 days—or, if he wins the presidential election, 17 extra days—so Mrs. Clinton can take her seat at the same time as the other senators?

Absent a presidential resignation,

however, one can predict a squabble in the Senate, which has the authority under the Constitution to determine the qualifications of its own members. Delay in seating a putative Sen. Clinton until Mr. Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, would be a likely scenario in light of the uncertainties associated with the alternatives.

Why might the delay of only a few weeks be of concern to anyone? The answer is Senate seniority—and that's important to New Yorkers.

Unless a special rule were adopted for Mrs. Clinton—and that would disadvantage all other newly elected Democratic senators and would be detrimental to the interest of the citizens of the states they represent—Mrs. Clinton would receive the lowest seniority since she would be the last to take office. That, in turn, could have an effect on her assignment to committees and to her assuming positions of leadership on those committees.

In Tennessee, for example, Sens. Fred Thompson and Bill Frist were both elected in 1994, but Sen. Thompson assumed office a few weeks before Sen. Frist because the incumbent senator left office early. As a result, Sen. Thompson has greater seniority and chairs an important committee while Sen. Frist is working his way up the ranks along with the other Republican senators newly elected with him in 1994.

So, as a result of the intersection of Mrs. Clinton's status as first lady and a little noticed constitutional provision, New Yorkers who might elect Mrs. Clinton as senator in 2000 may face a loss of some seniority for their newly elected junior senator.

Mr. Blumstein is a professor at Vanderbilt Law School.



Hillary Clinton

National Commission on Education

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Jonathan Leaf

The \$101,630 Question About Mrs. Clinton's
Senate Race

Is \$100,000 Hillary Clinton's standard bribe-fee?

The answer to this question bears quite a bit of relevance to the First Lady's prospective race for a seat in the United States Senate from New York. Most *National Review* readers doubtless remember the revelation that the First Lady had turned a \$1,000 investment in cattle futures into \$100,000 with the aide of Tyson Foods General Counsel James Blair. They may also recall that a *Wall Street Journal* investigation showed that Mrs. Clinton's claims about how she made that money were absurd and incredible. They may even still have knowledge of the First Lady's press spokesman acknowledging that the First Lady's initial accounts of how she made the money were "now inoperative".

Readers may not though know that the First Lady was hired for a \$100,000 fee by an obscure New York State funded think-tank called the National Commission on Education and the Economy whose honorary chair was Mario Cuomo. A 1996 investigation by then State Attorney General Dennis Vacco showed that Mrs. Clinton was retained by the Commission in her capacity as a Rose Law firm partner from 1990-1992 -- at the very time when both Bill Clinton and Mario Cuomo were contemplating maiden runs for the Presidency and soliciting aid from other governors around the country. Interestingly, Cuomo maintains that although he was the honorary Chair of the group he did not know of Hillary's work for the institution - which may have paid Rose as much, or more, than \$173,000. Moreover, Richard Mills, a member of the Board of the group, has said that he has no idea what Mrs. Clinton did for it, and forms submitted by the think tank which were

Guy to HRC gtr

Guy to David Randall
S. Mills

supposed to list highly-paid group officers curiously neglected to include the First Lady or the Rose Law Firm. Consequently, it should be no surprise that former state Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol, who signed all state contracts with the Commission, has admitted that he had no idea Mrs. Clinton was being paid *any* amount, no matter whether the sum was the \$101,630 claimed by the group or the much higher number suggested by state investigators.

And needless to say, the First Lady's press people have never made themselves available to explain what Hillary Clinton did for the money - if anything. When Dennis Vacco's investigation of the group was first noted in 1996, both the First Lady and her counsel, David Kendall, were conspicuously unavailable to answer questions about this matter, and when I called the First Lady's Press Office repeatedly over the past two weeks her spokesmen were again strangely unable or unwilling to provide responses to my questions. Had the First lady even come to New York to work for the Commission? What work had she done? It was impossible to even get the First Lady's press people - taxpayer employed, public employees all - to even provide me a statement saying that the facts with regard to these matters were lost with the passage of time.

I think NR readers are, by now, acquainted with the level of veracity characteristic of statements of the First Lady. Something should, perhaps, be said though about Mario Cuomo's integrity. Some may recall that when Cuomo ran against Ed Koch for Mayor of New York back in 1977 that thousands of leaflets appeared on election day reading, "Vote for Cuomo, not the Homo." They may also know that Cuomo later became the Gay Rights Leaders' lapdog and that he has long denied that he had anything to do with that leaflet campaign. As it happens recently I happened to meet one of Cuomo's former top campaign aides. He told me that Cuomo demanded the leaflets be printed *against* the recommendations of his campaign staff, most of whose members correctly realized that such leaflets would help Koch with gay voters, relatives of gay voters and certain heterosexual West Side liberals.

In any respect, one must wonder how the First Lady seriously intends to run for Senate from New York without being able to explain for years at a time what she did to earn vast sums of New York State taxpayers' money - money that wasn't being made available to the average roofer living in Yonkers. In today's edition of the *New York Post* Dick Morris suggests that the First Lady may be raising money which she'll use later for a race in 2004 from her home state of Illinois. Given that a race in New York would require her to explain her thieving from state residents in a place in which she's a carpetbagger opposed by a local boy who's the original Mr. Clean one can't but be curious.

To view past columns by Jonathan Leaf, [click here](#).

Hillary's candidacy isn't about New York — it's about her

JOHN ELLIS

NEW YORK

In certain circles, it's called "doing a geographic." The idea is that if one moves to someplace new, things will somehow change for the better and the pain will magically disappear. It's delusional, but if the pain is deep enough, belief in magic is sometimes all that remains.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's candidacy for the US Senate is a geographic with a twist, since its unique selling principle is her pain. It is why she imagines voters will root for her. It is how she asks them to relate to her. She is one of them, she says in all but words, because she too has suffered. New York voters are supposed to care.

They don't. The weirdest thing of all is that they're not even that interested. The media are doing everything they can to hype "the Senate Race of the Century" between the first lady and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, but you'd be hard-pressed to find six people outside of politics who have given it a second thought. No one talks about the race, except maybe at a cocktail party and even then it's a subject people want to get away from as quickly as possible.

Nevertheless, it's all but official now. On Thursday Nita Lowey, US representative from Westchester County, who had been planning her own Senate campaign, announced that she would seek reelection instead, thus clearing the path for the first lady's march to the Democratic nomination.

"It's clear she is running," Lowey told The New York

Times. "It's time for me to move." Shortly thereafter, former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes announced that Mrs. Clinton was "pressing forward" with her candidacy. Soon after that, word spread across the state that Hillary's Senate campaign was "a done deal."

On paper, the race is a complete mismatch. Hillary Clinton has no credentials for the job. She has never been elected to anything by anyone and she has accomplished nothing of importance over the course of her 25 years as a political spouse.

Her resume is unimpressive. She was a partner at a second-tier law firm in a third-rate state who couldn't meet her revenue targets. She worked closely at that firm with two other partners; one who committed suicide under mysterious circumstances and the other a convicted felon and thief. During that time she entered into a corrupt real estate partnership that to this day she has never adequately explained. Also during that time, she made \$100,000 with a \$1,000 stake in the commodities market by reading, she said, The Wall Street Journal. Would that we were all so literate.

When her husband first ran for president, she engaged the services of Betsy Wright, his former chief of staff, to set up a vast statewide organization to suppress information about his sexual adventurism. In this effort, she and Wright were quite successful. When they were not, as in the case of Jennifer Flowers, Hillary took to the airwaves to defend her husband's reputation, knowing all the while that she was engaged in blatant deception.

After her husband was elected president, she managed the debacle that was national health insurance. It

was roundly rejected in large measure because of her strategy and tactics and led inexorably to the wholesale dismissal of Democrats from both Houses of Congress. What had seemed firmly under Democratic control was suddenly lost, thanks largely to her incompetence.

She was promptly deep-sixed by the president's handlers and remade as his helpmate. After his reelection, there followed humiliation and degradation so complete it was a wonder she could appear in public at all. When news of Monica first broke, she blamed it all on a "vast right-wing conspiracy." When every word of it turned out to be true, she was left to wallow in the wake of her husband's disgrace.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign for the US Senate is being positioned as an existential mission, during which she will connect with voters and in so doing find her voice. It is more likely a prelude to a possible presidential candidacy in the year 2004 or 2008. She is nothing if not power-hungry and has a zealot's certainty about the righteousness of her stance.

But in the end, it is a delusion. She will not win because her candidacy isn't about New York, or the people who live here, or what she might do for them. It's about her. It's her movie, which she stars in and directs. The problems of others are important only to the degree that they forward her plot.

The moment New Yorkers collectively understand this — that they're being used — will be the moment that her candidacy curdles. What might have been "you go girl," will become "just go away."

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

Hillary grabs for her entitlement

Only a fear of losing could stop her

Last week the woman congressman from New York who had been intending to seek the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate called Hillary Clinton and told her she would run for reelection to the House instead.

Let me rephrase: U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey, Democrat of New York, who has actually gotten elected to something, bowed subserviently to a daughter of Chicago's suburbs and a stepchild of Arkansas who married into her political standing and willingly endured a string of indignities to sustain it, and who now presumes at the bitter end of the career of her husband and meal ticket to become her own woman and achieve her long-deferred personal entitlement by having the state of New York put her in the U.S. Senate so she can then become president herself in four or eight years, depending on the interim complication of Al Gore's situation.

One woman bites the dust to serve the needs and aspirations of the apparent modern female icon, whose example blends Tammy Wynette and Bobby Kennedy: Enable him, stand by him, defend him in lawyerly fashion.

Or this: Be stronger than your husband, and maybe as smart, if in a different way, and endear yourself to the liberal Democratic establishment by not giving the anti-choice right wing the satisfaction it would get from your leaving the philandering hypocrite.

Deferred to by Lowey, Hillary promptly announced she would form an exploratory committee in July to take the logical next step toward her now apparently inevitable run for the Senate from the Empire State.

New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the likely Republican nominee to succeed retiring Daniel Patrick Moynihan, responded by saying he thought it would be a good idea



**John
Brummett**

for someone from Illinois and Arkansas to "explore" New York, and said he maintained every confidence that a New Yorker would fill the vacant seat from New York in the U.S. Senate.

If you are wondering as I am what commends Hillary for credible consideration as a United States senator, remember that you surely wondered the same thing about Tim Hutchinson and Blanche Lincoln.

I'm thinking that maybe they don't make senators like they used to. But to look at Strom Thurmond you'd think that maybe it's good they don't make senators like they used to.

Maybe there's a good reason we've begun plucking our presidents from governorships and vice presidencies.

Let's examine Hillary's record of public policy. She headed a committee that designed popular school standards in Arkansas in 1983. She headed the board of the Legal Services Corp. during a volatile time in the Carter years. She worked with the Children's Defense Fund. She headed a massive and secretive White House army that concocted a 1,300-page plan presuming to remake the health care industry of America, and was so combative and stubborn that the plan failed miserably without ever warranting even a vote.

So let's examine her personal political skills. She can be charming and funny privately among pals, but she lacks public

warmth or the natural ability to connect with strangers and audiences. She disdains those who disagree with her and assigns them to sinister conspiracies. She hates the media, which happen to maintain their headquarters in New York. She says impolitic things when someone dares to challenge her. She has ethical blind spots about mixing the law, personal finance and politics.

She is an unabashed liberal at a time her husband has smartly moved the Democratic Party into popularity with the pivotal center of American politics.

Lacking accomplishment in policy and lacking natural political skills, she has a chance to get elected to the Senate on the basis of her universal celebrity, but with two provisions: She must run in a state in which celebrity and paid media will suffice for a campaign, not one like Arkansas or New Hampshire in which personal retail politicking matters. And she must run in a state where a noble liberal still stands a chance. New York is such a place.

Let me make one other point, a concession: Hillary also wants to run for the Senate because she is convinced that she is right about public policy and womanhood and convinced that circumstances have intersected to assign her a noble responsibility. In her mind, the world needs this candidacy.

I still think she might back out. The risk of losing is high. I suspect she still must come fully to terms with the chance of going back, rejected, to Washington to pack up with the philanderer and fade with Barbara Bush and Rosalynn Carter into that yonder sunset.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

First lady presses closer to New York

The Sun : Saturday, June 5, 1999

Full

Democrats in state eager for 'Hillary-Rudy Show' to begin in earnest

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — It looks like a busy New York summer for Hillary Rodham Clinton — filled with as many strategically placed pancake breakfasts, county fairs and red, white and blue barbecues as her all-but-official Senate campaign can handle.

The first lady announced yesterday the next giant step in her likely run: She will establish a formal committee to explore a campaign for the seat of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who is retiring in 2000.

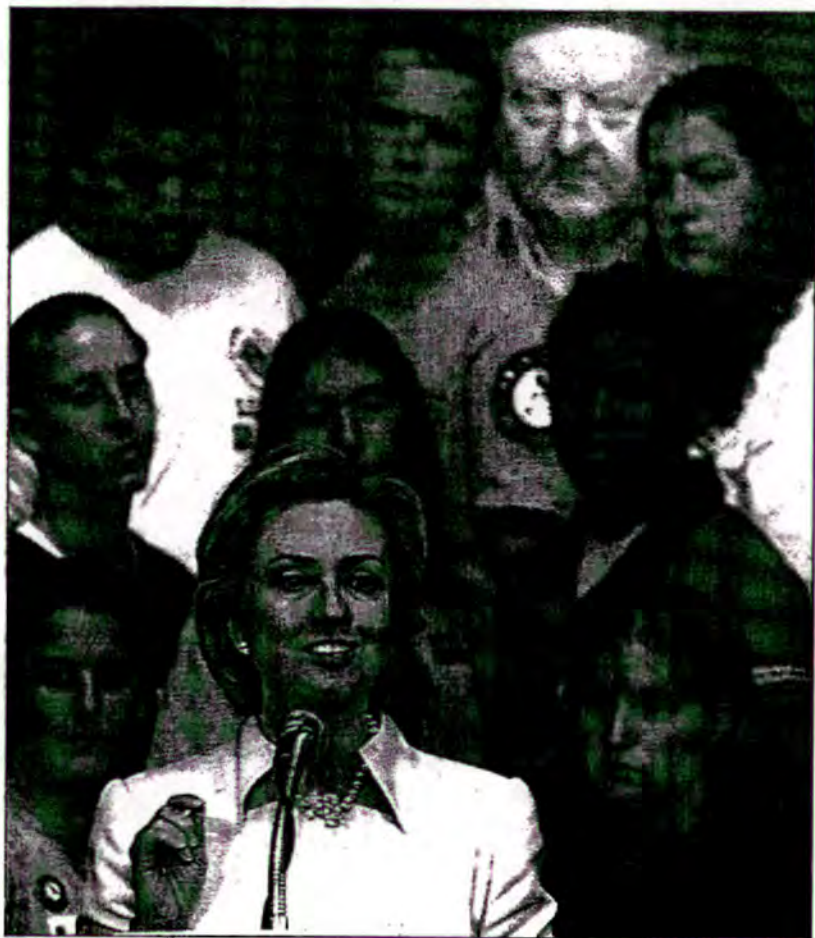
"I'm going to open an exploratory committee in July, and then I'll spend some time — a lot of time — in New York listening to people, and I'm looking forward to that," Clinton said yesterday on ABC's "Good Morning America."

Clinton's comments were seen as the most explicit signal yet of a candidacy. The formation of an exploratory committee will allow the first lady to raise money, put a staff in place and launch a campaign-style travel schedule across the state. This step would be viewed as essentially a declaration of her candidacy.

To this point, klieg-lighted speeches before cheering crowds and closed-door meetings with pricey strategists have been the norm for the first lady. But advisers say that in this next phase, Clinton will get personal with New Yorkers from all walks of life.

"She'll be meeting, as the phrase goes, 'real New Yorkers,'" said Harold Ickes, Clinton's top political adviser, who is beginning to plan city-suburb-upstate trips for the first lady during July and August. "There will be little speechifying and a lot of listening."

Yesterday, Clinton's announcement propelled New York Democrats into high gear, with many of



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Eyes on New York: With a statue of John Adams and youth volunteers looking over her shoulder, Hillary Clinton speaks in Boston.

them calling for her to make more personal visits to see the real New York — from Upper East Side sophisticates to onion farmers upstate — instead of all those friendly, staged events.

Now the talk is getting down to the gritty stuff of campaigns: money and votes.

"I would get to work on some serious direct mail and telemarketing immediately," said John Marino, a former state Democratic chairman. "She'll raise some substantial money inside New York and outside. Clinton's advisers should start that as soon as they set up a committee."

If such talk is premature, few New York Democrats seem willing

to contain it. To them, she's in. Should Clinton turn back now, some say, the Democrats are lost.

Her possible Republican opponent for the Senate seat, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has started raising money, and his supporters have been skewering Clinton on their campaign Web site for weeks. (One page shows how to scroll a "HillaryNo.Com" banner endlessly across computer screens.)

"The Hillary-Rudy show is definitely a good Broadway hit," said Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist College poll, which shows Clinton and Giuliani in a statistical dead heat. "Every time Giuliani opens his mouth, he says the word

'Arkansas' — he's saying she's a carpetbagger. What Hillary Clinton needs to do now is ground herself in New York and address issues like how do you spell Schenectady and Poughkeepsie."

A Marist poll in April showed that 52 percent of New Yorkers thought Clinton should not run. Many of them were Republicans. But others were Clinton supporters who did not think she needed the headache of a campaign.

Giuliani has problems of his own. He is likely to face a primary challenge from Rep. Rick A. Lazio, a moderate Long Island Republican with close ties to Gov. George E. Pataki and former Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato. That support from the state GOP establishment could corral votes for Lazio.

For Clinton, the field is wide open. Rep. Nita M. Lowey, who was the likely Democratic nominee before Clinton became interested, called the first lady Thursday to say she was abandoning the Senate race.

The first lady is squeezing in a trip to Upstate New York and Manhattan for two Democratic fund-raisers Wednesday, and then will leave for two weeks of foreign travel in the last half of June.

Meanwhile, Ickes is starting to rev up a fund-raising machine. That operation is likely to draw from party donors inside and outside the state, as well as from women's groups, labor unions and other traditional sources.

Some strategists predict that should both Giuliani and Clinton run, the candidates would run neck and neck for the whole race. While Clinton polls well in heavily Democratic New York City, advisers are working on ways to help her penetrate the conservative suburbs and Upstate New York.

"You have to at least be able to break even in the New York suburbs," said Geoffrey Garin, the pollster for Sen. Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat who last year upseated D'Amato in a campaign that cost the candidates a combined \$40 million. "And then there are the five urban counties upstate that are really important."

Clinton coy about Senate race as she boosts reading program

By Jill Zuckman
GLOBE STAFF

On the day she announced that she will form a committee to explore becoming a candidate for the US Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Boston but was as coy as ever yesterday about her political intentions.

She helped celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Reach Out and Read program at Boston Medical Center, and the 10th anniversary of City Year at Faneuil Hall.

However, Clinton made no direct mention of her political aspirations in the state of New York.

"She's here as first lady," said Marsha Berry, her press secretary. "This is the kind of thing she would do anywhere."

If there was the slightest hint that the Empire State was on her mind, the only reference occurred when Clinton announced that the Cordelia Corp. had pledged \$300,000 for Reach Out and Read, including \$50,000 for Greater New York.

There were a few less-than-ob-

lique allusions to life beyond the White House. House Speaker Thomas M. Finneran presented Clinton with a Dr. Seuss book, "Oh, the Places You'll Go!" inscribed, "Dear Mrs. Clinton, wherever you do go, enjoy the journey."

Dr. Barry Zuckerman of pediatrics at Boston Medical Center, who helped develop the reading program, was slightly more overt.

"I believe the first lady has not yet peaked," he said. "I believe her biggest and most important accomplishments are yet to come."



Hillary Rodham Clinton made no direct allusions to her political intentions during yesterday's Reach Out and Read program.

All but a certainty: Hillary Clinton aims at N.Y. Senate run

By Fred Kaplan
GLOBE STAFF

NEW YORK — It looks like she's really going to do it. Hillary Rodham Clinton, it seems, is really going to run for the US Senate.

The only other New York Democrat who has expressed interest in the seat, Representative Nita Lowey of Long Island, called her yesterday to say she has dropped her Senate plans and will run for reelection.

Lowey had been saying for months that she would not mount a campaign for the Senate seat if Clinton ran for it — and yesterday, the congresswoman said, it looked more and more clear that the first lady is going to run.

In reply, Clinton offered no encouragement to Lowey, nor did she dispel the premise of her decision. Rather, in a written statement issued through her press office, she said, "I thank Nita for her support. I look forward to working with her."

Clinton's chief political adviser, Harold Ickes, turned this eyebrow-raising development into a tempest when he told the Associated Press, later in the day, that the

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first lady "has every intention of setting up an exploratory committee" for a Senate bid "in early July."

In today's politics, that is practically the same thing as tossing your hat in the ring.

"Is this tantamount to declaring her candidacy for the Senate?" mused Hank Sheinkopf, a leading Democratic consultant here. "Absolutely."

Yesterday evening, Ickes backpedaled and said in phone interview: "If I said what I was quoted as saying, I overstated things. Mrs. Clinton is going to continue to press forward, as she has in the past. But no decision has been made about an exploratory committee."

However, a source close to Clinton said, on condition of anonymity, "Mrs. Lowey's no longer in, Mrs. Clinton has said she very much wants a Democrat to keep that Senate seat, and there's no other candidate standing."

Pollster John Zogby made a point that follows that logic to the next step: "What if she doesn't run now? She will have shafted New York Democrats in a big way. They had no other candidate." Zogby's conclusion: "She's running."

Meanwhile, people close to New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani — who has already formed an exploratory

committee — have said in recent days that he will "definitely" run for the Senate if Clinton is his opponent. "He's chomping at the bit for her," one associate said.

JOHN ZOGBY

Pollster

So, the race that every politician, bookie, and newspaper columnist in the state has been pining for seems about to come true.

Forming an exploratory committee is particularly crucial for Clinton because it will allow her to raise campaign funds and, therefore, pay for trips to New York out of her own budget. In her increasingly frequent trips here lately, she has scheduled enough appearances that could be deemed "official White House business" to justify flying on a government plane. However, as these trips have become more obviously political, she has been criticized for campaigning at taxpayers' expense.

Analysts of both parties agree that Clinton comes into this race

with a long list of pluses and minuses, many of them stemming from the same set of qualities.

When politicians started buzzing about a possible Hillary-for-Senate campaign late last year — at first, as a lark, with no authorization or even apparent interest from the first lady herself — polls showed her beating Giuliani, in a hypothetical race, by over 20 percent.

Now, every poll shows a very tight contest. Some show her winning, some show her losing, but in every case, the margin of victory or defeat is narrower than the poll's statistical margin of error.

They all show Clinton winning big in New York City, where the population is overwhelmingly Democratic. They also show her winning, generally, among blacks, Hispanics, union workers, and — though not by much — women.

However, the polls show her losing in the suburbs, upstate, and among white men.

Everyone expects it to be one of the closest, most bitterly fought, and most amply funded Senate races next year.

The polls suggest one major issue will be the charge that Hillary Rodham Clinton is a "carpetbagger," someone who has never lived in New York, rarely walked down any of its sidewalks, and who is using the state for her own national ambitions.

Polls indicate that more than 40 percent of voters are concerned about Clinton's nonresident status — even though she has said she will move to New York after leaving the White House, no matter what. The issue has also become a guaranteed laugh-and-applause line in Republican speeches across the state.

Many Democrats dismiss the concern, pointing out that Robert F. Kennedy was elected senator here in 1964, despite his obvious Boston accent.

However, Sheinkopf, who hastened to note that he supports Clinton, said the carpetbagger label could hurt her. "People forget RFK was the brother of the slain president," he said. "They also forget Lyndon Johnson won New York state that year by over 2 million votes. Al Gore isn't going to win New York state by that much. Bobby also spent time in his youth in New York. And — not least — he was Irish Catholic. The Catholic vote determines outcome in this state. And Catholics usually elect Catholics."

The list of recent Catholic officeholders in New York is impressive: Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (who is retiring from the Senate seat in contention), Governor George Pataki, former governors Mario Cuomo and Hugh Carey — and Giuliani.

She's carpetbagger, sez Rudy in fund drive

By MICHAEL R. BLOOD

Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

Warning of a Senate campaign that will be an "all-out war," Mayor Giuliani is appealing for political donations in a fund-raising letter that lances Hillary Rodham Clinton as a carpetbagger driven by ambition — not concern for New Yorkers.

The First Lady "proved in the 1998 elections that she could raise millions of dollars in our state, and she is already rounding up support for her potential Senate bid," the Republican mayor writes in the letter, mailed to

homes across the state.

"Love me or hate me, I don't think there is anyone in our state who would ever accuse me of not having the interests of the people of New York absolutely first and foremost in my mind," Giuliani writes. "To me, New York is not a political 'stepping stone.' New York is my life."

Democrats, he adds, "are ready to wage an all-out war to hold the New York Senate seat."

The three-page missive, which banners Giuliani's name on the letterhead, asks for donations of \$1,000 or more to help his all-but-declared Sen-

ate campaign fend off political attacks from his "enemies."

It "will be the toughest challenge of my life — especially if Hillary Rodham Clinton is my opponent," the mayor said. "Many people believe that the New York Senate seat would be a launching pad for her political ambitions."

"My candidacy would not be based on what New York and the people of New York can do for me," Giuliani said.

The First Lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, would not comment on the letter.

Giuliani was in Michigan and unavailable for comment. His political committee would not comment on the letter or discuss how much money it had raised. Last month, the mayor raked in \$2.1 million at a New York City fund-raiser.

The letter — with a tone that ranges from beseeching to alarmist — is sprinkled with themes likely to define Giuliani's campaign: "proven leadership," "tax reductions," "welfare rolls cut."

"I am going to need every ounce, and every dime of help ... I can get," he writes.

DAILY NEWS • Friday, June 4, 1999

Hill seems set to run

Campaign at the ready as rival bows out

By JOEL SIEGEL

Daily News Senior Political Correspondent

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton still isn't talking, but her Senate candidacy became a near certainty yesterday when her only Democratic rival withdrew, and advisers said she intends to form an exploratory committee next month.

Barring a startling change of events, she will be the Democrats' nominee to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan in an epic campaign that could pit her against Mayor Glu-

liani.

From Martha Washington in 1789 to the present, no First Lady has ever run for office. Nor has a woman ever been elected to a major statewide office in New York.

Officially, the First Lady and her advisers continued to maintain that she had not made up her mind. But a five-minute chat between the First Lady and Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester) spoke volumes about Clinton's intentions.

For months, Lowey has served as the First Lady's understudy, poised to become

the Democrats' Senate nominee if Clinton did not run.

But growing weary of her role — and concluding that Clinton had decided to enter the race — Lowey called the First Lady to declare her intention to seek reelection to Congress. Clinton did not try to talk Lowey out of her decision or ask her to postpone it, Lowey said.

Clinton could yet pull out of the race — and some analysts still can't believe she will run. But to withdraw now would seriously hurt her party's chances of keeping Moyni-

han's seat — something her aides have pledged she would not do.

"There is no sign she is not going to run," said a top Democrat who is in regular touch with Clinton. "The First Lady is interviewing [campaign] staff. What more do you want?"

Shortly after Lowey's call, the First Lady's political adviser, Harold Ickes, said she "has every intention of forming an exploratory committee in July."

The committee would allow the First Lady to begin raising campaign money. Clinton — who was born in Illinois and lived in Arkansas — also must find a New York residence.

The developments came a day after the First Lady made her 10th trip to New York this year, a visit that had the flavor of a campaign swing.

Asked about her phone call, Lowey said: "It's time to move on and continue my career in the House. I made it very clear from the beginning that if the First Lady decided to run, I would support her, and it's clear in my judgment she is running. ... She acts like a candidate, looks like a candidate, talks like a candidate."

In a statement, Clinton said, "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her." There was no mention of her own plans.

Ickes sidestepped questions about whether Lowey's withdrawal means Clinton is in the race. "I think it is fair to say that she intends to press forward, as she has in the past," he said.

Giuliani and another Republican eyeing the race, Rep. Rick Lazio of Suffolk, pounced on Clinton's status as an out-of-stater. Lazio called her candidacy an "insult to New Yorkers."

Giuliani aide Bruce Teitelbaum said, "We are confident that the next senator from New York will be someone who lives in New York, has a longstanding connection ... and who understands the needs and concerns of the people of New York."

With Kenneth R. Bazinet and Timothy J. Burger



DECISION: Westchester Rep. Nita Lowey is going to run for reelection.



HARRY HAMMOND/DAILY NEWS

MADE IN SHADE: First Lady and keynote speaker Hillary Rodham Clinton dons present of sunglasses at high school graduation in Washington.

More steps taken for a Clinton run

Adviser says first lady will form exploratory panel; N.Y. Democrat won't seek Senate seat

By Lisa Anderson
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Positive clues were dropping fast and thick Thursday in the latest, if not final, installment of what has become politics' most-savored, long-running mystery: Will Hillary Rodham Clinton run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York?

Harold Ickes, a former White House deputy chief of staff and a top adviser to the first lady, said Thursday that she will form an exploratory committee early next month to prepare for a possible bid for the Senate seat being vacated by Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 2000.

At the same time, Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), who had planned to run for the seat if Clinton did not, announced Thursday that she will run for re-election to the House instead. As a result, if Clinton runs, she will likely be unopposed in the Democratic primary.

On Wednesday, Clinton delivered the commencement speech at the City College of New York in Manhattan. It was her 10th visit to the state in almost as many weeks.

In the wake of recent reports that Clinton already is interviewing campaign staffers and rumors that she is considering a summer vacation in New York's Adirondack Mountains and a house in upscale Westchester County, Thursday's developments seemed to confirm that a Clinton candidacy is a done deal.

"All eyes are now focused on Hillary Clinton," said Sen. Charles Schumer, the New York Democrat who unseated GOP Sen. Alfonse D'Amato last November with enthusiastic help from the first lady.

The only thing missing is her formal declaration of candidacy. But even her putative Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, hasn't yet done that, although he formed an exploratory committee on April 12.

"I think every indication has been that she's going to run. At this point, I think the surprising news would be anything that contradicted that notion," said David Axelrod, a longtime Democratic strategist in Chicago.

While Axelrod, a friend of the Clintons, had hoped the first lady would spare herself what promises to be a bruising contest, he believes she will win. "She is an extraordinarily empathetic person who has a powerful sense of advo-



Lowey



Clinton

cacy for people. I think that is a strong contrast with Mayor Giuliani, who pulls wings off of flies for fun," he said, referring to Giuliani's reputation as an inveterate, if highly effective, bully.

When pitted against Giuliani in hypothetical contests, Clinton edges him out in opinion polls. However, the double-digit leads she had over him in February have dropped into single digits.

Meanwhile, it is by no means assured that Giuliani will be the Republican nominee. Loni regarded warily within his own party, which he shocked by endorsing Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo over GOP challenger and ultimate winner George Pataki in 1994. Giuliani currently is feuding with Pataki. The governor has hinted strongly that he would prefer another Senate candidate.

That candidate may well be Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.), who appears to have Pataki's favor. Lazio, from suburban Long Island and less well-known, has depicted himself as less polarizing and more sympathetic to New Yorkers than the pugacious, highly urban Giuliani.

While there is little doubt that a Clinton-Giuliani fight would be spectacularly bloody, a Clinton-Lazio match might be equally difficult in a different way, said Axelrod.

"The danger with a lesser-known challenger is that the race becomes an up and down referendum on you. Very few people can survive that kind of thing," he said.

Should Clinton decide not to run, it would leave New York Democrats in an awkward position at best. "It would, because no matter who you put in there, if Mother Teresa rose from the dead and ran for the Democrats, she would still have the label 'second choice' written all over her," said Jay Severin, a GOP strategist in New York. "Hillary Clinton has created an environment and expectations so grand that anyone else would pale by comparison."

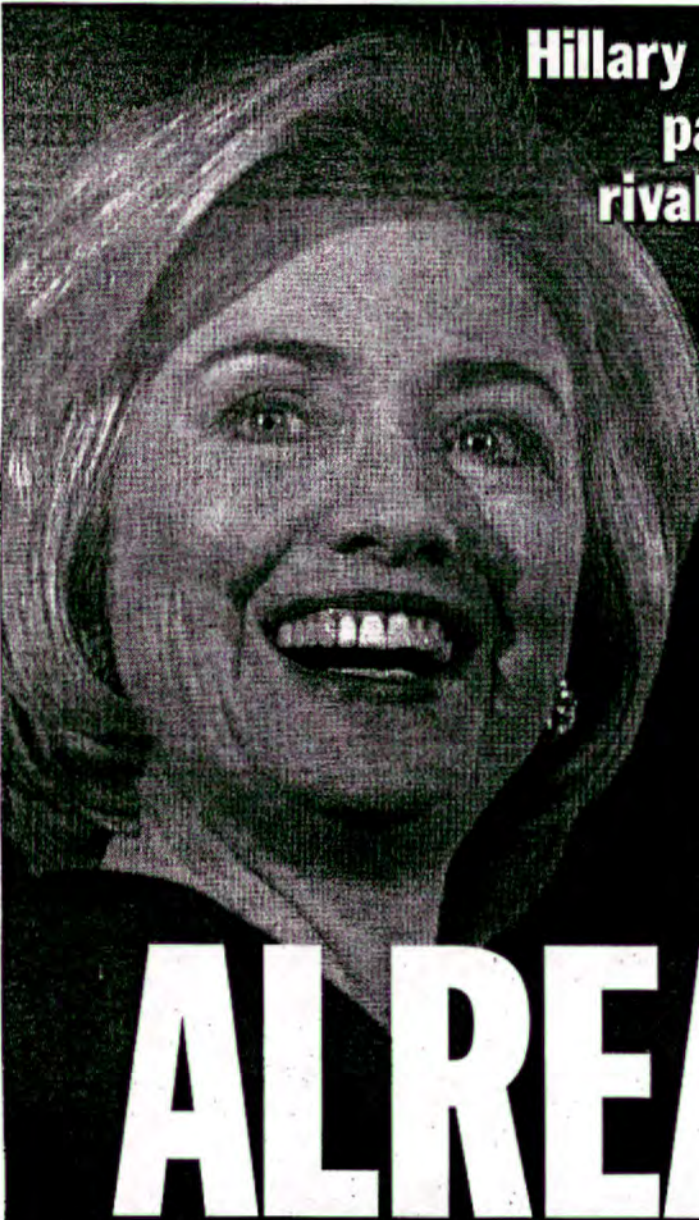
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NEW YORK'S HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER

Friday, June 4, 1999



Hillary to form campaign panel, and her Dem rival quits – but she's still not talking...

**SO
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SEE PAGE 7

BURAN HARTIS/DAILY NEWS

A Democrat Exits for the Undeclared Clinton

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Saying she was convinced that Hillary Rodham Clinton was running for Senator from New York, Representative Nita M. Lowey abandoned her own bid for the position yesterday, announcing her decision in a telephone call to Mrs. Clinton at the White House. Mrs. Clinton made no attempt to dissuade her, and the First Lady's aides later said that she was likely to form an exploratory committee in July.

"It's clear she is running," Ms. Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester, said in an interview shortly after her five-minute conversation with the First Lady. "It's time for me to move on."

The sequence of events — starting with a 1:20 P.M. call by Mrs. Lowey to the White House that had been arranged by aides to the two women

the night before — seemed to leave little doubt that the First Lady intends to seek the Democratic nomination to run in 2000 to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring.

Within hours after Ms. Lowey, who had presented herself as the fallback Democratic candidate in the race, announced her decision, Harold M. Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's senior political adviser, said that the First Lady was

"pressing forward" with her candidacy. He said she was likely to take the first formal step of creating an exploratory committee when she returns from a trip to Europe and the Middle East in July.

In Washington, Mrs. Clinton issued a short statement that praised Ms. Lowey's record as a member of Congress, and hinted at a continued political alliance in the months ahead. "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her," Mrs. Clinton said.

The First Lady had sought to put off giving any firm sign of her intentions until early summer, but by design or not, Ms. Lowey's decision seems to have forced Mrs. Clinton to reveal more than she might have liked at this point. If Mrs. Clinton still

Continued on Page A27

Westchester Democrat Leaves Senate Race to Mrs. Clinton

Continued From Page A1

had serious doubts about making the race, several Democrats said yesterday, she almost certainly would have advised Ms. Lowey to stay on the stage. Ms. Lowey said Mrs. Clinton said nothing of the sort.

In theory at least, Mrs. Clinton could still decide not to run, and Ms. Lowey could reverse herself and get back in the race. But associates of both women called the chances of that remote. Such a move by the First Lady would be highly disruptive to the state Democratic Party, leaving it in the lurch at a time when its leaders are already concerned about holding on to the seat if the Republicans run Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

Ms. Lowey's withdrawal ended one of the odder political entanglements of recent years. Just last week, Mrs. Clinton came to New York to help Ms. Lowey raise \$1 million, money that would have financed a Lowey campaign for Senate if Mrs. Clinton herself did not enter the race.

Some Democrats had begun to suggest that Ms. Lowey's willingness to stand back and quietly await Mrs. Clinton's decision, applauded at first as a sign of loyalty, could begin to seem weak and even farcical, particularly as Mrs. Clinton's candidacy seemed increasingly inevitable.

That said, there were no indications that Ms. Lowey felt any resentment over how she has fared in the public spotlight these last few months. From a political perspective, she is arguably in a much stronger position today than she was at the start of the year, by virtue of having played even a secondary role in such a high-profile contest. She has gone from being a little-known representative from Westchester to being a statewide Democratic figure. She raised about \$2 million during the last six months, her spokesman,



James Estrin/The New York Times

Representative Nita M. Lowey calling Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday to tell the First Lady that she had abandoned her bid for the Senate.

Howard Wolfson, said, probably more than she needs for a re-election race. At the age of 61, she is unlikely to have an opportunity to run again for the Senate — the next Senate race after 2000 is 2004, and that seat is already held by a Democrat, Charles E. Schumer — but she is certain to be viewed by Democrats as a stronger contender for governor in 2002.

Ms. Lowey had said she would run for the Senate only if Mrs. Clinton did not. In an interview, she said that she decided to quit her effort after a week in which Mrs. Clinton met with New York political strategists in the White House, and flew to New York to decry the state of the public school system in the city.

"In the past week or so, it was increasingly clear to me that the First Lady had decided to run," Ms. Lowey said. "It didn't make sense for me to stay in."

"The law of diminishing returns had set in," she said.

Mr. Wolfson called Mr. Ickes on Wednesday night to inform him of the decision and to arrange the telephone call, which Ms. Lowey made from her district office on Mamaroneck Avenue in White Plains. Ms. Lowey's aides said they had no idea how the First Lady would respond to the decision, and there was a real sense of suspense in Ms. Lowey's camp.

"I said to her that it was clear to me she was running, and therefore I was going to continue working in the House for re-election," Ms. Lowey said, recounting the conversation. "She said, 'I look forward to working with you.'"

In many ways, the timing of Ms. Lowey's announcement was less than ideal for Mrs. Clinton. She has been enjoying the kind of benefits that come from being a celebrity candidate who has not actually announced for office, drawing tremendous and largely uncritical coverage

A Congresswoman from Westchester says she is convinced the First Lady will run for the Senate.

of her every move. That is likely to change the more she is viewed as a real player on the field.

Mrs. Clinton's advisers said that as a formal matter, Ms. Lowey's announcement would not accelerate their own political schedule. "She's just going to push ahead and take this one step at a time," said Mandy Grunwald, a political consultant who worked for Mr. Moynihan's campaigns and is expected to play a key role in Mrs. Clinton's campaign.

In Mackinac Island, Mich., where Mr. Giuliani was addressing a business group yesterday, the Mayor reacted to the news of Mrs. Clinton's consideration of an exploratory committee with his standard refrain in recent days — noting that she was running for Senate from a state where she had never lived.

"Maybe she should explore New York a little more," he said. Then, referring to his own political agenda, the Mayor said, "I formed an exploratory committee about six weeks ago."

First lady to take next step to Senate

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton will take the next step toward a U.S. Senate campaign in New York by forming an exploratory committee next month, her advisers said Thursday.

Advisers acknowledged what has become increasingly obvious in recent days after Rep. Nita Lowey, the New York Democrat who had said she would seek the Senate seat if the first lady did not, announced plans to run for re-election to the House.

That leaves the Democratic field wide open for Hillary Clinton to run for the post being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

"I think there's a real good chance" she will run, said one adviser.

After months of waiting for the first lady to decide whether to campaign for Senate, Lowey took the initiative Thursday by taking herself out of contention for the post.

Lowey, telephoning the first lady, said it was clear Mrs. Clinton would run for the Senate, so Lowey would run for the House.

Hillary Clinton recounted the call in a brief statement issued by her office.

"Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House," the first lady said. "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her."

Hillary Clinton

Harold Ickes, the New York lawyer and former deputy White House chief of staff who is heading up the first lady's political effort, said Hillary Clinton listened to Lowey but did not go into detail about her own political plans.

"I think you can discern (from the conversation) that Hillary is going to press forward, and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward," Ickes told The Associated Press.

Other advisers stopped just short of saying that move was a certainty.

"There's every expectation

that an exploratory committee will be formed," said Lisa Caputo, the first lady's former press secretary.

But Caputo cautioned that forming such a committee did not mean the first lady would definitely enter the race. Rather, she characterized it as an effort "to keep every option open."

Hillary Clinton will be traveling overseas for much of the month of June, first joining President Clinton in Europe for an economic summit before heading off on her own tour of Israel, Jordan and Morocco. So any announcement on the exploratory committee would come in July after she returns to Washington.

A final decision on the campaign is not expected until the fall, advisers said.

Forming an exploratory committee would allow Hillary Clinton to begin fund raising — and to pay for her political trips with campaign funds. Her frequent visits to the Empire State, generally paid with taxpayer funds in her role as first lady, have already begun to draw criticism from New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the likely Republican Senate contender.

Lowey's decision to clear the way for Hillary Clinton's potential Senate bid came one day after the first lady made her 10th trip to New York this year. She delivered the commencement address Wednesday at City College in New York City, where she was greeted by students chanting, "Run, Hillary, run!"

Earlier this week, the first lady met at the White House with three veteran New York political operatives who could form the core of her political and fund-raising apparatus.

During her trip Wednesday to New York, Hillary Clinton attended a fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., who defended the first lady, who has never lived in New York, against accusations of carpooling. Earlier that day, Republican Gov. George Pataki had said, "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us."

Maloney said: "We New Yorkers don't care where you're from. We New Yorkers care about what you can do to continue to build the greatest city, state and country in the world."



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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999
TO MARSHA BERRY

P.01/06

Mrs. Clinton Talks the Talk

Hillary Clinton brought her nascent U.S. Senate campaign to town on Wednesday, trying out some applause lines on an exceedingly receptive audience: graduates of the City College of New York.

Among other graduates, the once-great college now produces would-be teachers, roughly one-half of whom can't pass the state's certification exams — compared with a 90-plus percent pass rate at most other New York colleges and universities.

For this and other reasons, the decline of City College has become central to the current debate over public-education standards in New York City.

So it was useful, if disheartening, to hear the First Lady's words on the subject of public-school excellence in the Big Apple:

"We can never lift up our public schools or the pupils they serve by tearing them down."

Translation: Hillary Clinton stands with the status quo that so fears needed change that it treats justified criticism of the public-education system as if it were an attack.

Then Mrs. Clinton trotted off to fete the president of the United Federation of Teachers, Randi Weingarten. The hugely rich, politically active UFT is as institutionally resistant to meaningful public-education reform as it is rhetorically supportive of change. It talks the talk, but it will never walk the walk.

Does Mrs. Clinton really want to become the spokesman of the past rather than a representative for the future?

NEW Yorkers are beginning to get used to **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and to be a bit blasé about her. But when she appeared in Manhattan last month to be presented with the award for Arts Advocacy by **Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg** at the fourth-annual National Arts Awards, those of us sitting down front got a load of some of her Secret Service's *modus operandi*.

The Secret Service insisted on a phone being installed as near as possible to the dining area in the New York State Theater. Someone in the First Lady's entourage was overheard: "The phone could be there in case the president needs to call her, although if he called, she'd just say she would call him back. What she wants the phone for is in case **Chelsea** calls. That's a call she always interrupts herself to take!"

Hill might turn funds into Ill.-gotten gains

YOU'VE heard of take the money and run? Hillary might take the money and *not* run.

There's a little-known quirk in our loophole-laden federal election law: If a Senate candidate forms an exploratory committee — as Hillary is doing — and raises lots of money but doesn't run, she can keep the money and use it for any political purpose she wants.

That's right. She gets to keep the money.

If Hillary raises \$4 million or \$5 million between now and next fall and then bows out, it would be illegal for her to transfer all the money to the Democratic candidate. The most she could give is \$5,000.

What can she spend the rest on? Any political purpose she wants.

She can't buy a house with it. But she can pay for staff, travel, and even fund a future campaign for another Senate seat in another state — like Illinois in 2004, for example.

This may be Hillary's game. Ask yourself why the First Lady should appear to be warming up to the idea of running when:

■ She's 5 to 7 points behind in most polls.

DICK MORRIS



■ She's slipped almost 8 points in most surveys.

■ Her husband's job-performance rating has fallen below 60 for the first time in four years.

■ The likely nominee of her party for president, the top of the ticket in 2000, is 20 points behind.

■ Her likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has rebounded in his ratings since the days of the Amadou Diallo shooting.

Why, indeed? Is she making the appropriate noises to set up a number of million-dollar fundraisers so that she can take the money and not run?

Will she use the Made in New York money to pay for her political expenses for the next few years while she waits for a Senate race she can win?

And while we're at it, why is she going out of her way to signal that she and Bill are an item?

Why the highly publicized joint vacation in Florida? Why

the kiss at the Littleton event? Why the Dan Rather interview about her "abiding commitment" to her husband?

Could it be that it's a lot easier to raise money if you are perceived as staying with the incumbent president rather than seen as likely to leave him?

Which interest group or lobbyist wants a close relationship with an ex-First Lady? Don't most of them want to give Hillary money because of her proximity to you-know-who?

The final piece of evidence for Hillary-watchers is that her "friends" take pains, in every story and every orchestrated leak, to say that she could still back out anytime she wants.

They always leave an escape hatch.

Nobody burns any bridges on her behalf. So she can pull back once the fund-raising has amassed a substantial and portable war chest.

If this sounds too planned, programmed and plotted for Hillary, you just don't know her very well.

Mrs. Clinton talks the talk / Editorial: Page 24



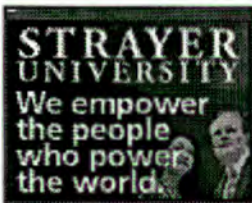
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Hillary Clinton Moves Closer to Run

By Sandra Sobieraj
 Associated Press Writer
 Friday, June 4, 1999; 9:19 a.m. EDT

WASHINGTON (AP) -- Taking a big step toward a political race, Hillary Rodham Clinton said today she will form an exploratory committee in July to prepare for a possible campaign for a Senate seat from New York.

"I'm going to open an exploratory committee in July," she said. "And then I'll spend some time -- a lot of time -- in New York listening to people and I'm looking forward to that."

The first lady made her comments in an interview on ABC's "Good Morning America." Her statement confirmed what her top political adviser had said Thursday, that she would form an exploratory committee next month for the seat being vacated next year by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. No first lady has ever run for public office.

It is a race that could pit her against the Republican mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani.

"I think exploring New York is a good thing," Giuliani said following a speech in Michigan, stressing that the first lady has never lived in New York. "Maybe she should explore New York a little."

"I should say though, I have supreme confidence that the next senator from New York will be someone from the state of New York," the mayor added.

Formation of an exploratory committee will allow Mrs. Clinton to begin raising money for the race. That means she could begin paying for some of her travel to New York, for polling and other campaign-type expenses. She already has come under fire for making campaign-style trips to New York as first lady, and thus at taxpayer expense.

Formation of such a committee will be seen in political circles as tantamount to a declaration of candidacy.

Harold Ickes, who is heading up Mrs. Clinton's political operation, disclosed the exploratory committee plans after Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., called the first lady to tell her she would seek re-election to the House, leaving the Senate Democratic field open for Mrs. Clinton.

"I told her it seemed clear she was running. ... I wished her well,"

Lowey said. "I told her I would support her enthusiastically."

Mrs. Clinton issued a statement that said: "Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House. I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her."

Mrs. Clinton also met Thursday with political consultant James Carville.

Asked whether they discussed the New York Senate race, the first lady's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said, "They both have a love of politics, so it wouldn't surprise me."

Ickes, a former White House chief of staff to President Clinton, said Mrs. Clinton did not go into detail about her own political plans during the conversation with Lowey.

But Ickes added: "I think you can discern that Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward."

He cautioned that formation of the committee did not necessarily mean Mrs. Clinton would seek the seat. "This is one step at a time," Ickes said. "The initial step forward is to form the exploratory committee and continue to talk to the people of New York."

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June 4, 1999

Mrs. Clinton Loses Rival in a Race for Senate

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By ADAM NAGOURNEY

NEW YORK -- Saying she was convinced that **Hillary Rodham Clinton** was running for senator from New York, Rep. Nita Lowey abandoned her own bid for the position Thursday, announcing her decision in a telephone call to Mrs. **Clinton** at the White House.

Mrs. **Clinton** made no attempt to dissuade her, and the first lady's aides later said she is likely to form an exploratory committee in July.

"It's clear she is running," Lowey, D-N.Y., said in an interview shortly after her five-minute conversation with the first lady. "It's time for me to move on."

The sequence of events -- starting with a 1:20 p.m. call by Lowey to the White House that had been orchestrated by aides to the two women the night before -- seemed to leave little doubt that the first lady intends to seek the Democratic nomination to run in 2000 to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring.

Within hours after Lowey, who had presented herself as the fallback Democratic candidate in the race, announced her decision, Harold M. Ickes, Mrs. **Clinton's** senior political adviser, said that the first lady was "pressing forward" with her candidacy. He said she was likely to take the first formal step of creating an exploratory committee when she returns from a trip to Europe and the Mideast in July.

In Washington, Mrs. **Clinton** issued a short statement that praised Lowey's record as a member of Congress, and hinted at a continued political alliance in the months ahead. "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her," Mrs. **Clinton** said.

By design or not, the decision by Lowey effectively forced the hand of the first lady, who has sought to put off giving any firm sign of her intention until early summer. If Mrs. **Clinton** still had serious doubts about making the race, several of her aides said Thursday,

she almost certainly would have advised Lowey to stay on the stage. Lowey said Mrs. **Clinton** said nothing of the sort.

In theory at least, Mrs. **Clinton** could still decide not to run, and Lowey could reverse herself and get back in the race. But associates of both women called the chances of that remote.

Such a move by the first lady would be highly disruptive to the state Democratic Party, leaving it in the lurch at a time when its leaders are already concerned about holding onto the seat if the Republicans run mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York.

Lowey's withdrawal ended one of the odder political entanglements of recent years. Just last week, Mrs. **Clinton** came to New York to help Lowey raise \$1 million, money that would have financed a Lowey campaign for Senate if Mrs. **Clinton** herself did not make the race.

Some Democrats had begun to suggest that Lowey's willingness to stand back quietly awaiting Mrs. **Clinton**'s decision, applauded at first as a sign of loyalty, could begin to seem weak and even farcical, particularly as Mrs. **Clinton**'s candidacy seemed increasingly inevitable.

That said, there were no indications that Lowey felt any resentment over how she has fared in the public spotlight these last few months.

As a political matter, she is today arguably in a much stronger position than she was at the start of the year, by virtue of having played even a secondary role in such a high profile contest. She has gone from being a little-known representative from Westchester to being a state-wide Democratic figure.

She raised about \$2 million during the last six months, her spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said, probably more than she needs for a re-election race. At the age of 61, she is unlikely to have an opportunity to run again for Senate -- the next Senate race after 2000 is 2004, and that seat is already held by a Democrat, Charles Schumer -- but she is certain to be viewed by Democrats as a stronger contender for governor in 2002.

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"The law of diminishing returns had set in," she said.

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real sense of suspense in Lowey's camp.

"I said to her that it was clear to me she was running, and therefore I was going to continue working in the House for re-election," Lowey said, recounting the conversation. "She said, 'I look forward to working with you.'"

In many ways, the timing of Lowey's announcement was less than ideal for Mrs. **Clinton**. She has been enjoying the kind of benefits that come from being a celebrity candidate who has not actually announced for office, drawing tremendous and largely uncritical coverage of her every move. That is likely to change the more she is viewed as a real player on the field.

Mrs. **Clinton's** advisers said that as a formal matter, Lowey's announcement would not accelerate their own political schedule. "She's just going to push ahead and take this one step at a time," said Mandy Grunwald, the political consultant who was Moynihan's consultant and is expected to play a key role in Mrs. **Clinton's** campaign.

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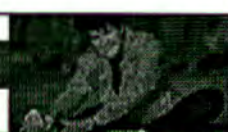
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Last Democrat Gives Way To First Lady's Likely Run

Rep. Lowey Abandons N.Y. Senate Race

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
and JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writers

Hillary Rodham Clinton's all-but-announced Senate candidacy in New York became even more of a foregone conclusion yesterday, as the only other potential Democratic candidate said she is dropping out of the race because it is "clear" that Clinton will run.

Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.) yesterday said she is withdrawing from the Senate race to clear the field for the first lady and will instead run for a seventh term in the House. Advisers to Hillary Clinton said she plans to announce the formation of an exploratory committee in early July, and while some still caution that she could change her mind, the adopted-state candidacy that once seemed almost too far-fetched to contemplate is looking more than ever like a done deal.

Clinton, who has never lived in New York and has never run for elective office, met yesterday to talk politics with James Carville, the charismatic consultant so cen-

tral to her husband's 1992 presidential campaign. Carville said the first lady never declared to him that she was running during their chat, but he said the assumption was obvious.

"I don't know if I've ever declared to her that I'm a male," Carville said. "It's understood."

Now that Lowey has pulled out, Clinton is the only Democrat even considering the race to succeed retiring Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.); New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.) are likely to compete for the Republican nomination. Lowey, who had pledged to run for Senate if Clinton did not, said she simply realized that the first lady is acting like a candidate and talking like a candidate because she is a candidate.

"She's clearly made the decision to run," said Lowey, who called Clinton yesterday and pledged to support her still-undeclared candidacy. "It was time for me to move on."

Lowey did not rule out the possibility of getting back into the race if Clinton has a change of heart, but Democratic insiders say the party is obviously counting on the first lady to run. Potential candidates such as state Comptroller Carl McCall, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo and environmental activist Robert F. Kennedy Jr. have already taken their names out of circulation, and Clinton advisers acknowledged yesterday that she would put the party in an uncomfortable position were she to forgo the race.

"The ante has been upped on Hillary," one top adviser said.

Other Democrats were even blunter about the first lady's responsibility to the state and national party. Polls suggest that even for Clinton, one of the best-known and most-admired women in America, a celebrity showdown with the pugnacious Giuliani—who pointedly joked during her visit to Manhattan on Tuesday that he was thinking about a visit to Arkansas and yesterday quipped to reporters that "exploring New York is a good thing"—would be no cakewalk. And the longer she stays in the mix, the harder it would be to replace her. "At this point, if she doesn't run, we're screwed," one New York operative said.

For now, though, everyone's assumption is that Clinton is running, even though she has no real ties to New York, even though she just lived through the nightmare of impeachment, even though she would undoubtedly face a barrage of uncomfortable questions about Whitewater, her high-profile fail-

ure to deliver a national health insurance plan and her unusual success in the cattle futures market. When Lowey suggested to Clinton yesterday that she had clearly made up her mind to run, she did not agree, but she did not disagree, either. And while Clinton advisers have been saying for a while that she plans to form an exploratory committee in early July, Harold Ickes yesterday was the first to say so on the record.

"She's pressing forward," he said. "The creation of an exploratory committee would be the obvious next step."

Clinton's interest in the Senate race was evident Sunday at a private meeting in Florida, as she buttonholed a number of Democratic activists for advice about sharpening and shaping her message. Sources said that during breaks from a day-long forum sponsored by the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, she quizzed insiders such as DLC Director Al From, former White House communications director Donald A. Baer, White House pollster Mark Penn, and New York Democratic activists Lynn Forester, Bob Burkett and Bob and Ronay Menschel.

President Clinton, a former DLC chairman, has championed some causes that have angered liberal Democratic constituencies, such as free trade and welfare reform, but no one is quite sure whether his

wife plans to echo those ideas during a campaign in New York. Sources said that at the forum, the first lady batted around ideas about the politics of trade and Social Security, wondering how a New York politician can appeal to both moderates and liberals.

"She clearly is engaged in the challenge of trying to think about how you continue to offer innovative ideas for governing, but without creating ruptures in the broader Democratic coalition," said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

Hillary Clinton is an eloquent and often inspiring speaker, and there is no doubt that she could be a prodigious fund-raiser. The national media are dying for her to run, and Democrats see her as a possible future president. But the prospect of a first lady running for office in New York while her husband is running the country in Washington is still a bizarre scenario, and Clinton associates cautioned that it hasn't happened yet.

"This is obviously moving ahead in one direction," said Democratic consultant Mandy Grunwald, another Clinton adviser. "I think she's where she was yesterday and the day before and the day before that. But she hasn't made an announcement. That's where we are."

Staff writer Charles Babington contributed to this report.

N.Y. legislator clears way for first lady

Representative tells Clinton she won't run for Senate seat

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton gave the strongest signals yet Thursday that she will run for the U.S. Senate in New York: She accepted Democratic Rep. Nita Lowey's decision to take herself out of the race and let it be known that she plans to form an exploratory committee in early July.

Lowey, a six-term congresswoman, had planned to seek the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan if Clinton didn't. She telephoned the first lady Thursday to say she would not run for the Senate and would instead seek re-election to the House.

Although Clinton is not expected to make a formal announcement of candidacy until the fall or later, "it has become increasingly clear that the first lady will run for the Senate," Lowey said in a statement. "I called the first lady to share my decision with her, and I pledged my support for her candidacy."

Lowey's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the first lady thanked Lowey for being a friend.

In her own statement, Clinton said: "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her."

Asked whether Lowey had become impatient waiting for Clinton to announce a decision, Wolfson said his boss has found the process to be



Support for Hillary: Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Nita Lowey attend a fundraiser May 24 in New York. Lowey pledged her support for Clinton Thursday.

"very rewarding," but "the law of diminishing returns came into play."

Lowey said she would have considered it an "honor" to run for the Senate, but "I conclude this process with-

out any regrets."

Harold Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff who is advising Clinton on her likely Senate run, said Lowey's decision — and the

first lady's acceptance of it — do not amount to an absolute confirmation that Clinton will run.

But Lowey's aides clearly believe Clinton would have stopped her friend from publicly bowing out of the race if she didn't have every intention of running herself.

"One would think," Wolfson said.

Ickes said the first lady plans to form an exploratory committee after she returns from a two-week trip to Europe, Israel and Jordan at the end of June.

Clinton has faced growing criticism for taking nearly a dozen trips to New York at taxpayer expense since the start of the year, and White House lawyers have advised her to form the committee, so she can raise money to pay for future trips.

Democratic political strategist Mandy Grunwald, who also is advising Clinton, confirmed that the first lady has begun talking to and interviewing potential Senate campaign staffers.

Aides say Clinton knows she'll face a tough campaign against the likely Republican front-runner, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

But they say she has decided that the Senate would provide the best platform for her to promote issues such as health care and child care that she's worked on all her life.

Another factor that may have helped propel Clinton into the race: Disarray among New York Republicans. Although Giuliani is widely believed to have a lock on the GOP nomination if he runs, he might face a primary battle against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio. And a long-simmering dispute between Giuliani and New York's Republican Gov. George Pataki also could hurt Giuliani's standing in more conservative upstate New York.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1999

Haunting Hillary

"Sexgate prober Ken Starr will be haunting Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign if she runs," writes New York Post reporter and columnist Deborah Orin.

"Sources say Starr is finally wrapping up his probe of the messy Travelgate charges that the first lady forced the firing of career travel staffers to make way for Clinton cronies," Miss Orin said.

"Starr's staff may complete its report this summer, but more likely sometime before the end of the year, sources say — just when the first lady could be getting into high gear for a Senate race."

The report would remind voters "that Mrs. Clinton was a player in some of the Clinton messes, not simply a victim of Sexgate," Miss Orin said.

Female candidates

"Pretty soon, somebody is going to look at next year's Senate races and note that a number of the most competitive, high-profile contests are likely to feature female nominees," political analyst Stuart Rothenberg observes.

"That will provoke a flurry of articles and television reports about female candidates and women in politics," Mr. Rothen-

berg said in his Roll Call column.

"I know that will happen because it ALWAYS happens. . . .

"This cycle, eight competitive Senate races will almost definitely include female candidates. On the Democratic side, the list includes Michigan (Rep. Debbie Stabenow), Nevada (state Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa), Washington (state Insurance Commissioner Deborah Senn), New York (either first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton or Rep. Nita Lowey) and California (Sen. Dianne Feinstein)."

[Mrs. Lowey announced yesterday, however, that she was forgoing a Senate race, and will instead run for re-election to the House.]

"In three states, the GOP is likely to have female nominees: New Jersey (Gov. Christine Todd Whitman), Maine (Sen. Olympia Snowe) and Texas (Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchinson)."

That's not much different from other elections going back to 1990, which, on average, featured six or seven credible female candidates, Mr. Rothenberg said.

Lowey won't run for Senate, clears way for Hillary in N.Y.

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton will announce formation of an exploratory committee in early July to begin seeking money and support for an expected run for the Senate seat in New York, Democratic supporters said yesterday.

Former White House aide Harold Ickes, who has been Mrs. Clinton's chief political adviser, revealed the first lady's intentions after Rep. Nita M. Lowey decided not to seek the Democratic nomination to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Mrs. Lowey's decision to seek reelection to her House seat leaves the field wide open for Mrs. Clinton to be the nominee.

"Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House. I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her," Mrs. Clinton said in a brief statement.

Howard Wolfson, the congresswoman's spokesman, said that "Nita called the first lady, told the first lady that it was clear to her that the first lady was going to run for the Senate and that therefore Nita was going to run for the House."

Mr. Ickes told reporters yesterday that "Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July."

However, the longtime Clinton strategist and New York political operative cautioned that formation of the committee did not guarantee that Mrs. Clinton will run. "This is one step at a time. The initial step forward is to form the exploratory committee and continue to talk to the people of New York," Mrs. Clinton may define her exploratory plans as only a tentative first step, leaving her the option not to run if her prospective candidacy should falter.

"I don't think anybody in New



Hillary Rodham Clinton tries on sunglasses handed her during Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School commencement exercises.

York believes she's not going to run," said former New York Democratic Party Chairman John Marino. "I don't care what Harold says, this is a huge step."

But Mr. Marino, a longtime party strategist, had some strong words of advice for the first lady: start campaigning now.

"Hillary must go out, not to these staged events, but go out to where there are real people, especially in upstate New York. She should spend the summer and fall traveling New York state and spend time listening to what people are saying," he said.

Mr. Marino said that Mrs. Clinton was in for "a very tough campaign" against her likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

"This race will be no better and no worse than a 50-50 proposition for her to win," he said.

Other Democratic supporters said she will have an especially hard time dealing with charges that she has never lived in New York and with the many scandals that have plagued the Clintons during her husband's presidency.

"Hillary Clinton has a problem and that is that the voters are tired of the Clintons. Many of them are saying they have been around for nearly eight years and it's time for them to go. She's going to have a problem with that," said a New York City Democratic strategist.

A sampling of the political problems confronting Mrs. Clinton was revealed in a survey of New York voters taken by independent pollster John Zogby.

"The top questions for the first lady: Why is she running in New York? And why did she stay with him?" Mr. Zogby wrote in the New York Times Wednesday.

NITA BOWS OUT OF

SENATE RACE



YIELDING TO HILLARY: Westchester Congresswoman Nita Lowey (left) will forgo a Senate run in favor of likely candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Rep. Nita Lowey yesterday ditched her dreams of running for U.S. Senate, to make way for Hillary Rodham Clinton — whose pals quickly upstaged her by saying the First Lady will launch an exploratory committee.

Clinton is now the only Democrat eyeing the 2000 Senate race — meaning state Democrats could be in big trouble, and without a serious candidate, if she bows out later.

"I called [Mrs. Clinton] and said it seemed clear that she was running for Senate — and, therefore, I was going to run for re-election to the House and I wished her well," Lowey, a Westchester congresswoman, told *The Post*.

"She said she's grateful for my friendship and she wants to continue working with me and she admired me. I said if she moves to Harrison or Bedford, maybe she could come over for a barbecue, and she said she'd love to do that."

Clinton said, "I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her. Nita is a leader on so many critical issues

By DEBORAH ORIN,
ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and FREDRIC U. DICKER

affecting the lives of New Yorkers. I know that she will continue to be an outstanding and effective congresswoman."

Mayor Giuliani, the First Lady's likely GOP rival, quickly jabbed at Clinton, who has never lived in New York, saying: "I think exploring New York is a good thing. Maybe she should explore New York a little."

Giuliani, in Mackinac Island, Mich., for a speech, added: "I remain totally confident that the next senator from New York will be someone who has intimate connections to New York and has lived there a long time."

Lowey said the First Lady didn't explicitly confirm in their brief phone chat that she has decided to run for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan — but didn't dispute it either.

Soon afterward, *The Associated Press* quoted Harold Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's close pal, as saying:

"Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward."

In an interview with *The Post*, Ickes didn't deny telling the AP that Clinton would launch her exploratory committee in July, but said such a statement "went further than I intended to go."

Analysts said Lowey was smart to get out gracefully before she started looking silly.

Asked if she'll reconsider if Clinton exits later, Lowey replied: "Never say never — but my plan is to run for re-election to the House."

Aides said Lowey will cease campaigning outside her district.

Political consultant George Arzt said Democrats will be in big trouble if Clinton doesn't run, because "whoever runs would be chicken salad compared to the star that didn't run."

He predicted that if Clinton doesn't run, Democrats will beg state Comptroller Carl McCall to reconsider his decision not to do so.

Victory Would Be Hillary's Best Revenge

A Republican senator running for re-election next year recently reacted this way to Hillary Rodham Clinton's now probable New York Senate campaign:

"Can't you get her to run against me?"

Think of the benefits, added this savvy GOP pol. He could immediately fire his fund-raisers. A couple of national mass-mailings would bring in more than enough campaign cash. The chance to beat the First Tiger Lady would unite otherwise fractious Republicans from Jerry Falwell to Christie Whitman. And victory would make him a national GOP celebrity.

That widely shared sentiment says more about Mrs. Clinton's political ambition than all of the canned public Democratic applause she's now hearing. In private, many Democrats are worried about her candidacy. It's



Hillary Clinton

Republicans who are pleased, if also dumbfounded at her audacity.

"I continue to be astonished that she's going to run," says one operative charged with re-electing a GOP Senate. "There's a virtual certainty that if she runs it hurts everything else Democrats want to do."

No Democrat can afford to say this on the record, of course. And the First Lady's media friends have stayed quiet, perhaps to encourage what everyone understands would be a reporter's dream—two presidential races for the price of one.

The exception is The New Republic, which has trashed her candidacy as loudly as it's promoting Al Gore's—and which is no coincidence, comrade. Its editors know Mr. Gore has enough problems without adding Hillary's.

Any Democrat not inhaling James Carville's exhaust can tell you the risks: She'll suck money and attention away

**A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau**

THE FIRST LADY zeroes in on a New York address for a likely Senate run.

The Clintons mull a plan to have a friend buy a house in Westchester County so they can lease it. Details, including the friend's identity, are kept secret in a close circle of aides. Advisers consider legal and ethical issues involved in such an arrangement. Veteran fund-raisers Terry McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan will help raise money outside New York.

Some advisers predict the first lady will announce her candidacy in three or four weeks. But others oppose any formal move until year end. Democratic New York Rep. Lowey's decision yesterday to run for reelection rather than the Senate "takes the pressure off" Mrs. Clinton to announce quickly, one adviser says.

Senate Democrats, whose ranks Mrs. Clinton hopes to join, say she is keeping them in the dark.

First lady to take next step to Senate

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton will take the next step toward a U.S. Senate campaign in New York by forming an exploratory committee next month, her advisers said Thursday.

Advisers acknowledged what has become increasingly obvious in recent days after Rep. Nita Lowey, the New York Democrat who had said she would seek the Senate seat if the first lady did not, announced plans to run for re-election to the House.

That leaves the Democratic field wide open for Hillary Clinton to run for the post being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

"I think there's a real good chance" she will run, said one adviser.

After months of waiting for the first lady to decide whether to campaign for Senate, Lowey took the initiative Thursday by taking herself out of contention for the post.

Lowey, telephoning the first lady, said it was clear Mrs. Clinton would run for the Senate, so Lowey would run for the House.

Hillary Clinton recounted the call in a brief statement issued by her office.

"Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House," the first lady said. "I thank Nita for her support, and I look forward to working with her."

Hillary Clinton

Harold Ickes, the New York lawyer and former deputy White House chief of staff who is heading up the first lady's political effort, said Hillary Clinton listened to Lowey but did not go into detail about her own political plans.

"I think you can discern (from the conversation) that Hillary is going to press forward, and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward," Ickes told The Associated Press.

Other advisers stopped just short of saying that move was a certainty.

"There's every expectation

that an exploratory committee will be formed," said Lisa Caputo, the first lady's former press secretary.

But Caputo cautioned that forming such a committee did not mean the first lady would definitely enter the race. Rather, she characterized it as an effort "to keep every option open."

Hillary Clinton will be traveling overseas for much of the month of June, first joining President Clinton in Europe for an economic summit before heading off on her own tour of Israel, Jordan and Morocco. So any announcement on the exploratory committee would come in July after she returns to Washington.

A final decision on the campaign is not expected until the fall, advisers said.

Forming an exploratory committee would allow Hillary Clinton to begin fund raising — and to pay for her political trips with campaign funds. Her frequent visits to the Empire State, generally paid with taxpayer funds in her role as first lady, have already begun to draw criticism from New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the likely Republican Senate contender.

Lowey's decision to clear the way for Hillary Clinton's potential Senate bid came one day after the first lady made her 10th trip to New York this year. She delivered the commencement address Wednesday at City College in New York City, where she was greeted by students chanting, "Run, Hillary, run!"

Earlier this week, the first lady met at the White House with three veteran New York political operatives who could form the core of her political and fund-raising apparatus.

During her trip Wednesday to New York, Hillary Clinton attended a fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., who defended the first lady, who has never lived in New York, against accusations of carpebagging. Earlier that day, Republican Gov. George Pataki had said, "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us."

Maloney said: "We New Yorkers don't care where you're from. We New Yorkers care about what you can do to continue to build the greatest city, state and country in the world."



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Outsider wants in

June 3, 1999

BY LYNN SWEET WASHINGTON BUREAU



As first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton prepares for a Senate run from New York, the notion of taking the easier electoral path--through her home state of Illinois--never was given serious consideration. You can't blame her for not wanting to wait years for an opening.

Clinton made her 10th visit to New York since the beginning of the year Wednesday and has an upstate swing scheduled for Wednesday. She's off on her own to Italy, Israel and possibly Jordan later this month and come July, she is expected to announce the formation of her exploratory committee.

Right now, most of her travel is on the taxpayers' tab, and an exploratory committee is needed because she can't continue flying to New York and keep up the fiction that it is somehow connected to official White House business.

Clinton wants to go through the buzz saw of a New York Senate run and take deserved criticism as a carpetbagger, her friends say, in large part because of her passion for public service. As in, "public service is the rent you pay for living."

No argument, but where is it written that elected office is the definition of public service? If public service was her goal, then the alternatives that would be available to her after the White House--the CEO of a foundation or an international nonprofit organization--would seem to present her with a high visibility and prestigious platform for her views.

A U.S. Senate perch, by the way, is not as lofty as one may think. When it comes to public service for a member of the Illinois delegation, for example, it means year after year of grueling wrangling for housekeeping items--repair of Lower Wacker Drive; highway, Metra and CTA funding, etc. Is this why Clinton is contemplating a Senate bid? To increase federal highway funding for Long Island?

Being in the Senate means a lot of individual casework, often on frustrating immigration and Social Security problems, with no connection to the larger social and political agendas that seem to have interested the first lady.

It means sending out flags that have flown over the Capitol and getting

school groups VIP tours under the dome. And it means getting constituents tickets for White House tours.

Think about that one.

The problem with running from Illinois, of course, is that there is no early opportunity for Democrat Clinton. Republican Gov. Ryan's term is up in 2002. The seat of Sen. Peter Fitzgerald (R-Ill.), who beat a politically anemic Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.), comes open in 2004. Fitzgerald might be an easier target than the New York Republicans who are thinking it over, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio.

Clinton always has been popular in Illinois even during the worst years of presidential scandal. Running from Illinois would mean she would not have to face the carpetbagging charge, which should not be underestimated as a time-consuming campaign issue that will get in the way of substantive debate over other matters.

She has, when she chooses to use it, an impeccable North Side Chicago accent and a claim to the turf since she lived at 5722 N. Winthrop as a toddler before moving to northwest suburban Park Ridge, where she lived through her college years.

Illinois, unlike New York, has built a history in the last decade of electing women--of both parties--to statewide office. Female candidates do not win statewide in New York.

Clinton's friends downplay but still mention other reasons she is tilting toward making a 2000 run from New York. She does not seek a break to return to a "normal" life. She wants to be elected in her own right. For the first time since she married Bill Clinton and moved to Arkansas, if she becomes a senator, there will be no question what her role will be.

And if she loses New York? It looks as if she will be taking the risk. After all, she can always come back home.

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First Lady Moves Closer to Senate Run

By Ron Fournier

AP Political Writer

Thursday, June 3, 1999; 4:33 p.m. EDT

WASHINGTON (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton will form an exploratory committee in early July preparing her for a potential Senate campaign in New York, a top adviser said today.

Harold Ickes, who is heading up Mrs. Clinton's political operation, disclosed the first lady's plans after it was reported that Rep. Nita Lowey had decided to seek re-election. Lowey's move leaves the Democratic field clear for Mrs. Clinton to run for the Senate.

"Nita called the first lady, told the first lady that it was clear to her that the first lady was going to run for the Senate and that therefore Nita was going to run for the House," Lowey spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

Mrs. Clinton described the call in a statement: "Today Nita Lowey called me to say that she would be running for re-election to the House. I thank Nita for her support and I look forward to working with her."

Ickes, a former deputy White House chief of staff, said Mrs. Clinton listened to Lowey but did not go into detail about her own political plans.

"I think you can discern (from the conversation) that Hillary is going to press forward and she will be forming an exploratory committee in early July and just keep moving forward," Ickes said.

Later, Ickes said he meant to say that Mrs. Clinton intends to form a committee in July.

He said forming the committee does not necessarily mean Mrs. Clinton will seek the seat. "This is one step at a time," Ickes said. "The initial step forward is to form the exploratory committee and continue to talk to the people of New York."

Advisers have said for days that Mrs. Clinton intended to form the committee, but Ickes was the first to say it on the record. Advisers say it would require a major change of heart for Mrs. Clinton to not launch a campaign after deciding to form the committee.

Lowey had earlier said she would not run for the Senate seat if Mrs. Clinton did so.

Her call to Mrs. Clinton came one day after the first lady was in New

York City, looking like a candidate and sounding like a candidate as she shook hands, hugged strangers and made a rousing speech.

"Run, Hillary, run!" students chanted at City College, where Mrs. Clinton began her day-long visit to Manhattan on Wednesday by giving the commencement address.

The content of Mrs. Clinton's speech to the college – calling for more resources and support for public schools – was similar to others she has made in a half-dozen recent appearances in New York. But this time her every sentence was met with a roar from the students, most of them black, Hispanic and from working-class backgrounds. And like a candidate on the campaign trail, Mrs. Clinton's cadences grew stronger with every cheer.

"We can never lift up our public schools and the students they serve by tearing them down," Mrs. Clinton said. "We can never ensure the future of this city or state or our nation by undermining the public education system that is at the very foundation of the American dream."

New York City's public schools have been criticized frequently by Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is also a likely Senate candidate. And City University, of which City College is part, has also been under attack, accused of lowering standards.

At an evening fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., the congresswoman defended Mrs. Clinton against accusations of carpetbagging. The first lady has never lived in New York, and earlier Wednesday, Republican Gov. George Pataki had said, "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us."

"We New Yorkers don't care where you're from," Ms. Maloney said. "We New Yorkers care about what you can do to continue to build the greatest city, state and country in the world."

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Some in New York Question Hillary Clinton's Chances (Washn)

By Ellen Gamerman= (c) 1999, The Baltimore Sun=

WASHINGTON When Hillary Rodham Clinton sets foot in New York, she generates the kind of hyperactive buzz usually reserved for Hollywood starlets at the Oscars. But if the first lady is finally getting her pink taffeta moment, it is not without complications.

Already, some New York political operatives are worrying that the victory glitter surrounding her has lost some of its luster.

Clinton, who is steadily moving toward a race for the Senate from New York, hardly seemed concerned Wednesday as she basked in the celebrity glow on a daylong visit to New York City.

The trip her 10th since rumors started flying this year about her possible campaign was marked by chants of "Run, Hillary, Run" at the City College graduation and the embrace of Democrats at a congressional fund-raiser.

Though she could back out at any point, signs are clearly pointing to a campaign. The first lady is expected to announce the formation of an exploratory committee by as early as the end of this month after her return from 15 days of foreign travel with the president. Earlier this week, Clinton met with three top New York political strategists in preliminary interviews for a possible campaign staff.

Many New York Democrats are cheering her efforts. But behind the scenes, some veterans of state politics are raising alarms about her future.

"She's got real problems in this race," said Lawrence O'Donnell Jr., who worked on campaigns for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring New York Democrat whose job is up for grabs next year. "At first she looked unbeatable. But it's hard to get New Yorkers to vote for Democrats. Very hard."

While the city remains solidly Democratic, the mass exodus to the suburbs has created a far more conservative base there. Upstate New York has always been a Republican stronghold, and many Democrats acknowledge that it is no longer enough for a Democratic statewide candidate to win just the city.

Among the other tough questions emerging: Why did the first lady begin with a 20-point lead in the polls when her possible campaign hit the headlines in January, only to lose that edge in what is now neck-and-neck polling with her potential Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City?

With each passing week, Clinton acts more like a candidate. At the White House on Tuesday, Clinton held a 1½-hour meeting with Hank Morris, the consultant who helped orchestrate New York Democrat Charles E. Schumer's upset victory over former Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato last year.

The first lady also discussed her possible campaign with Dick Riley, once a spokesman for former New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch. She also met with Gabrielle Fialkoff, the chief fund-raiser for Peter F. Vallone, the New York City Council leader who ran unsuccessfully for governor last year.

But while Clinton has spent hours phoning Democratic professionals and has been told by many that she can win the election she has yet to schmooze ordinary New Yorkers. Their approval is not a given.

"I have had it with her meeting with politicians, potential staff members, political advisers," said John Marino, the former state Democratic chairman. "I want her to meet with real people real fast. She has to get to a town meeting or a coffee klatch or a county fair. She has to meet the real average New Yorkers."

Wednesday in New York City, Clinton acted every inch the candidate. She offered a veiled criticism of Giuliani by urging students to resist those who try to "score political points" by criticizing the schools. Giuliani is locked in a heated feud with the city schools chancellor over the condition of the school system.

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NATION

Hillary works young crowd at New York commencement

Governor raises carpetbagger issue

NEW YORK (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton made her 10th trip of the year to New York yesterday, working the crowd at the City College commencement where she cautioned graduates against those who try to "lift up our public schools and the students they serve by tearing them down."

Mrs. Clinton, who is edging closer to a Senate race, did not name names, but a potential Republican rival, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has frequently criticized the city's public schools.

As she walked through the crowd of 3,000 graduates, Mrs. Clinton shook dozens and dozens of hands thrust out by cheering students, warming to the task as she went along. One man put his arms out for a hug, and she returned his embrace after a moment's hesitation. Later, students chanted, "Run, Hillary, run!"

As she has before, the first lady called for more resources for public schools, improved early childhood education and higher educational standards. Her every sentence was met with a roar from the students, most of them black, Hispanic and from working-class backgrounds. And like a candidate on the campaign trail, Mrs. Clinton's cadences grew stronger with every cheer.

Later, at a state Democratic Committee luncheon, Mrs. Clinton was asked if she had any news to report about a bid for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"I will have something to say later," she said.

Her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Mrs. Clinton was not about



Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses 3,000 graduates of the City College of New York yesterday. She pushed for higher educational standards.

to reveal her plans. "She's still weighing the options," said Ms. Berry.

But close associates say they expect Mrs. Clinton to run, barring a sudden change of heart. They say that before making an announcement, she would notify New York Rep. Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat

who was considering the race herself, of her plans.

Gov. George E. Pataki criticized Mrs. Clinton as a carpetbagger because she has never lived in New York. "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us," he said.

Non-Candidate Clinton Hits Not-Quite-Hustings

For Someone Who Isn't Running, First Lady Gets Around N.Y.

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 2—Almost-candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton continued her almost-campaign in Manhattan today, taking a veiled shot at a potential rival during a commencement speech, pledging to work to guarantee a "living wage" during a luncheon with labor leaders, and once again whetting the appetites of New York Democrats without promising to run for Senate.

"I will have something to say about [the Senate race] later," Clinton said with a broad smile during her one brief brush with reporters. "Not today."

Sources close to the first lady say she is almost certain to run in 2000; she apparently intends to announce the formation of an exploratory committee early next month. The sources expect her to disclose her plans sometime this week to Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), who has said she will run for Senate if Clinton passes up the race. On the not-quite-campaign-trail today,



BY ED BAILEY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Charles E. Schumer and Hillary Rodham Clinton team up at Democratic fund-raiser.

Democratic insiders who watched Clinton obviously enjoying the media furor over her political future were unanimous in their guesswork: They think she's running.

"It looks like a duck. It quacks like a duck," said Rockland County Democratic Chairman Paul Adler. "I think this might be a duck."

"Women's intuition?" replied Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.), when asked if Clinton would run. "Yes."

Clinton began her day at the City College of New York graduation, calling for tougher educational standards, more resources for early childhood education and a renewed campaign to rebuild dilapidated schools. As students shouted "Run, Hillary, Run," Clinton also dropped a subtle reference to an ongoing public feud between Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R), who is also considering a Senate run, and his schools chancellor, Rudy Crew. "We can do this if instead of pointing fingers we roll up our sleeves and pledge to work together," she said.

Clinton never mentioned Giuliani by name, but she seemed to distance herself from his sharp criticisms of the city's public education system, such as his proposal to abolish the Board of Education. "We can never lift up our public schools by tearing them down," she said.

Next, Clinton stopped for a \$500-a-plate union fund-raiser for the state Democratic committee at Tavern on the Green, where she worked the small crowd like a seasoned pol, glad-handing officials from Elmira and laughing at everyone's jokes. "She gets closer and closer and closer," said state committee chairwoman Judith Hope, as the crowd broke into cheers. "And we get more and more and more excited."

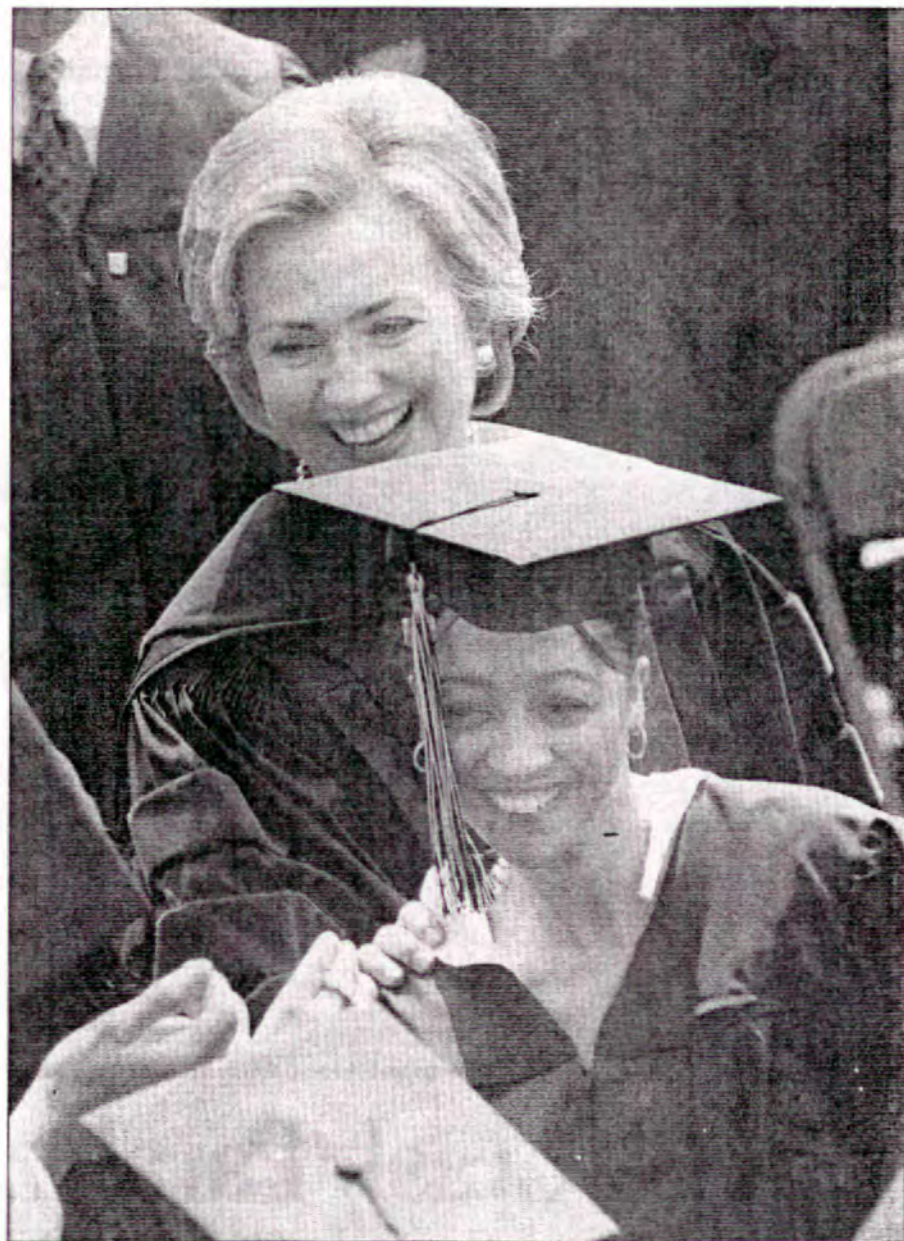
At the luncheon, Clinton emphasized her commitment to several liberal ideals: quality education for all children, health care for all Americans and a living wage that would bring every full-time worker above the poverty line. "That is an unfinished piece of business in this country," she said. "I pledge that I will work to make that happen."

It sure sounded like candidate-talk. Some insiders still caution that Clinton could change her mind, that she may suddenly decide that running for office in a state where she's never lived while her husband is leading a war effort is just too weird. But other veteran New York politicians believe it's all over but the announcement. City Council Speaker Peter F. Vallone, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1998, said Clinton has interviewed several of his campaign aides, including fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff and spokesman David Doak.

"I say she's running," Vallone said. "That's just the way it looks to me."

Clinton finished her day with a Manhattan fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney.

Next week, she's going to Binghamton.



BY HENRY RAY ABRAMS—AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Commencement speaker Clinton poses with student at City College of New York graduation.

CORRECTIONS

A reference in yesterday's Politics column to "airy generalizations" from Texas Gov. George W. Bush was incorrectly included in a quote from a spokesman for Elizabeth Dole.

The time for author Marvin Kaplan's reading at Politics & Prose bookstore was reported incorrectly in the Literary Calendar in Sunday's Book World. The reading will take place at 5 p.m. Sunday. Call 202-364-1919 for details.

Will glitter lose its luster in N.Y.?

■ **Politics:** Hillary Clinton basks in celebrity, but some raise alarms about her political future.

By ELLEN GAMERMAN
SUN NATIONAL STAFF

WASHINGTON — When Hillary Rodham Clinton sets foot in New York, she generates the kind of giddy attention usually reserved for starlets at the Oscars — but these Hollywood moments are not always what they seem.

Already, some New York political operatives are wor-

rying that the victory glitter surrounding the first lady has lost some of its luster.

Clinton, who is steadily moving toward a race for the Senate from New York, hardly seemed concerned yesterday as she basked in the celebrity glow on a daylong visit to New York City.

The trip — her 10th since rumors started flying this year about her possible campaign — was marked by chants of "Run, Hillary, Run" at the City College graduation and the embrace of Democrats at a congressional fund-raiser.

Though she could back out at any [See Clinton, 6A]



Back in New York: Hillary Rodham Clinton and Charles E. Schumer at a Democratic luncheon. This was the first lady's 10th visit to the state.

point, signs are clearly pointing to a campaign. The first lady is expected to announce the formation of an exploratory committee as early as the end of this month — after her return from 15 days of foreign travel with the president. Earlier this week, she met with three top New York political strategists in preliminary interviews for a possible campaign staff.

Many New York Democrats are cheering her efforts. But behind the scenes, some veterans of state politics are raising alarms about her future.

"She's got real problems in this race," said Lawrence O'Donnell Jr., who worked on campaigns for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring New York Democrat whose seat is up for grabs next year. "At first she looked unbeatable. But it's hard to get New Yorkers to vote for Democrats. Very hard."

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Among the other tough questions emerging: Why did the first lady begin with a 20-point lead in the polls when her possible campaign hit the headlines in January, only to lose that edge in what is now neck-and-neck polling with her potential Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City?

Ballot box can voters are sound.

Zogby, voters were asked for the one question that they would put to the candidates. The poll responses for Giuliani, all tied at about 10 percent, focused on health care, education and his agenda for Upstate. But for Clinton, 26 percent wanted to know why she was running in New York, and 10 percent wondered why she still stays with her husband.

"That's a little better than one in three voters who are off-message," Zogby said.

Yesterday, in New York City, Clinton acted every inch the candidate. She offered a veiled criticism of Giuliani by urging students to resist those who try to "score political points" by criticizing the schools. Giuliani is locked in a heated feud with the city

schools chancellor over the condition of the school system.

Later, she attended a state Democratic Committee luncheon and in the evening was to help raise money for Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, a New York Democrat.

Clinton did not address her candidacy directly, but coyly suggested, "I will have something to say later."

LOS ANGELES TIMES

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1999/NA

Back in New York



Agence France-Presse

Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks with students at New York's City College on Wednesday after giving the school's commencement address. The first lady was greeted by a crowd of students chanting, "Run, Hillary, Run." Clinton continues to keep mum on whether she will run for the U.S. Senate seat from New York. She also attended a state Democratic Party fund-raising luncheon.

Hillary might find Senate campaign is Starr-crossed

SEXGATE prober Ken Starr will be haunting Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign in New York if she runs.

Sources say Starr is finally wrapping up his probe of the messy Travelgate charges that the First Lady forced the firing of career travel staffers to make way for Clinton cronies.

Starr's staff may complete its report this summer, but more likely sometime before the end of the year, sources say — just when the First Lady could be getting into high gear for a Senate race.

That Starr report is bound to include the infamous memo from ex-Clinton aide David Watkins saying Mrs. Clinton was adamant about axing hapless staffers — "We need these people out, we need our people in," it quoted her as saying.

The head of the career travel staff, Billy Dale, was even hit with criminal charges — though a jury acquitted him of all counts.

Ex-Clinton aide Dick Morris yesterday confirmed that he's been called in next week to meet

with FBI agents working for Starr about matters like Travelgate involving Hillary Clinton.

Starr's report will get filed with the three-judge appeals-court panel that appointed him. It's up to the court to make it public — but there's little doubt that it will do just that.

And, of course, this summer Starr's team is trying ex-Hillary law partner Webster Hubbell, the disgraced Justice

official, on charges he hid legal work that she (and he) did on a shady and fraudulent land deal that she claims she can't remember.

The official Clinton line, no doubt, will be that this is all old news and b-o-r-i-n-g. And that Ken Starr is an evil creep just out to get the Clintons.

The problem is that this all gives new life to those old problems and provides the context to make an anti-Hillary TV ad by Billy Dale, say, suddenly look new.

More to the point, it reminds

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE WASHINGTON



voters that Mrs. Clinton was a player in some of the Clinton messes, not simply a victim of Sexgate.

And the New York press corps can be counted on to ask tough questions about those messes — instead of doing sweetheart interviews like Dan Rather, a two-time guest at Clinton White House state dinners.

Above all, some Democratic

analysts fret, it will underscore the sense of Clinton scandal fatigue and make voters impatient to move on and finally get all the Clinton scandals — and all the Clintons — behind them for the new century.

Speaking of ethics, it will be fascinating to see if — for the first time since moving into the White House — the Clintons actually pay for a vacation this summer when they're likely to beach it in New York so the wannabe senator can hang out with potential constituents (and fat cats).

The Clintons have taken about a dozen free vacations, mooching off rich folks from Martha's Vineyard to California to Jackson Hole, Wyo., to Vail, Colo., to Hilton Head, S.C., to Yulee, Fla. to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands.

Ethics watchdogs frown, but the White House says it's perfectly legal, even though, as a senator, Hillary Clinton would be break-

ing the law if she let anyone buy her a fancy dinner with a tab topping \$50.

In fact, it's illegal for a lowly Senate aide to accept a dinner with a bill above \$50. Which means it could smell bad for a wannabe senator to mooch and borrow a posh estate that it would cost thousands to rent.

She may be gracious and patient but candidate-in-waiting Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester) can't hang in limbo forever waiting for Mrs. Clinton to decide whether to run.

Asked how long Lowey will wait before deciding to drop out of the race, Lowey spokesman Howard Wolfson replied: "Sooner rather than later."

Which means that if Mrs. Clinton exits the Senate race a few months from now, because the polls look bad or because she doesn't like the heat, she'll leave New York Dems in the lurch without a candidate.

GOV 'STATES' CASE AGAINST HILLARY

By ROBERT HARDT Jr. and GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary's Starr-crossed campaign / Inside Washington: Page 24

Gov. Pataki yesterday said it would be a "mistake" for Hillary Rodham Clinton to run for Senate — as the First Lady, acting more and more like a candidate, spoke at City College and attended fund-raisers here.

In his first comment painting her as a carpetbagger, the governor said, "We need someone who knows this state, knows our issues, knows our policies, knows our needs in Washington."

"We have plenty of people who do that."

Speaking at a ceremony in upstate Rensselaer, he said, "I think it would be a mistake on her part if she does make a determination to run."

The First Lady got rock-star treatment at City College, where her commencement address was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

Never mentioning her likely rival for the Senate race — Mayor Giuliani — she blasted those who are "undermining the public-education system."

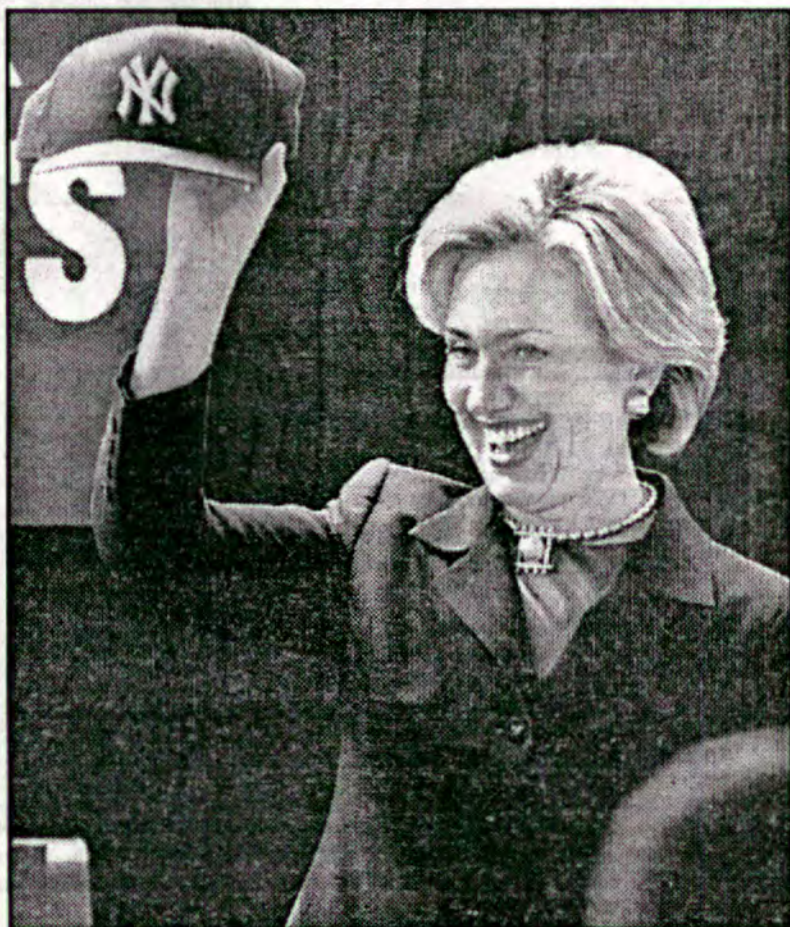
"No one wins — especially our children — if politics takes up much needed seats in the classroom," she said.

"We have to be willing to demand high standards and accountability, but we have to pursue strategies that work, that actually lift up the performance of students, enabling all schools to do better, not just score political points."

Later, the mayor couldn't resist getting in a few digs.

Asked if he viewed the First Lady's City College address as an attack on his administration, Giuliani said: "Well, I'm glad she found her way there ... It's nice to see she's finding her way around New York. Maybe I'll travel to Arkansas."

Clinton also spoke at a Democratic fund-raiser honoring teachers-union President Randi



THAT CAPS IT? It's not official, but this Chicago Cub fan looks every bit the candidate in Midtown yesterday. N.Y. Post: David Rentas

Weingarten, and at another fund-raiser for Manhattan Rep. Carolyn Maloney.

"I know from having visited schools here in New York that there are many schools that are in need of modernization, repairs," Clinton told 100 guests at the Weingarten event.

"There are too many overcrowded classrooms and schools

where children get lost ... There is something wrong with our priorities," Clinton said.

She refused to speak to reporters.

But when one shouted a question, "Do you have anything to tell us?" she called out her answer: "I'll have something to say later. Not today."

BC-POLITICS-HILLARY 1STLD (PICTURE) (RPT)

U.S. first lady makes 10th visit of year to N.Y.

(Adds evening event para 16)

By Ellen Wulfhorst

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Hillary Rodham Clinton paid her 10th visit of the year to New York Wednesday, looking more and more like a political candidate but still declining to reveal her much-anticipated plans.

"I will have something to say later, not today," the first lady told reporters as she greeted labor leaders and politicians at a state Democratic Party fund-raising luncheon in Manhattan.

While Mrs. Clinton continues to keep mum on whether she will run for the U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000, her supporters say they are increasingly convinced she will throw her hat in the ring.

"Hillary Clinton gets closer and closer and closer, and we get more excited at the prospect," said Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer, who defeated Alfonse D'Amato last fall to capture New York's other Senate seat.

"And that's true from one end of the state to the other," Schumer said in his address at the event.

Speaking earlier in the day at the City College of New York's commencement ceremony, the first lady was greeted by a crowd of students chanting, "Run, Hillary, Run."

Education was her theme of the day. Mrs. Clinton spoke both at the commencement and the fund-raiser about what she saw as the need to lower the number of students per class, boost early childhood programs, modernize schools, encourage mentoring and keep schools free of violence.

In considering a bid for the Democratic Senate nomination, Mrs. Clinton has been meeting with political experts and campaign strategists. Aides have said she is likely to establish in the coming weeks an exploratory committee, which would enable her to raise campaign funds.

"She's interviewed quite a few people that used to work with me, and I am convinced she is going to run," New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone said at the fund-raiser.

The \$500-a-plate luncheon was expected to raise about \$50,000, organizers said.

"Every day that she delays an official announcement, I think the chances are better that she will probably do this," said Judith Hope, head of the New York State Democratic Party.

Also attending was Democratic Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, a gun-control activist who ran for Congress after her husband was killed and her son wounded by a gunman on a suburban New York commuter train.

Asked for her answer to the oft-heard question in New York these days of whether Mrs. Clinton will run, McCarthy said with a smile: "Women's intuition? Yes."

The seat coming open next year is that of Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring.

The Republican nominee widely is expected to be New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has been raising funds and traveling the country soliciting support.

Later in her visit to New York Wednesday, the first lady attended a fund-raiser for Democratic Rep. Carolyn Maloney of New York City, who introduced Clinton as "the next senator from the great state of New York."

At City College, Mrs. Clinton was presented with the College President's medal for distinguished achievement.

More than 2,500 students graduated from CCNY, a keystone of education in the city's immigrant and minority communities. More than half of its 12,000 students were born overseas, and the school produces the second-highest number of undergraduate degrees among black students in the nation, aside from historically black colleges.

REUTERS

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**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/03/99 at 08:05EDT ****

PM-Mrs Clinton Senate,520

First lady sounds like a candidate but won't say magic words

By BETH J. HARPAZ= Associated Press Writer=

NEW YORK (AP) She looked like a candidate and sounded like a candidate as she shook hands, hugged strangers and made a rousing speech.

But Hillary Rodham Clinton again stopped short of saying the magic words her supporters have been waiting for that she is a candidate for Senate in New York.

"Run, Hillary, run!" students chanted at City College, where Mrs. Clinton began her day-long visit to Manhattan on Wednesday by giving the commencement address.

As she walked through the crowd of 3,000 graduates, she shook dozens and dozens of hands thrust out by cheering students. One man put his arms out for a hug, and she returned his embrace after a moment's hesitation.

The content of Mrs. Clinton's speech to the college calling for more resources and support for public schools was similar to others she has made in a half-dozen recent appearances in New York. But this time her every sentence was met with a roar from the students, most of them black, Hispanic and from working-class backgrounds. And like a candidate on the campaign trail, Mrs. Clinton's cadences grew stronger with every cheer.

"We can never lift up our public schools and the students they serve by tearing them down," Mrs. Clinton said. "We can never ensure the future of this city or state or our nation by undermining the public education system that is at the very foundation of the American dream."

New York City's public schools have been criticized frequently by Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is also a likely Senate candidate. And City University, of which City College is part, has also been under attack, accused of lowering standards.

Later, at a fund-raiser at Tavern on the Green for the state Democratic Party, Mrs. Clinton was given a New York Yankees baseball cap by United Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten, the luncheon's guest of honor. Afterwards, the first lady shook hands with patrons at the restaurant and waved to a small cheering crowd of joggers and mothers with strollers waiting near her limousine.

Mrs. Clinton did not refer to her potential candidacy in any of her speeches, but others did. At the luncheon, Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., said: "There's no candidacy yet. But Hillary Clinton gets closer and closer and closer and we get more and more excited about the prospect."

Aides to the first lady have said she's on the verge of declaring herself a candidate after several months of deliberations and consultations with experts.

At an evening fund-raiser for Rep. Carolyn Maloney, D-N.Y., the congresswoman defended Mrs. Clinton against accusations of carpetbagging. The first lady has never lived in New York, and earlier Wednesday, Republican Gov. George Pataki had said, "I don't think we need somebody from Washington or Arkansas moving to New York to represent us."

"We New Yorkers don't care where you're from," Ms. Maloney said. "We New Yorkers care about what you can do to continue to build the greatest city, state and country in the world."

**** filed by:APE(--) on 06/03/99 at 02:42EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/03/99 at 08:05EDT ****

bc-hillary

(wap) (ATTN: National editors)

Hillary Clinton Continues 'Almost' Senate Campaign (New York)

By Michael Grunwald= (c) 1999, The Washington Post=

NEW YORK Almost-candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton continued her almost-campaign in Manhattan Wednesday, taking a veiled shot at a potential rival during a commencement speech, pledging to work for a ``living wage'' during a luncheon with labor leaders, and once again whetting the appetites of New York Democrats without promising to run for Senate.

``I will have something to say about (the Senate race) later,'' Clinton said with a broad smile during her one brief brush with reporters. ``Not today.''

Sources close to the first lady say she is almost certain to run in 2000; she apparently intends to announce the formation of an exploratory committee early next month. The sources expect her to disclose her plans sometime this week to Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., who has said she will run for Senate if Clinton passes up the race. On the not-quite-campaign-trail Wednesday, Democratic insiders who watched Clinton obviously enjoying the media furor over her political future were unanimous in their guesswork: They think she's running.

``It looks like a duck. It quacks like a duck,'' said Rockland County Democratic chairman Paul Adler. ``I think this might be a duck.''

``Women's intuition?'' replied Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, D-N.Y., when asked if Clinton would run. ``Yes.''

Clinton began her day at the City College of New York graduation, calling for tougher educational standards, more resources for early childhood education and a renewed campaign to rebuild dilapidated schools. As students shouted ``Run, Hillary, Run,'' Clinton also dropped a subtle reference to an ongoing public feud between Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (R), who is also considering a Senate run, and his schools chancellor, Rudy Crew. ``We can do this if instead of pointing fingers we roll up our sleeves and pledge to work together,'' she said.

Clinton never mentioned Giuliani by name, but she seemed to distance herself from his sharp criticisms of the city's public education system, such as his proposal to abolish the Board of Education. ``We can never lift up our public schools by tearing them down,'' she said.

Next, Clinton stopped for a \$500-a-plate union fund-raiser for the state Democratic committee at Tavern on the Green, where she worked the small crowd like a seasoned pol, gladhanding officials from Elmira and laughing at everyone's jokes. ``She gets closer and closer and closer,'' said state committee chairwoman Judith Hope, as the crowd broke into cheers. ``And we get more and more and more excited.''

At the luncheon, Clinton emphasized her commitment to several liberal ideals: quality education for all children, health care for all Americans and a living wage that would bring every full-time worker above the poverty line. ``That is an unfinished piece of business in this country,'' she said. ``I pledge that I will work to make that happen.''

It sure sounded like candidate-talk. Some insiders still caution that Clinton could change her mind, that she may suddenly decide that running for office in a state where she's never lived while her husband is leading a war effort is just too weird. But other veteran New York politicians believe it's all over but the announcement. City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1998, said Clinton has already interviewed several of his campaign aides, including fund-raiser Gabrielle Fialkoff and spokesman David Doak.

``I say she's running,'' Vallone said. ``That's just the way it looks to me.''

**** filed by:LAWP(--) on 06/03/99 at 02:49EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/03/99 at 08:05EDT ****

Lady Macbeth of Little Rock plays Hamlet of Manhattan

The Hillary Rodham Clinton staring back from the cover of the New York Times Sunday magazine isn't the glamorously-alluring woman of Vogue. James Bennet's profile, eagerly awaited as the introduction of the "campaign Hillary,"



Suzanne Fields

wasn't quite a puff piece. But it was pretty puffed up.

"Hillary Herself" was interrupted by two pages devoted to rocker Gwen Stefani, provided, no doubt, for glamorous relief. Ms. Stefani is a singer who enjoys the decorations of femininity without losing "parity

with men."

Hillary, by contrast, seeks such parity, but with a different style. At Buffalo State College, she wears her uniform, "a dark pants suit and the blonde helmet that ended her hairstyle quest." She takes her seat on the podium with five women she had asked to wear clothes they wear on the job.

Hillary's pant suits may be "too Midwestern" for New Yorkers who can't abide Illinois and her hair a tad dowager for the chic set. Young women aren't dying to find out her brand and color of lipstick as they yearned to know what Monica was wearing in her interview with Barbara Walters.

But if Hillary can finally separate herself from her husband in the public eye, we may see more of the woman who, like Ms. Stefani, enjoys "parity with men." Unfortunately the political world, unlike the entertainment world, has potholes as well as pitfalls.

Will Hillary, for example, be the feminist candidate her core constituency wants her to be? As a Senate candidate would she dare castigate "the patriarchy" as she did in her speech commemorating International Women's Day? (patriarchs

vote, too.) She could not have missed the personal hypocrisy: "We can point to many problems around the world today where women — for reasons of history culture, discrimination, prejudice — are used to lift up patriarchy, are used really as objects in order for others to exercise power." Hillary, who enjoys her maiden name, can finally discard "Clinton" entirely, as she did when Bill first ran for governor of Arkansas. (But I wouldn't bet on it.)

Hillary's greatest public triumph springs from her image as the Wronged Clinton. No one has been so successful in link-



HILLARY CLINTON

the personal with the political. But if she runs for the Senate she'll have to find new ways to unlink her political life from her husband's personal life. That's quite a challenge.

She will have to change her methods of exercising power. When she speaks of the disaster she made of her health care policy, she is self-

go try that again, rest assured... I come from the school of small steps now, the belief that making smaller changes, incremental changes that will help some people, is better than walking away."

But this is talk only about policy, not process. Especially troublesome was the way she conducted her health care meetings, closing all doors, keeping the public out. Hillary Clinton, in the words of her biographer Joyce Milton, shares a bad habit with her husband. She exposes as little as she thinks she can get by with. She doesn't trust "the people" to understand. By keeping what she really sets out to do under wraps (as in the case of health care) or having others do her dirty work (as in Travelgate), lying before getting caught (as revealed in the billing records for Castle Grande), or using self-aggrandizing deception (as in crediting her reading of the Wall Street Journal for her unprecedented killing in the commodities markets), she tried to control what people thought of her. Sometimes it worked. Sometimes it didn't.

Monica Lewinsky compares herself to Princess Di. Hillary is more like the Queen — imperiously manipulating and maneuvering behind the scenes. But the White House is not Buckingham Palace and New York is not Merry Olde England. Without the protections of being first lady, it's difficult to imagine how Hillary can engage in the raw-fisted punching that comes with the territory of a Senate election campaign in New York.

As the first lady continues to debate "to run or not to run," the Lady MacBeth of Little Rock morphs into the Hamlet of Manhattan, deciding "whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune/Or to take arms against a sea of troubles." To continue with Hamlet's line of thinking, she must decide whether she should stay put and "bear those ills we have/Than to fly to others that we know not of."

Her husband got it just right: She had better know why she wants to

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally

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Senator Clinton?

The trickle is giving way to, if not a flood, at least a stream of confirmations of the first lady's intentions to run for the U.S. Senate in the state of New York. There are the anonymous friends, the odd pol from Staten Island, and now a couple of news organizations, all reporting that a Senate campaign is a certainty. More significantly, Mrs. Clinton began interviewing New York political pros this week, from Hank Morris, the consultant who last year ran Sen. Charles Schumer's race against Al D'Amato, to Dick Riley, a press spokesman for former New York City mayor Ed Koch.

Mrs. Clinton's poll numbers, which initially placed her ahead of one likely opponent, New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani, may have dropped, but her resolve seems to have strengthened. She remains coy on the subject, however, undoubtedly relishing the speculation now reaching feverish pitches among her boosters.

But with all the forecasting, all the handicapping, all the heavy political breathing, how little attention is being paid to what once would have been labeled Mrs. Clinton's baggage — her hip-deep immersion in a trail of political mud stretching from here to Arkansas and back again. Candidate Hillary must rise to a level of accountability that first lady Hillary has successfully ducked, on everything from disappearing billing records, to cattle futures, to the disastrous advice she reportedly gave her husband on the Paula Jones case. Her scandal-pocked past however, is so far regarded not only as if it has been nicely smoothed and rectified, but as if doesn't even exist.

To wit: The New York Times Magazine, which last Sunday devoted itself to the subject of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy with a lengthy cover story and beatifically monastic pictorial (the black Chinese-style collar was a nice touch), identifies her primary political lia-

bility as — get this — the suspicion that she would have her eye on concerns far from Binghamton or the Bronx. Then, the magazine ticks off, there's the question of her physical stamina, her Midwestern style (i.e., she doesn't *tawk* right), and, horrors, her penchant for pastels. One may well wonder if the nation has lived through the last seven years for nothing.

Scandals aside, what of Mrs. Clinton's politics? Mrs. Clinton is widely viewed as more liberal than her husband, but there is not much evidence to support that, the New York Times Magazine declares, painting her a Head Start-happy cipher, as if there is not a lifelong record of never-repudiated (let alone discussed) radicalism on behalf of the Black Panthers, the legal-services movement, the right of children to sue their parents and Palestinian statehood, just to name a few of Mrs. Clinton's pet projects down through the years.

Rather than bite down on such 14-carat issues, however, the magazine looks to Maggie Williams, Mrs. Clinton's former chief of staff, for a friendly quotation. And Ms. Williams — she who gained fame for making Johnny Chung her personal affirmative action project (as Clinton biographer Joyce Milton put it) in allowing him to hang around the first lady's office admiring snapshots and dropping off \$50,000 checks — delivers: "You know, people think she's such a big lib. I think she's extremely conservative. I think she has more in common with people in upstate New York than in New York City, in a lot of ways."

Does simply saying this make it so? In the ever-spun world of public opinion, it is up to the press to provide the facts. Should Mrs. Clinton run, both her actions — indeed, her character — and her ideas should be carefully scrutinized. One hopes the press, after all these years, is up to it.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1999

Hillary ready

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton returned from her Florida vacation with the president and told friends and advisers that she is 100 percent sure of running for a U.S. Senate seat in New York, the Fox News Channel reports.

Sources told the network that she and Mr. Clinton had spent much of their vacation discussing the pros and cons of a Senate race and are wholeheartedly in agreement on her candidacy.

However, Mrs. Clinton will not officially announce the decision until later this summer, although she will form an exploratory committee at the end of this month or in early July, Fox said, citing the anonymous sources.

Meanwhile, a new national organization announced yesterday that it will conduct a "well-funded" independent expenditure campaign urging New Yorkers to reject Mrs. Clinton.

Conservatives for Effective Leadership, a political action committee, "will conduct the media blitz in the Empire State to ensure that New Yorkers will have a qualified, scandal-free senator who really wants to lead for New York, not just improve their resume for a run at the White House," the group said in a prepared statement.

The PAC is led by syndicated radio talk-show host Gary Nolan, a former New Yorker.

THE WASHINGTON POST

NATIONAL

POLITICS

Michael Grunwald

Back in New York, and 'Almost Definitely In'

Hillary Rodham Clinton is coming back to New York today, for yet another prearranged visit that just happens to coincide with her possible interest in pursuing a job there. As they like to say in the first lady's press office, "this trip was planned long ago."

Still, what timing! New York's Democratic elites are no longer atwitter about Clinton's possible race for Senate. The word on the street that she's in, she's "almost definitely" in, she's "basically decided" she's in, she's "in unless she changes her mind."

Yesterday's gossip was that she is Getting Her Team In Place. There's top adviser **Harold Ickes** and loyal consultant **Mandy Grunwald**. But yesterday, Clinton met at the White House with New York politico **Hank Morris**, who coordinated the strategy that helped Rep. **Charles E. Schumer** defeat Sen. **Alfonse M. D'Amato** last year, and with moneywoman **Gabrielle Fialkoff**, who raised the money that did not stop City Council Speaker **Peter Vellone** from getting thrashed by Gov. **George E. Pataki** (R) last year.

"Obviously, she's still operating from the assumption that she's in," one Democratic insider said. "We're all operating from that assumption. But you never know."

The next step would be to form an exploratory committee, which last month's buzz said could happen after the first family's trip to Florida—i.e., now—but now seems likely to happen early next month, after Hillary Clinton returns from Germany and the Middle East. Today, all she's going to do is speak at the City College of New York commencement, appear at the annual New York Democratic labor luncheon and raise money for Rep. **Carolyn Maloney**.

"Until she says it publicly, it's not a done deal," one Democrat said. "But wow. It sure looks like she's in."

Iowa to See GOP Bumper Crop

June 12 is going to be a busy day for Iowa Republicans. That is the day Texas Gov. **George W. Bush** comes a-calling for the first time anywhere as a fellow who is, technically speaking, exploring a candidacy for the presidency.

But some of Bush's rivals won't let him have the Iowa stage to himself, even for a day. Yesterday, **Elizabeth Dole** said she is planning a one-day foray into the Hawkeye state on June 12—for what she pointedly noted would be her eighth day of campaigning there this year. Her press spokesman added, "You can expect straight talk" from her—not just airy generalizations from You Know Who."

But wait, there is more. **Lamar Alexander** will be in Des Moines that day, talking to the pork producers' convention. And Ohio Rep. **John R. Kasich** will be there as well. **Dan Quayle** will not be campaigning that day, but he has an excuse. He will be with his mother on her birthday.

Right-Wing Conspiracy Revisited

President Clinton has discovered a vast right-wing conspiracy—not aimed at removing him from office

but blocking Vice President Gore's path to the Oval Office. In 850,000 fund-raising letters sent yesterday by the Gore campaign, Clinton warns that "powerful forces want to keep Al Gore from this mission" of succeeding Clinton.

He's talking about the Republicans, not **Bill Bradley**, Gore's rival for the Democratic nomination. Clinton doesn't actually name the Republicans but he says these "powerful forces" are the people who "struggled against our economic plan . . . shut the government down . . . and tried to poison our country with partisanship."

But there's good news: "Al Gore can stop them."

Buchanan Hammers Foes on Kosovo

If **Patrick J. Buchanan** has his way, the hostilities in Kosovo are going to be an issue in the 2000 campaign. Lighting into Republican rivals **Bush**, **Dole**, **Malcolm S. "Steve" Forbes** and Arizona Sen. **John McCain**, all of whom have supported the bombing campaign, as "virtual Xerox copies" of Clinton and Gore, the third-time candidate declared "I am unalterably opposed" to continuing or expanding the Balkan war.

"This war is a historic blunder that may prove the ruin of the most successful alliance in history," he said yesterday in a speech at the National Press Club. "It is an illegal and unconstitutional war, launched without authorization by Congress. There is not now, and there never has been, any vital U.S. interest in whose flag flies over Pristina."

Buchanan took direct issue with McCain, who has argued for a ground-force invasion of Serbia if bombing fails to force the Serbs out of Kosovo. "If a war is unjust or unwise—or unwinnable except at exorbitant cost—you do not send 200,000 soldiers to rectify the blunder. You seek an armistice and end it . . . and let the blunderers go off somewhere and write their memoirs." As for Forbes's suggestion that NATO arm the Kosovo Liberation Army, Buchanan said, "That would ensure an Afghanistan-type war between Muslims and Christians in . . . Europe."

Christian Coalition Reorganizes

The Christian Coalition is undergoing another management reorganization, with founder **Pat Robertson** taking more control over the operations and public statements of the political organization.

He has eliminated the position of executive director, the title held by former representative **Randy Tate** since **Ralph Reed**'s resignation in 1997. Tate becomes a senior vice president, based in Washington, in charge of public policy and government relations for the coalition. In other words, lobbying Congress.

Spokesman **Mike Russell** said, "It's safe to say that Pat is going to take an even more active role in the organization's day-to-day activities and is going to be commenting on a wide array of issues that impact the pro-family movement."

Staff writers **David S. Broder** and **Thomas B. Edsall** contributed to this report.

Hillary must win over Jews to make successful Senate run

Analysts split on whether Palestinian comments will hurt first lady

By Dan Freedman
HEARST NEWSPAPERS

If Hillary Rodham Clinton runs for the Senate from New York, she will be hoping for support from the Empire State's sizable Jewish population to win.

A key adviser, who asked not to be identified, said that while the first lady has no specific aide working on the Jewish vote, she has received advice from several political figures and experts on Jewish politics in the state.

With a population of 1.6 million — 9.1 percent of the state's total — Jews are a key ingredient to victory in New York.

But their vote, although traditionally Democratic, is not guaranteed.

For openers, Mrs. Clinton, if she runs, will have to explain remarks she made last year favoring creation of a Palestinian state, still a sore point among many Jews.

Her May 1998 statement that it is "in the long-term interests of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state" came in the midst of delicate peace negotiations and created a brief but intense controversy. The White House politely disavowed her comments. Israel has long opposed Palestinian statehood as a threat to Israeli security.

But in Israeli elections earlier this month, incumbent Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu lost to challenger Ehud Barak, who has vowed to jump-start negotiations that might ultimately lead to Palestinian statehood.

The election signaled a turning point that may end up countering the fallout of Mrs. Clinton's Pal-

"I think Hillary Clinton will find that support in the Jewish community will not be as easy as she thinks it is."

—Matthew Brooks

estinian-statehood remark among Jewish voters, her supporters said. Several pointed to the decision last week by the influential American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) — a pro-Israel lobbying group — to drop its opposition to a Palestinian state.

"Clearly, the atmospherics are changing," said David Singer, research director for the American Jewish Committee (AJC), a New York-based organization devoted to civil rights and religious freedom.

Republicans say Mrs. Clinton is vulnerable among Jewish voters.

"The Jewish community has a long memory," said Matthew Brooks, executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition. "I think Hillary Clinton will find that support in the Jewish community will not be as easy as she thinks it is."

For Jewish voters, he added, a race involving Mrs. Clinton is just as likely to turn on issues such as crime, education and saving Social Security.

Mr. Brooks also pointed to the 1997 re-election victory of New

York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who is seen as the leading Republican contender for the Senate seat being vacated in 2000 by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

In that race, Mr. Giuliani won 70 percent of the Jewish vote against Democratic challenger Ruth Messinger, who is Jewish.

"If I were a Democratic strategist, I'd be very concerned about Giuliani's ability to leverage his strength by bringing those constituencies into supporting Republican candidates," Mr. Brooks said.

Whichever way it leans in any given election, the Jewish vote is not monolithic. In New York City, with a million Jewish residents, 10 percent to 15 percent of the Jewish population is Orthodox or ultra-Orthodox, according to Mr. Singer. Though many of these Jews are loyal Democrats, they also are politically conservative when compared with more secular Jews, Mr. Singer said.

Some polls show Mrs. Clinton doing well among Jews. In a survey last week of 807 voters by the Hamden, Conn.-based Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, Mrs. Clinton beat Mr. Giuliani 48 percent to 42 percent. Among Jewish voters, who made up 8 percent of those questioned, Mrs. Clinton beat Mr. Giuliani 60 percent to 33 percent.

Yet a poll of 748 voters two weeks ago by Zogby International of Utica, N.Y., showed Mr. Giuliani beating Mrs. Clinton among Jewish voters 50 percent to 36 percent. Among voters overall, Mr. Giuliani beat Mrs. Clinton 49 percent to 44 percent, the poll said.

Let's party

Bring her on, says Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, that is.

"I did not think she would run, but it now looks like she is going to run," Mr. Nicholson tells Inside the Beltway in an interview, referring to the New York Senate seat up for grabs.

First up, though, is the state's GOP primary.

"We have two really good candidates up there," Mr. Nicholson notes, referring to New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Rep. Rick A. Lazio, New York Republican.

"That can end up being very good for us, either way," he adds. "Lazio is from Long Island, and Rudy is from New York. Whoever the nominee is, they will do very well, there will be a huge crossover vote."

Mr. Nicholson explains that many Democrats won't support Mrs. Clinton "because she's too liberal."

"My wife is from the Hudson Valley, and she knows [Democrats] who won't vote for her," he says.

Mrs. Clinton's other major stumbling block is her lack of New York roots.

"New Yorkers want to be represented by someone who knows their problems, just like everybody else in America," Mr. Nicholson says.

And finally, there's the Bill Clinton factor.

"Clinton's approval ratings are falling," Mr. Nicholson says,

which isn't helping his two biggest "cheerleaders" — Mrs. Clinton and the Democratic presidential front-runner, Al Gore.



Democrats won't support Hillary Rodham Clinton "because she is too liberal," says RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1999

First Lady Talks to Political Strategists

■ **Politics:** Advisors say she is a breath away from declaring candidacy for New York Senate seat.

By GERALDINE BAUM
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Tuesday interviewed two political operatives at the White House about working to get her elected to the Senate, and the worse-kept secret in Washington and New York became that much more public.

While key advisors to Clinton confirm that she is a breath away from declaring her candidacy for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), they also say she is purposely being elusive about her final decision, to be certain that she is prepared for the public reaction.

"She's lining up people who are going to do the nuts and bolts of her campaign," said an advisor familiar with Tuesday's meeting at the White House. "It's significant that she's looking for the people who are going to do the real work, not just the strategists, but the people who do the nitty-gritty."

The two potential campaign workers Clinton spoke with Tuesday are both experienced in New York politics: one in fund-raising, the other in grass-roots constituent work.

Clinton is planning within a week to inform Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.) of her decision, according to another advisor to the first lady. There was speculation that Clinton, who is in New York City today for a series of events, would meet also with Lowey, who has expressed interest in Moynihan's seat. But that meeting was put off

so that the intense chatter about the Senate race would not overshadow the substance of Clinton's remarks today when she gives the commencement address at the City University of New York and attends two fund-raising events.

One of her advisors said, "Other than her husband, probably one of the first people she will tell if she's running—and it sure seems she is—is Mrs. Lowey, out of common courtesy."

Clinton is not expected to take the next step, the announcement of an exploratory committee, until early July, after she returns from

a trip abroad.

But even that is short of a full-blown announcement. She'll travel June 15-30, first through Europe with her husband to the summit of G-8 leaders in Germany. She will then split off for a solo tour through Israel, Jordan and Morocco.

By her return, advisors expect to have a "skeletal list" of people for an exploratory committee.

"Then someday she'll actually announce she's running," said a source. "But by then the world will know it."

Pals: Hill's 'definitely running'

She's back for another fund-raiser

By DEBORAH ORIN,
ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and FREDRIC U. DICKER

Hillary Rodham Clinton is back in New York today for her 10th visit this year — fresh from a day of interviewing potential campaign staffers for the Senate race her allies say looks all but certain.

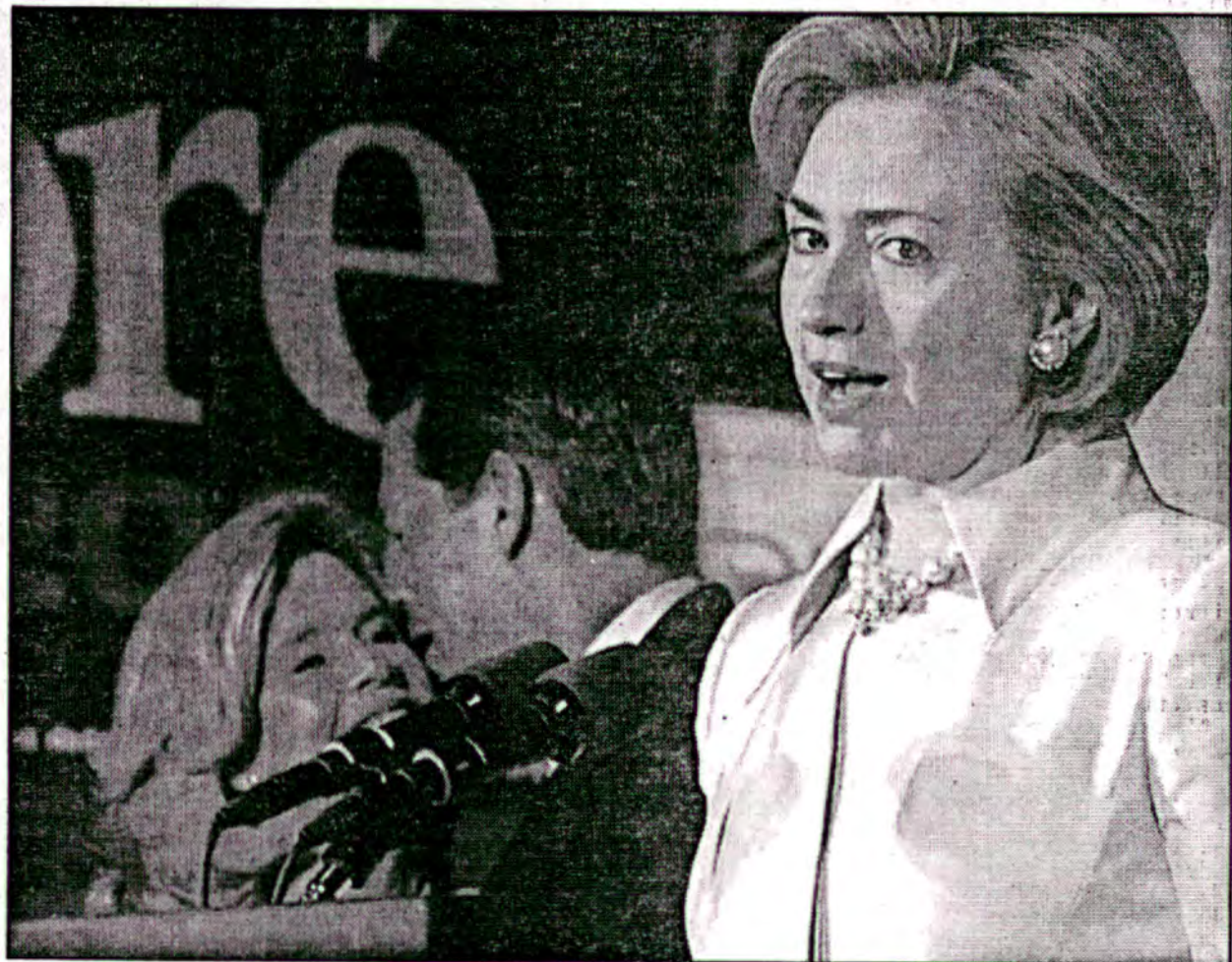
"She's out there telling people she's definitely running," a well-placed New York Democrat told The Post after being deluged with calls about the job interviews conducted at the White House.

But one ally of the First Lady cautioned: "I think she fully intends to run — but until she actually announces she is running, it isn't final and she could change her mind."

One of those Mrs. Clinton interviewed yesterday for a campaign slot, sources said, was media man Hank Morris — who ran Sen. Charles Schumer's winning 1998 Senate race against Republican Alfonse D'Amato.

Also interviewed, sources said, was Gabrielle Fialkoff, chief fund-raiser for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's losing gubernatorial bid. The Vallone campaign didn't raise much cash, but that wouldn't be a problem for Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton's close



TUNING UP: The Gores huddle (left) while Mrs. Clinton endorses the veep at a rally in Washington yesterday. AP

friend Harold Ickes described the interviews as "discussions" more than job interviews and said the First Lady also spoke with Dick Riley, a veteran press spokesman in New York.

Asked if she has made up her mind about running, Ickes said: "Not as far as I know, and I spoke to her late today [Tuesday]."

The First Lady's press secretary, Marsha Berry, downplayed the significance of the job inter-

views, insisting: "That's all part of the process of trying to decide what to do."

Mrs. Clinton had said she'd use her just-completed five-day Florida vacation to decide whether to run.

"She has not decided," Berry insisted. "She's moving closer to trying to make a decision."

Today, Mrs. Clinton is in the Big Apple to give the City College commencement speech and raise

cash for state Democrats and Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-Manhattan). She's due to visit upstate next week.

But there was also a reminder that any plans she has to run for office could be jolted by past controversies like Whitewater and her lost-and-found billing records.

A federal appeals court yesterday reinstated a criminal charge alleging that Mrs. Clinton's ex-law partner, disgraced Justice official Webster Hubbell,

hid legal work that she [and he] did on a fraudulent Arkansas land deal.

The 3-0 decision all but guarantees that Hubbell's trial, slated to start Aug. 9, will air charges that the First Lady was involved in land fraud.

At issue in the Hubbell case is her work on the Castle Grande project, as detailed in her legal billing records — which were subpoenaed, but vanished for two years before turning up outside her office at the White House with her fingerprints on them.

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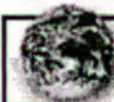
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Beyond the City

Hil Meets With Pros

Political experts helping her decide on run

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday met with veteran New York operatives who could form the core of an exploratory campaign committee, sources said.

On the eve of yet another political trip to New York today, aides said Clinton had not made up her mind whether to form an exploratory committee. She spent much of last week discussing the pros and cons while on vacation in Florida with President Clinton.

The exploratory committee would raise money to help pay the cost of her visits to the state. It also would be the first formal step toward seeking the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.).



Hamburg NEWS

The Daily News reported last week that the First Lady has begun telling key people that she has decided to run, but her confidants denied any decision has been reached.

Hillary Clinton works the crowd at a Gore rally in Washington yesterday.

"She told me that she has not made a final decision," said her political adviser, Harold Ickes. "She is meeting with people — Hank Morris was here [yesterday]. She is talking to other people about potential positions on an exploratory committee if she does go forward."

Morris was a mastermind behind Democrat Chuck Schumer's stunning victory last year over incumbent Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato.

Clinton also talked to Dick Riley, a public relations whiz who has worked for the city Chamber of Commerce and City Council Speaker Peter Vallone (D-Queens).

In addition, the First Lady met with Gabrielle Fialkoff, Vallone's fund-raiser when he ran for governor last year.

Clinton hits town this morning to accept a degree from the City College and later will attend a fund-raiser for the state Democratic Party and an evening reception for Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-Manhattan).

The First Lady yesterday also sought to soothe fears that if she runs, it will leave her little time to help with Vice President Gore's presidential campaign.

"It's a minor thing," said one aide, who conceded there has been tension since the First Lady became a potential candidate. She headlined a rally yesterday aimed at luring female votes into the Gore camp.

Also yesterday, independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr won a rare victory when three federal appeals court judges reinstated charges that presidential pal Webster Hubbell lied to conceal his and Clinton's work on an Arkansas land development deal.

Clinton has said she barely remembers anything from the deal. Hubbell, a former top Justice Department official, will go on trial Aug. 9.

With Joel Siegel

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POLITICS

If first lady steps forward, can husband step back?

Senate bid by Hillary Clinton would mean transition for both

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Their roles have been set for decades: Bill Clinton the candidate and officeholder, Hillary Rodham Clinton the supportive if sometimes untraditional wife, applauding and just slightly out of focus as she stands behind him on the dais.

Now that Hillary Clinton apparently is ready to step forward and run for a Senate seat from New York, is her husband ready to step back and become the silent spouse?

The part may prove harder to play than it looks.

"If you've been the key person, you just haven't been conditioned to be in that supportive role," says Pat Schroeder, who broke a series of gender barriers during her years in Congress from Colorado. "Suddenly they're the wind beneath the wings rather than the one up there flapping them."

The Clintons discussed the Senate bid during a secluded Florida vacation that ended Sunday, and advisers to Hillary Clinton say they are all but certain she is ready to move forward by forming a campaign exploratory committee in July.

The campaign would mark a transition not only for her but also for

him — from the person at the center of the limelight to the one standing at its edge, from the candidate who makes the final decisions to the spouse who can only offer advice.

Hillary Clinton's advisers and female candidates with politically active husbands see opportunities and pitfalls ahead. But it's uncharted territory: There's really no precedent for the role of the president when the first lady runs for office.

"I would say he would be an adviser and loyal spouse, much the same as his wife has been for him," says White House counselor Doug Sosnik. Sunday on Air Force One, Clinton seemed to be practicing his new lines: "Whatever she's for, I'm for," he told reporters. "I'll go wherever she wants to go, from now on."

But there are more tricky questions than easy answers: As a candidate, will she get credit for her husband's successes? What about blame for his scandals? If he stands by her side, does she look supported or overshadowed? Will voters be uncomfortable if and when the Clintons disagree on an important issue?

Aides to the president say he has urged his wife to enter the race and is eager to do whatever he can to help her win. "One would hope he owes her this after all he's put her through," says former representative



By Ron Edmonds, AP

No precedent for president: With Hillary Rodham Clinton leaning toward running for Congress, questions arise about what role Bill Clinton should play.

Susan Molinari of New York. That sentiment is echoed privately by people close to the Clintons. Another incentive: Aides say Clinton sees his wife's election as a continuation and affirmation of his own legacy.

What do others say he should do?

► First, raise money. "He's got a lot of chits out there," notes Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman on a major party's national ticket, as the Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 1984.

► Offer behind-the-scenes advice. Clinton believes he understands New York's fierce interest-group politics and tabloid-driven press corps after surviving the New York Democratic primary in 1992. It is now one of his strongest states. Advisers say he also is likely to counsel his wife on some of the political tactics at which he excels, including how to connect with an audience.

► Know when to keep your mouth shut. Former Senate majority leader and 1996 Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole was sent to "the family woodshed" after he suggested in a *New York Times* interview last month that his wife, Elizabeth Dole, might not be able to raise the money necessary to sustain her nascent presidential campaign. Dole added that he had thought about contributing to one of her rivals.

A few days earlier, Clinton raised Vice President Gore's ire by suggesting in another interview that he ought to loosen up on the stump.

Schroeder's counsel: "Engage brain before starting mouth."

► Stay away, unless invited.

One of Hillary Clinton's first tasks will be to establish her independent standing as a political candidate, strategists say, one with views distinct

from and occasionally conflicting with those of her husband.

"She has to establish that she is an independent person, and therefore his public role should be muted, at least initially," says former deputy White House chief of staff Harold Ickes, her chief adviser on the race.

Clinton understands that, Sosnik says, whether the candidate in question is his wife or his running mate. "Ultimately in this day and age, whether you're running for president as vice president, for senator as first lady, or for Congress as a state representative — ultimately, the voters want to cut out the middleman and hear directly from the person," Sosnik says.

Of course, Hillary Clinton's ties to the president will be no secret, and to some degree she'll be buoyed by his popularity and burdened by his controversies. "The good and the bad transfers" from a political spouse, Snowe says.

Then there's his Southern accent.

Republican pollster Frank Luntz says the sound of the president's voice could reinforce the perception that Hillary Clinton is a carpetbagger. "She's got the personality of a New Yorker," he says. "The problem is, he's got the accent of an Arkansan."

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Tuesday, June 1, 1999

N.Y. no easier for Hillary than for Bobby

HOW WILL THE first lady do if she goes into New York and runs for the Senate? My reference point here is the Robert Kennedy-Ken Keating Senate race that I covered back in 1964.

Kennedy was perceived as a "carpetbagger." And he won. Should that indicate Hillary Rodham Clinton won't be rejected by the voters because she is an outsider? Not necessarily.

Actually, Kennedy, who was stepping down from being Attorney General to make the race, never was able to shake what he called the "carpetbagger issue." At stops where he made campaign speeches it was inevitable that he would see signs like these in the crowd: "Boston Needs Bobby," and "Go Home Bobby."

And Kennedy, either in his speech or in answering questions, would spend time defending his right to come into the state and run for office. He said that, while the perception was that he hailed from Massachusetts, he had spent much time in New York. And he would usually close his argument with: "There have been many similar cases around the country and even here in New York. In fact, the first senator from the State of New York, Rufus King, was from Massachusetts. And he served the state well."

Now let's look at some figures. Kennedy beat Keating, the Republican incumbent,

3,728,864 to 3,078,557. You can't say that was a razor-edge victory; but it was fairly close. Then look at what President Lyndon Johnson did to Barry Goldwater on that same day in New York: He overwhelmed his GOP challenger 4,925,880 to 2,259,167. This was part of Johnson's landslide when, nationwide, he beat Goldwater by more than 15 million votes and 486 to 52 in the electoral college.

**Godfrey
SPERLING**

The similarity of Kennedy's and Mrs. Clinton's entries into the New York Senate races stands out so much that it cries out for comparison. Clinton, like Kennedy, would bring a famous name into the race. Clinton, like Kennedy, has already made a name for herself and has become a national figure.

Also Kennedy faced a tough opponent and Clinton seems likely to have a strong adversary in New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Indeed, the chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Mitch McConnell, told Monitor breakfasters the other morning that "if the first lady runs, we'll have two national elections - one for president and the other for New York senator."

Mr. McConnell is convinced, and he cites polls to back him up, that the public is "fatigued" with the Clintons and those around them - "even if people didn't want to throw him out." He says this fatigue will show up

particularly in the presidential and in New York races, "if Hillary runs."

Let's go back to that Johnson landslide and Kennedy's fairly close win. My reading then - and now - is that not only was Kennedy helped by Johnson's coattails, but he wouldn't have beaten Keating without Johnson and Johnson's popularity. This definitely is not a judgment that Robert Kennedy himself, or any of the Kennedys, would have liked - or accepted. It is well known that Bobby and Lyndon had nothing but contempt for each other.

So I reject the early predictions that the first lady will be a shoo-in if she becomes a candidate. I think she will suffer from being regarded by many voters as a carpetbagger. And, also, the "Clinton fatigue" factor will work against her.

So, as I see it, she's going to need a Democratic presidential victory to pull her through - maybe a one-sided one.

I remember well the day when New York's Democratic state convention delegates gave Bobby Kennedy the senatorial nomination by a lopsided vote. Kennedy ran up to the rostrum and his first words were these, "Fellow New Yorkers." And he smiled - and smiled. The applause was loud and sustained - and his short speech interrupted 24 times with more applause.

And today, even off stage, the first lady is receiving this kind of applause from New York's Democrats.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

Hillary's revenge

If Hillary Rodham Clinton decides to run for a U.S. Senate seat from New York, "she is likely to limit her husband's role, though he will try to meddle," James Bennet writes in a cover story on the first lady in the New York Times Magazine.

"Indeed, it has not escaped some of her friends that being forced onto the sidelines would be excruciating punishment for him, as, without a campaign of his own, he watches his wife and his vice president run. But Hillary Clinton wants to find out what she can do on her own, they say. Further, having her husband front and center would make her look weak."

Mrs. Clinton, in an interview with Mr. Bennett, said she had never known her husband "when he wasn't very interested in elected political life."

"We'll just have to see how that — how that works," she said breaking into what the author called "a raucous laugh." She added: "You know, I'd be interested in what the odds are about how long it'll take before he runs for something else!"

Another myth

The new biography of the president's wife, "The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton," by Joyce Milton, "makes clear that the notion frequently advanced by the Clinton spin machine — that Mrs. Clinton would have been a successful politician without her extraordinary husband — is simply fiction," the ubiquitous Dick Morris writes in National Review.

Mrs. Clinton tried only five cases in her 15-year legal career, and there is no evidence that she received offers from any law firms, big or small, during the year after she graduated from Yale Law School but before she landed in Arkansas, said the former Clinton political adviser in his book review.

"The Hillary Rodham of the 1970s was a very different person from the Hillary Clinton of the 1990s. She was not charismatic, she was abrasive. She was not conciliatory, she was dogmatic. Her style, her manner, even her appearance were off-putting — hardly the attributes of a winning candidate. Her later attempts to become a popular figure have ranged from unsuccessful to disastrous."

Inside Politics



California group wants Hillary for president

But first lady signals she favors seat in Senate

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

*She knows the issues,
She wheels and deals.
Let's elect a leader
Who looks good in high heels.*

And so goes the new campaign ditty for a California group determined to transform Hillary Rodham Clinton from first lady into president of the United States.

It would save her a move, they reason.

The "Hillary for President 2000" headquarters opens Saturday in Los Angeles, intent on collecting 50 million signatures of support — and a dollar from each signer, too.

That's a \$50 million campaign fund.

The group has press kits poised, a Web site and a motivational CD that suggests Mrs. Clinton rather than Mr. Clinton be "put back in the White House."

This comes after four months of public speculation over Mrs. Clinton's possible run for senator in New York. Indeed, her eyes seem trained on Park Avenue rather than Pennsylvania Avenue.

"I had been thinking about and talking to Bill about living [in New York] after we finish in the White House," Mrs. Clinton told CBS Wednesday. "I think that both of us would really enjoy that."

In an apres-White House world, many supposed that Mr. Clinton might return to Arkansas or run off to California to work with high-rolling chums in Hollywood.

Mrs. Clinton, on the other hand, could be ambassador, CEO, lawyer — or heed the siren call of public office in the Big Apple.

According to Judith Hope of New York's state Democratic Party, Mrs. Clinton plans to form an exploratory committee for a Senate run there in midsummer.

After taking care of "first lady things," Mrs. Hope said Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton planned to visit folks upstate on a kind of campaign swing this summer.

Mrs. Clinton would only allow, "I'm still thinking about it."

She is flattered people would consider her a candidate, she said. It's such a big decision.

"Six months ago it wasn't anything that I had ever thought about."

But as CBS' Dan Rather noted, Mrs. Clinton was "once a political lightning rod. Today she is political lightning — a crowd pleaser and first-class fund-raiser ... she kisses babies with the best of them."

Mrs. Clinton's approval numbers have never been higher. They are at 71 percent, according to a CNN poll released Thursday.

She has played many roles in the past year, from attack wife to diplomat, humanitarian and policy advocate. Much media ado erupted last fall when cameras caught Mrs. Clinton shrinking away from the touch of her husband.

She was, NBC proclaimed, "no longer the defender in chief."

Advice came in from all sides: Dump the chump. Keep your dignity. Write a book and make money.



Hillary Rodham Clinton

Glamour magazine even turned it into a feature, calling upon "worldly women" to advise the first lady.

"She should get the best divorce lawyer, she should get some professional counseling and she should stay out of politics," offered singer Naomi Judd.

"It may seem like we see many Hillary characters in the media," said Carl Anthony, a historian who researches both first ladies and White House families.

"Actually, we're seeing the same Hillary surface time and again. And that is a woman who is extraordinarily traditional, even conservative towards marriage and motherhood. But she has very liberal views on political issues."

This combination rings true, at least this week. Mrs. Clinton told CBS that her main concerns are "education and health care, better jobs, balance between work and family," and then later said, "I am old fashioned enough not to talk about my private life."

No matter how earnest her concerns, Mr. Anthony said, she has encountered persistent questions about her marriage, impeachment and Whitewater.

"Perhaps she might have eluded criticism in the past if she had been more subversive about her stand on politics," he added.

In her CBS interview, Mrs. Clinton reaffirmed her commitment to her husband and declared she was a "transition figure in the lives of Americans because of the age in which we came into office, the backgrounds we brought, the things we worked on, my concerns, which I tried to continue to advocate."

Judging by the use of the word "we," Mrs. Clinton is in a co-presidency. But she remains ever the deft politician.

"I still really believe that we are blessed to be Americans," Mrs. Clinton said. "And that public service is a privilege."

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999 ***

Have reason to run, Clinton tells Hillary

He compares campaign to job interview

By Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton said he told his wife during their vacation last week to be certain she knows why she wants to run for the U.S. Senate next year, because that's the only way to make "the risk of losing bearable."

Mr. Clinton, who angered Vice President Al Gore last month by offering unsolicited political advice through a newspaper reporter, redirected his campaign counsel toward first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton during a five-day stay at the exclusive White Oak Plantation in northern Florida.

"I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody," the president

told a handful of reporters aboard Air Force One on the way back to Washington late Sunday night.

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job. You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds. You have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes. You have to be able to give a 30-minute talk" to explain the reasons in full detail, he said.

Mrs. Clinton is considering running for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, who is retiring. New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is likely to seek the Republican nomination.

The president said that a campaign is like a job interview, with the candidate functioning as an ap-

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job. You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds. You have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes."

—President Clinton

plicant and the voters as employers.

"I got elected president because I knew I had a very good idea what I wanted to do," Mr. Clinton said. "I think it's very important. I think that consultants and the polls, all that stuff, it's all very important. But the most important thing is that you know why you want to serve and what you'll do. . . .

"It makes the effort of the campaign worth it," he added. "And it makes the risk of losing bearable."

Asked whether Mrs. Clinton

see HILLARY, page A6

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

From page A1

knows why she wants to serve, the president said his wife would have to speak for herself. Asked whether his wife had reached a decision on whether to seek the Senate seat, he smiled coyly and shrugged.

"Whatever she's for," the president said, "I'm for."

Mr. Clinton said he envied his wife's political options because he can no longer run for office. He added that although he supports term limits for president, he wouldn't mind seeing the rules eased so that a two-term president could have another shot at the White House after being out of office for a while.

"If I could run again, I would," he said. "But I'm not unhappy about it."

Mr. Clinton was asked whether being president would prove a tough act to follow and whether his post-presidential career might be anticlimactic, no matter what path he chooses. He said each step of his career has been fulfilling and emphasized the importance of thinking long and hard about future steps.

He added that he had numerous options open to him, but had not yet decided on what to do.

"I'm looking forward to being a person again," he said. "To having a life."

Although the president's affair with former intern Monica Lewinsky appeared to have strained his marriage last year, all outward

signs pointed to a mending of the relationship during last week's vacation. The first couple never ventured from the 7,500-acre plantation during their five-day stay and seemed rested and relaxed when they finally emerged Sunday night.

"Hillary and I had a really good time," the president enthused. "We just had a really good time."

The Clintons smiled and posed for photographs — separately and together — with about 50 well wishers who had waited for hours outside the gates of the plantation for a glimpse of the departing first couple. They did not greet a smaller group of people across the street who carried signs of protest, including one that said, "Clinton lies while China spies."

But when they reached the airport a few minutes later, the Clintons seemed the picture of ease and affability as they chatted and shook hands with two dozen people at the foot of the stairs to Air Force One.

The president draped his left arm across his wife's shoulders as they posed for pictures with toddlers and their parents. When presidential pet Buddy the dog joined the group, Mr. Clinton picked up his front paws as the dog reared up on its haunches. The children squealed with delight.

Shortly after takeoff, Mr. Clinton made an unscheduled visit to the press cabin of the plane, accompanied by White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart. Standing before a dozen reporters, photographers and cameramen, the president leaned casually against a

wall and held forth for at least 15 minutes on the joys of his just-completed vacation. Such impromptu bull sessions with the press have been rare since the Lewinsky scandal erupted early last year.

Mr. Clinton bragged that during his vacation, he shot the best round of golf in his life — a 75.

He said his game improved markedly under the tutelage of the pros, who helped him regain some of the skills that had diminished in the wake of a knee injury.

Mr. Clinton also raved about the wild animals he had seen at a game preserve on the plantation. He talked at great length about the survival of sea turtles, a cheetah that had undergone hip-replacement surgery, fierce-sounding turkeys and the world's largest species of zebra.

The president said he had the opportunity to pat rhinos on their horns and scratch them behind their ears, which he said is the only soft place on a rhino. He also gushed about petting a week-old giraffe, saying: "It came out of its mother's womb six feet tall!"

There was one group of creatures the president did not appreciate — insects. He complained about having been bitten by so many mosquitoes and flies that his legs looked as though he had a bad case of measles.

He offered to show his legs to reporters, but thought better of the idea after someone reminded him of the ridicule heaped on President Johnson after he pulled up his shirt to display a scar on his abdomen.



CBS NEWS

Future: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton discusses personal and political plans with CBS News anchor Dan Rather in interview aired last week.

Voters in New York could do U.S. a favor

Hillary Clinton's advisers say she doesn't want to be "thrust straight into obscurity" ("Aides: Now it's how, not if, Hillary Clinton will run," News, May 25).

For the sake of the people whose voice she so desperately wants to represent, won't someone please tell Mrs. Clinton that the country is fatigued by the scandals and moral bankruptcy with which she is associated?

If the prevailing wisdom of her advisers is that anyone in America truly wants more Clinton leadership, they are out of touch with the country. The nation is tired of the lies, deception and incompetence synonymous with anything "Clinton." Hillary Clinton's programs have been faulty; her agenda is self-serving. It's a testament to Mrs. Clinton's delusion that if elected to the U.S. Senate by New York voters, she would continue to speak with a national voice.

She should brace herself. If elected,

the senior Senate leadership would not countenance continued self-aggrandizement from a junior member. She would be one voice among 100 working within the framework of a team concept she seems to know little about.

Teamwork, not "remaining in the spotlight," is the hallmark of leadership. Clinton's consuming need to take center stage casts serious doubt on her true motives. Apparently aware for years of her husband's peccadilloes, she remains by his side, presumably for the power.

I hope New York voters do the country a favor by curtailing Hillary Clinton's lust for power. They should thrust her into the obscurity she wants to avoid, along with a strong message that the Clintons are finished as leaders and representatives of the people they have betrayed brazenly and repeatedly.

Ralph Hamblin
Topeka, Kan.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999

POSTOPINION



Bill to Hill: Ya gotta want the job

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

President Clinton says he told wife Hillary she shouldn't run for the Senate unless she's sure she wants the job — and can explain why in 30 seconds.

Hillary still hasn't made up her mind, he said — but close allies of the First Lady have said that unless she says no within a week or so, they'll assume she's running.

"I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody: You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job," Clinton told reporters aboard Air Force One flying back from a five-day freebie Florida vacation.

"You have to be able to tell somebody in 30 seconds, you have to be able to tell somebody in five minutes, you have to be able to give a 30-minute talk."

Clinton said he'll support any decision his wife makes.

"Whatever she's for, I'm



DECISIONS, DECISIONS: President Clinton says Hillary must be able to sell New Yorkers on why she wants the job if she runs for Senate.

Reuter

for ... I'll go wherever she wants to go. From now on."

Before the vacation, at a Florida nature preserve, Mrs. Clinton said she planned to use the time to decide whether to run.

The Post reported yesterday that one of her close allies said: "If you don't hear a 'no' there's an implicit 'yes.' If she doesn't say 'no' by early June, the dynamic is that she's running."

In an interview with the

New York Times Magazine published Sunday, Mrs. Clinton insisted she'd have no trouble contradicting her husband if she runs to represent New York, a state where she has never lived.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1999 / A1

Nation's Chief Now a Chief Advisor

■ **Politics:** Clinton offers counsel to his wife and Gore. But as his public service career nears an end, he has yet to make any decisions about his own future.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Figure out why you want the job and then condense your sales pitch into sound bites. Develop a 30-second version and a five-minute version. But be prepared to talk for half an hour as well.

That was among the free advice that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton got last week as she contemplated running for a Senate seat in New York next year.

It came from one of the best politicians of her time: the president of the United States.

"You have to know, you need to know, why you want the job," Bill Clinton told his wife during their vacation in Florida.

"I got elected president because I knew I had a very good idea what I wanted to do, and I think it's very important," he told her.

"I think that consultants and the polls, all that stuff, it's all very important. But the most important thing is that you know why you want to serve and what you'll do," Clinton added. "It makes the effort of the campaign worth it—and it makes the risk of losing bearable."

The president looked relaxed and rested, despite a rash of mosquito bites, as he recounted some of his advice to the first lady Sunday night aboard Air Force One as they returned from a five-day stay at a secluded wildlife preserve near Jacksonville, Fla.

When reporters asked if Hillary Clinton had reached a decision on whether to run, the president smiled coyly and said: "Whatever she's for, I'm for."

While discussing her political prospects, Clinton rued the fact that his own public service career, which spans three decades, is drawing to an end.

"If I could run again, I would," he said.

He added that he supports presidential term limits but looks favorably upon the notion of giving a two-term president another shot after he or she has been out of office for a spell.

But even having passed the halfway point of his second term, Clinton is hardly sitting idly

by while Campaign 2000 gets underway, as illustrated by advice he gave his wife and Vice President Al Gore.

With Gore mounting his own bid for the White House, and Hillary Clinton reportedly inching closer to a campaign for the Senate, the president has assumed the role of a behind-the-scenes strategist.

He has urged Gore to let his hair down, take off his jacket and "just be yourself, Al," when the vice president campaigns in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Clinton characterized his advice to his wife as standard fare. "I gave her probably the advice I gave everybody," the president said, adding that he reminded her that a political campaign resembles a job interview: Candidates are the applicants, voters chose whom to hire.

Although he clearly envies his wife's political options, the president showed no signs of resentment.

"I never had a day in my life where I was unhappy," he said. "I always knew what I wanted to do. I was happy doing it, and every day was good to me."

Clinton did not respond directly to a question about whether he would run for a third term. Please see **CLINTONS, A15**

CLINTONS

Continued from A3

tion about whether any post-White House pursuit for him would be anticlimactic. Rather, he said simply that he has not made any decisions about his next career.

"But I've got a lot of ideas," Clinton added. "I'm looking forward to being a person again—to having a life."

During the 15 minutes or so that he spent chatting with reporters, the president also raved about his vacation. Its only downside, evidently, was the profusion of mosquitoes that easily penetrated the Secret Service protective bubble around the commander in chief.

Clinton displayed three large mosquito bites on one forearm and said he acquired so many more on his legs that his lower limbs look as if he's suffering from a bad case of measles.

One reason that the president seemed upbeat was his golf game.

"I had the best round of my life the other day—I had a 75," Clinton said, adding that he took only one "mulligan," or a do-over shot, during an 18-hole round.

He played on a nine-hole course on the grounds of the White Oak Plantation, a pristine 7,500-acre conservancy where he and the first lady stayed in a five-bedroom house with a swimming pool.

The plantation also contains a 600-acre wildlife preserve that is home to many endangered species. From their window, the Clintons could see a white rhinoceros and her calf.

The president said he took delight in feeding pine cones to eight black rhinos.

At another point, Clinton bounced up and down in the aisle of Air Force One to simulate the effect of riding on the bumpy, unpaved road that led to White Oak. He also recalled petting a baby giraffe and said he saw more species at the plantation than he did in Africa last year.

The president spent parts of each day working, including calling foreign leaders to consult on the Balkans crisis and reading a briefing book on Medicare.

But for the most part, the Clintons relaxed. They biked and hiked around the plantation. And Hillary Clinton also played one round of golf with her husband—an annual tradition.

"We just had a really good time," the president said.

When asked if they might vacation in New York in August, the president replied: "I'll go whenever she wants to go. From now on."