

LADY MACBETH COMES TO N.Y.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 1999

An activist liberal explains why Hillary doesn't deserve Democrats' support

HAVING served as Robert Kennedy's New York City campaign manager in 1968, I find it particularly chilling to see Hillary Clinton presented as his natural heir — another out-of-stater, inevitable presidential candidate, and dynamic liberal leader.

New York Democrats face an ugly decision. Do we support her, thereby disregarding a lifetime of dishonesty, and accept policy and party as substitutes for integrity? Or do we support Mayor Giuliani, a person of integrity and intelligence and energy, one of the best mayors in our lifetime, but rather unpleasant and overbearing, and a man often unable to discern when to be tough and when to be accommodating?

As a lifelong active liberal Democrat, I find the choice not difficult. In all our campaigns, we were trying to work for decent and intelligent government. Neither Clinton can give us that. It is not in their character; and their hands are too dirty.

Hillary, as always, would have it both ways. She wants to use the power of her husband's office, its platform, its staff and resources, its fundraising leverage, but she also wishes to step virgin-clean from the years of corruption and abuse of power which she

BARTLE BULL

and her husband have shared in Little Rock and Washington.

She is inextricably part of the worst of the Clinton years. Frequently she has bent the president's office to her own agenda, as in the appointment of partisan advocates like Janet Reno and crooked Arkansas cronies like Webster Hubbell. Though posing as a feminist, throughout her career she has been dependent on, and has aggressively exploited, her husband's power and positions. Hillary Clinton can no more leave the White House with clean hands than Lady Macbeth could leave Dunsinane Castle innocent of her husband's crimes.

In addition to her participation in her husband's abuses, Hillary's own legal, political and financial lives are all hopelessly corrupt. Does anyone believe her lies about how she, on her own, made a fortune in the commodities market from an investment of \$2,000 by reading the Wall Street Journal while she was pregnant at home? About how the billing records

of her jailed law partners were found hidden in the White House, with her fingerprints on them? About how her aide Susan Thomases denied stealing files from the office of Hillary's friend Vincent Foster, when two Secret Service agents testified they saw her carry out those files immediately after his death? Can we trust her

convenient shifting position on Israel and Jerusalem?

Unfortunately, the record is too complex, and the years of stonewalling and deception too successful, for the attention span of our public. Who recalls the details of her health-care debacle, when in unlawful closed meetings she revealed her authoritarian leftist bent, crafting a compulsory national medical program that literally would have jailed doctors who practiced medicine outside the state-controlled structure she was designing for all 260 million of us?

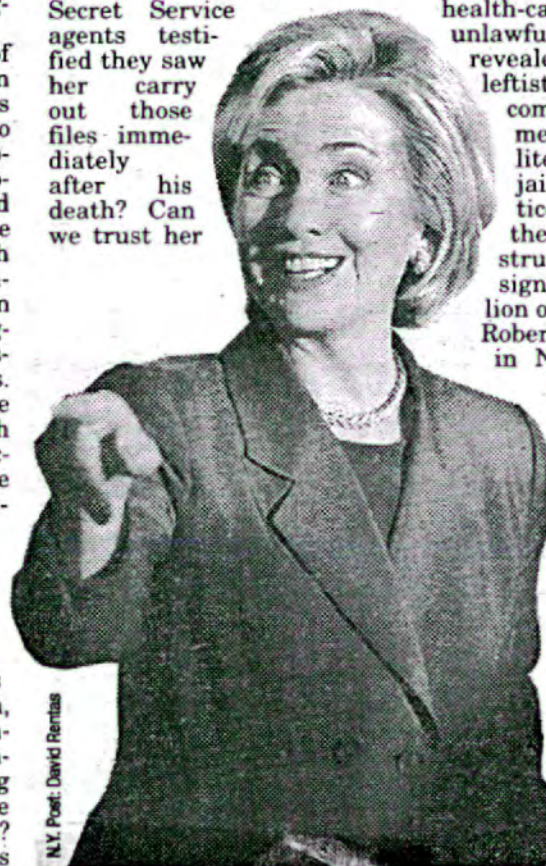
Robert Kennedy was born in New York and lived here for 12 years. He went to school in Riverdale and long shared a family residence in New York City. A man of integrity, he battled organized crime and crooked unions with characteristic intensity, as Rudolph Giuliani has done. Also like Giuliani, Robert Kennedy occasionally went too far. He, too, had a capacity for hostility, for making enemies as well

as friends. Kennedy was highly patriotic, an admirer of our armed forces, unlike both Clintons. He was tough-minded and compassionate, but did not believe in statism. Indeed, his remarkable achievement in rebuilding part of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, an effort in which I participated, was that it was based not on government funding, but on private initiatives.

Hillary Clinton, by contrast, has no genuine New York ties other than fund-raising, is shamefully corrupt and has consistently worked for a more controlling and expensive government.

Worse than that, while Robert Kennedy was perhaps our last best chance to heal our country's divisions, Hillary Clinton ceaselessly practices the politics of bloc and constituency, divisively pandering to one group after another, seeking to use a coalition not of citizens as such, but of feminists, blacks, gays, unions and the welfare and immigrant lobbies. Like all New Yorkers, these worthy groups deserve better.

Bartle Bull is a lawyer and writer.



N.Y. Post: David Rentas

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Hillary's run for the Senate

New Yorkers want to know what Arkansans think about Hillary Rodham Clinton running for the U.S. Senate there.

At least, one New Yorker does.

The inquiry came via e-mail the other day from a James A. Lord of Binghamton, late of Unadilla, in "Upstate New York."

"Upstate," Lord explained, "is generally defined as the part of New York that isn't The City. We have cows, horses, farms, businesses, universities and even whole cities that in no way resemble our downstate counterpart."

"Upstate and the city share a semi-civil love/hate relationship with one another. That relationship was typified in our last senatorial race, when then-Sen. Al D'Amato ran a TV spot that implied that his opponent thought that New York State ended at the borders of the city, and everything else in the state was a Wild West frontier."

Hmm. Sounds like the rivalry I've witnessed over the years, most of it good-natured but not always, between state lawmakers from Central Arkansas and those from everywhere else.

Lord thinks it important to seek feedback from Arkansans because, he said, there have been frequent statements in letters to the editor of his hometown newspaper "lamenting the presence of Hillary Clinton in New York State."

"Ask anyone from Arkansas, they write, and anyone will tell you why Hillary shouldn't be running for the Senate. So I'm writing to ask your readers directly, without anyone from New York putting words in your mouth, about what you would or wouldn't say. Tell us: What do you think of Hillary Clinton running for the Senate?"

I envision the Friends of Bill and Hill, a.k.a. the Arkansas Travelers, interrupting their reading at this point to go pack their bags.

However, those of you not New York bound might want to accept Lord's invitation to e-mail your observations to *The Daily Star* and perhaps check out the newspaper's Web site to see whether they are printed and, as Lord pointed out, "to read both sides of the local debate in the letters to the

Meredith Oakley



editor column." I've already checked it out (www.thedailystar.com), since I've been curious ever since I heard a journalist from Upstate New York say that to folks outside New York City, Hillary Clinton and Rudy Giuliani "both talk funny."

I browsed through about a week's worth of letters—several months' worth are posted—and decided to share some excerpts with you.

From Wells Bridge: "Immigrants have long come to New York and made good. So why not Hillary?"

From Deposit: "I would like to remind all the people that Hillary is not a New Yorker. I also would like all the voters to remember Whitewater and what she and her husband put the country through. Do we really want her as our voice in Washington? Ask yourself... why she is not running in her own state. Maybe she knows they have had all the Clinton deals they want."

From Oneonta: "My heart was full of pride and joy over our first lady's visit to our community. I had the pleasure of being at Pindars Corners when Mrs. Clinton passed by, full of smiles, very happy to see we were there to support her. Also, I had the honor of having my picture taken with her... I feel Mrs. Clinton is a classy lady, full of love, compassion and loyalty to our great nation... [She] will run and she will win. Our nation will be a lot better off with people like our first lady working for the same goal: a better place for our children to live."

From Jefferson: "I can hardly wait for the campaign to begin. We're stuck with Rudy, who is nothing more than a mouthy, New York City politician who is really a Democrat, or Hillary, who right now is defined by her husband's record. I think I'll vote for Al, if he'll run."

From Delhi: "As far as I know, the state of Arkansas has state roads, farms, single

mothers, drug addicts, prisons and even idiotic Ford dealers, just like New York state. If there is a problem that is so unique to New York that only long-time New Yorkers could deal with [it], I haven't heard about it. The truth is, the people who are calling Hillary Rodham Clinton a carpetbagger wouldn't vote for her if she had lived here all her life. They just aren't honest enough to say so."

From Franklin: "For the past week, I have been reading about Hillary Clinton's visit to the Oneonta area... As a Democrat and a voter, I would like an opportunity to see her and maybe even tell her something for her 'listening tour.' I looked in the phone book for a listing for the local Democratic Committee and found no listing. I called Mayor Kim Muller's office to find out information about the visit. I was told that the visit was not public; when I asked who the visit was for if not the public, I was told that it was for invited guests. I have been a voter in New York state for over 30 years and one thing I know for sure is [that] invited guests do not elect senators, the public does."

From Oneonta: "If [she] decides to make a run... we should stand behind her and give her our full support. Can you think of anyone else who is better qualified?"

From Oneonta: "Hillary Rodham Clinton, in an effort to hear opinions of New Yorkers, inadvertently denounced the common people by having 'invitation only' gatherings in Oneonta and Cooperstown. I realize safety is a priority, but more of an effort should have been made to meet with people other than hand-pick the select few that probably agree with Hillary's politics in the first place."

"Is Hillary afraid to face contrasting opinions or is she merely a snob? In any event, her first step on her 'listening tour' is a joke. She should go back to Arkansas and stay out of New York."

What say you, Arkansans? The e-mail address is meditor@thedailystar.com.

Associate Editor Meredith Oakley's column appears every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.

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TO MARSHA BERRY

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held in New York" for Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, she said.

But "my fondest memories of him were from the time we spent together on Martha's Vineyard," where the Clintons have vacationed. She recalled dinner with John, his sister, **Sen. Edward Kennedy** and Caroline's family.

"We'd play this hilarious game that John was always the mastermind of . . . called Bartlett's. I think it's a family game." Players are told a name from John Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* and must make up a quote to go with the name, then vote on whose quote most resembles the saying in the book.

John, she said, "was creative and funny and he wrote well. . . . We would have a great time sitting in their living room, yelling about these quotations. He was always so genuinely friendly and nice."

The first lady also recalled a gift to John after he spoke at a White House screening of the recent HBO series *From the Earth to the Moon*. "I kidded him afterward that if he was going to be

making a lot of speeches afterward, which I thought he would, he needed a folder for his speech notes."

She bought one and had his initials put on it. "He wrote me a really cute, funny letter back about how I obviously thought he was going to need more practice making speeches. He had this wonderful, self-deprecating humor."

The gift now carries a sad irony, since John's possible political future was always speculated about. He would have made many more speeches if *Newsweek's Jonathan Alter* is right in saying John might have run for the Senate next year — if Hillary Clinton had not set her sights on the New York seat.

FIRST FAN: Hillary Rodham Clinton, who called John's sister Saturday, had warm memories of him, she told *Family Circle* contributing editor Nancy Lloyd on Monday for a future article in that magazine. The first lady recalled John's attending "the very first event that was

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Rory wants to do film on first lady

Rory Kennedy, whose wedding was postponed because of cousin John's plane crash, has been talking to the White House about doing a documentary on Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Roger Friedman, who writes the Fox411 column at www.foxnews.com, reports that Kennedy and her partner, Liz Garbus, whose film company is called Moxie Firecracker, have been given the official go-ahead to follow the Clinton Senate campaign from beginning to end in hopes of producing something like the award-winning documentary, *The War Room*, about Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign.

Marsha Berry, spokeswoman for the first lady, confirmed Monday that there have been discussions with Kennedy and Garbus about "a project." But Berry couldn't say it would be following Clinton through a Senate run. Garbus, daughter of New York attorney Martin Garbus, was nominated for an Oscar last year for her *Angela: The Farm*, a documentary



By J. Scott Applewhite, AP

Documentary deal? Rory Kennedy, with fiancé Mark Bailey

about prison life. Another Garbus and Kennedy film, *Different Moms*, aired on TV's Lifetime channel recently. Its subject: mentally handicapped mothers raising children.

By Ann Oldenburg

Adviser Who Has the Ear of a Much-Advised First Lady

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

WHEN Hillary Rodham Clinton gave a baby shower at the White House last summer for Mandy Grunwald, it was an event that prompted one of Ms. Grunwald's friends, the USA Today columnist Walter Shapiro, to observe that "the kid may have peaked too soon."

The kid is now 9-month-old Benjamin. And Ms. Grunwald, who herself had a peak at the age of 34 when she took on Ted Koppel and defended the Clintons on "Nightline" — only to be cast out as a White House adviser by the President in 1995 — is back, helping the First Lady with her pre-campaign for the Senate.

Her job? "Right now, I do whatever I'm asked," Ms. Grunwald said carefully over lunch last week at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington, where she had Oriental chicken salad while her beeper and cell phone lay expectantly on the table.

That included calling Elizabeth Moynihan, the wife of the retiring Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, to ask if the Moynihans' 800-acre farm might be available for the start of Mrs. Clinton's summer "listening tour" in New York. The Moynihans are longtime friends of Ms. Grunwald, who made the television commercials for three of Mr. Moynihan's campaigns. Ms. Grunwald was also the Harvard roommate of the Moynihans' daughter, Maura.

"It was Mandy's idea to start with Pat, and do it at the farm," Mrs. Moynihan said, although it was Mrs. Moynihan's idea to have her husband and Mrs. Clinton walk down the sylvan country road toward the press for the passing-of-the-torch photograph that was in newspapers worldwide the next morning. Ms. Grunwald stayed at the Moynihans' farmhouse the night before, then slipped out on the porch early the next day with Mrs.



Mandy Grunwald is in Hillary Rodham Clinton's inner circle.

Moynihan — both were in their nightgowns — to spy the satellite trucks in the hayfield.

Ms. Grunwald was the shared adviser and crucial link to two political families often at odds with each other in Washington, but who seem to have united in the interest of getting a Democrat elected to the Senate from New York. (Mr. Moynihan criticized portions of the health care plan Mrs. Clinton promoted during her husband's first term; now Ms. Grunwald says their relationship is more "professor-student.")

So for now, Ms. Grunwald has one of the most coveted jobs in politics, although she will be fending off rival Democrats second-guessing what will likely be the most heavily advised campaign in New York history.

"Right now, we have a pretty good group making the decisions," Ms. Grunwald said. "I think as we go along, other people will be added." The inner group includes Ms. Grunwald; Harold M. Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of

staff; Mark Penn, the pollster; and Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's exploratory committee press secretary. All live in Washington, but all are former New Yorkers.

PEOPLE describe Ms. Grunwald, 41, as smart, tough, gruff, intensely loyal to her candidates, with an air of superiority and great certainty. As her sister, Lisa, a novelist, wrote in Glamour magazine four years ago: "She was older. Braver. Taller. Meaner. Stronger." Still, Ms. Grunwald is generally thought to have softened since the birth of her son and her marriage to Matt Cooper, a stand-up comic, formerly of Newsweek but soon to be a writer for Time magazine. "As far as having a different personality since she married me, I've heard people say that, but to me, she's always been a softy," Mr. Cooper said. "She wept at 'The Lion King.' She cries during AT&T ads."

Ms. Grunwald was in any case on good behavior during lunch, although working hard to keep the

focus on her candidate, the First Lady. "A lot of profiles don't know what to do with the religion in her life," Ms. Grunwald said. "If you're doing the yuppie-cliché profile, religion doesn't fit, but it's a big part of her life."

Of the New Yorkers surrounding Mrs. Clinton, Ms. Grunwald had the snazziest childhood, even more so than Mr. Ickes, whose father advised Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ms. Grunwald's father is Henry Grunwald, a Republican, the former editor of Time and later the Reagan Administration's ambassador to Austria. Her mother, Beverly Grunwald, a Democrat and a columnist for Women's Wear Daily, died of breast cancer when Ms. Grunwald was 23.

Ms. Grunwald grew up on the Upper East Side and Martha's Vineyard, went to the Nightingale-Bamford School, made the dinner party place cards for family friends like Mike Wallace and Barbara Walters, and reveled in the action at home. "It actually was a great childhood for what I'm doing, because nobody intimidates you," Ms. Grunwald said.

After Harvard, Ms. Grunwald went to work in New York for the Sawyer-Miller Group, then a political consulting firm. She moved to Washington in 1991 to work for Frank Greer, a political consultant who would soon advise an Arkansas governor running for President. In the 1992 campaign, Ms. Grunwald took on Ted Koppel during the Gennifer Flowers scandal and was hired by the Clintons, but was then supplanted as a Presidential adviser, along with others, by Dick Morris in 1995. Still, she stayed close to the First Lady.

Ms. Grunwald often says she got her job with the Clintons through Mr. Koppel.

"She silenced" him, her sister wrote, "with the same look I'd first seen at the age of 4, when we shared a bath and I used the shampoo first."

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Kennedy's Death Leads to Delay Of Mrs. Clinton's New York Visit

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday postponed what would have been her third trip to New York as a prospective Senate candidate in as many weeks, citing the disappearance and presumed death of John F. Kennedy Jr.

"This week's trip has been postponed because of the Kennedy tragedy," said Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, reading from a written statement. "Mrs. Clinton joins with the President in sending her prayers and thoughts to the Kennedy and Bessette families during this very difficult period."

Mr. Kennedy's single-engine plane disappeared over the weekend as he flew to Martha's Vineyard with his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, and her sister, Lauren Bessette.

Mrs. Clinton's advisers described the First Lady as distraught over the apparent death of Mr. Kennedy. They also said that, as a matter of appearances, it might not be appro-

priate for the First Lady to be portrayed as tending to her own political ambitions while the search for Mr. Kennedy's downed plane and its occupants continued.

The First Lady had planned to spend just over two days in New York in the Southern Tier-Finger Lakes region, with stops in Elmira, Ithaca and Bath.

Mrs. Clinton's trip to Elmira promises to be of particular note. The First Lady, who has never lived in New York, last month boasted that she had "been to Elmira."

That was news to people in Elmira. The Star-Gazette of Elmira took note of the remarks and interviewed town Democratic leaders, none of whom could recall a visit from her. The First Lady's aides later explained that she had passed through the town as a child, on a family excursion from her hometown of Chicago to Scranton.

Mr. Wolfson said that Mrs. Clinton's trip would be rescheduled for sometime over the next month.

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The Washington Times

Space shuttle flight scrubbed only six seconds before liftoff

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. (AP) — The launch of the space shuttle Columbia was scrubbed just six seconds before it was scheduled to lift off this morning.

Launch controllers detected high levels of hydrogen in an aft engine compartment, forcing them to cancel the countdown.

The technical problem forced a delay of one or two days in the launch of what would have been the first U.S. space mission led by a woman, Air Force Col. Eileen Collins.

Hours earlier, Col. Collins was strapped into the commander's seat of Columbia for a planned nighttime launch with the world's most powerful X-ray telescope.

"Welcome aboard your ship," a launch controller said.

The U.S. women's soccer team, accompanied by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, were on hand at Kennedy Space Center to watch the scheduled 12:36 a.m. liftoff. Also on hand were Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala; America's first woman in space, Sally Ride; and Judy Collins, who wrote a song for the occasion.

The crowd screamed and shouted "Eileen!" as Col. Collins and her crew made their way to the launch pad. One female space worker held up a sign that read: "Eileen — You go girl!!!"

The launch was slated to take place on the 30th anniversary of the first manned moon landing, by Apollo 11.

Columbia's five crew members had been scheduled to eject the \$1.5 billion Chandra X-ray Observatory from the shuttle. For five years, the observatory will scrutinize stars, galaxies and quasars, search for black holes and study the so-called black matter that fills the cosmos.

Col. Collins, 42, a former test pilot, has made two previous space flights. She flew before as a shuttle co-pilot.

Col. Collins has said that she is honored to be the first woman to command a mission in 38 years of



Space Shuttle Columbia commander Eileen Collins leaves crew headquarters at the Kennedy Space Center before launch time.

U.S. human space flight, and that a female commander is long overdue.

But she said she sometimes wonders: "Why would anyone be interested in hearing about me when the science and the exploration part of our mission, to me, is so exciting?"

The 45-foot Chandra is the biggest X-ray telescope ever built and the heaviest payload ever put aboard a space shuttle. With its attached rocket motor and support gear, Chandra weighs 50,000 pounds.

Columbia is the only shuttle big enough to hold it. NASA ran extra engineering studies to make sure

the shuttle could sustain the weight if, because of some problem, it had to return to Earth with the telescope still on board.

NASA's top managers granted permission for the shuttle to carry the observatory after the space agency stripped 7,000 pounds from Columbia by using lighter engines and discarding unnecessary gear.

After decades of working on the program, dozens of scientists gathered at the launch site in anticipation. The telescope should have flown last August but was grounded first by software problems, then bad circuit boards, then a suspect rocket motor.

VIPs Line Up for Historic Shuttle Liftoff

■ **NASA:** Columbia, commanded by the first American woman to lead a mission, carries the heaviest payload ever sent into space.

By MIKE CLARY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla.—The space shuttle Columbia was poised to roar off the launch pad early today, lofting a \$2.7-billion telescope into orbit and a female astronaut into history.

On the 30th anniversary of the first manned mission to the moon, hailed as "one small step for man," Air Force Col. Eileen Collins is taking a giant leap herself as the first American woman to command a space mission.

Collins, 42, leads a crew of four on a five-day mission that includes lifting into space the heaviest payload ever carried by a shuttle. Anchored in the aft end of the cargo bay, the Chandra X-ray Observatory weighs more than 25 tons.

The ascent and the danger posed by the heavy load if an emergency landing should become necessary are not the only risks facing Collins and her crew. The mission is expected to end Saturday with a tricky nighttime landing here at the Kennedy Space Center.

Collins, a mathematician and veteran Air Force test pilot who has made two previous spaceflights, has downplayed the significance of being the first woman to occupy a shuttle's front left seat. But both Collins' celebrity and the list of those planning to be here to see the native of Elmira, N.Y., make history, seem to be growing.

Among many VIPs slated to be on hand for the launch, set for 36 minutes after midnight, is First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a likely candidate for a New York Senate seat. She has invited the mayor of Collins' hometown to join her to watch the spectacular liftoff from the observation deck next to Mission Control.

Also expected are Neil A. Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin, in 1969 the first men to walk on the moon; several members of the world champion U.S. women's soccer team; and Sally Ride, who in 1983 became the first American woman in space. Ride's former husband, astronaut Steven Hawley, 47, is one of Collins' crewmen.

The chief task of this 95th shuttle flight is to come just seven hours into the mission when the crew releases Chandra, an orbiting laboratory containing a telescope so powerful that it promises to provide scientists with new glimpses of cosmic mysteries such as quasars, exploding stars and even black holes—stars so dense that light cannot escape their gravitational hold.

Built by TRW Inc. of Redondo Beach, Chan-
Please see SHUTTLE, A14

dra will be cut loose from Columbia 155 miles above Earth, and then kicked into a high-altitude elliptical orbit by firings of its own propulsion system.

Named in honor of the late Indian-American Nobel Laureate Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, the observatory is designed to have a life of at least five years as it collects and analyzes invisible radiation from deep space.

At 45 feet in length, Chandra is the longest satellite ever launched from a shuttle and the third in NASA's series of Great Observatories, and will join the Hubble Space Telescope and the Compton Gamma-Ray Observatory in orbit.

The Boeing rocket motor that is to boost Chandra into its ultimate orbit is identical to one that malfunctioned in April aboard a \$250-million missile warning satellite that is now stranded in a useless orbit.

NASA insists that the problems associated with the rocket have been fixed. But there have been anxious moments already. On Friday, mission managers met with TRW engineers to discuss cracks found in power systems similar to those used on Chandra. But the Chandra systems checked out.

Collins was well aware of the fuss being made over her as she prepared to shatter another gender barrier. She was introduced as crew chief last year during a White House ceremony, and she has been asked repeatedly to offer her thoughts on her assignment.

"I'm not too concerned that I'm the first woman shuttle commander," she said recently. "What's important now is that we fly a perfect mission. Whether you're commanding as a man or a woman really doesn't matter when it comes to getting the mission done."

Asked if being a woman had been a factor in her success in a male-dominated profession, Collins replied: "I think that there will always be some people that will maybe treat you a little bit differently because of your gender, but those people . . . are few. I really don't see that gender has really helped or hurt me."

Nonetheless, Collins' role and the hoopla over the 30th anniversary of the Apollo moon mission add up to another festival-like launch party for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which scored a huge publicity success in October with John Glenn's return to space and has been promoting gender equality. One of every four astronauts is now a woman, and NASA administrator Daniel S. Goldin has been talking about putting together an all-female shuttle flight.

There is one other woman aboard this flight, mission specialist Catherine Coleman, an Air Force lieutenant colonel, who flew on Columbia in 1995. In addition to Hawley, other crew members are Navy Cmdr. Jeff Ashby, the pilot and a space rookie; and mission specialist and French astronaut Michel Tognini.

As a girl growing up in Elmira, Collins said, she was more interested in chemistry sets than dolls. She studied math and economics at Syracuse University, received a master of science degree from Stanford University and has served as both a test pilot and math professor with the Air Force.

An astronaut since 1990, Collins has flown on two previous shuttle missions, logging more than 419 hours in space.

Collins' husband, Pat Youngs, is a former Air Force flight instructor who is now a pilot with Delta Airlines. They have a 3-year-old daughter, Bridget.

Before becoming an astronaut, Collins flew many Air Force missions, including one to Grenada in 1983 during civil unrest there.

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Hillary plays Duff-buster

ONE of Hillary Rodham Clinton's first big tests of trying to work both sides of the room as First Lady and putative Democratic Senate candidate from New York came Sunday night, with the White House banquet for Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

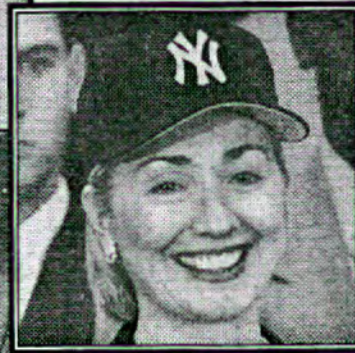
I understand that Hillary, whose staff decides whom to invite to state dinners, wanted to have her most fervent backer, New Jersey Sen. Robert Torricelli, there. Trouble is, Torricelli dates Patricia Duff, the warring ex-wife of Ronald Perelman.

Hillary's people, I'm told, explained they had to invite Perelman, New York's richest man and one of America's most dedicated supporters of Israel. But it would be bad form to have Duff — who only communicates with him through her lawyer *du jour* — at the same banquet.

So Duff and the ambitious senator from across the Hudson missed out on a glittering occasion heavily larded with movers and shakers from the tri-state area. Perelman proudly brought along his actress-squeeze, Ellen Barkin, whose huge ring impressed everyone, even if it still isn't being worn on her engagement finger.

MR. PERFECT BEANS HILL

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**Cone disses First
Lady, calls Rudy
'sincere Yankee fan'**

STORY ON PAGE 3

Mayor Giuliani gives Yankee ace David Cone the key to the city in a special ceremony yesterday at City Hall

CONE TWEAKS CAP-ITAL HILL

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

Yankee hurler David Cone — at City Hall yesterday for a ceremony honoring his perfect game — threw a beanball at Hillary Rodham Clinton for claiming she's been a longtime fan of the Bronx Bombers.

At a packed reception

Brushes back sudden Yankee fan

where Mayor Giuliani — the First Lady's likely U.S. Senate rival next year — gave him the Key to the City for Sunday's gem against the Montreal Expos, Cone told the crowd that Hizzoner is a "sincere" Yankee follower.

Turning to Giuliani, he

said: "Mr. Mayor, I'd like to say, on behalf of all the Yankee players ... how your sincerity as a Yankee fan really comes across. We see it."

"I mean, there's a lot of politicians that say they're baseball fans and put on the cap and ..." Cone added, his words cut off by a roaring chorus of

"oohs" and cheers from the audience.

Giuliani, who was at the House that Ruth Built for Cone's perfect game — the third in Yankee history — smiled in the background.

Cone's comments were a thinly-veiled dig at Clinton's recent claim that she's a Yankee fan.

The First Lady — a lifelong Chicago Cub fan — donned a Bomber cap at a White House reception for the team several weeks ago, claiming she was a closet Yankee fan for life.

Cone later backed off when a reporter asked him if he thinks the Yankees are becoming a political football.

"Well, I don't know," he replied. "I mean, stranger things have happened." He said he was simply pointing out that Giuliani has been a "true fan of the Yankees" for all his life.

Cone made baseball history with his 6-0 win over the Expos — the 16th perfect game ever. Of his 88 pitches, 68 were strikes. The game took place with Don Larsen, who pitched the only perfect game in a World Series, and Yogi Berra, his catcher in that game, looking on.

Last year, David Wells — who now plays for Toronto — was honored by Giuliani for his perfect game against the Minnesota Twins.

Giuliani said all of New York is "living in the reflected glory" of Cone's success, as he handed the hurler his third key. The first two came after the Yankees' World Series wins in 1996 and 1998.

Giuliani gave the pitcher a key ring, bearing the city's seal, so his awards won't get lost, and proclaimed the day "David Cone Day."

On hand for the ceremony were Yankee manager Joe Torre and catcher Joe Girardi, who both Cone and Giuliani said deserves a share of the credit for the exceptional game.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Post
7/22/1999

"It's overwhelming to see all the Yankee fans," Cone said. "It's a day I'll never forget."

Earlier, Torre, Girardi and Cone bowed their heads in prayer as Giuliani called for a moment of silence for John F. Kennedy Jr., who disappeared along with his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, and her sister Lauren when their plane crashed Friday night.

NEW YORK POST THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1999

Vineyard braces for Bill & Hill

SECRET Service agents have been renting houses on Martha's Vineyard, and installing secure phone lines, preparing for Bill and Hillary Clinton's summer vacation next month.

"We're just in total mourning," a local told PAGE SIX. "As if John Kennedy's death wasn't enough, now we've got the Clintons coming here, even though they promised they weren't coming."

The White House says the Clintons haven't decided on where they are going, and that the Vineyard is just "a possibility."

But our spies on the island say several Secret Service agents are ensconced at the Wesley Arms Hotel in Oak Bluff in what used to be a staff annex, preparing for the Aug. 17-to-26 holiday.

"They [the agents] never really left," said

our source. "They're here year-round dating the local girls."

Local environmentalists fear that the delicate eco-system of Oyster Pond will be damaged by the Federal frogmen who dive to search for submerged terrorists. "The last time the Clintons were here, they ruined the oyster beds," our source complained.

The Clintons — who have vacationed on the island every recent summer except for 1996, when they went to Wyoming — apparently can't resist the welcoming arms of their liberal friends on the Vineyard, a Democratic stronghold whose social scene is ruled by the likes of William and Rose Styron, Art Buchwald, Walter and Betsy Cronkite, Spike Lee and Lady Bird Johnson.

But the Clintons' delay in announcing

their vacation will cause huge headaches for the media, who will find it nearly impossible to find hotel rooms or houses to rent.

"You have to realize, the island is 100 percent occupied in August. Homeowners have already been offered huge amounts of money to rent for the month. There is nothing more to be had," our islander said.

Vineyarders also defended Diane Sawyer, whose professionalism was questioned because she was too distraught by Kennedy's death to anchor "Good Morning America."

"She was really good friends with John, and he was over all the time at their house," said one islander.

John spent so much time with Sawyer's husband, director Mike Nichols, and Tom Hanks, there was speculation the three were hatching a movie project.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**Hillary Watch: A 'Smelly'
Newspaper Ad**

■ REPUBLICANS LATCHED onto a "smelly" newspaper advertisement Wednesday as they continued to attack Hillary Rodham Clinton's nascent campaign for a New York Senate seat.

The ad, placed in the upstate *Oneonta Daily Star* newspaper recently by River Valley Ford Tractor, touted the "Hillary Clinton Manure Spreader Sale."

The ad offered: "1 medium size heavy duty manure spreader with a floor so slick, nothing sticks. She spreads manure to the right or left depending how the wind is blowing. And, like its namesake, it's not made in New York. Stop in soon, she won't be around long."

Republicans have been making much of the fact that the first lady has never lived or worked in New York. They also claim she wants to use the seat being vacated next year by Democratic **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan** as a stepping stone to run for president.

Copies of the ad, which ran two weeks ago when Clinton toured the Oneonta area, were distributed Wednesday by the National Republican Senatorial Committee after an item about it appeared in the *New York Post*.

"There's no doubt Hillary Clinton knows how to spread it on thick, but New Yorkers know she can't pass the smell test," Steven Law, executive director of the NRSC, declared.

"This gives a whole new meaning to mudslinging," replied Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for the first lady's exploratory committee. "We expected to see dirty politics, but this is ridiculous."

Two-faced Hillary is just too much

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WHEN the guy who pitched a perfect game smacks you with a fastball, you know you're in trouble.

Tuesday at City Hall, Yankee pitcher David Cone may have done more damage to Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign than reports last week that the First Lady's lauded "listening tour" was followed by a six-point drop in the polls.

As reported in yesterday's Post, Cone, who pitched a perfect 6-0 win over the Expos on Sunday, took his shot at Clinton at a ceremony honoring his achievement.

He told the crowd: "... There's a lot of politicians that say they're baseball fans and put on the cap and ..." Cone couldn't finish because raucous applause from the audience cut him off. Mayor Rudy Giuliani, Cone's favorite fan, proudly looked on.

The road back to Washington may be harder for Clinton than she and her capable operatives like Harold Ickes and Mandy Grunwald ever thought possible. When Giuliani calls you a carpetbagger it really doesn't mean very much (especially when he's embarking on a fool's errand fundraiser in Arkansas). But when a local folk hero like Cone calls you on the carpet (pardon the pun) for your disingenuousness, New York sports fans like me — and even more serious-minded voters — stand up and cheer.

I'm not saying that Cone's cutting words carry much political weight, but they do seem to get at the heart of candidate Hillary Clinton and the behavior that is turning off so many potential voters: She will say one thing as easily as she will say another. And that makes it difficult for those of us who might otherwise want to support a strong-willed woman whose issues resonate with our own.

Two weeks ago, when pro-Palestinian-state Clinton seemed to reverse herself in a letter stating that she supported the relocation of the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, I felt disgusted though not at all surprised.

Though I would have expected Clinton to pander in a slightly subtler manner, I certainly anticipated her shameless attempt to court New York's Jewish voters.

Then Hillary's brash move backfired in a hilarious and most satisfying way. A small group burned a replica of a Hadassah membership card to condemn the mainstream Jewish group's decision to honor Clinton with an award. Most of the protesters were members of the conservative Americans for a Safe Israel who claimed that Clinton was "anti-Zionist." But the idea outraged Hadassah ladies — women like my late Aunt Rose, a proud matriarch who

was active in the organization for much of her life — prevailed, and slightly damaged Clinton's chances for a pro-Israel image. Earlier this week, the First Candidate took refuge in the White House where she could spin events more to her liking. Appearing at her husband's side, cloaked in the

*Pretty soon,
Hillary
Clinton will
have to
accept that
she cannot
have it both
ways.*

presidential mystique (or what remains of it), she warmly welcomed new Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and his wife, Nava. Conveniently, members of New York's politically connected Jewish contingent (presumably Hillary Clinton supporters) were included at a state dinner. She was cast in the dignified role of grieving First Lady (and I do not at all doubt her sincerity) when John Kennedy Jr., his wife, and her sister were killed in a plane crash over the weekend.

Pretty soon, Clinton will have to accept that she cannot have it both ways. It doesn't seem fair that she can hide behind the White House whenever it appears that her future campaign's in trouble. I know she still lives there — and she's started searching for that perfect New York rental — but it feels like taxpayers are indirectly funding the public-relations budget of her unofficial candidacy. I'd love to hear what pundit-of-the-moment David Cone has to say about that.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The GOP Race To Elect Hillary

Rudy, Rick and Pete can keep fighting through November 2000

WILL Rogers famously once observed that he belonged to no "organized political party" — he was a Democrat. Were he alive today, he'd feel at home among New York Republicans, squabbling over who will face Hillary Rodham Clinton in the 2000 U.S. Senate race.

Mayor Giuliani and Long Island congressmen Rick Lazio and Peter King are all considering the race. They agree that a "New Yorker" should represent the state in the Senate — but not on much else, and a year of intraparty bloodletting may cost Republicans an otherwise excellent chance at the seat.

Then, too, the GOP primary will only decide who runs under the Republican banner. Thanks to New York state's peculiar system of multiple party endorsements, more than one Republican may appear on the November 2000 ballot. Therein lies a tale that would do Rogers and his disorganized Democrats of yesteryear proud.

Lazio, for example, hints that he might capture the Conservative Party endorsement. Yet, save for "partial birth" abortion (Lazio favors a ban; Giuliani has stated that abortion law shouldn't change), the two men hold identical positions on most issues. Why would the Conservatives endorse either?

Patronage, of course. Gov. Pataki, having won his lease on Albany with their help, has given the Conservatives an honored place at the table of state government. It would not be prudent for such a third party to oppose a governor who controls thousands of jobs, appointments and contracts. And the governor is said to still resent Giuliani's endorsement of (and vigorous campaigning for) Gov. Cuomo against challenger Pataki in 1994.

Then, too, ex-Sen. Alfonse D'Amato — still a GOP power, and a longtime Conservative ally — is no Rudy fan either. Their feud goes back at least a decade, to Giuliani's attempt to influence the choice of his successor when he resigned as U.S. Attorney. Such appoint-

**ALVIN S.
FELZENBERG**

ments are usually the prerogative of the senator of the president's party, who was then D'Amato. Giuliani had been investigating D'Amato's brother at the time.

Should Lazio lose the GOP primary, he could still run on the Conservative line in the general election. The congressman may think that threatening to go this route would sway Republican voters to give him their party's nod — though polls say otherwise. Still, were he to run as a Conservative, Lazio might pull enough votes from Giuliani in the fall to elect Mrs. Clinton.

Were these two pro-choice Republicans to settle their differences, the

Ottinger. (The previous year, New York Mayor John V. Lindsay won re-election on the Liberal line after losing the GOP primary to state Sen. John Marchi.)

At the least, Giuliani would hold the balance of power between Mrs. Clinton and her Republican-Conservative opponent. This is what happened in 1980, when Sen. Jacob Javits stayed in the race after losing the GOP primary to D'Amato. Javits pulled 11 percent of the vote, D'Amato 45 percent, and Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman 44 percent. Analysts still debate which candidate Javits hurt most.

Some Republicans recognize that failure to close ranks in New York may mean disaster — but none have stepped in. Pataki, the state's leading Republican, says nice things about all three potential Senate contenders — but has dodged the party chief's duty of clearing the field. The Republican National Committee debated how to handle the matter and resolved to do nothing. Perhaps it recognizes its lack of power to decide local situations.

There is one Republican, though, with a stake in the outcome and the ability to do something to resolve this family dispute. George W. Bush has a lot riding on this contest. He is the first

Republican prospect since Ronald Reagan with a chance of winning electoral-vote-rich New York.

Each of the feuding brethren would want to be in "W's" good graces. Pataki has hopes of a national post. Giuliani is bound to be on any list of possible attorneys general should he not go to the Senate. Reps. Lazio and King gain nothing by disregarding the interests of a potential president.

Bush would not have to declare a favorite. All he would have to do is indicate his intention to run on two or more lines with the same Senatorial candidate. That should get the locals negotiating.

Alvin S. Felzenberg, a visiting fellow at the Heritage Foundation, writes and lectures about the American presidency.

¶ Pataki, the state's leading Republican, says nice things about all three potential Senate contenders — but has dodged the party chief's duty of clearing the field. ¶

question of whom the Right to Life Party will field as its candidate would remain. Might it be Peter King? The more prominent this party's nominee, the more votes he will take from the other Republican candidate(s). That too would help Mrs. Clinton.

Then, there's the Liberal Party. Running on both the Republican and Liberal lines helped make Giuliani mayor — and if he failed to win the GOP nod for Senate, he could still run as a Liberal, having provided the patronage to keep the party alive since he won Gracie Mansion in 1993.

By going that route, Giuliani could repeat Jim Buckley's 1970 victory. Running on the Conservative Line, Buckley polled 38 percent against Republican Charles Goodell and Democrat Richard

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Brushback pitch

David Cone, the New York Yankees pitcher who hurled a perfect game last week, threw a brushback pitch at first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Tuesday.

Mrs. Clinton, an apparent candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, surprised everyone not long ago when she donned a Yankees cap and declared that she had been a lifelong fan of the team.

Mr. Cone, in a ceremony at City Hall to honor his rare feat, complimented Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani as "a sincere Yankee fan."

"I mean, there's a lot of politicians that say they're baseball fans and put on the cap and . . ."

At that point, Mr. Cone was cut off by cheers from the audience, the New York Post reports.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A4 THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1999

Shuttle Launch Scrubbed Again

Storms Delay Mission to Place X-Ray Observatory in Orbit

By WILLIAM HARWOOD
Special to The Washington Post

CAPE CANAVERAL, July 22—Unexpected thunderstorms forced NASA to scrub today's planned launch of the shuttle Columbia, delaying the deployment of a \$1.6 billion X-ray telescope at least another 24 hours.

It was the second delay in 48 hours for Columbia's crew, led by NASA's first female shuttle commander, Eileen Collins, and a bitter disappointment to astronomers who have labored for more than two decades to get the Chandra telescope into orbit.

Collins, pilot Jeffrey Ashby, Catherine "Cady" Coleman, flight engineer Steven Hawley and Frenchman Michel Tognini were grounded this morning by weather just five minutes before the scheduled 12:28 a.m. lift-off. NASA extended the launch window, but when the storms did not clear, the flight was scrubbed at 1:18 a.m.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter Chelsea, a delegation of female members of Congress and the co-captain of the U.S. women's soccer team were on hand again this morning for the second try. The astronauts had attempted to take off Tuesday morning, but that countdown was manually stopped at T-minus seven seconds—a half-second before main engine ignition—when high levels of explosive hydrogen gas were detected in the shuttle's engine compartment.

As it turned out, one of two hazardous gas detectors had merely "burped" a bit of hydrogen back into the detector, a phenomenon that randomly occurs from time to time. There was no leak, and Columbia could have been safely launched.

But the high reading occurred at the worst possible time, at T-minus

Aug. 12.

On the first attempt Tuesday, Fish ordered a countdown cutoff at T-minus 9 seconds, and Barbara Kennedy, operating a countdown computer called the ground launch sequencer, issued the shut-down command at T-minus 8 seconds.

The countdown actually stopped one second later.

Cates and other NASA managers praised Fish and Kennedy for reacting so quickly and preventing a potentially major launch delay. Even though the data were erroneous, Cates said, Fish did exactly what he should have done given the situation.

"It was an incredibly unfortunate coincidence that it occurred at that point where we didn't have time to get another reading before the engines started," Cates said.

The shuttle must wait till August if not launched Friday.

16 seconds, and operator Ozzie Fish could not afford to wait for a second reading at T-minus 8 seconds to confirm the presence of a leak.

Had he done so, Columbia's main engines would have started igniting before the countdown could have been stopped.

"Had we started the engines, we wouldn't be here today talking about a launch tonight," said Grant Cates, the engineer in charge of Columbia's ground processing. "We'd be talking about a launch in August. We would have had at least three weeks, probably more, to turn these engines around and go fly this mission."

If Columbia cannot blast off on a third attempt, scheduled for 12:24 a.m. Friday, it must wait until at least

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons Recall 'Elegant and Eloquent' JFK Jr.'s Visits

By WILL WOODWARD
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton and the first lady used different forums yesterday to recall John F. Kennedy Jr.'s return visits to the White House.

At a news conference in the East Wing, the president said Kennedy had not been back to the White House after his father was killed until 1994, when he came as a member of an advisory committee on education issues. (That claim was refuted yesterday by CNBC's Christopher Matthews, who said Kennedy told him that he visited the White House in 1971.) Kennedy and his wife, Carolyn, were also at the White House in March 1998 to attend an event celebrating an HBO series on the Apollo space program.

In her syndicated weekly newspaper column, Hillary Rodham Clinton wrote of the same event, one that was all the more poignant given the week's 30th anniversary of the moon landing.

The first lady quoted extensively from JFK Jr.'s speech at the HBO event: "In hindsight, the choice looked obvious, but at the time, it was, in a very real sense, President Kennedy's alone, made against the opposition of conservatives who thought the priority should be warheads. . . .

"Today there is an American flag on a windless plain on the moon, because the challenge to explore space stirred something deep and indelible in the American character."

Hillary Clinton said in her column she would "never forget" Kennedy's final White House visit. "The John Kennedy I met at the White House was elegant and eloquent—a man who had lost so much as a child, but who went on to live a life filled with love, adventure, accomplishment and, as he said, 'relative normalcy.'"

At his news conference, President Clinton recalled how he asked Kennedy and his wife afterward if they would like to go upstairs.

"And so I took him upstairs and showed him

the residence, which he'd not seen since he was a tiny boy. And I showed him some of . . . the memorabilia that I had from his father's service.

"I have a picture of his father speaking to the Irish parliament and a number of other things, which he thought were—it was very interesting . . . We had a very nice evening. And I sent him the pictures from it.

"And then, in return, he sent me a signed copy of his favorite picture of his father, which is now upstairs. It's John Kennedy campaigning in Virginia, in Charlottesville, in 1960. It's quite a lovely picture, interesting picture. But it was a nice night." In a difficult week, it seemed a story worth telling, too.

The president recalled John F. Kennedy Jr. as "a very deliberate person, as many people have noticed, about . . . when he would be publicly exposed and all of that. He had his mother's care for having a private life. . . .

"I'm glad he had the chance to come back here one more time and see the residence."

Wednesday, July 21, 1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Moynihan Says Hillary Is In The Race To Stay ...

■ WHILE FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM Clinton says she has not firmly decided to run for the Senate, the New Yorker she is looking to possibly replace there says "she's running."

"She's the Democratic candidate," Democratic Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** was quoted as saying in Tuesday's editions of the *Albany Times Union*.

Asked what it might mean for Democrats if Clinton backed out of the race for the seat he is vacating next year, Moynihan said, "She's not going to."

Moynihan chief of staff Tony Bullock later told the *Associated Press* that Moynihan and the first lady "have had several conversations about it and certainly she seems very clear in her conviction to seek the seat. ... The premise of all their conversations has been

that she's seeking the nomination."

Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for Clinton's Senate exploratory committee, said: "We appreciate Senator Moynihan's strong support. The first lady is obviously considering this race very seriously and will be spending the next month traveling across the state and listening to New Yorkers."

... As Web Site Allows Chance To Bet On Hillary Vs. Rudy

■ PROFESSORS AT THE University of Iowa have developed a World Wide Web site that offers a chance to buy shares in the outcome of the 2000 New York Senate race.

Iowa Electronic Markets allows investors to wager on the race by buying shares on Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton or Republican Rudolph Giuliani for as little as \$5 or as much as \$500.

"It's a wonderful way to have a widespread experiment to study market behavior. Plus, it's fun," Robert Forsythe — a co-founder of IEM and an associate dean at the Tippie College of Business at the University of Iowa in Iowa City — told the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*.

On Monday, Clinton's shares were sold for 38.0 cents, and Giuliani's sold for 39.7 cents, attracting 1,900 traders who have put in \$25,000.

After the election, shares of the winning candidate will be worth \$1 each.

The losing candidate's shares will be worthless.

IEM has offered investment opportunities in a handful of races since its founding in 1988 — including the 1996 presidential election, when 7,000 investors wagered \$250,000.

The IEM Web site can be found at www.biz.uiowa.edu/iem.

Commentary

Come Jan. 20, 2001, New York will have the most arrogant member of the United States Senate.

Hillary and Rudy will tax the voters' patience

The campaign is young, the polls are fluid, and Election Day is way over the horizon, but the outcome of the New York Senate race is already certain: Come Jan. 20, 2001, New York will have the most arrogant member of the United States Senate. Either Hillary Rodham Clinton or Rudolph Giuliani is sure to make the other 99 world-class egomaniacs look like Gomer Pyle.

Maybe the people of New York, with their unshakable belief that everything in their state is the biggest, the best and the most, deserve as much. They have previously voted for the likes of Al D'Amato and Ed Koch, whose normal demeanor would constitute a shocking disturbance of the peace in more civilized parts of the country. But even in the Empire State, there must be some who, if ordered at gunpoint to choose between Hillary and Rudy, would reply: "Shoot!"

That appears to be the choice the state's voters will face at the polls, but only after they survive a 16-month campaign that probably will feel like 16 years. Having either of these two in the Senate is one thing. Having both of them invade your living room night after night after night is another.

Think of it this way: The 1999 Major League Baseball All-Star game takes place Tuesday, six days after the first lady made the first major swing in her undeclared effort. When the 2000 All-Star game is

Steve Chapman



played, this campaign will still have nearly four months to go. It's likely to do for New Yorkers what driving across West Texas does for travelers: Give them a real understanding of the concept of infinity.

The personalities of the two major candidates won't make the time go faster. Giuliani, who has mounted podiums to urge his constituents to be more civil, looks like someone you would hire to teach you how to be an ill-tempered jerk. Clinton can be sympathetic in the role of long-suffering spouse, but let her loose on the subject of government policy and the resulting gusher of peevish sanctimony is enough to choke a horse.

By noting their personality defects, I may be criticized for focusing on style instead of substance. In their case, though, style is substance. For Giuliani and Clinton, arrogance is not only a personal trait but a guide to public affairs. They both possess an

iron certitude about what is best for all of us—and a determination to give it to us good and hard.

Bill Clinton tries to distance himself from the ambitious paternalism of his party's left, but Hillary was one of the architects of that approach. As chairman of the board of the Children's Defense Fund, she promulgated the idea that the only measure of our devotion to our offspring is how much money we surrender to the federal government for programs ostensibly aimed at them.

"There is no such thing as other people's children," she once declared, scotching the quaint notion that parents should have any special responsibility or authority in the upbringing of their own issue. Hers was a formula for intruding the government into child-rearing from day one, on the assumption that ordinary moms and dads are sadly inadequate to the job.

She suffers badly from what economist Friedrich Hayek called "the fatal conceit"—the assumption that enlightened well-educated people with power can reorder society to function better than it does with messy institutions that have evolved from the unplanned interactions of millions of human beings. That was never more clear than in her administration health-care plan, which would have made one-seventh of the economy into a federally run public utility.

If Hillary wants the government to be our

governess, Rudy sees it more as disciplinarian extraordinaire, knocking people into line whenever they veer from the straight and narrow. Anyone who has been to New York may think no city was ever in more need of a little discipline, but "little" is not in the mayor's vocabulary.

He insists on confiscating cars not only from convicted drunken drivers but from anyone even arrested for drunken driving. He didn't merely regulate adult book and video stores to limit their "neighborhood effects" but insisted on closing down most of them entirely. He has tried to stamp out methadone treatment for heroin addiction, which even hard-liners like White House drug czar Barry McCaffrey see as a vital tool for reducing illicit drug use.

He sued New York magazine for the scandalous offense of making a joke about him in its ads, only to find that he does not, yet, have the right to repeal free speech in the five boroughs. When a new magazine tried to rent the Brooklyn Navy Yard for a party, the mayor vetoed the request—because the maiden cover, it was rumored, would feature Hillary. His idea of a debate is, "I'm right, you're wrong, shut up!"

A lot of Americans think of New York as a nice place to visit but not one where they would like to live. By the time this campaign is over, New Yorkers may come to agree.

Teachers



Associated Press

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton shakes hands with delegates of the National Education Assn. convention after speaking to them Monday in Orlando, Fla.

First Lady Receives Top Teachers Union Award

■ **Politics:** Hillary Clinton attacks Florida voucher plan while being honored by the National Education Assn.

for a New York Senate seat in 2000.

That didn't stop the 10,000 delegates from singing along to the Sinatra classic "New York, New York" as she made her way across the convention floor.

Mrs. Clinton adhered to the administration's broad primary and secondary education goals in her speech. She said educators should expect every schoolchild to succeed "and hold every one of them to high academic standards."

"Our students are going to have to be given a very strong message," she said. "It's the job of children to learn."

She called for smaller schools and smaller classrooms, where teachers can give more individual instruction and identify learning and behavior problems in students.

"Our children are coming to school with a lot more problems than they had a generation ago," she said. "Let's celebrate our prosperity by making a commitment to our children."

Mrs. Clinton called for increased spending on school construction and the rehabilitation of older schools. She warned that Congress might try this year to stop funding the administration's plan to add 100,000 teachers to the nation's schools, which it approved last year.

NEA President Bob Chase said Mrs. Clinton was "among our staunchest allies and our dearest friends."

President Clinton got the teacher union's Friend of Education Award in 1996, and Richard Riley, his education secretary, was the recipient the year before.

Other recipients have included former presidents Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter, and NASA's teacher in space, Christa McAuliffe, who died in the shuttle Challenger explosion in 1986.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

From Reuters

ORLANDO, Fla.—Greeted with strains of "New York, New York," Hillary Rodham Clinton accepted the National Education Assn.'s top honor on Monday at a meeting of the nation's largest teachers union.

It was the first time the 2.4-million-member union had given its Friend of Education Award to a president's wife, and Mrs. Clinton used the opportunity to lay out her ideas on education.

That included a slap at school vouchers in Florida, where the nation's first statewide voucher plan was signed into law last month by Gov. Jeb Bush, younger brother of Republican presidential hopeful George W. Bush.

"I know there are some who believe vouchers are the way to improve our public schools," Mrs. Clinton said. "I believe they are dead wrong. There is simply no evidence that vouchers improve student achievement."

She said that in districts where vouchers are already in place, such as Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Cleveland, Ohio, there has been no evidence that test scores are rising. "What they have done is divert badly needed public funds," she said.

Florida's voucher plan, strongly opposed by the NEA, allows children from poorly performing schools to attend private schools at public expense.

Mrs. Clinton was in first lady mode at the union meeting in Orlando, making no reference to her almost certain candidacy

City |
Year |

Boston Sunday Globe

SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1999

DAVID NYHAN

City Year has won 'true believers' times 10



MOST THINGS DON'T work out as planned, some things go roughly as planned, and a few things work out much better than planned.

In that third category we place City Year, the Boston-based national volunteer youth service corps that became the model for AmeriCorps, the Clinton administration's domestic version of the Peace Corps. City Year is 10 years old, and the volunteer-for-a-year corps is flourishing.

It's biggest boosters? Clinton & Clinton. The First Mom & Pop latched onto the City Year idea initially when they were running around the country in campaign mode in 1991.

"When I saw City Year, I knew that I had found the concrete, living, breathing embodiment of what I thought politics ought to be about," President Clinton told 1,000 City Year volunteers two weeks ago in Washington. On Friday, it was Hillary's turn, showing up at Faneuil Hall for the 10th anniversary of the enterprise that is a model, wedding entrepreneurial and non-profit traits with corporate and government backing.

Whether you call it "the New Covenant," as he did in his first campaign, or "the so-called Third Way," as liberal political parties that move to the center are labeled, said the president, "It simply means that government can't solve all our problems, but it can't leave people to sink or swim on their own, either."

Clinton said: "It means that we have an obligation, all of us, to give every single person the tools to make the most of his or her life. It means that we have an obligation, together, to create opportunity for those who have been forgotten, to take responsibility for the welfare of not only ourselves and our families, but of our whole community."

For both Clintons, celebrating City Year in two different cities two weeks apart was a welcome change from the visit the couple made recently to Littleton, Colo., and the students whose high school year collapsed in gunfire.

"I believe that community service can have a profound impact on diminishing, even erasing, the sense of alienation and isolation so many of our young people feel," said Clinton.

In Littleton, "We talked to the young people still in their wheelchairs from their grievous wounds." The president said, "One of the things that struck me so strongly . . . and what could have motivated those two young men to descend into darkness, and take the actions they did, was the repeated description of the sense of alienation they felt - that they and their group were somehow looked down on by others in their school, and that in reaction, they not only felt bitterness against those who were looking down on them, they



Hillary Rodham Clinton joined a crew from City Year on Friday at Faneuil Hall.

turned around and looked for someone else to look down on."

Using language very similar to the words he used in urging Kosovar refugees to forgive their Serb oppressors, Clinton said:

"This is an endless cycle. Everybody has a beef in life. Everybody! Everybody has resentments because of slights or mistreatment, whether imagined or real. A big part of living is finding ways to overcome your own smallness, to get out of your own skin - to let go of all the things not only that you have imagined have happened to you, but things that have really happened to you, that should not have."

The two shooters at Columbine became "trapped in their own fears and resentments and hatreds," and "they must have drifted to get to the point where they could literally dehumanize the other children."

With that, he hailed the assembled thousand volunteers, as "the America we have, the America we're going to be; we're growing more and more diverse."

You're the future, Clinton told them. "I'm telling you, you can reach the poor in spirit among our young. You can tell them that no matter what has happened, no matter what's bugging them, no matter who is dissing them, no matter what they have a beef about, real or imagined, what you're doing is a better way to live, and they ought to join you and live that way, too."

Bill's a believer.

City Year started with a Boston pilot project, enlisting 50 young people, public school kids and preppers, black and white, Hispanic and Asian, from city and suburb.

That summer-long commitment began with a three-day outing on Thompson's Island in Boston Harbor, utilizing techniques from retreats and encounter groups that welded the disparate individuals into a team that assembled weekday mornings on Boston Common to do calisthenics in their trademark chinos-and-T-shirt work duds.

The early money came from BankBoston and four other corporate sponsors, and the enterprise has expanded every year since.

Founded by Mike Brown and Alan Khazei in Boston as a framework to harness the energy and idealism of young people who wanted to improve society, City Year caught a break when candidate Clinton in 1991 was casting about for ways to plug young people into grass-roots community work. "And when I went to City Year in Boston, the lights came on and I said, this is what I want to do."

With the founding of AmeriCorps in 1994, the City Year model became the blueprint for a national service corps that has given America the fruits of a year of organized effort by 100,000 young Americans. City Year has prospered as well. From Boston it expanded to Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Antonio, San Jose, Calif., Seattle, Columbia, S.C., Columbus, Ohio, and Rhode Island.

Volunteers between 17 and 24 give up a year for a weekly stipend and a college scholarship grant upon completion. There are nearly 1,000 current City Year volunteers, and 3,981 alumni. The computer geeks calculate these kids contributed over 5.8 million hours of community service in a variety of ways.

So there was lots to celebrate Friday at Faneuil Hall with Hillary Clinton leading the cheers. The First Lady was in town for a Boston Medical Center speech and her 30th Wellesley College reunion, and generating buzz about her announcement of an exploratory committee to plan for a potential race for a US Senate seat in New York.

Bain Capital, BankBoston and Timberland Co. each kicked in \$1 million Friday to endow corporate-sponsored City Year teams for the next 50 years. On top of that, Holly Davidson, Sidney and Judy Swartz, and Paul and Phyllis Fireman all committed another \$1 million each towards endowment projects. Compaq Computer also donated a \$1 million gift.

Mike Brown and Alan Khazei had the idea, and the knack for persuading businessmen and politicians that the idea was solid, and the proof was on display Friday afternoon at Faneuil Hall.

David Nyhan is a Globe columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BOSTON Herald

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1999 • 50 CENTS



GOOD FIT: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton tries on the City Year jacket she received yesterday at a Faneuil Hall ceremony marking the 10th anniversary of the youth service program.

This appeared on the front page!

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Shuttle Launch

1

1

A4 THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1999

Shuttle Launch Scrubbed Again

Storms Delay Mission to Place X-Ray Observatory in Orbit

By WILLIAM HARWOOD
Special to The Washington Post

CAPE CANAVERAL, July 22—Unexpected thunderstorms forced NASA to scrub today's planned launch of the shuttle Columbia, delaying the deployment of a \$1.6 billion X-ray telescope at least another 24 hours.

It was the second delay in 48 hours for Columbia's crew, led by NASA's first female shuttle commander, Eileen Collins, and a bitter disappointment to astronomers who have labored for more than two decades to get the Chandra telescope into orbit.

Collins, pilot Jeffrey Ashby, Catherine "Cady" Coleman, flight engineer Steven Hawley and Frenchman Michel Tognini were grounded this morning by weather just five minutes before the scheduled 12:28 a.m. lift-off. NASA extended the launch window, but when the storms did not clear, the flight was scrubbed at 1:18 a.m.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter Chelsea, a delegation of female members of Congress and the co-captain of the U.S. women's soccer team were on hand again this morning for the second try. The astronauts had attempted to take off Tuesday morning, but that countdown was manually stopped at T-minus seven seconds—a half-second before main engine ignition—when high levels of explosive hydrogen gas were detected in the shuttle's engine compartment.

As it turned out, one of two hazardous gas detectors had merely "burped" a bit of hydrogen back into the detector, a phenomenon that randomly occurs from time to time. There was no leak, and Columbia could have been safely launched.

But the high reading occurred at the worst possible time, at T-minus

Aug. 12.

On the first attempt Tuesday, Fish ordered a countdown cutoff at T-minus 9 seconds, and Barbara Kennedy, operating a countdown computer called the ground launch sequencer, issued the shut-down command at T-minus 8 seconds.

The countdown actually stopped one second later.

Cates and other NASA managers praised Fish and Kennedy for reacting so quickly and preventing a potentially major launch delay. Even though the data were erroneous, Cates said, Fish did exactly what he should have done given the situation.

"It was an incredibly unfortunate coincidence that it occurred at that point where we didn't have time to get another reading before the engines started," Cates said.

**The shuttle must
wait till August if
not launched
Friday.**

16 seconds, and operator Ozzie Fish could not afford to wait for a second reading at T-minus 8 seconds to confirm the presence of a leak.

Had he done so, Columbia's main engines would have started igniting before the countdown could have been stopped.

"Had we started the engines, we wouldn't be here today talking about a launch tonight," said Grant Cates, the engineer in charge of Columbia's ground processing. "We'd be talking about a launch in August. We would have had at least three weeks, probably more, to turn these engines around and go fly this mission."

If Columbia cannot blast off on a third attempt, scheduled for 12:24 a.m. Friday, it must wait until at least

PHOTOGRAPH
PRESS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

Space shuttle flight scrubbed only six seconds before liftoff

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. (AP) — The launch of the space shuttle Columbia was scrubbed just six seconds before it was scheduled to lift off this morning.

Launch controllers detected high levels of hydrogen in an aft engine compartment, forcing them to cancel the countdown.

The technical problem forced a delay of one or two days in the launch of what would have been the first U.S. space mission led by a woman, Air Force Col. Eileen Collins.

Hours earlier, Col. Collins was strapped into the commander's seat of Columbia for a planned nighttime launch with the world's most powerful X-ray telescope.

"Welcome aboard your ship," a launch controller said.

The U.S. women's soccer team, accompanied by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, were on hand at Kennedy Space Center to watch the scheduled 12:36 a.m. liftoff. Also on hand were Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala; America's first woman in space, Sally Ride; and Judy Collins, who wrote a song for the occasion.

The crowd screamed and shouted "Eileen!" as Col. Collins and her crew made their way to the launch pad. One female space worker held up a sign that read: "Eileen — You go girl!!!"

The launch was slated to take place on the 30th anniversary of the first manned moon landing, by Apollo 11.

Columbia's five crew members had been scheduled to eject the \$1.5 billion Chandra X-ray Observatory from the shuttle. For five years, the observatory will scrutinize stars, galaxies and quasars, search for black holes and study the so-called black matter that fills the cosmos.

Col. Collins, 42, a former test pilot, has made two previous space flights. She flew before as a shuttle co-pilot.

Col. Collins has said that she is honored to be the first woman to command a mission in 38 years of



Space Shuttle Columbia commander Eileen Collins leaves crew headquarters at the Kennedy Space Center before launch time.

U.S. human space flight, and that a female commander is long overdue.

But she said she sometimes wonders: "Why would anyone be interested in hearing about me when the science and the exploration part of our mission, to me, is so exciting?"

The 45-foot Chandra is the biggest X-ray telescope ever built and the heaviest payload ever put aboard a space shuttle. With its attached rocket motor and support gear, Chandra weighs 50,000 pounds.

Columbia is the only shuttle big enough to hold it. NASA ran extra engineering studies to make sure

the shuttle could sustain the weight if, because of some problem, it had to return to Earth with the telescope still on board.

NASA's top managers granted permission for the shuttle to carry the observatory after the space agency stripped 7,000 pounds from Columbia by using lighter engines and discarding unnecessary gear.

After decades of working on the program, dozens of scientists gathered at the launch site in anticipation. The telescope should have flown last August but was grounded first by software problems, then bad circuit boards, then a suspect rocket motor.

VIPs Line Up for Historic Shuttle Liftoff

■ **NASA:** Columbia, commanded by the first American woman to lead a mission, carries the heaviest payload ever sent into space.

By MIKE CLARY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla.—The space shuttle Columbia was poised to roar off the launch pad early today, lofting a \$2.7-billion telescope into orbit and a female astronaut into history.

On the 30th anniversary of the first manned mission to the moon, hailed as "one small step for man," Air Force Col. Eileen Collins is taking a giant leap herself as the first American woman to command a space mission.

Collins, 42, leads a crew of four on a five-day mission that includes lifting into space the heaviest payload ever carried by a shuttle. Anchored in the aft end of the cargo bay, the Chandra X-ray Observatory weighs more than 25 tons.

The ascent and the danger posed by the heavy load if an emergency landing should become necessary are not the only risks facing Collins and her crew. The mission is expected to end Saturday with a tricky nighttime landing here at the Kennedy Space Center.

Collins, a mathematician and veteran Air Force test pilot who has made two previous spaceflights, has downplayed the significance of being the first woman to occupy a shuttle's front left seat. But both Collins' celebrity and the list of those planning to be here to see the native of Elmira, N.Y., make history, seem to be growing.

Among many VIPs slated to be on hand for the launch, set for 36 minutes after midnight, is First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a likely candidate for a New York Senate seat. She has invited the mayor of Collins' hometown to join her to watch the spectacular liftoff from the observation deck next to Mission Control.

Also expected are Neil A. Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin, in 1969 the first men to walk on the moon; several members of the world champion U.S. women's soccer team; and Sally Ride, who in 1983 became the first American woman in space. Ride's former husband, astronaut Steven Hawley, 47, is one of Collins' crewmen.

The chief task of this 95th shuttle flight is to come just seven hours into the mission when the crew releases Chandra, an orbiting laboratory containing a telescope so powerful that it promises to provide scientists with new glimpses of cosmic mysteries such as quasars, exploding stars and even black holes—stars so dense that light cannot escape their gravitational hold.

Built by TRW Inc. of Redondo Beach, Chan-
Please see SHUTTLE, A14

dra will be cut loose from Columbia 155 miles above Earth, and then kicked into a high-altitude elliptical orbit by firings of its own propulsion system.

Named in honor of the late Indian-American Nobel Laureate Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, the observatory is designed to have a life of at least five years as it collects and analyzes invisible radiation from deep space.

At 45 feet in length, Chandra is the longest satellite ever launched from a shuttle and the third in NASA's series of Great Observatories, and will join the Hubble Space Telescope and the Compton Gamma-Ray Observatory in orbit.

The Boeing rocket motor that is to boost Chandra into its ultimate orbit is identical to one that malfunctioned in April aboard a \$250-million missile warning satellite that is now stranded in a useless orbit.

NASA insists that the problems associated with the rocket have been fixed. But there have been anxious moments already. On Friday, mission managers met with TRW engineers to discuss cracks found in power systems similar to those used on Chandra. But the Chandra systems checked out.

Collins was well aware of the fuss being made over her as she prepared to shatter another gender barrier. She was introduced as crew chief last year during a White House ceremony, and she has been asked repeatedly to offer her thoughts on her assignment.

"I'm not too concerned that I'm the first woman shuttle commander," she said recently. "What's important now is that we fly a perfect mission. Whether you're commanding as a man or a woman really doesn't matter when it comes to getting the mission done."

Asked if being a woman had been a factor in her success in a male-dominated profession, Collins replied: "I think that there will always be some people that will maybe treat you a little bit differently because of your gender, but those people . . . are few. I really don't see that gender has really helped or hurt me."

Nonetheless, Collins' role and the hoopla over the 30th anniversary of the Apollo moon mission add up to another festival-like launch party for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which scored a huge publicity success in October with John Glenn's return to space and has been promoting gender equality. One of every four astronauts is now a woman, and NASA administrator Daniel S. Goldin has been talking about putting together an all-female shuttle flight.

There is one other woman aboard this flight, mission specialist Catherine Coleman, an Air Force lieutenant colonel, who flew on Columbia in 1995. In addition to Hawley, other crew members are Navy Cmdr. Jeff Ashby, the pilot and a space rookie; and mission specialist and French astronaut Michel Tognini.

As a girl growing up in Elmira, Collins said, she was more interested in chemistry sets than dolls. She studied math and economics at Syracuse University, received a master of science degree from Stanford University and has served as both a test pilot and math professor with the Air Force.

An astronaut since 1990, Collins has flown on two previous shuttle missions, logging more than 419 hours in space.

Collins' husband, Pat Youngs, is a former Air Force flight instructor who is now a pilot with Delta Airlines. They have a 3-year-old daughter, Bridget.

Before becoming an astronaut, Collins flew many Air Force missions, including one to Grenada in 1983 during civil unrest there.

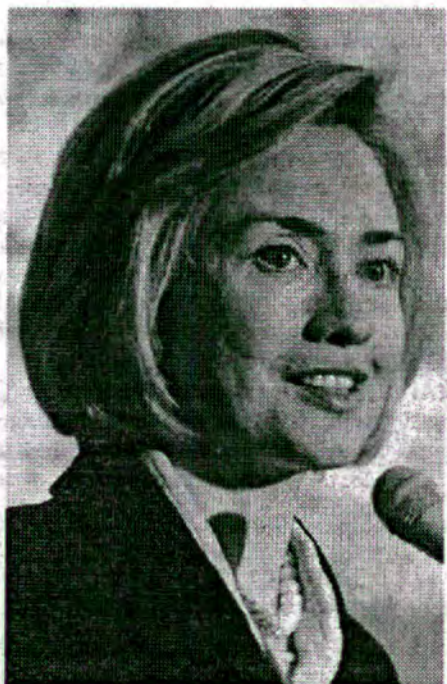
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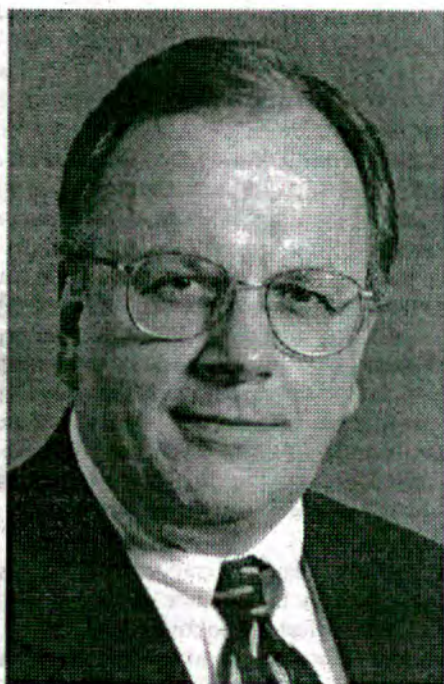
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PRESERVATION



File Photo by Rebecca Roth

Listen Up

GOP Rep. Tom Reynolds is urging first lady and Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton to get involved in a dispute which would pit her against the Clinton administration's Justice Department.



File Photo

Clinton's Conundrum

Reynolds Urges First Lady to Oppose Administration

By Rachel Van Dongen

Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) has already leaned on first lady and fledgling Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton to fight for New York in the debate over Medicare funding.

But demonstrating the traps waiting for the first lady as she embarks on her "listening tour," now even Republican Members of Congress are asking for her help.

In a July 8 letter to the first lady, Empire State GOP Rep. Tom Reynolds asked that she intervene in a messy dispute over Native American land claims in the Finger Lakes region.

"As you spend the rest of today and tomorrow familiarizing yourself with some of the people, geography and issues of New York state, I would like to bring your attention to an issue of grave importance," wrote Reynolds.

In the letter, the freshman House Member, who re-

placed former Rep. Bill Paxon (R) when he retired last year, goes on to describe the dispute, in which the Cayuga Nation is suing the state of New York to reclaim 64,000 acres and \$350 million in damages.

The Cayugas are getting help from both the Interior Department and the Justice Department, and Reynolds wants Justice to butt out of the case.

In that effort, Reynolds wrote, the first lady's office could be of "tremendous service to us."

"I ask that you intervene with the Justice Department to have them extricate themselves from these proceedings," he wrote to Clinton. "I believe it's high time that local residents see some sign that their government, specifically the Clinton administration, has not lined up completely against them."

Reynolds' plea for help comes at a time when most Republicans are excoriating Clinton as a carpetbagger after she formed an exploratory committee to seek

Continued on page 14

Reynolds Draws First Lady Into Local Controversy

Continued from page 11

the seat of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

But the freshman Congressman, an experienced partisan who served as state Assembly Minority Leader before bidding for Congress, professed to sincerely want the first lady's help.

"Quite frankly, the first lady has billed this trip as a listening tour to get to know upstate New York," Reynolds said in an interview.

"I think it's one of the important issues [on which] I wish the Clinton administration would change the direction they've been going," he added.

"Anyone that is looking at the prospect of listening to what's on New Yorkers' minds, this is on the minds" of people in Reynolds' western New York 27th district, the Congressman said. "The reality here is we'd like her to support the taxpayers."

As part of the listening tour, Clinton arrived in Syracuse, east of Reynolds' district, on Friday. The day before, the Justice Department filed motions there in district court on behalf of the Cayugas.

"Let's not lose sight that the first lady has a dual role," Reynolds continued. "One, first lady and an adviser to the President of the United States, and two, a person who has now [formed] an exploratory committee with the intention to run for the U.S. Senate."

Asked why he had not approached New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, a likely Republican Senate candidate, seeking help, Reynolds replied, "I don't think that he enjoys a relationship with the White House where he could have an impact with the sitting administration."

On Friday, the first lady spoke out on the land claims issue in Rome, N.Y., telling homeowners there that she took "to heart" their concerns about losing their property in

a similar land claim by the Oneida Indian Nation.

"There should be a just and equitable solution that does not disadvantage existing landowners," the first lady said, according to The Associated Press. "And I hope it comes to pass," she added, with one local resident holding a sign reading, "Please help us, Mrs. Clinton."

The Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes are all seeking compensation from the state of New York and thousands of private landowners; the Cayuga suit alone would displace 7,000 landowners.

The first hints that the pressures of a campaign are likely to result in policy differences between the first lady and her husband emerged last week, when the first lady attended a White House meeting with New York labor and political leaders to protest Medicare

cuts that could hurt New York hospitals.

During the course of the campaign, Republicans are likely to relentlessly highlight the ways in which they believe the administration policies have damaged New York in order to score political points.

Dan Allen, a spokesman for the New York Republican Party, said conflicts between Clinton and the White House were likely to crop up with increasing regularity.

"The fact is that this is a major issue to New Yorkers in central New York. It affects them and it affects their lives and Hillary Clinton is faced with having to take a position on this for the first time that is different from her husband," Allen said.

He added: "She's got to come out and take a clear position, does she stand by her husband on this issue or does she stand by New Yorkers?"

For his part, Reynolds said the first lady would have to differ with her husband on substantive policy issues if she expects to be elected to the Senate.

He said he would be willing to meet with the first lady about the land claims issue, and added that she was an appropriate mediator because she had taken on official policy roles in the Clinton administration.

"I think that certainly the first lady indicated or intimated that there's the potential that she may disagree with the President on Medicare policy," the freshman said.

"Then it would seem to me very open, that once briefed on" the land claims issue, she would differ with the administration on that

'As a potential candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York, your views carry substantial relevance, and it's important that the residents of New York state know whether they can count on you to fight for them,' New York Rep. Tom Reynolds wrote in a letter to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

issue as well.

In his letter, Reynolds asks Clinton to take a position on the issue of Native American land claims, in which tribes are seeking land or cash settlements from the state of New York, landowners and Seneca and Cayuga counties.

The Cayuga claim affects land and homeowners in House districts represented by GOP Reps. Reynolds, Amo Houghton and Jim Walsh.

But Reynolds is particularly concerned with the fact that the Cayugas are getting Justice Department assistance, in addition to help from the Interior Department.

"As a potential candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York, your views carry substantial relevance, and it's important that the residents of New York state know whether they can count on you to fight for them," he wrote.

Roll Call Politics
7/12/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Show you're for us by standing up to Bill on hosp cuts

THERE are two big problems with Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate candidacy:

■ She lacks a rationale for running in New York. Until she can articulate a positive message that is about us — not her — her motives will seem to be selfish and therapeutic.

On her upstate "listening tour" she seems more like a student writing a term paper than a leader — taking notes rather than positions.

■ Hillary's identity still seems to be that of First Lady, rather than as a fighter for New York's economic interests, which should be a senator's first job.



**JACK
NEWFIELD**

This weakness was revealed this week when she refused to advocate restoration of federal funding for New York's teaching hospitals, even after her loyal supporters, Sen. Charles Schumer and hospitals-union leader Dennis Rivera, urged her to do so at a White House meeting.

This failure suggested she does not understand New York's economy and institutions.

Yesterday, it was disclosed she favors recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, putting her at odds with her husband. But she won't part company with him when \$5 billion in Medicare and Medicaid funds — plus thousands of New York jobs — are at stake.

It's great that she differs with her husband on the Jerusalem issue. But it doesn't take much courage

to do this in heavily Jewish New York. And she needed to do something to clean up her pro-Palestinian-statehood remarks in the middle of sensitive peace talks in 1998.

But her silence on preserving New York's crown jewels — our teaching hospitals like Mount Sinai, NYU and Beth Israel — is more significant than her pro-Jerusalem letter, or the contrived pseudo-events upstate.

Eventually, Hillary may resolve my two large doubts, but today she seems in short supply of New York instincts and loyalty on a tough issue.

Ducking an issue like

See **NEWFIELD** on Page 22

NEWFIELD from Page 2

protecting our teaching hospitals from federal cuts — that her husband is responsible for — is the wrong mistake at the wrong time.

The upstate tour has a bogus quality to it. It suggests her "Yankee fan for life" fiasco, and her book that failed to credit her female ghostwriter.

But saving health care and jobs is real. She either does it or doesn't.

The First Lady should recall the 1997 suit filed against her husband by her rival Rudy Giuliani — along with Dennis Rivera and Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan. It was over the president's line-item veto of New York health-care funds.

The Supreme Court ruled against her husband, and the cuts were restored.

A dozen people attended the White House meeting on New York hospitals. Among them were Rivera; Schumer; Ken Raske, the spokesman for 175 hospitals; White House Chief of Staff John Podesta; the president's top health-care adviser; a budget expert from the Office of Management and Budget; and PR consultant Ken Sunshine.

Schumer, Rivera and Raske urged Hillary to support the restoration of \$5 billion in Medicare and Medicaid cuts over the next five years targeted at New York. These cuts would devastate our best teaching hospitals.

Raske said, "The White House should support the Moynihan bill."

This bill stops the phased-in cuts in graduate medical education that derive from Bill Clinton's 1997 budget-balancing deal with congressional Republicans.

The First Lady would say only, "I am concerned about teaching hospitals in Boston, Chicago and New York."

After the meeting, Hillary's press secretary, Marsha Berry, was asked if the First Lady is now against these hospital cuts.

"She has not indicated that — no," Berry said.

Hillary has said nothing specific or substantive about these cuts this week.

One participant in the meeting told me yesterday, "We offered Hillary a script and she rejected it. I was shocked."

Another said, "Hillary is having an identity crisis between being First Lady and being fighter for New York."

I never expected Hillary to be as independent as Eleanor Roosevelt. But I would settle for as much independence as Tina Turner showed from Ike, or Cher showed from Sonny.

President Clinton made a national budget deal that was harmful to New York.

Now his wife wants to represent New York in the Senate.

She should learn that it's better to stand by your state than your man.

In N.Y., First Lady Takes Small Steps on Health Care Reform

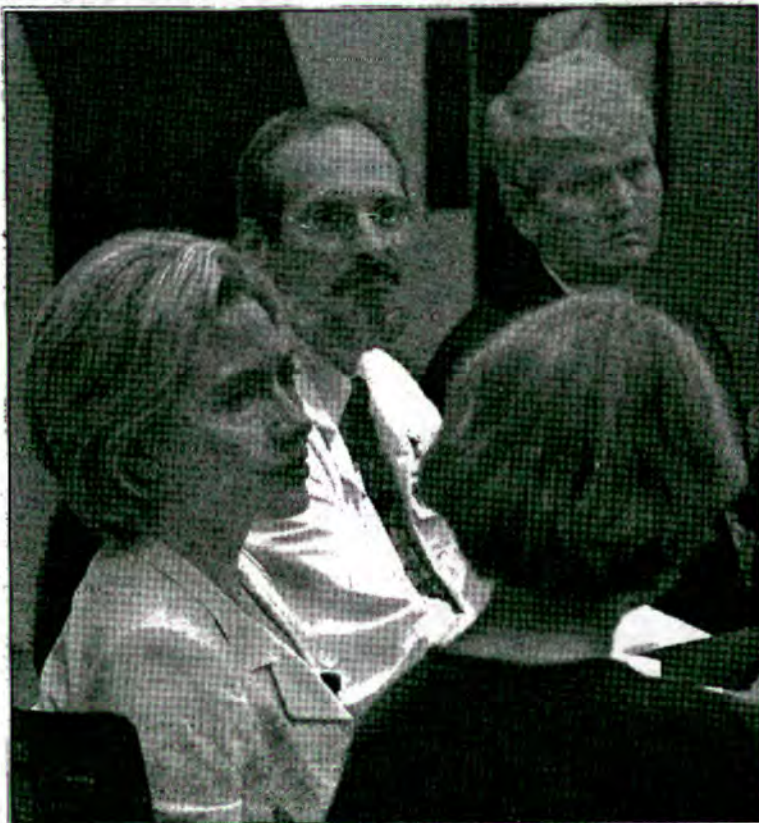
By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

COOPERSTOWN, N.Y., July 8—Hillary Rodham Clinton today waded back into the volatile issue that marked her worst political disaster, pledging to pursue only incremental health care reforms if she is elected to the Senate but suggesting that she still believes the system needs major reconstructive surgery.

At a health care forum on the second day of her statewide "listening tour," Clinton seemed conflicted about the issue that first thrust her onto the national policymaking stage. She said that ever since the demise of her comprehensive national health care plan in 1994, she has belonged to the "school of smaller steps." But then she described the smaller steps that her husband and most congressional Democrats are pushing these days as inadequate responses to "underlying structural problems," such as the rising influence of money in medicine and the growing ranks of the uninsured.

Health care could be a political minefield for the first lady, and aides to her potential Republican rivals have warned that they will use the "HillaryCare" debacle to portray her as a big-government liberal. Nevertheless, Clinton seemed willing to position herself to the left of her party at her meeting before several dozen medical professionals and consumers at the Bassett Health Care Center.

She said she supported the "patients' bill of rights" that Democrats have proposed to rein in managed-care plans, but called the fairly sweeping bill a "diversion" that will not reform the money-driven insurance industry. She also endorsed her husband's new plan to expand prescription drug coverage for the elderly, but said the problems created by rising pharmaceutical costs are "much greater than that."



On Day 2 of her statewide "listening tour," Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks with a group of New York health care professionals on incremental reforms.

"This is going to be an increasingly contentious issue," she said. "We're going to have to address it, or else we're just going to have to say that the market is what the market is."

Clinton's first return to the health care debate as a candidate was the highlight of another eventful day on

the campaign trail. She also pledged in an interview with New York reporters to serve a full six years if elected, squelching speculation that she might run for president in 2004. She said she favored the death penalty but was not an "enthusiastic death penalty supporter." The first lady also said she expects her husband to campaign for her in New York, one of his best states in 1992 and 1996.

But in a move that took State Department officials by surprise, her

campaign spokesman confirmed that she considers Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel," a break with the administration's policy. In a letter to the Orthodox Union, a New York-based group representing about 750 Orthodox Jewish synagogues in the United States, she also said she favors shifting the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a move her husband delayed with a waiver in June.

The first lady antagonized Jews last year by expressing her support for a Palestinian state, so her Jerusalem stance may be an effort to ingratiate herself with that important New York constituency.

It is also a split with her husband, but one he surely understands: In 1992, when he was a presidential candidate, he also said that Jerusalem should be "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel" and that he believed "in principle" the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. It was only after he became president that he adopted the previous U.S. policy, that Israel and the Palestinians should decide the fate of Jerusalem in talks on "final status" issues, together with borders, refugees and Jewish settlements.

When reporters in Washington asked about the first lady's position, State Department spokesman James Foley would say only: "The first lady was expressing her personal views and it does not complicate in any way our efforts to promote and accelerate the Middle East peace process."

But it was the health care forum that best spotlighted the promise and potential pitfalls of the first lady's all-but-declared bid for the Senate. This was Clinton at the top of her game, encyclopedic in her knowledge

of Medicaid reimbursement formulas, cutting-edge arthritis research and European pharmaceutical policies, and empathetic in her reactions.

She used gripping anecdotes to make her points, such as the tale about an Ithaca woman whose insurance company had refused to pay for her emergency helicopter ride because she did not get it preapproved while unconscious. Clinton comforted audience members who shared stories: "You hit on so many issues that need to be addressed."

"It was an incredible exchange of ideas," said Rosemary Bennett, a Bassett nurse. "She's so attentive to people, and she's so knowledgeable about the issues. I was really impressed." Yet the wide-ranging forum will do little to quiet critics who say the first lady takes a government-first approach to health policy.

Polls suggest that health care is a popular issue and that voters trust Democrats more than Republicans to address it. But Democrats remember how the backlash over the first lady's doomed 1,300-page plan to ensure universal access to coverage while cutting costs paralyzed the administration in 1994, and helped the GOP take over Congress that November.

Clinton did tell her audience of doctors, nurses, patients and administrators that she has learned hard lessons about all-encompassing health care solutions, and politely brushed off a potentially embarrassing question about a government-run single-payer system.

But while she called the American health care system the best in the world, she made it clear that she remains tremendously dissatisfied with the way it works in the managed-care era. Nurses, she said, are

being turned into "paper-pushers and bureaucrats." Medicine, she said, is being converted from a calling into a business. Insurance companies, she complained, are denying coverage to the people who need it most in order to fatten their corporate profits. "I think we've got to rethink the way we insure people in this country," she told a local farmer who was rushed to the hospital last year after being trampled by a bull. "It's something I've thought about a lot."

After the event, though, Clinton's aides emphasized that she has abandoned her grand plans to revolutionize health care. "She's made it very clear that she doesn't intend to go down that road again," said campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson.

In another effort to distance herself from her husband, Clinton has been raising concerns about the effects recent Medicare cuts have had on New York's teaching hospitals. Bassett stands to lose \$16.5 million in funding over the next five years, and Clinton today described teaching hospitals once again as "the crown jewels" of the American health care system. "Teaching hospitals are a particular concern, and should be a concern of everyone who cares about health care," she said.

The question is: What will she do to help them? Clinton shied away from specific solutions today; she is, after all, only "listening." The Association of American Medical Colleges has warned that by 2002, 40 percent of all teaching hospitals will be losing money. Ralph Muller, chairman of the association's Medicare task force, said the first lady can help prevent that. "Hopefully, she can get the White House to listen to her," Muller said. "We could really use her help."

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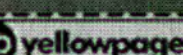
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All of Health Care

By David S. Broder

Sunday, July 4, 1999; Page B07

The Clinton administration has come full circle in its approach to health policy and still is searching for a path through the maze.

In 1993 Hillary Rodham Clinton designed for the president a 1,400-page bill with an amazingly complex set of changes in the way working-age Americans and their children would access medical care. But it left the Medicare system for retirees essentially untouched.

The theory was that seniors would be reassured and lend their support to a plan designed to give everyone under 65 a plastic card guaranteeing hospital and medical care. But that plan was shelved by a Democratic Congress in 1994 without even a floor vote in the House or Senate.

In the years since then, President Clinton has endorsed and Congress has passed a series of incremental changes in health care. But now, 16 months before the election and probably too late for success, Clinton has advanced another biggie. It is a major overhaul of Medicare, designed to add a prescription drug benefit and keep the program solvent until 2027, a 12-year extension. And this time, it is Medicare alone -- with no serious structural changes in the remainder of a health care system that is in even greater danger of collapse than it was five years ago.

The new Clinton proposal, like the 1993-94 plan, has many sensible features. Medicare today pays almost all of a patient's hospital bills, most of the doctors' bills but none of the outpatient drug bills. That is backward. Sound social policy would make it easy for the elderly to obtain the medicines that can keep them healthy and try to reduce the costs -- and trauma -- of doctors' visits and hospital stays. Clinton's plan moves in that direction.

It also envisages achieving economies of scale, by organizing the purchase of medicine and encouraging competition among health care providers, much as the 1993-94 plan, for the younger population, called for rationalizing the structure of the medical marketplace.

Unfortunately, the new plan also shares some of the substantive and political liabilities of the old one. In seeking universality of benefits, it risks the perverse effect of encouraging employers to drop the prescription and medical subsidies they now provide their retirees. To avoid that, the government would subsidize companies for doing what they are already doing -- a waste of scarce resources. The plan is miserly in its benefits for middle-income people and wasteful in

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 PRESERVATION

not asking the affluent elderly to pay for more of their medical benefits.

It is also dubious in its fiscal assumptions. It projects per-patient Medicare costs declining from 4.9 percent annually to 4.3 percent. This, just a month after CalPERS, the California Public Employees' Retirement System, regarded as one of the smartest health care shoppers anywhere, agreed to an 11.7 percent annual premium increase by Kaiser Permanente, its largest contractor.

But the bigger problem is that the Clinton proposal addresses only one piece of the health care system. True, the White House is pushing for a "patient's bill of rights" in managed care companies -- an appeals process and perhaps an expanded right to sue for those enrolled in such plans.

But after the rebuff of 1993-94, Clinton has nothing on the table to deal with the growing ranks of the uninsured -- 43 million at latest count and rising. And nothing on the need for nursing-home care.

In New Hampshire and Iowa, voters are showing up at presidential candidate meetings wearing white T-shirts emblazoned with the logo of "Citizens for Long-Term Care." At a hearing called last week by Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV, a West Virginia Democrat, congressional staffers were told that nursing home and at-home care now costs about \$115 billion a year, and that number will grow rapidly as the baby boomers retire and life expectancy increases.

Today, families typically have to bankrupt themselves and turn to Medicaid -- essentially a welfare program -- in order to pay nursing home costs averaging \$40,000 a year. Most politicians shrink from even discussing the problem, but as Joshua M. Weiner of the Urban Institute told the Rockefeller session, "You can run, but you can't hide" from this part of the health care problem.

And there is more. People were shocked last month when the American Medical Association endorsed formation of a doctors' union. They were dismayed a few days ago to read that Medicare HMOs are cutting off at least a quarter-million clients and will charge sharply higher rates to those who remain enrolled. But these are simply more symptoms of a system threatened with collapse.

These are not isolated events; they are part of a systemic health care crisis. Clinton offers useful, but partial, fixes. Will any of the presidential hopefuls step up and address the whole problem?

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Backing New York on Medicare, First Lady Lobbies White House

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

In the first public indication of a policy difference between Hillary Rodham Clinton and her husband, the First Lady joined New York labor and political leaders yesterday at a White House meeting to argue against proposed Medicare cuts that could hurt New York hospitals.

Mrs. Clinton, taking a break from preparations for her likely campaign for Senator from New York, met in the White House with the New York leaders and the President's chief of staff and a senior White House health care adviser. Mrs. Clinton attended at the invitation of Senator Charles E. Schumer, who has asserted that President Clinton's proposed cuts could cost teaching hospitals in New York billions of dollars a year and "risk the very fabric of our health-care system."

Afterward, her spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said the First Lady had "expressed her interest in trying to alleviate the difficulties" facing teaching hospitals. Ms. Berry said the First Lady spent most of her 20 minutes there listening, and she and other White House officials played down the notion that the Clintons were in conflict over a major aspect of one of Mr. Clinton's biggest policy initiatives.

Nonetheless, Mrs. Clinton's decision to participate in the session — across the hall from the Oval Office

and at the center of the West Wing of the White House — allied her publicly with some of the most powerful political forces in New York in fighting Medicare cuts that Mr. Clinton has advocated.

The proposed reductions, which would come on top of cuts already made in 1997 to balance the Federal budget, would reduce special payments made under the Medicare program to teaching hospitals to help cover their expenses in training doctors and caring for large numbers of poor patients. Mr. Schumer contended that the President's plan would cost New York hospitals an additional \$39 billion over the next 10 years.

Mrs. Clinton's associates have long suggested that the First Lady would seek opportunities to draw dis-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Urges Smaller Medicare Cuts

Continued From Page A1

tinctions between herself and her husband, and suggested that this was an ideal issue to use.

Mrs. Clinton's stroll from the White House living quarters to the meeting in the Roosevelt Room comes as she tries to construct her own political identity for a potential campaign to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring next year. She rented campaign headquarters near Madison Square Garden yesterday, and plans to formally create an exploratory committee next Tuesday, before beginning a four-day trip across central New York.

Mr. Clinton, at a news conference yesterday at the White House, suggested that he was sympathetic to concerns by teaching hospitals, in New York and elsewhere, that some of his budget reductions had been too hard on them. He said that he was looking for ways to rectify that, and noted that his Medicare plan proposed this week included a \$7.5 billion fund directed particularly at teaching hospitals.

"I would encourage the senators from New York, or anyone else who's concerned about this, to bring those concerns, bring the facts to the table, get it out in the open — then embrace the idea of Medicare reform, pass that fund, and then allocate it as it should be allocated," he said.

Mr. Clinton seemed at once resigned and understanding as both his wife and Vice President Al Gore, who

is running for President, have begun to draw away from his shadow.

If Mr. Gore disagrees with his actions over the next year and a half, Mr. Clinton said wistfully "then of course he will have to say so, and I will take no offense at that."

"And if my wife decides to run for senator from New York, then some of the disagreements that we've had

for the campaign, and he was delighted yesterday at her presence at the meeting.

"We are elated with the meeting," Mr. Rivera reported. "We had the enthusiastic support of the First Lady. She clearly understands the problems that the teaching hospitals in New York State are facing. She's committed to help us find solutions to the problems. 'We hope that she will get the assistance of the President of the United States in this effort.'"

Ms. Berry, the First Lady's spokeswoman, declined to say whether Mrs. Clinton would do that, and described her commitment as a general one to the future of teaching hospitals.

Mr. Schumer offered generally high praise for Mr. Clinton's Medicare plan, which, for the first time, would provide reimbursements for prescription drugs. He was critical, though, of part of the way the President would finance that plan — the reduced Medicare payments for teaching hospitals.

The meeting yesterday, which was led by John D. Podesta, the White House chief of staff, was intended to persuade the White House to roll back that policy, Mr. Schumer said.

Mr. Schumer said Mrs. Clinton was clearly supportive of that effort during the meeting. "I made the major pitch, but Mrs. Clinton chimed in," Mr. Schumer recounted yesterday evening. "The tone of the meeting is, 'There is a real problem here — you may not have realized how bad it was.'"

**Twenty minutes of
mostly listening that
spoke volumes.**

in the past over decisions I've made as President she may be constrained to state publicly, because they will be relevant to the future," he continued. "And that's the way a democracy works."

In many ways, this issue was particularly well suited for Mrs. Clinton to draw some distance. For one thing, she can say she is working to support a central part of New York's health care industry.

It also allows her to strike a public alliance with Dennis Rivera, president of the union representing 150,000 health workers and one of the most influential forces in New York Democratic politics. Mr. Rivera has already been working behind the scenes to help Mrs. Clinton prepare

The dogs that didn't bite last week:

HILLARY'S PUFFBALL

FROM the moment Hillary Rodham Clinton began getting serious about running for the U.S. Senate, there has been one universally accepted piece of received wisdom: that the snarling New York press corps, its killer instincts unleashed, couldn't wait to tear the First Lady to pieces.

So with the first leg of her self-styled upstate "listening tour" completed, was Hillary subjected to what James Bennet in The New York Times Magazine predicted would be "the pawing of New York City's feral reporters"?

Hardly. As Christopher Hitchens put it on Larry King's show the other night when asked about the New York press corps' treatment of the new Clinton campaign: "It's a huge laugh." New York reporters, he said, "roll over and play dead and ask for their tummies to be scratched by Mummy again."

In other words, there's been little change since last April — when Bernard Kalb, co-host of PBS's "Reliable Sources," incredulously noted that "the media has virtually elected her; the election itself seems to be superfluous. They're anointing her." Since then, Mrs. Clinton's poll numbers have slipped dramatically, but there's no denying that, with a few pointed exceptions, it still feels like a journalistic coronation.

It's always been a given — although we're still entitled to ask why — that the national press corps would fall all over itself to push Hillary's national ambitions. And its members haven't disappointed, what with adulatory cover stories in the newsweeklies and wave after wave of adoring, fawning coverage on the networks.

Over the past few months, we've heard Dan Rather proclaim Hillary "a political superstar" and Ted Koppel declare that she'd make a "great senator" thanks to her "clear, perfectly legitimate" political vision.

Time magazine's Lance Morrow actually sees "a Celtic mist forming around Hillary as a new archetype" while Diane



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It certainly doesn't surprise that Mrs. Clinton's tour last week was covered like a royal visit, with some 200 journalists in tow. In fact, it's perfectly understandable: Mrs. Clinton's greatest political asset right now is her celebrity status and the fact that what she's doing is unprecedented in American history.

No, Hillary Clinton is not your average Senate

candidate — but at some point, she's going to have to be treated like one by the local press. Judging by last week's coverage, however, that's not going to happen anytime soon.

And it's not even the stream of Hillary fluff from the Daily News (feature stories on the evolution of her fashion style, front-page mock-ups of her as the Statue of Liberty) or five-column headlines in the Times proclaiming that "Hillary Clinton Deplores the Condition of New York Public Schools."

Or even this breathless Associated Press bulletin that moved across the wires last week: "News

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POSTOPINION

It's not bite last week:PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

IT'S PUFFBALL PRESS



the Binghamton Press & Sun-Bulletin noted that the three-day swing "showcased her finely tuned policy and people skills."

On the same note, Lara Jakes in the Albany Times-Union said of Hillary's raising the carpet-bagger issue herself that she "even managed to scoop a press corps some 300 strong by asking herself" the key question.

The same reporter even hailed Hillary's unscheduled personal pit stop at a service station as a brilliant political maneuver: "The cynical might see it as calculated," Jakes wrote, but "it was the sort of clever tactic that will be necessary" if she's going to win.

When a trip to the ladies' room is hailed as political genius, you know someone's rolling out a journalistic red carpet.

Are we seeing a blatant double standard at work? If Rudy Giuliani switches gears to take a position more in tune with upstate voters, will he be praised — as was Hillary by CBS News when she endorsed moving the U.S. embassy in Israel — for "doing what any candidate would: sizing up New York and tailoring [his] opinions to suit New Yorkers"? Or would we hear instead about how the mayor is "pandering" to upstate voters?

Only diehard Republicans and Hillary-haters would expect the press to be peppering her with non-stop questions about Whitewater and Travelgate, not to mention her stands on the issues. After all, the election is still 16 months away.

But at some point, reporters are going to have to stop treating Hillary Clinton with kid gloves.

Yet some in the press corps actually think their colleagues already have gone overboard. ABC's Charles Gibson, for example, worries that "the questions are gonna be brutal." In fact, citing Andrea Peyser's sharp-edged column in this paper last week (although he pointedly refused to mention her name), Gibson complained: "It's like they're going after her on day one. . . . This is gonna get really, really rough."

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New York Post 7/14/1999

SHE'S OFF AND RUNNING

ISRAELI CAPITAL

For the second time in a week, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton expressed a major policy difference with her husband — saying she believes Jerusalem is the “eternal” capital of Israel and that the U.S. Embassy should be moved there from Tel Aviv.

In a letter written last Friday to the president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Mrs. Clinton said: “I personally consider Jerusalem the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel.”

“If I am chosen by New Yorkers to be their senator ... you can be sure that I will be an active, com-

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.,
GREGG BIRNBAUM
and DEBORAH ORIN

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Mrs. Clinton's letter to Dr. Mandell Ganchrow is a

She splits with prez on embassy move

rebutal of her husband's recent waiver of a law that requires the United States to move its embassy to Jerusalem. The national-security waiver allows the embassy to remain in Tel Aviv.

The State Department does not have an official position on where Israel's capital should be.

A few weeks ago, Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman,

Marsha Berry, ducked the embassy question by telling The Post: “At this point, she isn't a candidate, and at the point she is, we'll have those positions.”

The First Lady's letter to Ganchrow — a reply to a letter he wrote last month — was first reported in yesterday's Forward, a Jewish weekly newspaper.

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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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President Clinton had no problem with his wife's Medicare plan, adding that he's giving the green light to her differences with any issue should come before the Senate in New York.

The First Lady's letter to the State Department in January last year when she supported creation of a Palestinian state. Mrs. Clinton has since softened her stance, saying it is for Israel and the Palestinians to decide — a position identical to her husband's.

Asked about Mrs. Clinton's letter, National Security Council spokesman David Leavy said views expressed by the First Lady are her personal views, which she has no obligation to share with the people of New York. The administration's views on Jerusalem have not changed.

Howard Wolfson, spokesman for Mrs. Clinton, said the exploratory committee did not elaborate on its position.

A close adviser played her differences with the White House.

“I don't think much of a break here,” an adviser said. “I think she's supportive of the peace process, and an issue of timing in moving Jerusalem and the embassy.”

Major Jewish groups praised Mrs. Clinton's letter, but the moderate Arab-American group accused her of being “derailing.”

“This letter is so and meaningless,” said James A. Baker, president of the American Institute for Jewish Affairs in Washington. “This is a desperate play for votes.”



MAKING HER PITCH: Hillary greets supporters yesterday at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown.

Reuters

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Major Jewish leaders praised Mrs. Clinton for her letter, but the head of a moderate Arab-American group accused her of “pandering.”

“This letter is shameful and meaningless and insulting,” said James Zogby, president of the Arab-American Institute in Washington. “This is just a desperate play for votes.”



HER PITCH: Hillary greets supporters yesterday at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown.

Reuter

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton was greeted with flowers from a young fan, Elizabeth Scheinman, and a media throng in Pindars Corners, N.Y., yesterday.

Hillary Clinton Begins Pre-Campaign Swing at Farm

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y., July 7 — The First Lady of the United States flew into New York on an Air Force jet today and presented herself as a potential candidate to replace Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan upon his retirement. Standing at Mr. Moynihan's side at his farm here, Hillary Rodham Clinton described questions about her residency as legitimate and said she would attempt to address them in the months ahead.

"It's a very fair question and I fully understand people raising it," Mrs. Clinton said at an appearance here that was part news conference and part political spectacle. "I think we have some real work to do to get out and listen and learn from the people of New York and demonstrate that what I'm for is maybe as important — if not more important — than here I'm from."

Mrs. Clinton then plunged into her first day on the campaign trail for herself, as opposed to being the candidate's spouse. She visited the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, ate lunch at a barbecue restaurant in Oneonta, and savored the generally large and enthusiastic crowds who turned out to catch sight of the First Lady and her entourage at every stop. She also held the first of the "Listening to New Yorkers" forums that are to anchor her schedule this summer, listening tentatively and taking notes during a long discussion about education.

It was, by any measure, a remarkable day in the politics of both New York and the nation. It began at 11 A.M., when Mr. Moynihan, who is 72, only escorted Mrs. Clinton up the road from the old school house on his property that serves as his office, to a huge assemblage of reporters.

As the center of the kind of attention that is unheard of in a race for a United States Senate seat, she

of her eight answers at the 10-minute press conference, and then in stops throughout the day, she stepped away from the role of political wife that she has filled since Bill Clinton was elected Attorney General of Arkansas in 1976, and began filling in the contours of her own potential candidacy.

Mrs. Clinton rarely mentioned her husband, whose term ends in January 2001, and the President was not at her side, choosing to visit Indian reservations in South Dakota. The First Lady presented herself as someone ready to learn about a state

Directly confronting the issue of whether where she has lived is important.

she has never lived in. She also for the first time offered some hint of dealing with the more difficult questions her aides expect ahead, from unresolved questions from Whitewater, to why she may, after seven tumultuous years in the White House, seek to become the first First Lady in the nation's history to run for public office. The leading Republican candidate likely to run against her is Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York.

"I intend to be spending my time in the next days and weeks and months listening to New Yorkers," Mrs. Clinton said. "Now I suppose the question on everybody's mind is, 'Why the Senate and why New York and why me?' All I can say is I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state, that I've al-

strong and effective advocate on the part of the people of New York. I'm very excited about this."

The place where Mrs. Clinton headed first — Mr. Moynihan's 900-acre farm, in this one-traffic-light hamlet 70 miles west of Albany — was a curious choice. Of all the Democratic Senators in Washington, Mr. Moynihan often had the most unsettled relations with the Clintons. He was particularly critical of portions of the health care plan that was promoted by Mrs. Clinton during her husband's first term, and Mr. Clinton's aides frequently complained then that Mr. Moynihan was not helping Mr. Clinton accomplish his agenda.

But Mr. Moynihan and Mrs. Clinton share a senior political adviser, Mandy Grunwald, and Ms. Grunwald sat in with them in their private 25-minute meeting before their news conference. Mrs. Clinton has, over the last few months, repeatedly visited Mr. Moynihan's home in Washington to discuss the potential race, effectively recruiting him as her most prominent supporter.

As a jaunty Mr. Moynihan walked her to the microphone — a moment suffused with generational symbolism — he left no doubt about who he wanted to succeed him. But he almost neglected to say that as he turned over the platform to his guest.

"My God, I almost forgot," Mr. Moynihan exclaimed, then added: "Yesterday, Hillary Clinton established an exploratory committee with regards to a candidacy for the Senate, the United States Senate from New York, a seat which I will vacate in a year and a half. I'm here to say that I hope she will go all the way. I mean to go all the way with her. I think she's going to win."

Mrs. Clinton was assured of self-effacing throughout the day, taking the guidance of her advisers, who

she encountered a steady if small stream of protesters challenging the credentials of this Chicago native to seek office in New York State.

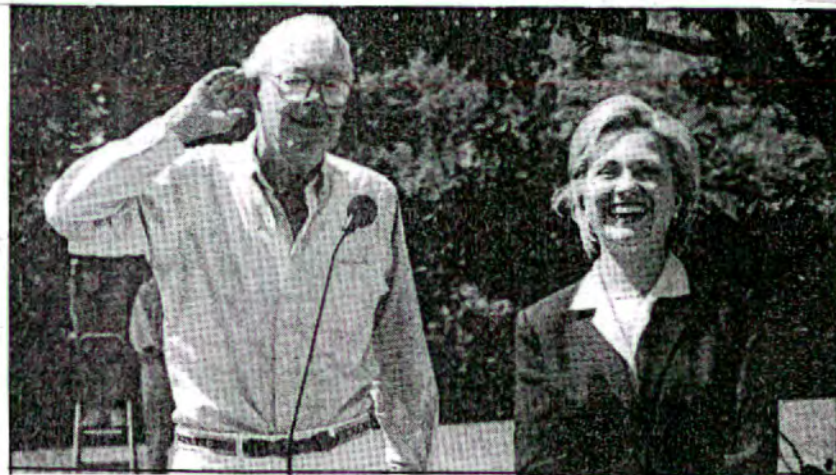
When Mrs. Clinton arrived for lunch, she was greeted by a small group of people shouting, "Go Home Hillary." That chant was drowned out by a rival chant of supporters: "We want Hillary."

At her news conference, Mrs. Clinton said she did not believe some of the issues that had shadowed her years in the White House — such as the disappearance of her law firm records in the Whitewater case — would be a problem in the campaign. "New Yorkers will make their own judgments about that," she said. "I think we've moved beyond all of it. I'm going to be talking about the future of education and health care and making sure that upstate New York gets the same kind of economic opportunities that the rest of the state has enjoyed."

The First Lady's staff sought to present today's forum with voters as a spontaneous exchange of views, though there was some evidence of stage management at hand. For one thing, the First Lady is well known for her command of policy, and her own aides acknowledged there was a limit to how much she might actually learn at these forums. And the people who attended today's event were all selected by the State University of New York at Oneonta, which had invited Mrs. Clinton to appear.

Mrs. Clinton seemed eager to come across as student rather than teacher. When someone said the upstate economy and schools were hobbled by the absence of high-speed Internet connections, the First Lady's eyes lit up. She asked him to give her a memo. At the Soccer Hall of Fame, she stopped to talk to Frank Bachelier after learning that he was a

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

Hillary Clinton and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan talk to reporters Wednesday at Moynihan's farm in Pindars Corners.

Getting to know you

First lady listens and learns what's important locally

By Tom Grace
Cooperstown News Bureau

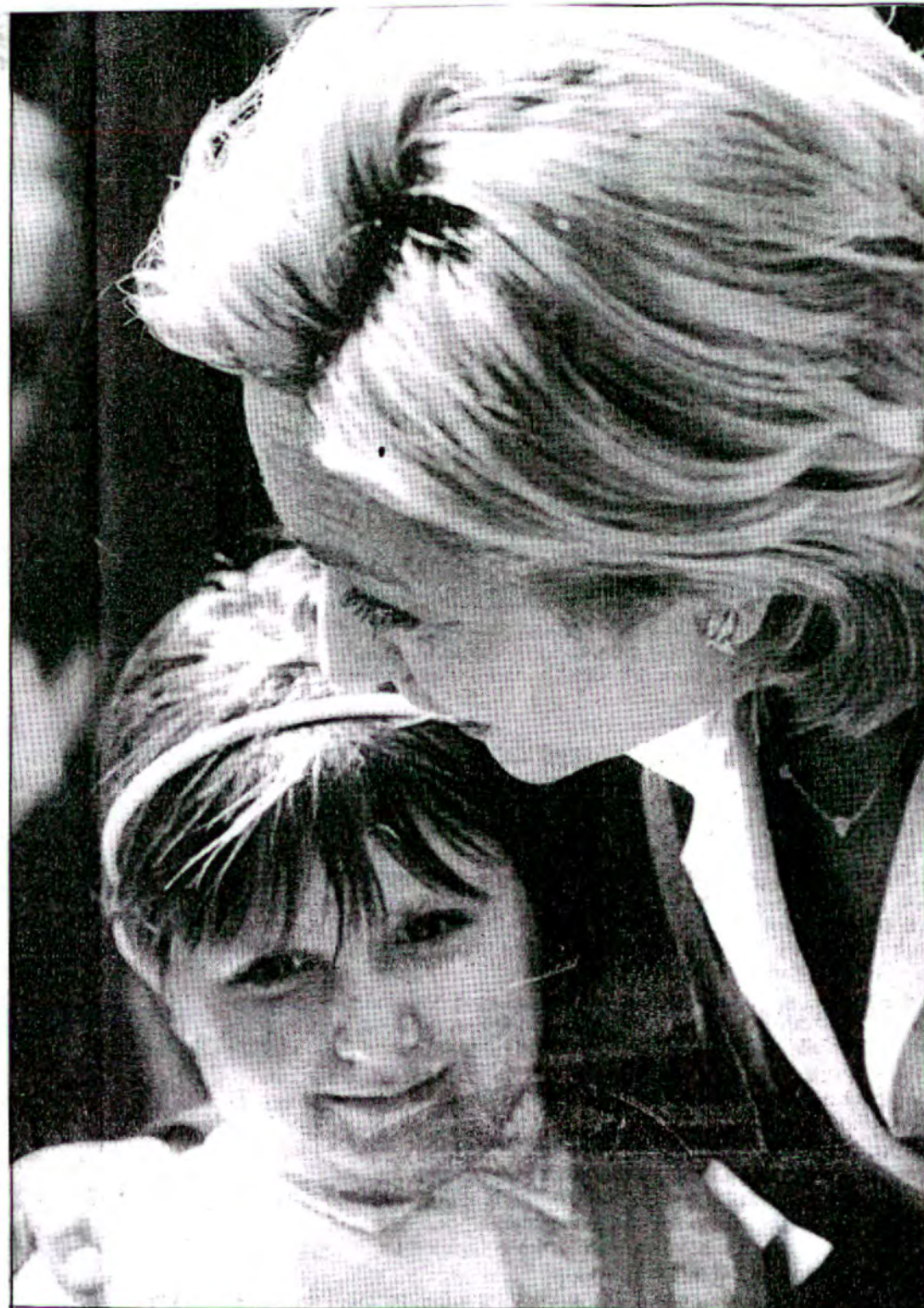
PINDARS CORNERS — Hillary Rodham Clinton launched her "listening tour" of New York state on Wednesday morning in Pindars Corners. There she received the endorsement of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in her apparent bid to succeed him in the U.S. Senate.

This was just her first stop here in a day when she flew from Albany to Binghamton, then rode to Cooperstown by way of Oneonta, stopping at

about 10:30 a.m. in a one-room schoolhouse on his farm in rural Delaware County. A half-hour later, the two Democrats strolled down a narrow road to meet the 200 or so reporters and photographers who'd gathered to document this prelude to passing the torch.

Moynihan noted that he'd had the hay field mown a week early to accommodate the cars, vans and satellite dish trucks on the hillside. He then said he hoped Clinton would "go all the way to the U.S. Senate and I plan to go all the way with her."

'I think I have some real work to do to get out and listen to the people of New York and demonstrate that what I'm for is maybe as important, if not more important, than



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

Hillary Clinton hugs Elizabeth Scheinman, 5, of Las Vegas, after she gave the first



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Hillary Clinton and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan talk to reporters Wednesday at Moynihan's farm in Pindars Corners.

Getting know you

stems and learns what's important locally

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— Hillary Clinton's first day in New York state on Wednesday at Pindars Corners. She met Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and his family, and he bid to succeed her.

stop here in Albany to meet Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and his family, and he bid to succeed her.

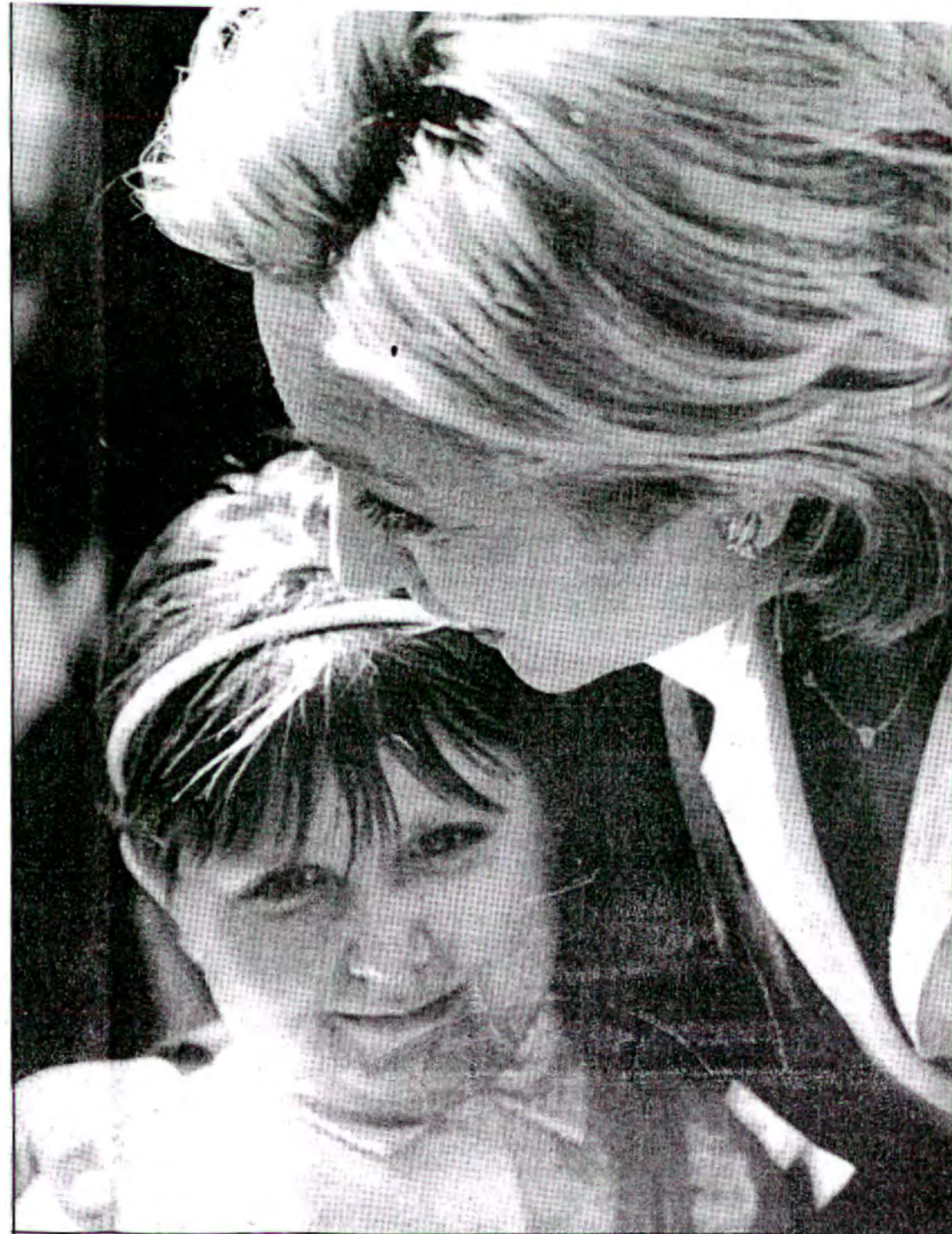
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Clinton deemed Moynihan "the wisest man in the state" and said it was appropriate to start this phase of her

'I think I have some real work to do to get out and listen to the people of New York and demonstrate that what I'm for is maybe as important, if not more important, than where I'm from.'

— Hillary Rodham Clinton



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

Hillary Clinton hugs Elizabeth Scheinman, 5, of Las Vegas, after she gave the first lady day lilies she picked on the way to Clinton's appearance at the Moynihan farm in Davenport on Wednesday morning. Elizabeth was visiting her aunt, Irene Gallaer, of Davenport.

ally Star, Oneonta, New York Thursday, July 8, 1999

The Daily Star

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Continued from Page 1

pre-campaign in the schoolhouse where he'd written so many of his books and speeches. If she wins a Senate seat, she said, she'll strive to improve public education, reform the nation's health-care system and assure that upstate New York shares in economic growth that has largely bypassed the region.

Running for the Senate from New York had seemed strange at first, she said. "I suppose the questions on everyone's mind are why the Senate? Why New York? And why me? All I can say is that I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state.

"When New Yorkers began talking to me, as they did shortly after the senator announced that he would not run again, I listened very hard, and the more I listened, the more excited I became about the possibilities of what could be done on behalf of the people of New York."

In the next few days and weeks, the first lady said she wants to listen to people's concerns and advice and then will announce her intentions.

Is she, as suggested by many Republicans, a carpetbagger?

"I think that's a very fair question and I fully understand people raising it," she answered. "I think I have some real work to do to get out and listen to the people of New York and demonstrate that what I'm for is maybe as im-



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

Hillary Clinton talks with a panel of educators from area schools and colleges in the Craven Lounge in the Morris Conference Center at the State University College at Oneonta on Wednesday afternoon. She took notes on what was being discussed.

portant, if not more important, than where I'm from."

Clinton said she was looking forward to living in New York, something she and the president had considered even before her current mission. After a brief press conference, Clinton, the senator and their staffs went to his farmhouse for refreshments.

An hour later, she visited the National Soccer Hall of Fame, where she met with Oneonta Mayor Kim Muller and Will Lunn, the hall's president. Exiting Pindars Corners, she had passed several supporters and detractors with signs, but nearly all the 150 or so people at the Soccer Hall cheered her arrival.

While at the Soccer Hall's new complex, Clinton, honorary co-chair of the Women's World Cup, witnessed the unveiling of a large soccer ball sculpture and met Jim Lennox, Hartwick College soccer coach; Ken Cutler, Hartwick's athletic director; and David Ranieri, coach of the women's soccer team at the State

University College at Oneonta.

Next she visited Brooks House of Bar-B-Q's, chatting with staff and patrons briefly, then was off to SUCO, where she participated in a forum on education. On the panel were several local educators, including Jim Piscitelli, Oneonta's superintendent of schools, and Dr. Ben Friedell, Board of Education member.

Friedell, a father of two, said that teachers are underpaid, and that many residents don't realize it because incomes here are often low, making teachers' salaries seem adequate by comparison. In his time on the school board however, he'd come to see how much work teachers do and to believe they must be paid more to keep the best ones in the classroom, he said.

Clinton, whose book "It Takes a Village" stresses the value of education, particularly early education, agreed.

Piscitelli said pre-kindergarten classes should be universal, another concept Clinton espouses. Elena Doyle, owner of two local businesses, said schools need to present students with greater challenges, and that someone must teach young people "social skills and emotional development," so they come to jobs groomed to succeed.

Clinton said she'd learned her manners and much about the world at the dinner table while growing up, and feels it's indis-

pensable for parents to take the time to read to and carefully instruct their children. Today's parents are stressed by economic, day-care and health-care worries and they need help from government programs geared not only for children, but for young parents, she said.

Barbara Stohr, who has worked to train teachers, said rural poverty, hidden sometimes in the suburban landscape, is the cause of many ills in school. Clinton said much should be done to improve the economy in upstate New York, "which, if a separate state, would rank 49th in job creation."

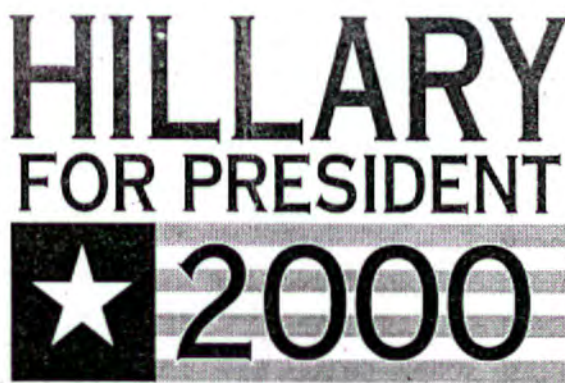
In the late afternoon, the first lady visited Hartwick College's Telecommuting Center, where she met with college President Richard Detweiler and staff members. Then the entourage rode north to the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown. A large crowd on Main Street there greeted her enthusiastically as she made her way inside. She stopped to chat with children and parents, and to sign autographs.

At the baseball shrine, Clinton held the bat that Hank Aaron used to collect his 3,000th hit, and toured the museum.

Wednesday night she dined with the Moynihans and spent the night at the Otesaga Hotel in Cooperstown. She is scheduled to visit Bassett Hospital at 10 a.m. today. At about noon, she will leave for Utica and points north.

Daily Star
7/8/1999

PHOTO BY ALLEGRA BOVERMAN



Daily Star
7/8/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

LETTER TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

From the Grassroots Organization

HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000

Rodham Clinton,

I speak to your fellow Citizens before making a move to run for New York, we need your strength, communication skills and lead us into the new Millennium, we need you now!!

- ★ Senate is 6 years, a dead end without possibilities for the future
- ★ There is no viable candidate for President 2000 except you.
- ★ There is a distance between citizens that you can heal.
- ★ We need communication, clear, concise explanation of issues
- ★ The world needs non-violence and peace
- ★ You will feed the hungry and heal the sick

Ms. Clinton, do not be afraid. We the people are behind you. You shall not want you, listen to us.

HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000

800-563-1006

Please send to HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, c/o Huma Abedin,
Office Building, Room 100, Washington, DC 20500
Show that you care!!

.....
For More Information, Contact: Max Rhodes

Robertson Boulevard ★ Los Angeles, California ★ (800) 563-1006
www.hillary4prez2000.com ★ e-mail: info@hillary4prez2000.com

Daily Star
7/8/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY
FOR PRESIDENT
 **2000**

A LETTER TO HILLARY RODHAM

From the Grassroots Organization

HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000

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HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000
800-563-1006

Copy this letter, send to HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, c/o Huma Abedin, Old Executive Office Building, Room 100, Washington, DC 20500
Let Hillary know that you care!!

.....
For More Information, Contact: Max Rhodes

1044 S. Robertson Boulevard ★ Los Angeles, California ★ (818) 481-1006

'I think she's going to win.' — Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan

First lady listens, learns



Moynihan supports Clinton in Senate

BY SAMME C
Staff Writer

PINDARS CORNERS — Standing at the man whose hopes to fill, Hillary Rodham Clinton Wednesday received the blessing of retired Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan before embarking on an energetic three-day campaign swing of upstate New York.

During a whirlwind that included a stop in Oneonta for a "session" on education, Clinton made a visit to the Soccer Hall of Fame, a smiling and composed first lady showed herself to be a candidate in everything but

After flying from Binghamton Regional Airport, the first lady's bucolic and setting offered to position herself as her chosen successor, regarded as New York's elder statesman.

By strolling down the town lane with Clinton on the side, while some reporters loomed, Moynihan made it clear that Clinton is the Democratic contender for his Senate seat. "I think she's going the way," said Moynihan. "I'll go all the way."

Clinton has not yet announced her campaign, but on Tuesday she was forming an executive committee. Yet in a confident Wednesday address, she is actively running and hopes to position herself as someone who will work hard to respect New York.

"I have always been a tireless advocate of the people I believe in," said Clinton, addressing a group of reporters at McQuinn farm. "And I will be strong and effective for the people of New York."

Clinton fielded inquiries and had to step a question reporter who asked if she saw herself as

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets well-wishers on Wednesday at Binghamton Regional Airport. Clinton began a three-day tour of

upstate New York with a trip to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's home in Pindars Corners.

BETH KAPLAN staff photographer

Clinton shares concerns about schools, funding

BY LINDA JUMP
Staff Writer

ONEONTA — Hillary Rodham Clinton offered glimpses of her educational policy for a possible Senate race, calling for universal preschool education, higher pay for master teachers and local discretion on spending federal education dollars, during a forum Wednesday in Oneonta.

"I'm very interested in listening and learning the challenges that confront the residents of New York," Clinton said. And listen she did, at the State University College at Oneonta, as five residents, and others, outlined their worries about a deteriorating school system that needs more funding, transportation in rural areas with few houses, and a lack of family-supporting jobs in New York for new graduates.

In a conference room in Morris Hall packed with more than 100 reporters and photographers, Clinton chatted with Dr. Benjamin Friedell, the parent of two teenagers at Oneonta High School and a member of the Oneonta Board of Education; Barbara Stoehr, an education department professor at SUCO; James C. Piscitelli, superintendent of the Oneonta School

Clinton listened more than talked in a session that lasted 1½ hours, and at times she asked speakers to provide her office with more information on unfamiliar subject areas.

Friedell said teachers are underpaid and "under fire from parents, the board, and community members."

Stoehr cited problems with school transportation, a lack of technology in rural schools and crushing rural poverty. "You won't see it when you drive the interstate. Behind that, travel on a school bus and you will see ... families in crisis," Stoehr said. Many parents, she said, drive 50 to 60 miles to work, shortening precious family time.

Clinton asked the panel about the new state education standards and school report cards. Piscitelli said they are helpful, and Stoehr said as assessments change, the way teachers are taught to teach must also change. And, Stoehr said, new teachers need support.

Answering questions, Clinton said if there were a way to make parents read to their children 20 to 30 minutes a day, that "would make a huge difference" in bonding and encouraging children to succeed in school.

Clinton said children "need roots and wings" with a sense of place



First lady listens, learns



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BETH KAPLAN staff photographer

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Moynihan supports Senate run

BY SAMME CHITTUM

Staff Writer

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During a whirlwind day that included a stop in Oneonta for a "listening session" on education and a visit to the Soccer Hall of Fame, a smiling and composed first lady showed herself to be a candidate in everything but name.



MOYNIHAN

After flying into the Binghamton Regional Airport, the first lady chose the bucolic and symbolic setting offered by Moynihan's Pindars Corners farm to position herself as the chosen successor of a man regarded as New York's elder statesman.

By strolling down a country lane with Clinton at his side, while some 200 reporters looked on, Moynihan made it clear that Clinton is the leading Democratic contender for his Senate seat. "I'm here to say, I hope she goes all the way," said Moynihan. "I'll go all the way with her. I think she's going to win, and it is going to be wonderful for New York."

Clinton has not officially announced her candidacy, but on Tuesday said she was forming an exploratory committee. Yet it was evident Wednesday that she is actively running for office and hopes to position herself as someone willing to work hard to win the respect of New Yorkers.

"I have always been a tireless advocate for what I believe in," said Clinton, addressing a crowd of reporters at Moynihan's farm. "And I would be a strong and effective advocate for the people of New York."

Clinton fielded press inquiries and had to sidestep a question from one reporter who asked her if she saw herself as the "victim" of the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal. Clinton

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Clinton said children "need roots and wings" with a sense of place and stability, a sense of routine, and encouragement to explore and discover their talents. "We need to get more adults in their lives," she said.



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks at a forum on education Wednesday at SUNY-Oneonta.

SEE CLINTON 7A

Thursday, July 8, 1999

FIRST LADY'S VISIT

Press & Sun-Bulletin 7A

Clinton begins three-day tour of upstate New York —

CONTINUED FROM 1A

said she saw herself as someone who would make a good senator. She also later acknowledged that the campaign could be bruising. "I have no illusions that it will be anything but a difficult and challenging race," she said.

She also came prepared to defend herself as a candidate in a state where she has never lived and articulated what will likely be a recurring campaign theme. "I have some real work to do to demonstrate that what I'm for is just as important, if not more important, than where I'm from," she said.

There was also a light moment when one woman, Irene Gallae of Pindars Corners, managed to penetrate a circle of reporters to give Clinton a bouquet of day lilies and tell her she would vote for her.

In general, although Clinton's exposure to the general public has been carefully controlled, she has been willing to stop and meet with people along the way, displaying practiced poise and charm.

Not surprisingly, however, her small motorcade breezed by a knot of protesters on the road from the Moynihan farm. Clinton was cheered and jeered by small groups of demonstrators and supporters. The anti-Clinton camp included fans of New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who waved "go Rudy" signs. Among them was Martin Donnelly, the chairman of the Delaware County Republican Committee, who said that New York

Democrats "should be ashamed because they can't find anyone from their own state who would make a decent candidate."

The most vocal protesters were a small group of anti-abortion advocates who said they were angered by Clinton's long-standing support of abortion rights.

Just as fervent was another small crowd that stood along the roadside and shouted, "We love Hillary." Annie Sauter of Oneonta, one of the Clinton enthusiasts, said she likes Clinton's record of support for health care and education.

"Even though we have two hospitals here, some people can't take their kids to them because they are uninsured," said Sauter, who hopes Clinton will expand health care for uninsured New Yorkers.

In general, it appeared that Clinton saw more signs welcoming her along the route and in the Town of Oneonta than those demanding that she "go home." She also stirred up more first lady mania, especially as she entered the Morris Concert Center on the State University College at Oneonta campus. There the smiling first lady was mobbed by

well-wishers, including a group of children who squealed with excitement when she stopped to greet them. "She shook my hand," yelled a delighted Sasha Herzig, 12, of Oneonta, who was one of the lucky ones who got close to Clinton.

Many times throughout the day, Clinton demonstrated that she is a seasoned campaigner, and she showed the ability to stay focused on her message; she repeatedly referred to the importance of "meeting with" and "listening to" average New Yorkers during what has been billed as "the Hillary Rod-

ham Clinton Listening Tour."

Clinton used the word "listen" or "listening" no less than four times during her brief introductory comments to educators and parents who met with her on the SUCO campus.

She also peppered her remarks with references to local issues and places, including a school-to-home visitation program that she said was pioneered in Elmira, thus reinforcing her image as an avid student of all things New York. She also stated if upstate New York were its own state, it would be 49th in the country in job creation.

She also took time to position herself on key issues emphasizing her support for public education, health care for children and economic growth in depressed regions of upstate New York.

Clinton was scheduled to spend the night in a Cooperstown hotel and was also expected to visit the Bassett Health Center in Cooperstown at 10 a.m. today for a listening session on health care, to be followed by a 2 p.m. visit to a Utica nursing home. Visits to Rome, Syracuse and Albany are on her agenda for Friday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The real Hillary is unsettling



Hentoff

When the first lady — was Eleanor Roosevelt ever called that? — contemplated running for senator in New York, she was warned to prepare herself for the ferocious New York press.

During her "listening tour" of the state, however, she has been received, for the most part, as if she were royalty and had already won the election by acclamation.

For example, this month the Associated Press sent a bulletin to its clients: "News Alert: Hillary Rodham Clinton pledges to be strong advocate for New York."

Stop the presses! Christmas will come on Dec. 25!

Only a few press reports noted that the natives who came to question her were actually handpicked by her campaign staff, thereby greatly lessening the possibility of embarrassing questions.

And the horde of reporters in her wake often seemed to have been handpicked as well. For instance, both Adam Nagourney of the New York Times and Lara Jakes of the Albany Times-Union wrote in alleged news stories about her "command" of "finely tuned" policy skills.

What policy skills? In 1994, her husband put her in charge of reforming national health policy. The result was disastrous, collapsing of its own ineptitude without even a vote in Congress. And because of her failure, the gates have been opened for HMOs and insurance companies to take over health decisions for millions of Americans — with often calamitous and sometimes terminal results.

Mention is mechanically made by the press of her concern for children, citing her record in Arkansas as a "reformer" of education. But when she left the state with her hollow husband, Arkansas was one of the worst states in the country with

Lady Hillary was born in the wrong century. Despite what she says, she is not in the tradition of Eleanor Roosevelt. Rather, she's in the tradition of Catherine the Great, the imperious 18th century ruler of Russia.

regard to the educational achievements of its children.

A few members of the press have not been dazzled by this celebrity candidate. Jimmy Breslin — author of, among other successful books, "The Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight," noted in Newsday:

"She says she is Eleanor Roosevelt and (unlike FDR's wife) she is for the death penalty.

"She says she is Eleanor Roosevelt and she and her husband promoted, and then the husband signed, the bill that did away with the center of Roosevelt's legacy to this country — Aid to Families with Dependent Children. She was in on killing it and she says her whole life is devoted to women and children."

Aid to Families with Dependent Children provided a safety net so that kids, no matter how poor their families, would not go hungry. The Clintons did away with Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the welfare reform law that has thrown millions off the welfare rolls, with the result that many have lost their medical insurance, and many of their children are now in the same condition as kids were during the Great Depression: They are chronically

hungry.

While Lady Hillary paraded through New York state as if her coronation were in the offing, William O'Shaughnessy, owner of radio stations in the state, declared that his Whitney Radio "will no longer cover any staged events arranged by the so-called Hillary Rodham Clinton senatorial exploratory committee.

"This charade of a 'listening tour,'" O'Shaughnessy continued, "with its motorcades and flying squads of Secret Service agents, really does nothing to inform the electorate. In recent weeks, our colleagues in the public press have begun to resemble a bunch of damn ducks — hoping for a morsel from the first lady or her considerable entourage."

But certainly, she is a gracious lady. Well, a few months ago, I received a call from the White House telling me that the first lady would soon officiate at the establishment of the Louis Armstrong Archives in Queens, N.Y. As a frequent writer on the most influential of all jazz musicians, I was being invited to come for the occasion — and I was told that an official invitation would be in the mail.

...

The invitation never arrived. I write for the Washington Post and have never been a member of the Clintons' fan club. So my name was flagged at the White House and expunged. All in the free spirit of jazz.

Lady Hillary was born in the wrong century. Despite what she says, she is not in the tradition of Eleanor Roosevelt. Rather, she's in the tradition of Catherine the Great, the imperious 18th century ruler of Russia.

Except Catherine actually did get some things done.

Nat Hentoff is a nationally renowned authority on the First Amendment and the rest of the Bill of Rights.

Sunday
July 18, 1999

TRIBUNE-REVIEW

Greensburg Pa 15601

WHISPERS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

es causes stink in county



Lucianne Goldberg gossips in cyberspace

MOVE OVER MATT. Lucianne Goldberg, of Monica Lewinsky fame, is the latest gossip columnist to enter cyberspace. And she makes clear where she stands.

"We are unredeemably conservative and not particularly compassionate," the New York literary agent and Linda Tripp pal writes in the "mission statement" for Lucianne.com.

Goldberg declares her "hatred" for Hillary Clinton, denouncing her "inane platitudes and banal pronouncements" and taking a whack at the "Clinton-loving press."

In an effort to furnish what she calls "libel-free gossip," Goldberg passes on "wild rumors" about the first lady, whom she dubs the "First Bore."

"It's something I've wanted to do for the last year because so much stuff pours through here," Goldberg explained to the Washington Post. "I've admittedly been giving a lot of stuff to Matt Drudge. I thought, jeez, enough already! I'll keep it myself."

Goldberg's entry into the world of electronic gossip couldn't come at a worse time for Hillary as she considers a bid for a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

Hillary Clinton visits the Southern Tier

NOTEBOOK

■ Frank Givens, an employee of Granny's Restaurant in Elmira Heights, was sitting, catching his breath and waiting for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to arrive at the restaurant, when a man dressed like Mark Twain walked in. Givens looked at the man and said, "I guess this thing is so big, they're bringing back the dead to attend the lunch."

■ One of the members of the Secret Service team that accompanied Mrs. Clinton said he lived and worked in Elmira in the mid-1990s. The agent wouldn't give his name, but said it was nice to be back.

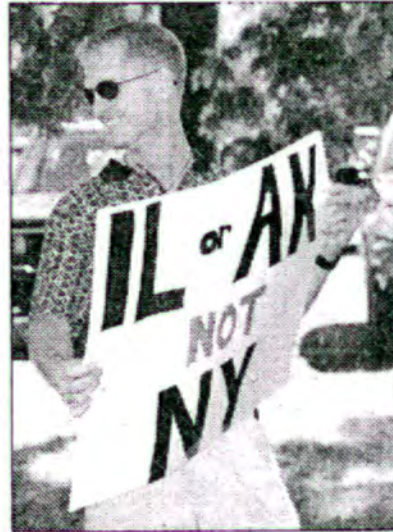
■ Mrs. Clinton's book, "It Takes A Village," was a popular item for the first lady to autograph. Several invited guests at Granny's Restaurant brought the book along for Mrs. Clinton to sign.

■ A female luncheon guest noted that Mrs. Clinton is more beautiful in person than on TV, and then added "but her hips are a lot bigger in real life."

■ Earlene Abraham, an invited luncheon guest, was born and raised in Arkansas. During lunch she wrote this note on her place mat and held it up for Mrs. Clinton: "I'm from Arkansas." Mrs. Clinton spotted the sign and stopped and talked with Abraham. Afterward, Abraham was so excited, she forgot what she and Mrs. Clinton had talked about. "I think she asked me what part of Arkansas I was from."

■ Mrs. Clinton paid an unexpected visit to the T.H.E. Outlet in Elmira after 5 p.m. Thursday and shopped for about 20 minutes. Manager Sis Shoemaker was preparing to leave when Mrs. Clinton, two female aides

First lady's lunch attracts fiery crowd



JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

Jeff Maximiek of Elmira was among a handful of protesters waiting for First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton outside Granny's Restaurant Thursday.

By JIM PFIFFER
Star-Gazette
jpfiiffer@stargazette.com

It looked like a parade, without the floats.

Hundreds of people pressed up against police barricades along Prescott Avenue in Elmira Heights on Thursday morning. Some waved American flags, held handmade signs, readied cameras, lifted little kids onto shoulders and looked up and down the street for the subject of their increasingly impatient attention — Hillary Rodham Clinton.

But for more than two hours, all they saw were puzzled passing motorists, police officers and scores of journalists impatiently glancing at watches and asking the question of the day: "Where is she?"

The first lady was late arriving at the Elmira-Corning Regional Airport for the second stage of her

upstate New York listening tour. The visit is part of Mrs. Clinton's expected run to be a New York senator.

Shortly before 10 a.m., the crowd began gathering across the street from Granny's Restaurant, where Mrs. Clinton later had lunch with more than 200 invited guests.

"I haven't seen this many people on this street in a long time," said 70-year-old Thomas Cray, who happened upon the crowd while walking his dog Skipper. "I think it's great that she's coming."

Skipper wasn't the only canine.

Most of the people tried to avoid the dog-day heat by gathering in the shade of the few maple trees lining the east side of the street. But not for long. Police herded them behind orange-and-white, wooden barricades in the hot sun.

"Why are they making us stand in the sun?" a bewildered man asked no one in particular.

"Probably because you're a

Republican," said a man standing next to him.

A police officer told the crowd: "Please stand behind the barricades, but don't lean on them. They'll tip over."

The crowd tipped a few false alarms.

At 11:09 a.m. folks got excited, and began shouting, "She's here! 'She's here!' when three vans pulled up. It wasn't Mrs. Clinton. The vans were full of members of the national press.

Not all those reporters were unbiased. An unknown female journalist was heard muttering, "Scrape the bottom, vote for Rodham."

By 11:15 a.m. the street and restaurant parking lot were thick with Mrs. Clinton's advance team, local police and stern-faced U.S. Secret Service agents talking into hidden microphones in their suitcoat sleeves.

Two women from Corning, Sylvia Huber and Joan Said, held a hand-

made pink sign reading "Senator Hillary! You go girl!"

Shortly after 11:30 a.m., two sisters, Elizabeth McKee of Watkins Glen and Anna Visco, a nurse from New Braunsels, Texas, showed up and began assessing the situation.

"Did she already go inside the restaurant?" McKee asked Visco. "I saw a blonde-haired woman go inside."

"That was probably a waitress," replied Visco. "They'll probably bring (Mrs. Clinton) in through the back."

Finally, at 11:59 a.m., a half-hour behind schedule, the first lady arrived in a two-tone Ford Archer van.

She stepped out of the van, waved and smiled.

She was greeted with thunderous applause, waving flags, cheering fans and at least one barking dog.

Hillary

Continued from Page 1A

has an open mind, she's a strong woman, and I give her a lot of respect. She's more in tune with what the American people think about government than a lot of the politicians who claim to represent us."

But at least seven signs outside Granny's encouraged Mrs. Clinton to "go home," and scattered protesters clustered along her route throughout the day.



the dead to attend the lunch."

■ One of the members of the Secret Service team that accompanied Mrs. Clinton said he lived and worked in Elmira in the mid-1990s. The agent wouldn't give his name, but said it was nice to be back.

■ Mrs. Clinton's book, "It Takes A Village," was a popular item for the first lady to autograph. Several invited guests at Granny's Restaurant brought the book along for Mrs. Clinton to sign.

■ A female luncheon guest noted that Mrs. Clinton is more beautiful in person than on TV, and then added "but her hips are a lot bigger in real life."

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■ Mrs. Clinton paid an unexpected visit to the T.H.E. Outlet in Elmira after 5 p.m. Thursday and shopped for about 20 minutes. Manager Sis Shoemaker was preparing to leave when Mrs. Clinton, two female aides and Secret Service agents walked through the door of the outlet store featuring clothing designed by Elmira native Tommy Hilfiger. Shoemaker gave each Secret Service agent a tie. Mrs. Clinton picked out a long-sleeve denim shirt, which Shoemaker also presented as a gift. Mrs. Clinton signed autographs for all of the customers in the store. "I was really impressed with her sincerity," Shoemaker said. "She really took time for everybody even though she was in a hurry."

■ People invited to Mrs. Clinton's roundtable at the Hilliard Corp. in Elmira included: Paul Kingsbury, owner of Kingsbury's Cyclery; Joe Caparulo, owner of Cappy's; Jim Davis of Corning Natural Gas; Fran Weeks, active with the American Association of Retired Persons and



JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION Hillary Star-Gazette 7/30/1999

Continued from Page 1A

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Jeff Maximiek, 28, an Elmiran who teaches in Sayre, held a reversible sign that read "Illinois or Arkansas, not New York," on one side, and "Political Whore" on the other. "We'd be mad whether she was the first lady or some no-name politician from Arkansas," he said. "What does she know about New York?"

But Mrs. Clinton's message later in the day was: "What I'm for is more important than where I'm from. I've been a fighter all my life, and I believe I could be a great advocate for New York."

Elmira Heights Mayor Gordon R. Brink agrees. "It's a woman's time," said Brink, a Democrat who supports Mrs. Clinton's Senate run. "She knows all kinds of issues, and it's important to have a mixed bag."

Brink arrived for lunch with Mrs. Clinton bearing a bouquet of pink flowers. He hoped to talk to her about increasing federal revenue sharing so small towns without a large tax base, such as Elmira Heights, could afford to sink more money into development and job

the floats.

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JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

... his wife, Jean, at Quarry Farm on Thursday. Quarry Farm was the

Wilma Hughey, principal of Ernie Davis Middle School; David Weaver, local labor leader.

■ U.S. Rep. Thomas M. Reynolds, R-Erie County, is calling on Mrs. Clinton to add a meeting with local veterans to her public schedule by visiting either the Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Bath or the VA Hospital in Canandaigua.

—Compiled by
Star-Gazette reporters

Questions for Hillary Clinton

What would you say to Hillary Rodham Clinton if you got the chance?

Here's what some Twin Tiers residents, who saw Mrs. Clinton Thursday, would inquire:

■ **Jennifer Joslyn**, 14, Corning, freshman, Corning East High School. "I'd tell her she's very brave for coming here because there are a lot of people against her running for the Senate. If I was 18, I'd vote for her."

■ **Brittany Michell**, 13, Elmira Heights, who rode inline skates to Granny's to catch Mrs. Clinton. "I'd ask her how her dog and cat are. I have two dogs, a cat and a bird. Hillary and Chelsea are my role models."

■ **Joe Sabin**, 28, Horseheads. "I'd ask her why she thinks she can serve New York better than a New Yorker can."

■ **Wilma Hughey**, principal of Ernie Davis Middle School in Elmira, who was invited to the roundtable at the Hilliard Corp. "I'd tell her that in New York state, there's still a discrepancy with regard to resources for rural and urban families. We need to focus on issues related to young children in poverty, such as jobs, child care and single parents."

■ **Jeannie Joslyn**, 63, Watkins Glen, retired. "I'd ask her to please hang in there on Medicare. I'm recovering from breast cancer and I don't have

After listening to residents' quick political suggestions as she passed from table to table at Granny's, Mrs. Clinton made a 15-minute stop at the Mark Twain study at Elmira College. There she met Mark Twain Scholars from Elmira Free Academy and Southside High School. The scholars recently graduated in the top 5 percent of their high school classes.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton met with Chemung County business owners, union officials, teachers and other citizens at Hilliard Corp. in Elmira. The invitation-only event gave local residents the chance to ask the first lady how she would handle the issues closest to their hearts.

Jeanne Kraft, owner of Hair Kraft beauty salon in Elmira, and Kevin Sampson, a mechanical engineer at the Sear-Brown Group in Elmira, expressed concern about the difficulty of providing affordable health care and benefits to the employees of small businesses. Mrs. Clinton said she supports the "Patients' Bill of Rights" being considered in Congress.

In response to questions about job growth asked by Daniel Cleveland, a representative of the Carpenter's Union 532, Mrs. Clinton said the government needs to offer businesses the same incentives to stay in New York that they would get if they moved overseas.

Granny's: 'Listening tour' works up appetite

Continued from Page 1A

hot soapy water, and Jim Givens' verbal orders reverberated through the dark and cool dining room.

"Check the ladies' bathroom to make sure the mirrors are nice and clean," said Jim Givens as he calmly stood in front of his office, directing family and staff while cupping the last few inches of a burning Marlboro in his left hand.

"Somebody see if the floor needs sweeping."

"Put some more chairs around the table where Hillary's sitting."

On any other Thursday, a half-dozen people would have worked the restaurant, Tony Givens said. But on this Thursday, there were more than a dozen.

"All our relatives are here helping," Tony Givens explained. "They all want to see Hillary."

By 10 a.m., the monstrous salad bar in the center of the dining room was chock full of stainless steel

official Granny's greeting that Ruby had been silently rehearsing all morning.

"I'd been pondering on what to call her: 'first lady,' or 'Mrs. Clinton,' or 'Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton,'" explained Ruby Givens. "So I came up with 'First lady Mrs. Clinton.'"

Ruby Givens also pondered why Mrs. Clinton picked Granny's.

"A lot of people asked me about that," Ruby Givens said. "I wondered about it too. Finally I said, 'Why not? We have good food and we're a small family business. That's what Mrs. Clinton stands for, so it makes sense.'"

It made sense to the Chemung County Democratic Party, which selected Granny's and picked up

Hillary Clinton's Southern Tier visit

Today

■ 1:30 p.m.: "Listening event" and Children's Wing Dedication of the Dorman Public Library, 101 W. Morris St., Bath.

Saturday

■ 10 a.m.: "Listening event" at Cornell University's Biotech Building in Ithaca.

"The story of losing jobs in the '70s is the story of upstate New York," Mrs. Clinton said. "If upstate New York were a state itself, it would rate 49th in job growth in the last 10 years."

Betty Graham, director of Blakemore West Adult Care Facility in Elmira, explained to Mrs. Clinton how this has left many elderly people behind as their children leave the area.

Mrs. Clinton agreed. "It creates an added burden on the remaining population to maintain the elderly. If we do not deal with the



J. GIVENS



R. GIVENS

"She really took the time to listen to everyone," said Anna Visco, a nurse from New Braunsels, Texas, who was visiting a sister in Watkins Glen. "She has a lot of class."

Helen Michalko of Elmira Heights gave Mrs. Clinton a T-shirt for Chelsea. The gift was significant to Michalko because her own granddaughter had given it to her a few weeks ago. "I hadn't even worn it," she said. "I guess I knew I was saving it for someone special. I was in tears because I thought she was just like the girl next door. If she had time, I'd invite her over to my house for some Russian pyrogies."

The first lady did have a big appetite from all that politicking. Mrs. Clinton sampled chicken,

problems of our aging population now, we're going to have a very big problem later. I can get pretty worked up about this," she added sheepishly.

Mrs. Clinton promised to push for state Route 17 to gain interstate status if she is elected to the Senate. "There is funding for it," she said, "but you have to remain vigilant that the funding is enough and is delivered."

Mrs. Clinton attacked Republicans in Washington for supporting a \$792 billion tax cut that she said would hurt New Yorkers.

"It very well might undo the economic progress that we've made in the last 6 1/2 years," she said.

The session ended with Elmira Mayor Stephen Hughes saying, "There is nothing that cuts at the heart of America like violence in our schools. What can the federal government do for us for prevention?"

Mrs. Clinton said she would support child safety locks for guns, tighter gun control and federal grants to help schools install security devices such as metal detectors.

After a quick reception at Hilliard, Mrs. Clinton's motorcade drove to Samuel Clemens' summer retreat, Quarry Farm. As they went by, people spilled out onto porches

and sidewalks to wave.

Mrs. Clinton joined Jervis Langdon, 94, and his wife, Irene, for tall glasses of lemonade on the porch of the farmhouse near the study where Clemens wrote "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." Langdon is Clemens' grandnephew.

Thursday evening, Mrs. Clinton rubbed elbows with local Democrats at a house party in the West Church Street home of William Hopkins Jr., the Democratic candidate for the 1st District Elmira City Council seat.

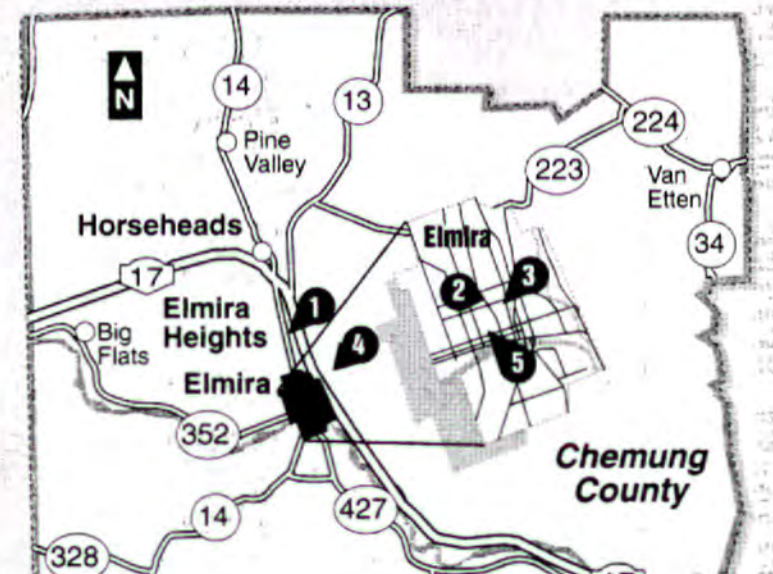
So far, Mrs. Clinton's listening tour has done little to close the gap between her and Giuliani, according to a survey taken by Zogby International of Utica. Giuliani's lead weakened by only one point between June and mid-July, and at 49 percent he remains 10 points ahead of Mrs. Clinton.

While the first lady's favorability rating has increased statewide, in Oneida County, one of the key stops early in the listening tour, 51 percent of voters surveyed called the tour a publicity stunt and 75.5 percent believe she is running because of personal ambition rather than because she cares deeply about the people of New York.

Gannett News Service contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton's stops



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■ **Tony Givens**, 35, Elmira, cook at Granny's and Chemung County Jail correction officer. "I'd ask her what she thinks about the parole system and if she thinks inmates should serve their full sentence."

■ **Ruby Givens**, who works for Chemung County Department of Social Services.

"I'd ask her if she is really going to run and what her thoughts are on prayers going back into schools."

Mrs. Clinton said she supports the "Patients' Bill of Rights" being considered in Congress.

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Granny's: 'Listening tour' works up appetite

Continued from Page 1A

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"All our relatives are here helping," Tony Givens explained. "They all want to see Hillary."

By 10 a.m., the monstrous salad bar in the center of the dining room was chock full of stainless steel bowls overflowing with sugar beets, yellow cherry peppers, sliced watermelon, rolls and butter and assorted salads and fixings. A nearby steam table awaited hot trays of chicken, roast pork, stuffing, liver with onions, and potatoes and ham.

"We know she's from the South, and we're serving hush puppies — another one of our specialties," said Tony Givens, who also works as a correction officer at the Chemung County Jail. "We're hoping she likes it all."

Jim Givens' wife, Ruby, hoped Mrs. Clinton liked the corsage and

official Granny's greeting that Ruby had been silently rehearsing all morning.

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"A lot of people asked me about that," Ruby Givens said. "I wondered about it too. Finally I said, 'Why not? We have good food and we're a small family business. That's what Mrs. Clinton stands for, so it makes sense.'"

It made sense to the Chemung County Democratic Party, which selected Granny's and picked up Mrs. Clinton's tab, said Elmira Mayor Stephen Hughes, a Democrat.

Mrs. Clinton, her guests and staff ate at three small tables pushed together against the wall in the main dining room.

But first Mrs. Clinton worked the noisy, standing-room-only crowd with grace, enthusiasm and dignity. She shook hands with local dignitaries, hugged blue-haired old ladies, posed for photographs with kids, signed autographs and accepted gifts ranging from coffee mugs to T-shirts.

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Mrs. Clinton agreed. "It creates an added burden on the remaining population to maintain the elderly. If we do not deal with the

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



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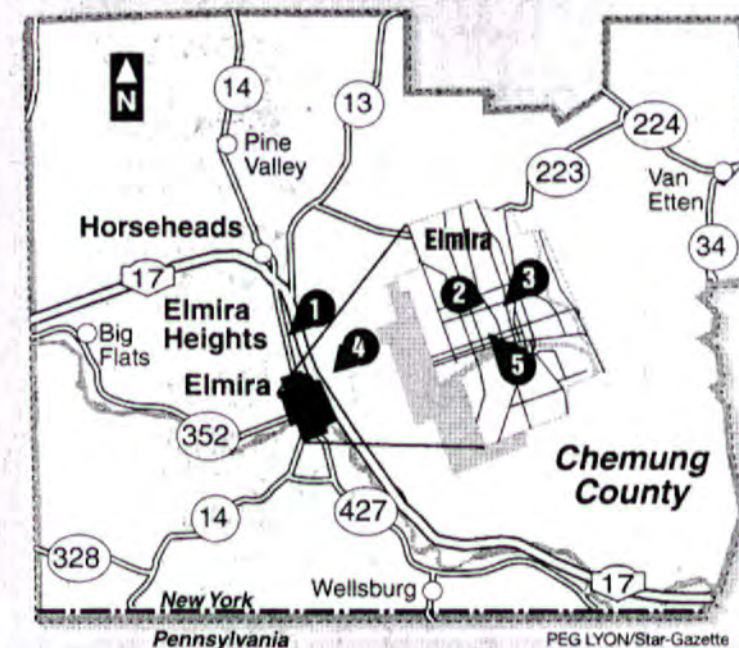
Mrs. Clinton sampled chicken, pork, rice, hush puppies, carrot salad and ziti salad. She helped the food along with a tall glass of lemon iced tea.

"She said she loved it all," said an excited Ruby Givens, with a smile as big as a dinner plate. "She said she didn't get a chance to eat as much as she wanted to but she loved it, and wants to come back."

She also loved the hush puppies, an observation that wasn't lost in the marketing eye of Tony Givens.

"We're thinking about calling them 'Hillary Hush Puppies.'"

Hillary Clinton's stops



A look at some of the places first lady Hillary Clinton visited Thursday during her listening tour in the Elmira area:

1. Granny's Restaurant, 201 Prescott Ave., Elmira Heights.
2. Mark Twain Study, Elmira College campus, North Main Street.
3. Hilliard Corp., 100 W. Fourth St., Elmira.
4. Quarry Farm, East Hill.
5. 526 W. Church St., Elmira, for house party at home of Elmira City Council candidate William Hopkins Jr.

HOME *Garden* Room with a

STAR-GAZETTE



Twin Tiers Life

Hot writer will speak at EC/8C

Driver qu

Ernest J. Gaines

www.stargazette.com

Friday, July 30, 1999

The first Gannett newspaper

Elmira, New York

Hillary woos Elm

■ The first lady's N.Y. tour continues as she explores a run for a U.S. Senate seat.

By HEATHER DUNCAN
Star-Gazette
hduncan@stargazette.com

Hillary Rodham Clinton heard from supportive and outraged Elmirans Thursday as they yelled from large crowds or conversed intimately during her visit to Elmira and Elmira Heights.

Elmira gained national attention several months ago when Mrs. Clinton stated at a Democratic Party function in New York City that she had visited the upstate city. No one locally could remember the event, and national pundits began to refer to Elmira as a symbol of all the first lady doesn't know about New York. Turns out, Mrs. Clinton visited Elmira on a summer vacation as a girl.

In Elmira Heights, the first lady began the third leg of her "listening tour," intended to help her formulate a platform and gauge public support for a Senate run. Southern Tier residents gathered outside Granny's Restaurant to meet



First lady Hillary Clinton meets Gillian Brown on Thursday outside Granny's Restaurant in Elmira. Mrs. Clinton's listening tour in the Elmira area. Brown asked Mrs. Clinton to autograph a poster of F

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Room with a view/1D STAR-GAZETTE

Twin Tiers Life

Sports

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Driver quits local race

Ernest J. Gaines

Friday, July 30, 1999

Elmira, New York

lary woos Elmira



JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

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In Elmira Heights, the first lady began the third leg of her "listening tour," intended to help her formulate a platform and gauge public support for a Senate run. Southern Tier residents gathered outside Granny's Restaurant to meet Mrs. Clinton and express their opinions on her bid for the seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. If Clinton runs, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is likely to be her Republican opponent.

"Hillary all the way," said Bobby White, 51, of Elmira, as he waited with his family for the first lady to arrive. "She

See HILLARY/5A



On Page 5A

- Lunch draws crowd.
- What local residents would ask the first lady.
- Clinton's first day.
- Reporters' notebook.



JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

First lady Hillary Clinton meets Gillian Brown on Thursday outside Granny's Restaurant in Elmira Heights, the first stop of Mrs. Clinton's listening tour in the Elmira area. Brown asked Mrs. Clinton to autograph a poster of Elmira native and space shuttle commander Eileen Collins.



'Listening tour' works up appetite

■ Hillary takes a break from politicking at Granny's Restaurant.

By JIM PFIFFER
Star-Gazette
jpffier@stargazette.com

At 9:40 a.m. Thursday, Tony Givens' hands were buried in a 30-pound pot of cold, raw chicken pieces.

The 35-year-old Givens, a cook at Granny's Restaurant in Elmira Heights, was working a mixture of "secret seasonings" into the soon-to-be Southern fried chicken, a Granny's specialty.

He was seasoning for a special

guest — first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — the most important customer to visit the restaurant in its 20-year history. Granny's was the first stop on the second leg of Mrs. Clinton's "listening tour" of upstate New York.

"This is an opportunity of a lifetime," said Jim Givens, Tony's father and owner of the family-run business. "It's like meeting and serving royalty."

The preparations for that royal visit were confusing and clamorous.

Dishes rattled on chipped plastic trays in a crowded kitchen filled with the thick, steaming aroma of beef gravy, black-eyed peas and cream of chicken soup. Flatware clanged in a stainless steel sink of

See GRANNY'S/5A

JEFF RICHARDS/Star-Gazette

Tony Givens, the son of Granny's Restaurant owner Jim Givens, whips up a pot of mashed potatoes Thursday in preparation for Hillary Clinton's luncheon visit to the Elmira Heights eatery.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Star Gazette
7/30/1999

Hillary: 'I kind of like' N.Y. residency rules

Hit with a surprise carpetbagger question from an upstate plant worker, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she wouldn't favor a residency requirement for candidates if she is elected to the U.S. Senate.

Clinton, on the third leg of her "listening tour" across the state, also blasted the Senate Republicans' \$792 billion tax-cutting plan as anti-New York.

In Elmira, greeting employees outside the Hilliard equipment manufacturing plant, Clinton was asked by worker David Caton if she would back federal legislation requiring candidates to live for a period of time in a state before they run for office.

The First Lady said such a residency rule would be a state decision, but added with a smile: "I kind of like it the way it is."

The question came up as a new poll showed most New Yorkers still resent Clinton's carpetbagger status.

The Quinnipiac College poll, which surveyed 1,241 New York voters from July 20-27, found 52 percent are "bothered" by the fact that she is not a New Yorker.

By Gregg Birbaum in Elmira, N.Y., Frederic U. Dicker in Albany, and Robert Hardt Jr. and David Seifman in New York

New York requires candidates to establish residency by Election Day.

The Quinnipiac poll also found the first lady tied, 45-45, with Mayor Giuliani.

Clinton has formed an exploratory committee for a possible run for the U.S. Senate next year, but she has not announced her candidacy.

Meanwhile, she sharply attacked the GOP plan for a massive tax cut, warning that the program would "damage most New Yorkers."

Clinton said, "It does not do enough for Social Security. It does not provide an additional dollar for Medicare. It certainly doesn't provide a prescription-drug benefit for seniors who need it. It would undermine the kind of education aid that New York needs for its schools and colleges. And it very well might undo the economic progress that we have made."



MEET 'N' GREET: Hillary gets an enthusiastic welcome yesterday in Elmira on the third leg of her "listening tour." AF

If she doesn't run, then what?

Someone at dinner the other night asked Nita Lowey, who was the presumed Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate in New York before Hillary Rodham Clinton discovered she had been a New Yorker since her childhood in Illinois, whether she's ready for the day in mid-September when the first lady announces she won't run after all.

Mrs. Lowey, a six-term congresswoman from the Bronx, froze, her fork suspended halfway to her mouth with a morsel of Alaskan char.

"That won't happen," she said, coolly.

"But suppose it does."

"Well, nothing. Nothing I could do. It's too late. I raised a million dollars before she got in, but I wouldn't have time to raise the other \$19 million we'd need. But she's going to run."

"Don't bet on it," said the man, who has observed the Clintons since Bill had the bushiest head of hair in Arkansas and Miss Hillary, freshly arrived from the Ivy League, wore the dowdiest imitation feed-sack granny dresses on the campus of the University of Arkansas, where her new husband was teaching the Constitution and practicing his moves at Ella Carnall Hall, the women's dorms.

Mrs. Lowey, an engaging Democrat who was a New Yorker before Miss Hillary ever heard of Ruth, Dickey, Gehrig, Lazzeri, and Murderers' Row, flashed her million-dollar smile. "Oh, you and Dick Morris. Everyone else thinks she'll run."

Well, not quite, but maybe she will. It's certainly difficult to imagine anyone else abandoning her party's prospects in the wreckage of thwarted personal ambition. But if anyone could do it, one of the Clintons would. Miss Hillary would see nothing wrong with biting into someone's proffered box of chocolates, sampling each one to see whether she liked it, putting them all back in the box, half-eaten. A growing number of Democratic pols are terrified that at the very last minutes, she won't risk indigestion.

Not just Democrats. John F. Kennedy Jr.'s *George* magazine asks: "... could she still get cold feet and not run? The answer, according to one GOP insider, is not just maybe — but a resounding yes. 'She's not going to run,' the source says. 'And the reason is Rick Lazio.' Mr. Lazio, the boyish, four-term Republican representative from Long Island, is likely to join the race. Fiscally conservative — he was close to Newt Gingrich — Lazio holds



Nita Lowey

moderate views on abortion and guns that will play well across the state. 'Hillary's poll numbers are at their peak now. But as people get to know Lazio, she'll sink like a stone,' says the source, adding that Lazio will have more appeal than Mrs. Clinton will in the vote-rich New York suburbs."

But those who have known the Clintons longest — "known" in the sense of watching them work their greed and grasp on unsuspecting electorates — think the pol likely to inflict the most damage is Miss Hillary herself. Her poll numbers have been sinking without Mr. Lazio's presence in the race, despite (or because of) her famous "listening tour" of upstate New York.

This has to be particularly disheartening to her handlers. Unless your name is George with a dubya, you can count on losing a bit of your luster and gloss from the minute you announce your candidacy. Voters are human, most of them, and it's only human to be not so sure you really want something (or someone) when you finally get it, and Miss Hillary, not to be ungallant, does not wear particularly well.

She likes her media celebrity, the gift of her husband's presidency, and she knows that defeated candidates have the shelf life of a shrimp. To be a defeated candidate doomed to fade into the sunset with a past president who is likely to go down the nation's memory hole at the speed of light would be the fate worse than death for an ambitious former first lady who desperately wants to keep herself in the media glare as a feminist icon.

The next few months will not be kind to the Clintons. The president's days have numbers on them, numbers that soon will shrink into mere double digits. Already no one cares what he does. Monica could deliver the pizza to his pantry in nothing but her thong, and we might not notice. Soon Ken Starr will submit his final report, no doubt couched in the passive voice beloved of timid lawyers, even timid lawyers with fraudulent reputations as tough guys, and it will splash into the Senate race in New York at the velocity of, umm, an old shoe, landing in the punch bowl.

Miss Hillary's handlers have kept the reporters away from her so far, and this has kept the tough questions away from her as well. The reputation the New York reporters have as pit bulls is no doubt exaggerated, but soon she'll become vulnerable to collies and cocker spaniels. She knows that better than anyone. Nita Lowey should hang on to her begging bowl.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Crash landing for Clintons?

Turns out Mayor Rudy's not the only one who wants to rain on Hillary Rodham Clinton's parade. When he canceled next Monday's Brooklyn Navy Yard party (it was moved to Liberty Island) for Hillary-friendly Talk magazine's launch, Giuliani started a trend.

His cry that "political" events can't be held on government property has now been taken up by the GOP-dominated East Hampton Town Council. Partisan councilors are arguing that Hillary and Bill's planned \$250-a-head bash for at least 1,000 people at East Hampton Airport Aug. 28 should be denied a permit.

The airport party — if it goes ahead — is just the biggest of the events both the state and national Democratic committees have planned

around the Clintons' visit. Designer Vera Wang, for example, is having 100 people paying \$5,000 each for lunch with Hillary at her Southampton mansion.

The East Hampton Independent — beneath the headline "Touchy Touch-Down for the President?" — quotes GOP officials as saying they are trying to discourage use of the airport for big parties. Supposedly, the recent "Global Tastings" gala is all they plan to allow this summer.

And Pat Mansir, a GOP council member, uses the Giuliani ploy when she tells the paper that she's "not sure if it's legal to use town-owned property for a political fund-raiser." Expect the lawyers to get involved any moment.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary: Plan B?

Earlier this week, the Zogby poll released its latest head-to-head numbers on Hillary vs. Rudy. The statewide result was: Giuliani 49.1% and Hillary Clinton 39.4%. Uh-oh.

Yes, political debaters can bend, tear and mutilate polls to a fare-thee-well, but if at this juncture you have as much fame and name recognition as Hillary Clinton, have just banked weeks of free publicity touring around the world's media capital, and if your numbers have fallen below 40%, then you are in big trouble.

Moreover, several other recent polls show the same downdraft. The Siena College poll put Rudy ahead 49% to 40%; the Marist poll had it 47% to 41% (against all this, the Quinnipiac poll has her ahead by two points).

Zogby, which polls *likely* voters rather than the usual, less-committed *registered* voters, turned up other grim results for the Clinton candidacy: her "unfavorable" rating is 40% against Rudy's 28.4%, essentially the reverse of popular mythology. They're in a dead heat among Hispanics. He's leading among Catholics, Protestants and Jews. And get this: among union members, he leads 50.3% to 35.7%.

Again setting aside polling's normal vagaries, her Democratic supporters in the state have to be getting *agita* over this sort of thing. During her White House years, Hillary Clinton wrung out about as much positive PR as one could from the celebrity-political system we live in now. No one ever gave Rudy Giuliani a free photo smooch in *Vogue*; in fact, the media spins him as kind of an effective creep. So if this is where she got with all the political capital she carted into the state, where does she come up with another 10 points of upside? Urban riots?

Anything's possible in politics, of course, but we come from a tradition that is inclined to discount events to their present reality, so we're going to explore a not unlikely scenario: What if she quits?

Almost everyone we know in New York rejects this possibility, mainly because nothing so entertaining has come through politics around here in memory. The tabloids and TV stations are probably contributing to Mrs. Clinton's campaign, which recently announced from a white-shoe Manhattan law office that it intends to raise a party-of-the-century budget of \$25 million for the campaign. Incidentally, how or by whom is that money going to be accounted for?

We've always believed, though, that Hillary Clinton has a political tin ear. It's the tin ear that heaved up the great, failed health-plan fiasco and



Hillary Clinton
\$204 billion
parachute?

has now launched this New York campaign. That doesn't mean we think she's a political fool. If Hillary Clinton has a proven skill, it's avoiding political and personal humiliation. Rather than risk the destruction of her political career by Rudolph Giuliani, we suspect she'll find a safe harbor to park herself in for awhile.

What could be safer than the presidency of the World Bank?

This scans a lot more sensibly than the wacky notion in some quarters that if an opening occurred, her husband would nominate her to the Supreme Court. In fact, the World Bank presidency opens next spring, when James Wolfensohn's term expires.

The job has a lot to recommend itself to Mrs. Clinton, most notably that it falls outside the confirmation process. Nominally the presidency is the Bank's own call, but the reality is that the appointment emerges from the U.S. Treasury Department, aka, the White House. Beyond this, running the World Bank would be a good fit for the Clintons.

The president's term runs five years. Its \$224,650 salary is tax-free. The ultimate upscale do-good organization, no one pays much attention to the Bank, so it's beyond effective accountability. This despite the fact that it manages more than \$204 billion in assets world-wide; in each of the past two fiscal years alone it lent \$29 billion.

The Bank's political karma squares nicely with Hillary's. For instance, it lent \$5.5 million to help Romania manage alpine and meadow ecosystems. The former Soviet republic of Georgia got \$15 million to develop small-business consultants. Pretty clearly, Mrs. Clinton could rehabilitate exiled health czar Ira Magaziner as the Bank's strategist.

More seriously, the job is a prime vehicle for networking with individuals all over the world who now, and in the future, hold the keys that open many doors in financial and political kingdoms. Nearly everyone else in Washington politics pads his or her pension by doing or enabling deals on the global circuit of well-connected middlemen. Indeed, based on their history, there is more logic to the Clintons hard-wiring themselves to the world economy's financial undertows via the World Bank than enduring a quixotic run for the Senate from New York State.

Aficionados are already telling us why none of this can happen. Jim Wolfensohn wants to be reappointed; Larry Summers has tagged it as his own safe harbor if President Gore dumps him for a big fund-raiser-contributor. All that said, we urge our friends to keep an eye on those New York State numbers. If six months from now she's still treading through Elmira and Rome with results no better than the low 40s, Hillary Clinton could be exploring Plan B. As in Bank.

FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1999 ★

Hearing Hillary

Did you hear about the new doll named "Hearing Hillary"? She hears, but you can't hear her.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is latching on, and latching on hard, to an unprecedented style of political campaigning. Listening.

Bill Clinton's "town hall" gatherings were one thing, but at least he answered.

How long before we hear Hillary tackle the issues; explain her philosophy on why the best senator to represent a state is one who has never lived or worked in that state before?

Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, faxed us Mrs. Clinton's new schedule this week, once again beneath the headline: "Hillary Rodham Clinton Listening Tour."

Yesterday, Elmira, N.Y. — "Listening event, Hilliard Corp."

Today, Bath, N.Y. (where this columnist's late grandfather, Herbert McCaslin, was the local Democratic Party chairman who helped elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt president because he heard him) — "Listening event, Dormann Public Library."

Tomorrow, Ithaca, N.Y. — "Listening event, Cornell University."

"She has a lot of star appeal. Not a lot of politicians could do this and get away with it," says St. Bonaventure University political science professor Sandra Joireman in a telephone interview yesterday from Olean, N.Y., just down Route 17 from Hillary's current "listening post."

"But the last poll I saw she was dropping in the polls a little bit, and my bet is that if this trend continues another week or so we're going to hear her start talking," opines the professor.

"I don't think the listening tour has been a failure by any means," she adds. "She's laying the groundwork for her political campaign, and she's getting local recognition, making it into the local papers in a big way, making the contacts she needs to."

"I do think she needs to start talking pretty soon, though... beginning to comment and discuss the substantive issues."

Mrs. Joireman points out that the Southern Tier region of New



Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York events would appear to involve all listening and no talk.

York, where Mrs. Clinton is listening this weekend, "is a very poor area, these are some of the poorest counties in New York State, areas that vote for Republicans regularly."

"It isn't an area that is going to be terribly receptive to her," she says.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Another earful

Hillary Rodham Clinton resumed her "listening tour" of New York state yesterday, and again was faced with questions about running for office in a state where she has never lived.

At the Hilliard Corp. factory in upstate Elmira, where the first lady denounced the proposed Republican tax cut, she was asked how she plans to deal with the carpetbagger issue, the Associated Press reports.

She called it "a very fair question," and replied that "if I do this, I'll do it with my whole heart. . . . Ultimately, it will be up to the people of New York."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1999

Rudy's big adventure down in Arkansas

Rudy Giuliani found the weapon this week for dealing with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

She's vulnerable to fun and games. The humorless have no defense against wit.

"I've never lived here," the mayor of New York told a Republican luncheon in Little Rock. "I've never gone to school here. It's the first time I've ever been here, but I think it would be cool to run for the Senate here."

The photographs, displayed on the front page of nearly every newspaper and on every evening newscast from Salamanca to Staten Island, were worth a thousand words and a million dollars.

Mr. Giuliani was flanked by the grinning governor of Arkansas and his grinning lieutenant governor, with an expression of bemused mirth on his face, his hand cupped with wicked exaggeration behind his ear, not so subtly mocking the first lady's midsummer mantra: "I'm listening."

Back in Gotham, a spokesman for Mrs. Clinton was reduced to the stiff piety that defines the first lady. He played the perfect foil: "Instead of playing politics, Hillary Clinton is listening to New Yorkers and talking about their issues." Of course. Nobody else would stoop to politics in a political campaign, and surely not Bonnie or Clod, and nobody would be as shocked as a New Yorker if someone did.

The New York Times likened Mr. Giuliani's expedition into the Deep South — he continued from Little Rock to New Orleans and then to Alabama to scoop up more campaign cash — to "a chaotic movie shoot," and Hollywood couldn't have come up with better sets and atmospherics. He held a press conference on the steps of the Arkansas governor's mansion, standing between two massive columns, which inevitably prompted the hundred or so visiting reporters, thinking "Gone With the Wind," to call it "the antebellum mansion." (It was actually built in 1946, but it is a beauty.) The supporting actors were out of Central Casting: The governor, the Baptist preacher on leave from the pulpit, and the lieutenant gov-

ernor, lending a note of verisimilitude for the visitors, the son of a former Arkansas governor and the nephew of a governor of New York with the most famous name in Gotham. Roll the cameras when ready.

When Mr. Giuliani arrived at the Capital Hotel on West Markham Street (more about that bit of serendipity in a minute) he saw the flag of New

Confederate star gets the place of honor, and the flag, by design, looks a lot like the Stars and Bars when furled on its standard. But Mr. Giuliani did not back down. "Anyone who has a problem with this," said his deputy mayor back in New York City, "should contact the former governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton." The two flags flew on in their unaccustomed places in Manhattan and Little Rock, and at the end of the day there was no rioting, and no reports of New Yorkers falling of flag shock.

As if all this were not enough, the Giuliani visit played against the backdrop of the local humiliation of Hillary's husband. The city fathers, having hoped to cash in on the presidential library, finally succumbed to furious public outrage and rescinded the renaming of Markham Street to President Clinton Avenue. A mere two-block section of the street will honor the native son who went off to Washington to embarrass the home folks and bring shame to his native state.

"This is a combination of fun and serious politicking," Mr. Giuliani said, hardly believing the good theatrics of his day. The Republican women of Little Rock laid on a session for him in the Brooks-Baxter Room at the Capital Hotel, named for a Republican carpetbagger and his native Democratic nemesis whose Reconstruction struggle for the statehouse set off a deadly free-for-all locally famous as "the Brooks-Baxter War". They threw softballs, such as, what sort of plan do you have to deal with Mrs. Clinton?

"When she becomes a resident of my state or my city, becomes a constituent," he said, with the borrowed deference of the Southern gent, "I will give her a great deal of consideration. The last time I checked the [voting] rolls, she was not a constituent."



Rudy Giuliani

York on a standard above the entrance, hanging limply in the morning humidity with the Arkansas banner and Old Glory. He was so "amazed" that he called home to tell aides to find an Arkansas flag somewhere in Manhattan and raise it above City Hall. Soon there was the inevitable partisan flap. "I am outraged that the Arkansas flag that is designed to commemorate the Confederacy, i.e. slavery and the Old South, is flying from our city's bastion of democracy," cried a Democratic councilman, inaccurately (sort of). The commemoration of the Confederacy on the flag is exceedingly subtle, only one of four stars marking the four nations — Britain, France, the United States and the Confederacy — that Arkansas has been part of, though it is true that the

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Polls show GOP voters in New York favor Giuliani

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

New York state's normally conservative Republican primary voters favor New York's liberal Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, by a huge margin over his more conservative rival, Rep. Rick A. Lazio, for the U.S. Senate.

By 64 percent to 16 percent, Republicans say they will vote to nominate Mr. Giuliani, even when reminded that he once endorsed Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat, over Republican George E. Pataki for governor, according to a July 22-23 survey of likely GOP voters by independent pollster John Zogby.

Analysts in both parties say the poll shows the state's Republicans are as eager to go for a winner, regardless of ideology, as are Republicans nationally, who strongly support George W. Bush for the party's presidential nomination.

Jay Severin, a New York GOP consultant, said: "The challenge that George Bush issues to conservatives nationally is the same that Giuliani issues in New York: 'Win

For liberal mayor, getting conservative backing is crucial

with me although you may think I'm not as conservative as you — or pick someone more conservative and lose.'"

That Hillary Rodham Clinton has a tough road ahead is clear. Among the 90 percent of likely voters who have decided on a candidate, the New York mayor has a 10 percentage-point lead over the first lady, according to a July 17-19 Zogby survey.

Scott Levenson, a New York Democratic campaign consultant, said, "I actually think it looks worse for Hillary than the Zogby numbers suggest. Rudy's voters are more motivated than hers."

"Giuliani has made Democratic voters on the [traditionally liberal] Upper West Side and Upper East Side feel safe to be on the streets at 11 p.m. or midnight," he said.

But analysts in both parties think there's a greater possibility that GOP primary voters will change their minds and go for Mr. Lazio than there is that GOP voters

"I actually think it looks worse for Hillary than the Zogby numbers suggest. Rudy's voters are more motivated than hers."

—Scott Levenson, a New York Democratic campaign consultant

will forsake Mr. Bush for a more conservative-sounding candidate.

Indeed, despite the latest polling, the biggest problem for Mr. Giuliani is not in defeating Mrs. Clinton for the Senate in November 2000 but in getting the GOP nomination in the first place.

Mr. Lazio, a Long Island centrist with conservative leanings, has raised about as much money — \$3 million — as Mr. Giuliani and has more appeal to the GOP core voter. He opposes government funding of abortion and favors outlawing partial-birth abortions. And, unlike Mr. Giuliani, Mr. Lazio represents the suburbs, where the GOP's strength lies.

Mr. Lazio has another strength that analysts in both parties say is just as important: He is the only Republican who at this point seems likely to win the historically crucial nomination of the New York State Conservative Party.

"The polls say Giuliani should win but the history of elections in this state says that Lazio will win, if he gets the New York Conservative Party nomination," said John McLaughlin, a GOP campaign pollster and New York state resident.

Not since Jacob Javits in 1974 has a Republican running statewide in New York won a general election without also being on the

Conservative ticket, Mr. McLaughlin noted.

Michael Long, the Conservative Party chairman, said, "Lazio is the only candidate asking us for our nomination."

Both the GOP and the Conservative Party, which draws up to 8 percent of the vote in statewide elections, will hold their state conventions in June, well before the state's September primary.

Mr. Long said pointedly, "We could give a boost to a candidate before the conventions by having a pre-convention convention." His party did exactly that in 1980 and succeeded in helping Alfonse M. D'Amato win the GOP nomination.

"If we had to make a decision tomorrow, based on the amount of work Lazio has done to earn our endorsement, he could get it," Mr. Long said.

Mr. Severin put it this way: "The question is whether New York primary voters would behave traditionally and go for a more conservative candidate, even a relative unknown like Lazio, when Rudy is for gun control, gay rights and abortion across the board."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton Talks Taxes, But Residency Issue Persists

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ELMIRA, N.Y., July 29 — Hillary Rodham Clinton came to this Republican patch of upstate New York today intent on embracing what Democrats see as a major issue in next year's Congressional elections: The Republican drive to put through the largest Federal tax cut since 1982. But she also found herself again discussing the question of whether someone who does not live in New York could represent it in the Senate.

The First Lady, on her third week of touring the state since she officially began exploring a Senate race, sought to frame her latest "listening forum" around the Republican tax bill being debated in Washington, which President Clinton has said he would veto.

"There is a debate going on in the Senate about a nearly \$1 trillion Republican tax cut that I believe would damage most New Yorkers," Mrs. Clinton said. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is likely to seek the Republican nomination for the Senate seat, declined today to say if he supports the proposal advanced by fellow Republicans in Washington, though he

has said he supports using some of the Federal surplus for a tax cut.

Even as Mrs. Clinton sought to turn the topic to Republican fiscal policy with what were her most partisan remarks since she began this tour, she twice found herself answering questions from Elmira residents about her interest in representing a state where she has never lived.

Both of the residents were cordial, and afterward, both said they were impressed by her answers. Nonetheless, their questions, coming after the First Lady has spent a fair amount of time in the state — and in a week in which Mr. Giuliani traveled to Little Rock, Ark., where Mrs. Clinton used to live, to draw attention to the issue — suggest the task that Mrs. Clinton faces.

"If you become Senator from New York State," asked David Caton, a factory worker at the Hillard Corporation plant here, "would you work at getting a bill through that you have to be a resident for 'X' amount of time before you can run for office?"

"No, that would be a state decision," Mrs. Clinton responded instantly. "That's in the State Constitu-



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke yesterday with residents of Elmira, N.Y., inside Granny's Restaurant, where she ate her lunch.

tion and it's state law. So the people of New York would have to make whatever changes they would make through their State Legislature."

As Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Caton exchanged smiles and handshakes, she then called out with a grin: "But I like it the way it is."

The question came up again at the end of the forum, when Jim Davis, a registered Republican who is an ex-

ecutive with a natural gas company here, told Mrs. Clinton that he admired her work in Washington. "But why did you choose New York, and how are you going to overcome the carpetbagger question?" he asked.

"It's a very fair question," Mrs. Clinton said. She said that she and her husband had decided to live in New York before anyone raised the idea of her running for Senate.

Taking Hillary in stride

Though blown off the front pages by the orgy of Kennedy mania during the last 10 days, the race for Senate in New York will re-emerge in time to its rightful place — upstaging the struggling Gore campaign.

Don't believe the dire warnings about the carnivorous New York press slicing Hillary up. They will do no such thing. Except for a few pockets of sanity like the valiant New York Post, the New York media are firmly liberal and star-struck — just like the press everywhere else.

Nor should you take seriously warnings that Mrs. Clinton faces trouble from Jewish voters in New York, who are supposed to be fanatically pro-Israel and who will accordingly punish Mrs. Clinton for her support of a Palestinian state. To believe this is to misperceive the state of Jewish opinion about Israel.

It is poorly understood outside the Jewish world that things have changed quite dramatically during the past decade and a half. The days of solidarity between Jews of the Diaspora and those in Israel are over. Many of the Jews who lived through the Holocaust and saw the founding of the State of Israel as a spiritual, political and moral redemption are dying off. The younger generation is less attached to Jewish religious life and to Israel. Assimilation is thinning Jewish ranks rapidly in America. There are now more American Muslims than American Jews.

The fraying of the American Jewish community is matched by that in Israel itself. There, assimilation is obviously not the problem, but a deep crisis of identity has gripped the educated elites in Israel. The intellectual class in Israel is overwhelmingly leftist and — this will shock some readers — anti-Jewish. They view the religious community in Israel not with suspicion, but with a searing hatred that borders on violence.

The religious community in Israel is not entirely innocent. They are guilty of provocation themselves. But the point is this: The educated elites in Israel, the folks who control television, radio, and most newspapers and magazines, are losing their belief in the essential goodness of their own country. The analogy to American leftists is almost perfect. Israel's left wing is obsessed with the Palestinians the way America's left wing is obsessed with minorities. The left in Israel is not just pro-peace (as the American press often presents it) but believes that as between the claims of the PLO and Israel, the PLO is right.

Israel's left wing is obsessed with the Palestinians the way America's left wing is obsessed with minorities.

Israel's future is very murky at the moment. It is, in the words of one observer, "at war with itself." And that division has had ramifications in the United States and in New York, in particular.

A few weeks ago, Hillary Clinton was given a "humanitarian award" by Hadassah, the largest Jewish women's organization. There was a small protest by a group called Americans for a Safe Israel, but for the most part, members of Hadassah received Mrs. Clinton rapturously. There were no tough questions about her statement in favor of a Palestinian state. Nor did her support — in her pre-White House career — for the PLO ever come up.

Evan Gahr of the American Enterprise magazine broke the story about Mrs. Clinton's financial support, while head chairman of the New World Foundation in the late 1980s, for a series of ultra-leftist groups, including CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, a pro-communist group), the National Lawyers Guild (the legal arm of the American Communist Party) and Grassroots International, which funded two Palestinian groups, both affiliated with communist factions of the PLO. This, Mr. Gahr notes, was before Yasser Arafat renounced terrorism and shook hands with Yitzhak Rabin.

Jewish Americans can take all of this in stride because they are no longer the cheerleaders for Israeli security they once were. And with so many opinion leaders in Israel losing confidence in Israel's right to survive as a Jewish state, their confusion is understandable.

There is still a majority among ordinary Israelis for peace with security — a majority that is not disoriented by the propaganda of Israeli leftists. But for many New York Jews, themselves more liberal than Jewish, Mrs. Clinton's pro-Palestinian past will not hurt her — it may even help.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WASHINGTON POST

It's a Grand Old Flap in New York

Democrats Blast Giuliani for Flying Arkansas Flag Over City Hall

By LYNNE DUKE

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 28—The flag of the famous state of Arkansas, birthplace of the 42nd president of the United States, flew in all its red brilliance today over New York City Hall. It was, said Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a simple "act of reciprocity." Arkansas flew a New York flag when Giuliani visited there Tuesday, so Giuliani just wanted to do the same in return.

Yeah, right, New York Democrats say. Tell it to my dog.

Flapping like a banner of war, the Arkansas flag drew howls of protest from state and local Democrats. It was, they said, a misuse of mayoral power as well as a political swipe at first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton—she of Illinois and Arkansas—for being a non-New Yorker seeking to represent New York in the U.S. Senate. A seat, by the way, that Giuliani also has his sights set on.

A universe separates New York from Arkansas, and in highlighting that difference Giuliani seemed to be underscoring the issue that Clinton's supporters must contend with most: that she is perceived as a carpetbagger come to New York, a foreigner with a big name but with no personal roots in the state.

Neither Giuliani nor Clinton is a declared candidate. The election is about 16 months away. But already, this race to replace the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) threatens to be New York political theater of the highest order. Polls show Giuliani leading Clinton by 5 to 10 percentage points.

Clinton established an exploratory committee earlier this month to raise money for a Senate bid. Then she launched a series of "listening tours," mostly of upstate and suburban towns, to get to know New Yorkers' concerns and show her empathy.

So unprecedented and high profile has this unofficial campaign become that every step, misstep, even nonstep along the way has received thorough news coverage. The New York Observer, a highbrow weekly, noted that Clinton, during one of her "listening events," seemed to feel the pain of her guests so keenly that she nodded like an automaton, 43 nods in one minute, and "inadvertently hypnotized an audience with her head."

Today, Clinton's operation took it on the chin as stoically as it has since she began her New York effort. Rather than get involved in the flag flap, said Howard Wolfson, her exploratory press secretary, "Hillary Clinton is going to continue to talk to New Yorkers and focus on the issues."

The whole flag-flying flap stems from a joke Giuliani made several weeks ago about Clinton's potential Senate run. Maybe, he said then, he ought to seek public office in Arkansas, a state where he has as few roots as Clinton in New York, meaning virtually none. That was a tongue-in-cheek threat. But from it grew the idea of traveling to Arkansas to raise money. Then, while he was in Little Rock on Tuesday mocking Clinton's exploratory campaign, his people back in New York City ran the Razorback state flag up the



Arkansas flag flies over New York City Hall in what Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani called "act of reciprocity."

pole at City Hall.

"I've never lived here, I've never worked here, I've never gone to school here, it's the first time I've been here. I guess it would be cool to run for the Senate," Giuliani reportedly said in Little Rock.

New York Democrats slammed his "joke" trip to Arkansas and said it raised questions about whether, in the Senate, he would support New York's interests or the interests of a broader "right-wing" agenda. Giuliani, who supports abortion rights and gay rights, is a more moderate Republican than Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee. But Huckabee said they have more in common than in opposition.

At the White House, spokesman Joe Lockhart said President Clinton was "probably as bemused as most everybody else here" about Giuliani's visit to Little Rock.

Back home in New York, where his abrasive style has earned him a plethora of political enemies, the flag flap raised hackles. Peter Vallone, the Democratic speaker of the New York City Council, wrote to Giuliani this morning with the "clear consensus" of council members. "We hereby respectfully order you to remove the state flag of Arkansas from the flagpole on City Hall," Vallone wrote to Giuliani.

The mayor's office responded in a letter that the city code "does not empower the City Council to direct the mayor to forbear from flying the flag without the passage of a local law." Samantha Lugo, a Giuliani spokeswoman, said the flag would come down at the close of business today, after being up for nearly two days—the same amount of time New York's flag flew in Arkansas. Though state Republicans are likely to see a bruising Senate primary battle between Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio, at least for now the statewide party was amused at the flag-flapping antics. Dan Allen, party spokesman, wondered how Democrats could be so annoyed that a flag from Arkansas was flying here when Arkansas' most famous former first lady is their preferred candidate for Senate.

"They seem," he said, "to be talking out of both sides of their mouth."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Clinton outlines

Mideast views in separate speeches to Jewish groups

By Matthew Dorf

WASHINGTON, July 28 (JTA) — As Hillary Rodham Clinton proceeds with her all-but-certain bid for the Senate, the first lady is continuing to distance herself from controversial statements supporting Palestinian statehood.

In back-to-back speeches to Jewish groups on Tuesday, Clinton, who had drawn fire from any in the Jewish community, sought to stake out pro-Israel positions. She reiterated her support for Jerusalem as Israel's "eternal and indivisible capital" and announced her opposition to "any unilateral action that circumvents the negotiating table."

In her most extensive remarks on the Middle East since she began campaigning for a Senate seat from New York, Clinton spoke here to the annual convention of Hadassah and the National Jewish Democratic Council.

Together she spent about five hours at the two events, addressing nearly 3,000 Jewish activists.

To a muted chant of "Run, Hillary, Run," the first lady took the podium at NJDC's annual Hubert H. Humphrey awards event.

The United States must continue to support Israel as the Jewish state takes risks for peace, Clinton said.

Pledging continued support for the peace process, Clinton said, "We can never give up" until Israel is "safe, secure and at peace."

Expanding on her views in a 40-minute speech warmly received by some 2,100 Hadassah

activists crammed into a hotel ballroom, Clinton listened as Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, in a videotaped message, offered his "sincere congratulations to the first lady on the Henrietta Szold award," which she received from the women's Zionist movement in recognition of her humanitarian work for children.

Hadassah had drawn protests from a small-but-vocal group of hard-line activists opposed to the award for the first lady because of her remarks last year that it would be in the long-term interest of the Middle East for Palestine to be a state.

The award presented to Clinton detailed much of the first lady's work on behalf of children, women and the underprivileged, but did not mention Israel or the Middle East.

But from the podium, the Israeli soldier whose jeep intercepted a suicide bomber trying to ram a busload of Israeli children on Oct. 29, 1998, hailed Clinton for her support for Middle East peace as he presented her with a silver dove.

"Your efforts for peace in the Middle East are appreciated by those of us whose lives are at stake," he said.

In a speech heavy on Democratic themes -- pro-choice, opposition to a tax cut, support for Medicare -- Clinton poked fun at herself for media reports that she speaks to former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who was the first recipient of the award named 50 years ago for Hadassah's founder.

"I did not think I could give a speech tonight without talking it over with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Szold," Clinton said, drawing laughter and applause from the delegates.

She turned serious when talking about

Jerusalem.

“Just as Jerusalem is home to your hospital, we all look forward to the day Jerusalem will be home to the embassy of the United States and all other embassies,” she said.

Last month Clinton publicly adopted Israel's position that Jerusalem is its “eternal and indivisible” capital and expressed support for eventually moving the embassy.

While short on specifics, Clinton called on Congress to “make good on the promises the president made” during the Wye River accords last fall, to provide more than \$2 billion in U.S. aid to Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians.

“The people of Israel have lived for too long with bombs, they have lived with the awful fear that their children will not come home from school alive,” she said, vowing to “do everything in our power to facilitate, not dictate, the peace process.”

TISH DURKIN

'43 Nods in One Minute': Hillary Still Listening

Of all the television images that involved the use of government aircraft and the awful search for John F. Kennedy Jr. and his wife and sister-in-law, the one that showed the Presidential helicopter landing on the South Lawn of the White House, carrying the Clinton family home from Camp David on Sunday, July 18, was hardly the most arresting. But for those who have been watching Hillary Rodham Clinton, it was the most interesting. After the first family disembarked, President Clinton took the podium to make a short, somber statement about the tragedy, and the First Lady went inside with her daughter. She did not make a statement of her own. She did not stand behind her husband and nod in sad solidarity with his tribute to a family to whom she has, by all accounts, come to feel genuinely close. In other words, she did not lay herself vulnerable to the charge, or even to the potentially troublesome sense, that she was using the tragedy to associate herself with New York.

"I think that's totally ludicrous," said a former Clinton Administration official of the notion that the First Lady's self-removal from the frame may have been calculated. But the fact that political types readily had that notion marked this as the kind of delicate moment that regularly falls into the path of any First Lady and any candidate—and that will no doubt gravel the campaign trail of the First Lady who is a candidate. Played soundly, such moments go unremarked. Played poorly, they cause hell to break loose—or, worse, to unravel, on videotape, at the mischievous leisure of one's opponents. In the second of what will be the many, many weeks of her Listening Tour—advisers are threatening that it will extend far into the fall—Mrs. Clinton took a load of bad press for a presumption that a victim of gun violence had been a victim of murder. This suggested that running for a Senate seat from the White House is an endeavor of considerable perils. Then again, in the same week, she flashed a \$25 million fund-raising goal at which no one seems to have balked, and graciously helped to host the Prime Minister of the foreign country most relevant to New York politics.

Hell did not break loose at the Southside Middle School in Rockville Centre, L.I., on the morning of July 14, when the First Lady, in the course of a "listening session" co-hosted by Representative Carolyn McCarthy, mistakenly declared the death of a young man in the audience. "You've really spent a lot of time in the years since your son's murder..." she observed to Alice McEnaney, who had just related the story

of how her son, Jason, had been shot during a hostage crisis at the State University at Albany. "Oh, no, my son's alive," replied Ms. McEnaney, pointing out the strapping Jason in the front row. Mrs. Clinton blushed. The audience tittered. The press took note, but hell did not materialize until later, when news reports folded the gaffe into the fact that the Marist Institute for Public Opinion had just released a poll showing that the First Listener had dropped some six points behind Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Hillary, blared page 1 of the next day's *New York Post*, "Your Slip Is Showing!"

The gaffe was, as it actually occurred, a moment that passed. But many utterly news-free hours later, as deadlines approached, it had become the moment that mattered; a piece of anecdotal ore to be mined for evidence of some larger theme of Clintonian ignorance or arrogance. But whether or not the incident was any such thing, the magnification of it was a sign of just how tricky a proposition it is to try to make history without making news. If a workaday, Chuck Schumer kind of candidate had made such an error at such a distance from Election Day, there would have been few, if any, reporters on hand to notice. But it was a world-famous, avenging-Cinderella kind of candidate who made the error, and who made it before a wall of reporters whose day had been dedicated to following the First Lady to two engagements at which nothing occurred.

Inevitably by late afternoon, the morning's slip-up had become the journalism equivalent of three stale Cheez-its floating around in the bottom of a famished person's bag: something to be tossed out if there is anything else to eat, but to be gob-

If the First Lady ended July 14 with her slip showing, she started July 15 with an organizational meeting at Skadden Arps that underscored why her supporters believe that she can show her whole damn petticoat and it won't matter. There may be more than 25 million reasons why comparisons between the celebrity candidacy of Geraldine Ferraro and that of Mrs. Clinton don't hold up, but the 25 million most important are all green.

Then, over the weekend, Mrs. Clinton found herself between brushes with controversy over her views on the Middle East. A few weeks before, she had purposely stuck her big toe into the hot water of that controversy, by releasing the letter to Mandell Ganchrow, president of the Orthodox Union, in which she declared Jerusalem the "eternal and indivisible capital of Israel" at variance with official American policy and, in some world-views, with her own previous call for a Pales-



"I am a candidate—wait, no, I'm First Lady! No, wait, I'm a candidate...": Hillary Clinton, about to peel away from her husband as he prepares to address the nation about the loss of John F. Kennedy Jr.

tinian state. A few weeks later, she was due for another dip, when she accepted the Henrietta Szold Award from Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America. But if the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak suggested anything in terms of the New York Senate race, it was the possibility that her Palestinian-state, Jerusalem-capital shuffle, although it will certainly be used against her in the Senate race, may not be

**The First Lady must get a real charge out of trying
out her campaign posturings on the people
who are, like, running the world.**

bled greedily if there is not. And that day, there was not: "43 nods in one minute" one reporter passed in a note to another, as the First Lady, who had developed an almost Rain Man tendency to rock affirmatively in her chair as people told their stories, inadvertently hypnotized an audience with her head.

used to the devastating effect that her opponents would like.

In the first place, the First Lady's infamous letter was so void of impact on anything the United States might actually do, that national security adviser Samuel (Sandy) Berger seems not to have cared that she sent it. "She did have a conversation with

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PRESERVATION

Sandy prior to writing the letter during which he reviewed with her U.S. Government policy on the issue," said national security spokesman P.J. Crowley. U.S. Government policy is proceeding just the same as before the postal input of the First Lady—who must, incidentally, get a real charge out of trying out her campaign posturings on the people who are, like, running the world.

Moreover, it was a function of events in the Middle East that the guest list for the July 18 White House dinner in honor of Mr. Barak featured many Arab names, and perhaps an unusually large proportion of representatives from the somewhat left-of-center American Jewish organizations that have long been supportive of the peace process. "It is almost inconceivable that a Palestinian state will not exist by the November 2000 election," said M.J. Rosenberg, director of policy analysis at the Israel Policy Forum. "Barak accepts it, and Ariel Sharon says it's inevitable."

Of course, the more hawkish entities were also a strong presence at the dinner, as they remain in domestic politics, and if you think our Hillary has any intention of giving up on them, you've got another think coming. Even if the contingent of more conservative New York Jewish leaders at the dinner would have been invited, anyway, there is plenty of solicitude to be sensed elsewhere. Recently, Mrs. Clinton met privately with Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. And late last month, she just happened to pop in to say hello to the delegation

of the Orthodox umbrella organization, Agudath Israel, then visiting Washington.

"They're cultivating Giuliani's Jews," said a source close to the process. "You can say, 'I'm supporting Giuliani because Hillary is an anti-Semitic witch,' or 'I'm supporting Giuliani because he's been a good mayor, but Hillary is good on Jewish issues also.' That's what they want."

And, it is worth noting, the First Lady's letter may have allowed her to get some points in the Jewish community without losing too many with the Arabs. "I'm not going to support Rudy Giuliani, I'm not going to support Rick Lazio, I'm not going to support Peter King," said James Zogby, president of the Arab-American Institute, perhaps the single loudest voice of umbrage over the First Lady's letter to Dr. Ganchrow. "I'm supporting her." Mr. Zogby attended the Barak dinner, but then, as a Washington person with a long-term interest in the region, he has been at such functions before. State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and Attorney General Eliot Spitzer were present for less readily obvious reasons, but we'll no doubt come up with a few eventually.

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Hill's N.Y. trip to end on a posh note

By Gregg Birnbaum in Albany & Adam Miller in New York

Hillary Rodham Clinton will spend part of her New York summer vacation holed up behind the gates of a private mansion — out of reach of the upstaters she's trying to win over with her "listening tour."

She and President Clinton yesterday revealed they'll conclude their holiday at real-estate developer Thomas McDonald's posh lakefront home in upstate Skaneateles — after spending time on Martha's Vineyard and in East Hampton.

Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson slammed the first lady for not spending her entire vacation in the Empire State.

Nicholson joked that "Woodstock vandals" — referring to rioters at the weekend concert upstate — spent more time in the state than Mrs. Clinton will on her vacation in Skaneateles.

"Four days in the Finger Lakes?" asked Nicholson.

"The Woodstock vandals spent more time on vacation in New York than Hillary Rodham Clinton — and she wants to represent the Empire State in the Senate."

The First Couple and daughter Chelsea will be in the bucolic resort town of

7,526 — 20 miles southwest of Syracuse, from Aug. 30 to Sept. 3.

McDonald's breathtaking 8,200-square-foot mansion — complete with six bedrooms, guest house, two-story boathouse, pool, Jacuzzi, gazebo and tennis and basketball courts — sits on 4½ manicured acres and overlooks the sparkling, 16-mile long Skaneateles Lake.

McDonald, a longtime supporter of the Democratic Party and crony of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who's retiring at the end of his term. Mrs. Clinton is eyeing a run for that

seat.

Skaneateles Mayor Don Price said his town is all abuzz with talk of the first family's expected vacation there.

"Everyone in town is talking about them," said Price. "We're certainly looking forward to their visit. We know they'll have a great time," he added.

But not everybody in Skaneateles is putting out the welcome mat for the Clintons.

Tim Richards, 49, a plumber, said the hill with the first lady.

"She's a carpetbagger. She doesn't know anything about the state and we don't want her running for



HILLARY CLINTON
Private mansion.

the Senate, so let her vacation somewhere else," said Richards.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marcia Berry, refused to comment on the Clinton's Skaneateles itinerary, saying, "They're just going on vacation."

Giuliani's Southern Strategy At the Clintons' Former Home

Continued From Page A1

origins in an offhand response several weeks ago by Mr. Giuliani to Mrs. Clinton's "listening tour" in New York — was the latest odd spectacle in the nascent Senate campaign. The unofficial race has already seen the First Lady traipsing around upstate New York discussing the problems of dairy farmers, and today it featured the Brooklyn-born Mr. Giuliani cheered on by Arkansas Republicans whose Deep South conservatism is far from his more moderate stances.

"This is a very, very good opportunity for me to learn more about the rest of the country, to learn more about Arkansas, to learn more about the things that unite Republicans," Mr. Giuliani said.

But while the two-day trip was billed as a fund-raising tour of the South, Mr. Giuliani's six hours in Little Rock today seemed more like a traveling circus, or at least a chaotic movie shoot. Local camera crews shot footage of out-of-town camera crews. Out-of-town reporters interviewed local reporters.

At the Governor's Mansion, as reporters and aides endured the 91-degree heat, waiters served lemonade and chocolate cookies under a magnolia tree. And just outside the iron gates — near a bust of a smiling former Gov. Bill Clinton — a group of women who called themselves "The Vast Right Wing Conspiracy" waved signs shaped like hogs reading, "Razorbacks for Rudy."

"We are so tired of Bill and Hilla-

ry's scandals and we think Rudy has done a good job," said Jamie Simmons, who said she and the other sign-wavers had traveled from Memphis to catch a glimpse of Mr. Giuliani. "We are probably more conservative than he is, but if it's between him and her, he is the man for the job."

Mr. Huckabee eagerly played his part, saying he was "extremely thrilled" to have Mr. Giuliani as a guest and plying him with gifts, including an "Arkansas Traveler" certificate that he said designated the Mayor as an official resident of the state.

After touring the public rooms of the Governor's Mansion, Mr. Giuliani proceeded to a fund-raising lunch at the Capital Hotel, where 62 people paid \$500 each for filet mignon and a 15-minute speech in which the Mayor boasted of his success as a Republican in a largely Democratic city.

The lunch raised about \$40,000 for Mr. Giuliani's political committee, and his aides predicted that he would pull in at least \$90,000 more at fund-raising events in New Orleans tonight and in Alabama on Wednesday.

Asked about Mr. Giuliani's trip, Howard Wolfson, the spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's campaign exploratory committee, said only, "Instead of playing politics, Hillary Clinton is listening to New Yorkers and focusing on the issues."

But despite the interest of reporters and politicians, many people here seemed indifferent to Mayor Giuliani's six-hour visit. Callers to the morning talk shows were more interested in debating whether a portion



A group showed support for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani at the Arkansas Governor's Mansion yesterday.

of a downtown street should be named for President Clinton. Shopkeepers and cabdrivers said they barely knew who Mr. Giuliani was.

Even some of the people who had written checks to his political committee said they knew him only as the former prosecutor who had cleaned up New York City. "He's gone about things in a proper manner," said Roger Crowe Gravis, a rice and soybean farmer who came to the lunch in a seersucker suit. "I think he'd be a credit to the country."

Woody Freeman, who owns a software manufacturing company in Jonesboro, 90 minutes from Little Rock, said that while Hillary Clinton

was "really a nice lady," he preferred Mr. Giuliani's politics. "I know his beliefs are just like ours and he is really a pretty neat guy," Mr. Freeman said as he emerged beaming from the lunch with his wife, Lynda. "What he's done for New York City, he could do for the nation."

After somberly describing his efforts to cut crime and reduce the welfare rolls and insisting to the audience that "I haven't really thought about Hillary much," Mr. Giuliani sped off to play a round of golf with Lieut. Gov. Winthrop P. Rockefeller.

Back in New York City, mayoral aides wasted little time in hoisting

the Arkansas flag like a battle pennant over City Hall, leaving Democratic lawmakers none too pleased.

"This is politics pushing government a bit too far," said Peter F. Vallone, the City Council Speaker and a Democrat. Told about Mr. Vallone's reaction, Mr. Giuliani laughed as if it were the best joke he had heard all day. He defended his decision to fly the Arkansas flag as "an act of reciprocity," because the Capital Hotel, where his fund-raising lunch took place, flew the New York City flag today.

"Only in the sort of weird world of New York politics would anybody criticize that," Mr. Giuliani said.

Editorials

Chicago Tribune, Friday, July 9, 1999 Section 1 22

Hillary's breaking the mold again

Ever since Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign, there has been a running joke—particularly among women—that the wrong Clinton was running for office. It looks like that's no longer the case.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who formed a campaign exploratory committee this week, will almost certainly be the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York. And while her carpetbagger status (she's never lived in the state) is a legitimate issue, it's a sure bet nobody's asking "Hillary Who?"

Her celebrity, of course, comes from her role as first lady. But there's more to it than that. Rosalynn Carter was first lady. So were Barbara Bush and Betty Ford. Hillary Clinton, to her abiding credit, is different, and she brought that difference to the White House. She's not your mother's first lady.

She may not be the first president's wife to be smarter than the president, but she's the first one with the credentials to prove it. She's been breaking ground all her life, and the campaign she has kicked off in New York proves that she's not done yet.

Critics—and there have been plenty—said it was those very attributes and accomplishments that made her so uppity. Could be.

She took a lot of heat for her 1993 national health

care debacle. It was called "managed competition"—and these days it's not looking so bad, after all.

And then there was her book, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child," about the role of community in the lives of children and adolescents. What a hoot, right? Turns out she was just ahead of the curve.

She's made plenty of mistakes, too. If you can't quite remember them all, just wait. That's the sort of thing this New York Senate race is just tailored to bring up.

But like her or not, Clinton has proved that the first lady can be more than a White House ornament. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom she admires, played a significant role on the national and international stage in her day, but a policy wonk she wasn't.

In the harrowing last couple of years, even Hillary Clinton's detractors have given her credit for the strength and dignity with which she handled a most personal and public crisis, the Monica Lewinsky affair. Sure, some said she should have walked out on her philandering husband. But she knew what she was doing—for her family and for her future.

In New York, she's not a "Stand by Your Man" woman anymore. She has a new theme song: "It's My Turn."

N.Y. SENATE RACE: Rep. Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., said he will seek the state's open Senate seat next year, setting up a likely primary with New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is expected to be the Democratic candidate. A *New York Post*

poll Sunday had Giuliani ahead of Lazio 64% to 16% among GOP voters. Republican leaders had been hoping to avoid a divisive primary, but Lazio said he will formally announce his candidacy Aug. 17.

CLINTON VACATION: The president's and first lady's plans to spend most of their summer vacation on Martha's Vineyard, Mass., rather than in New York were apparently motivated in part by concerns that a New York vacation would look like a blatant political move. The Clintons had been thinking about spending their entire vacation in New York, where Hillary Rodham Clinton is exploring a U.S. Senate run. But the couple decided to return to Martha's Vineyard, where they have vacationed on four previous occasions. They'll arrive about Aug. 17 and stay until Aug. 27, then head to East Hampton, N.Y., for a Democratic National Committee weekend Aug. 28-29.

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3 agendas try to peacefully coexist

Clinton's wife and vice president have campaigns to worry about

Susan Page
A TODAY

WASHINGTON — Al Gore is running for president. Hillary Rodham Clinton is running for the Senate. Bill Clinton is running for a place in history. The White House is a crowded place these days. After several years of solidarity, the nation's three most famous Democrats now find that their divergent ambitions mean they occasionally are bumping into one another — and at times going away.

Hillary Clinton has staked out positions on issues from the least to dairy prices that conflict with her husband's official policies and put her more in line with New York voters. In an all-but-declared campaign in a liberal state, she's more likely to sound traditional Democratic themes than the strict "new Democrat" philosophy her husband espouses.

Vice President Gore has veered both right and left of President Clinton, reflecting in his need to first win the Democratic primaries and then face a Republican foe. He has embraced affirmative action and gun control, two polar causes, more wholeheartedly than the president. He has endorsed the use of federal funds to deliver more federal social services; the Justice Department led a GOP version of that unconstitutional.

Gore is limiting joint appearances with the president because, by definition, they cast him in the role of second banana. And when Hillary Clinton announced the formation of a campaign exploratory committee, her husband just happened to be halfway across country on a trip of his own. That's the way democracy works," Clinton told reporters last week, shrugging off a question about whether his wife's comments on the Mideast compromise his ability to act as an honest broker.

It's inevitable. It's natural," Democratic National Chair-

man Roy Romer says. "When you are a vice president running for president, you're going to run on your own program."

The same is true for Hillary Clinton, he says. "They're in different jurisdictions," Romer says of the two Clintons. "All of us who are married know it is not an unnatural thing to have differing opinions."

Still, all this marks a significant change from just months ago.

Since the 1992 campaign, this trio has taken pains to submerge any policy differences, with the president acting as final arbiter for the administration. Now that monolith is being chipped into three increasingly distinct figures, and Clinton is no longer the deciding voice for the others.

"With Gore, it's absolutely crucial to persuade people that voting for Al Gore is not Bill Clinton's third term," says consultant Dick Morris, a strategist in several of Clinton's Arkansas campaigns and, for a time, the 1996 Clinton-Gore campaign.

For Hillary Clinton, "by separating herself from the president, she proves she has her own mind and she's not wed to Washington," says Hank Sheinkopf, a veteran New York Democratic strategist. "Her problem is to prove she's really wed to New York."

She is, of course, also wed to Bill Clinton. But the president now seems more like an anxious father, alternately proud and alarmed as his two political heirs strike out on their own.

In public, Clinton has been supportive of both, dismissing the notion that he has bristled at Gore's attempts to distance himself — most notably his criticism of Clinton's personal behavior in the Monica Lewinsky affair as "inexcusable."

But in private, several associates who talk with Clinton say, he has expressed ire at Gore's comments on his personal behavior and dismay at the vice president's difficulty in connecting with voters.

Clinton's political partners going out

As they launch their own political campaigns, for the presidency and a U.S. Senate seat for Gore and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton have begun expressing some views at odds with



By Tim Sloss, Agence France-Presse

At the White House: President Clinton and Vice President Gore greet the U.S. Women's World Cup championship soccer team.

Issue	Bill Clinton	Al Gore
Gun control	Endorses the idea of national registration, but questions whether it's politically realistic.	Would require states to issue photo IDs to those purchasing firearms, which would create a national registry.
Federal funding to religious institutions for social services	The Clinton administration has opposed the idea, which was included by Republicans in 1996 and 1998 bills.	Supports using religious institutions to deliver more federally funded social services.
Affirmative action	After extended White House deliberations, took a middle position on such programs by concluding the nation should 'mend it, not end it.'	Defends affirmative action programs in college admissions, government employment and contracting as a 'fight for fundamental fairness.'



In Aspen, Colo.: President Clinton and Vice President Gore discuss the deal

Issue	Bill Clinton
Dairy prices	Has proposed a market-based system to set minimum prices to dairy farmers, but says that setting a floor on prices is not setting a ceiling on concern that unfairly raises consumers.
Middle East	Says the settlement is the best possible, though he acknowledges that the capital status of Jerusalem is still being negotiated.
Medicare	Would cut five years in teaching hospitals of an over \$100 billion Medicare's

necting with voters.

These associates say they've heard few presidential gripes about Hillary Clinton.

"Gore yes, Hillary no," Morris speculates. Why? "He owes Hillary one, and he feels Gore owes him more."

Of course, the three still describe one another as close friends, and they are inextricably linked in the public eye. Hillary Clinton says her husband will campaign for her in New York, and next week Clinton will headline the first of five fund-raisers for Gore.

There are times that the White House gives them good reason to be together.

When Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak arrived in Washington this month for a dinner at Camp David, the presidential retreat, Israeli officials said the timing was arranged to accommodate the competing schedules of both Clintons.

Gore and his wife, Tipper, hosted a lunch at their residence for Barak and his wife.

The new Israeli leader's visit raised Clinton's hopes of reviving the peace process as well as

the hopes of Hillary Clinton of solidifying the link with Jewish voters.

Both Clintons and Gore were on hand to greet White House visitors: a link to another key constituency: soccer moms. They were the World Cup U.S. women's soccer team.

Tactics and timing

The most difficult this year are less likely to involve around policy tactics and timing.

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Peacefully coexist at White House

Clinton's political partners going out on their own

Each on their own political campaigns, for the presidency and a U.S. Senate seat from New York, respectively, Vice President Al Gore and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton have begun expressing some views at odds with President Clinton's. Some early examples:



By Tim Sloan, Agence France-Presse

White House: President Clinton and Vice President Gore with the U.S. Women's World Cup championship soccer team.



By Susan Walsh, AP

In Aspen, Colo.: President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton discuss the death of King Hassan II of Morocco.

Bill Clinton	Al Gore
Endorses the idea of national registration, but questions whether it's politically realistic.	Would require states to issue photo IDs to those purchasing firearms, which would create a national registry.
The Clinton administration has opposed the idea, which was included by Republicans in 1996 and 1998 bills.	Supports using religious institutions to deliver more federally funded social services.
After extended White House deliberations, took a middle position on such programs by concluding the nation should 'mend it, not end it.'	Defends affirmative action programs in college admissions, government employment and contracting as a 'fight for fundamental fairness.'

Issue	Bill Clinton	Hillary Clinton
Dairy prices	Has proposed a more market-based system of setting minimum prices paid to dairy farmers. Administration is neutral on price-setting compacts, but has concern that they could unfairly raise costs for consumers.	Supports asking Congress to add New York to the Northeast Dairy Compact, which sets minimum prices paid to dairy farmers in New England.
Middle East	Says the status of Jerusalem as the Israelis' and, possibly, the Palestinians' capital should be settled by negotiations between them.	Endorses Israeli view that U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which she calls the 'eternal and indivisible' capital of Israel.
Medicare	Would cut \$5 billion over five years in funding for teaching hospitals as part of an overall plan to extend Medicare's solvency.	Expresses concern the step might unfairly hurt teaching hospitals, many of which are in New York.

Republicans. Reaching a bipartisan accord would mute Democrats' ability to campaign on those issues, they warn.

There are other potential collisions ahead.

Money, for instance. Many of the same deep-pocketed Democrats will be tapped for contributions to Gore's presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign and Clinton's presidential library.

And attention. The vice president's aides complained to their Clinton counterparts when the president unveiled his Medicare plan on the same day Gore was delivering a major campaign address. Gore's remarks were overshadowed.

The next time Gore delivered a big policy address — on crime and gun control — the White House agreed to try to avoid competing news events. Clinton didn't hold any public events that day.

Aides from the three White House offices already meet weekly to coordinate schedules and discuss, for instance, who will announce a new policy. Gore unveiled a White House report on AIDS in Africa last week; Hillary Clinton will chair a summit that follows in September.

"For the last 6½ years, we've been very effective coordinating the president and vice president and first lady's activities," says Doug Sosnick, one of Clinton's most senior aides. "But with the changes — with the vice president running for president and the first lady possibly running for the Senate — it's going to get more difficult, and we'll have to put more time and energy into keeping things on track."

In short order, aides predict, attention will fade from the question of Clinton vs. Gore or Clinton vs. Clinton. Instead, the candidates will be scrutinized for their differences with their real competitors: Gore and former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley, his rival in Democratic primaries, then perhaps Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush in the general election. The New York race is expected to be Clinton vs. New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

Now that, they say, will be a clash.

voters. Associates say they've presidential gripes with Clinton. "Hillary no," Mors. Why? "He owes and he feels Gore ore." the three still de-another as close they are inextrica-the public eye. Hil-says her husband gn for her in New next week Clinton e the first of five

There are times that the White House gives them good reason to be together. When Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak arrived in Washington this month for a dinner at Camp David, the presidential retreat, Israeli officials said the timing was arranged to accommodate the competing schedules of both Clintons. Gore and his wife, Tipper, hosted a lunch at their residence for Barak and his wife. The new Israeli leader's visit raised Clinton's hopes of reviv-

the hopes of Hillary Clinton and Gore of solidifying their standing with Jewish voters. Both Clintons and both Gores were on hand to greet a group of White House visitors seen as a link to another key constituency: soccer moms. The guests were the World Cup-winning U.S. women's soccer team. **Tactics and timing** The most difficult conflicts this year are less likely to revolve around policy than tac-

Clinton is keen on striking a deal this fall with the Republican-controlled Congress that wraps up compromises on Social Security, Medicare, tax cuts and domestic spending. His advisers say that would burnish his presidential legacy and prove his continued effectiveness even after impeachment. But strategists close to Gore and House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt note that Medicare and Social Security are, with the environment, the issues on which the party has the

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Shameless Hillary makes the most of tragedy

JOHN KENNEDY Jr. would be disappointed.

The president's son, who founded the magazine *George*, enjoyed the spectacle of politics, the entertainment value inherent in public life. But he knew the difference between public and private — particularly when it came to grief.

That's why today's St. Thomas More Church memorial, although held in Kennedy's name, bears little resemblance to his beautiful manners and generous spirit.

The young man's body was barely released from the unforgiving Atlantic before the jockeying began in earnest for a coveted seat.

It was intended as a quiet ceremony, close family and cherished friends summoned to the small church where Jackie prayed.

That did not stop President and

**ANDREA
PEYSER**



Mrs. Clinton from requesting seats. They were not refused.

Inevitably, the service turned from a private function to a political circus that threatens to overshadow the remembrance of John and Carolyn.

With Hillary Clinton shooting to the head of the guest list, the major headache became: What to do about Hillary's nemesis, Rudy Giuliani?

Giuliani, who knew John Kennedy and his mother, is not invited.

There are some very sound political reasons for Mrs. Clinton,

Senate candidate, to exploit her attendance at this event. An outsider who's taken great pains to make herself part of New York's scenery, Hillary can count on being seen attending the ultra-exclusive Mass for a man considered the emblematic citizen of New York City.

Meanwhile, her rival, the mayor, who is as closely associated with New York as the hot salted pretzel, is left out.

Score one for the Hill.

Giuliani was invited to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis' private funeral back in 1994. Neither Clinton attended.

It was Jackie who took pains to introduce John Jr., to prosecutor Rudy years ago, before the young man decided on law school.

The mayor would not comment on his lack of an invitation yesterday. When pressed by a reporter, he said, "You really don't

want to make a political issue out of [an invitation] unless you have no decency at all."

Lack of decency is hardly uncommon in the quest for space at the Kennedy Mass.

Someone claiming to be a representative of CBS news anchor Dan Rather made calls to connected citizens around town yesterday, trying to score an invitation.

A CBS spokeswoman said the newsman "is not invited. He is not looking for a seat."

Amid all the backstage jockeying for position, friends of the Kennedy family are busy squabbling with one another. Those who have spoken to the media, however gushingly, are being frozen out and cut off.

The odd thing about all this resentment is that it does not reflect the way John operated. He would never diss a friend, or blow

off a stranger.

When he gave parties for his magazine, you could count on John to invite people from every political and social arena — Larry Flynt and Al Sharpton, Al D'Amato and Donald Trump. And, of course, scores of people you've probably never heard of. Colleagues and acquaintances. People he liked.

But when he wanted privacy, John Kennedy knew how to blend into the background.

Now that he's gone, the formula by which he lived, the careful balance of public and private, seems lost forever.

It is shameful that John's final tribute has devolved into an event in which to be seen.

His mother wouldn't have it. He would have detested it.

If John Kennedy were running this show, he might have canceled it altogether.

Hillary makes debut as candidate

The Los Angeles Times

INDARS CORNERS, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton made Wednesday her beginning as a candidate rather than the candidate's wife, a first for a first lady. And she did it so with all the trappings of Clinton White House playbook. Indeed, the day no one ever thought would happen was happening. The wife of an impeached sitting president was all but running the Senate in a state she has never lived in, and she was talking about it on the edge of a hay field in Oneonta New York covered by 100 journalists looking like a madstock of the chattering class. There was a backdrop of gorgeous rolling hills, the smell of freshly cut hay, the blessing of the sun as she would succeed, and responses to questions she would answer. (When asked about Lewinsky and Monica Lewinsky, she calmly said the people of New York would decide, adding, "I think it's past that.")

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the senior senator from New York, led Clinton to his 900-acre farm in central upstate hamlet to inaugurate a summerlong so-called "listening tour" so she can later tell New Yorkers what she would do for them as senator.

Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth, set a 25-cent lemonade stand in her honor for the media mob and even tried to get a kite airborne before cameras started rolling. The kite wouldn't cooperate.

But as the new candidate and the senator ambled side by side down the country road, Clinton couldn't resist being asked for more. (What other politician has launched a didactic live on national TV?) The senator, who often remained aloof from the fray during 23 years in Washington, got right to the point: "I'm here to say I hope she will go the way. I'm here to go all the way with her."

Clinton smiled broadly and, talking ever so slowly, got down



Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton autographs a sign outside the U.S. Soccer Federation Hall of Fame during a campaign stop Wednesday in Oneonta, N.Y.

to the business of her rebirth by talking about who she is and what she hopes to be for New Yorkers: an advocate for education and health care.

"What is new to me is being on this side of the microphone," she said, "and talking for myself and talking on behalf of what I believe. And I'm looking forward to that."

This came after she acknowledged the obvious. "I suppose the question on everyone's mind is why the Senate, why New York and why me?"

Yesterday's events never quite answered the question; the best reply Clinton came up with was that she cares "deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I've already have been told about and that I'm hearing about."

A day earlier, Clinton officially established a campaign committee, which she calls an exploratory committee and allows her to raise and spend campaign money before she further declares herself.

This is how extraordinary a Senate race this is: The election is still

16 months away, long before most Senate candidates have even hired a press secretary, and in this race the leading Republican candidate New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, is traveling the state with a scowling posse of city police officers. But that's nothing compared to the grimacing Secret Service phalanx around the first lady — never mind the reporters or the protesters at every stop holding things like pieces of carpet in the shape of the state of Arkansas to highlight Clinton's outsider status.

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By The Los Angeles Times

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A 14 ★ SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1999

Hillary shouldn't pack her bags for New York just yet

HILLARY FROM/A13

was angry about a tardy attorney, but Machen said the door was open too wide, and struck a planter in the courtroom. Happens all the time, of course.

Another shattering incident occurred recently when Machen used his gavel with such force that the head flew off and broke a glass lamp shade on the bench. Fortunately, the next day was a court holiday and everything was back to normal with a new shade and gavel in place when court resumed.

Machen seems to be in dire need of some stress management. Dr. Whispers humbly suggests the judge consider and rule on the relative merits of meditation, scented bath crystals and a soothing cup of Celestial Seasonings tea.

SCARY REMINDER. Potential U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Clinton shouldn't count on that New York seat just yet, according to Republican pollster Frank Luntz.

The Washington Times reported last week a Luntz poll on a possible matchup between the first lady and New York Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani would be much closer than some experts are predicting.

Of 800 New Yorkers surveyed last month, 48 percent favored Giuliani in the Senate race while 44 percent supported Clinton. The numbers, which have a margin of error of 3.5 percent, did not add up to 100 percent because some respondents favored other candidates or were undecided.

Luntz noted there appeared to be a deep gender gap in the polling.

While women of both parties supported Clinton, most men said they'd back any other candidate rather than vote for the first lady.

"To older men, she reminds them of their first wife," Luntz said.

ALL WET. While Post-Gazette editor John Craig celebrated his appointment to a city panel on riverfront development last week, a wave of mistakes suddenly gripped One of America's Newspapers.

The P-G ran a Page 1 correction last week for a recent report on the unsolved 1989 killing of Swissvale businessman Robert Kart. The story misspelled the last name of Swissvale Police Chief James Ohrman.

Given the frequent drubbing that particular police department has experienced lately in the P-G, it's surprising such a mistake was made. Even more startling, however, was the misspelling of the murder victim's name in the front page correction.

Oops.

While these errors were occurring, Craig was busy basking over being named to Mayor Tom Murphy's Riverlife Task Force and further cementing the P-G's already cozy relationship with city hall.

Craig, by the way, should have plenty of time to devote to this committee if rampant rumors of his impending retirement turn out to be true.

Compiled by Tribune-Review staff

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

COMMENTARY

SUNDAY, JULY 18, 1999 ★ A 17

Another recipe from Hillary for Medicare?

By Greg Scandlen

With friends like Bill Clinton, Sen. John Breaux, a Louisiana Democrat, doesn't need enemies. For more than a year, an official commission chaired by Breaux has been looking for ways to move away from Medicare's baffling mix of funding streams, benefit structures, administration and patient cost-sharing. In its final report, the Breaux Commission proposed giving the private sector the opportunity to offer a variety of unified major medical plans. Mr. Clinton decided instead to back changes to Medicare that retain its Byzantine complexity while introducing more dependency, more taxes, fewer choices and very little help for those who really need it.

Take his proposal for prescription drugs. Even though two-thirds of those on Medicare already have prescription drug coverage, Clinton would create a new entitlement program for all elderly people. The government would pay for half of the first \$2,000 in prescription costs, but nothing — zero, nada, zilch — after that. All of which turns the notion of insurance on its head. People don't need coverage for the first few hundred dollars or so of expenses.

ON THEIR OWN

The purpose of having insurance coverage is to take care of expenses that are unusual, extraordinary, and beyond the average individual's ability to pay. But those are exactly the expenses Clinton's proposal fails to cover. A beneficiary would get help for up to \$2,000 worth of expenses. But after that, they're completely on their own. If an elderly person gets hit with \$5,000 or \$10,000 or \$20,000 worth of prescription drug expenses, Mr. Clinton's plan offers no help at all. Even worse, by introducing a government prescription drug benefit, he'll squeeze out the private sector plans that now cover two-thirds of senior citizens, plans that do cover the larger, catastrophic amounts.

Moreover, processing small claims of \$10, \$20 or \$30 through an insurance mechanism is extremely wasteful. The administrative costs of processing those small claims are as much or more than the costs of the claims themselves. Providing coverage for small amounts of routine drug prescriptions effectively doubles the cost of the drug and wastes everybody's time with paperwork requirements.

More broadly, Mr. Clinton has squandered an opportunity to simplify a Medicare program that is absolutely baroque in its complexity. Hardly anyone understands the difference between Part A and Part B Medicare, and now Clinton wants to add a separate Part D program. Each part would have its own funding mechanism, administration, and rules for co-payments, participation and deductibles.

On top of all that, a beneficiary will still have to go out and buy a Medigap policy to fill in all the gaps in the government program. So, to get decent Medicare coverage, beneficiaries have to have:

- Part A (for hospital care, no premium because it's funded through the payroll tax, \$800 deductible);

- Part B (for physician care, premium equal to 25 percent of program costs, the rest paid by taxpayers, \$100 deductible);

- Part D (for prescription drugs, a premium of \$288 for \$1,000 worth of benefits, no deductible);

- Medigap (pieces of all the above, premium paid either by employer or by the beneficiary, 10 different plan options);

- A lot of cash to pay for all the out-of-pocket costs not covered by the insurance plans.

REFUSED TO CONSIDER

The Breaux Commission's recommendations, while far from perfect, would diminish such complexity, not add to it. But the president refused even to consider their recommendations. He claimed to disagree with the commission about their estimates of future cost savings, but such excuses ring hollow. Given his druthers, Mr. Clinton invariably favors programs that increase government involvement in social programs, not diminish it. The pattern has been clear from the earliest days of the administration, and his approach varies only when it runs up against stiff opposition.

So now we're being offered a pile of half-baked ideas cooked up behind closed doors by yet another secret Clinton health care task force. If Hillary weren't busy campaigning in New York, I'd swear they'd followed her recipe.

Greg Scandlen is a fellow in health policy at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank based in Washington, D.C.

Leaders mourn Moroccan king

By Mort Rosenblum
The Associated Press

RABAT, Morocco — World leaders walked solemnly through screaming crowds in this ancient North African capital Sunday to honor Hassan II, for 38 years king of a poor, placid nation committed to peace in a tumultuous region.

Hundreds of thousands of Moroccans, wailing and chanting in the July sun, watched the royal cortege and its escort of Western, European, Middle Eastern, African and Asian heads of state, including President Clinton.

Hassan, who died Friday at 70, was seen as a persuasive broker of compromise, an Arab moderate who calmed waters much in the way of King Hussein of Jordan, who died less than six months earlier.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and President Ezer Weizman joined Arab leaders at the funeral, signaling confidence that Hassan's 35-year-old son, now King Mohamed VI, would follow his lead as peacemaker.

Hassan's coffin rolled slowly atop an army truck, under a rich green cloth embroidered in gold with verses from the Koran. Family members, heads of state and guests walked slowly behind along the 2½-mile route from the Royal Palace to the mausoleum where Hassan's remains were laid to rest by those of his father, Mohamed V.

The new king, in flowing white robes and a red fez, moved imperceptibly forward despite the constant press of near-hysterical mourners who surged against police lines. Clinton walked next to him. Mourners had walked through the night from outlying cities and distant villages. Police estimated that more than a million people headed toward the capital.

From the high-rise port of Casablanca to the old walled cities of Fez and Marrakesh, to oases in the Sahara desert, Moroccans chanted their grief, waving portraits of Hassan and their new king.

As with most of Morocco's 29 million inhabitants, their sadness was tinged with anxiety over the future in the hands of an untried successor.

The king died with the Middle East and North Africa headed down promising new paths. But the battered Moroccan economy faces new

pressures of debt, drought and crippling underemployment.

In private homes, critics offered harsh assessments of Hassan's stern rule. But few spoke for the record in the face of mass mourning.

The six-hour funeral began in the afternoon with Koranic readings by the coffin in an ornate salon. Dignitaries filed by to pay final respects.

Clinton gave a slight bow before the casket. He was joined in the trip by Hillary Rodham Clinton, as well as former president George Bush and two former secretaries of State, Warren Christopher and James Baker.

The Israelis walked alongside Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and leaders of neighboring states. But Syrian President Hafez Assad abruptly decided not to attend, reportedly because of suggestions by Israel that he might hold talks with Barak on the side.

In an unexpected exchange, Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, whose country has been adamant in its hostility to Israel, shook hands with Barak and offered to help in peacemaking efforts.

"If you need any help, we are full ready to help you," Bouteflika told Barak in halting English.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

RANDY BISH



LETTERS

Usual suspects

Every time the administration issues a policy statement, the many sycophants in the liberal media immediately parrot the party line, no matter how misguided the policy may be. A perfect example is the administration's recent assault on guns. The usual media suspects immediately echoed this viewpoint. Some actually attempted to assert that the Second Amendment doesn't extend to gun owners. The mental gymnastics required to justify this position was amusing. It's obvious that, to them, the party line is more important than either their integrity or credibility!

Liberals seem unable to recognize that once the citizens have been disarmed, the bad guys will declare open season on law and order. If the past is any indication, the liberals will, at that point, pass another myriad of laws and regulations to address this problem, a problem that their nearsighted policies created in the first place.

On the optimistic side, there are now many more alternatives to the liberal bias of the mainstream media, such as talk radio and cable TV, and people are becoming increasingly aware of both sides of an issue. The liberal elite must

consider this a real threat, since they found it necessary to steal some 900 FBI files on the opposition. With power being their all-consuming motivation, I guess they thought that their decreasing influence through the media could be balanced by blackmail to maintain their power status. Ray Boyd
North Huntingdon Township

Long-range plan

Let me see if I have this story straight about the communist Chinese developing a new, long-range, nuclear-tipped missile:

Supposedly it is mobile — it can be moved on a truck or a train or, for that matter, a boat. Supposedly it has a range of 5,000 miles. Supposedly the Democratic president of the United States turned his back on information that the communist Chinese were stealing our most advanced nuclear secrets.

Well, let's just suppose that the communist Chinese load a few of these missiles on a boat and ship them to the Panama Canal. (Does anyone remember the Panama Canal?) Supposedly another Democratic president gave control of the canal to the communist Chinese a few years back. (To us common folk, that's called long-range planning.) And let's just suppose that the communist Chinese decide to

shut down the canal. What is the United States going to do? The Panama Canal is just 2,200 miles south of Pittsburgh via the nuclear-tipped missile route. Hello out there. Is anybody listening?

Joseph E. Krill
Delmont

No jobs

How interesting to read "Come Home" (June 27) on the front page. A good part of the front page was devoted to Pennsylvania's attempt to bring its best and brightest people back to the state. Then I turn to the editorial page and read "Pathetic," a letter from a gentleman living in Mt. Pleasant. He cannot seem to find any employment in the area and wonders why he has chosen to settle in this region.

My son left this area after graduation (another engineer moving out of state), because he too could not find employment within the area. My husband is another "victim" of the state's inability to bring jobs to the state.

The state needs more than a program to bring people back to Pennsylvania; they need the jobs to back the program.

Carol A. Pesci
Indiana

E-MAIL

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

DATELINE D.C.

Clinton strives to create his own doctrine for history books

There have been more discussions recently in Washington about the perils of Bill Clinton's foreign-policy frauds. Slick Willie, who strives to avoid dangerous words like "fraud" and "perjury" at home, believes that if he's to go down in the history books as an important figure, he needs his own "Clinton Doctrine" — and foreigners can provide backdrops for photo ops.

We wrote last week in this column about the beginning of this Clinton Doctrine. The kickoff was the buffoon's long-winded speech to a few hundred Kosovo refugees who could not understand English. No wonder they applauded so hard when he stopped! Clinton avowed that he could send NATO forces to Africa or Eastern Europe or anywhere in the world to confront any dictators he disliked.

Hypocrisy continues to rain on Bomber Bill's victory parade as the list of exemptions to his crusade grows by the day. Certainly, there are people who face discrimination — ethnic, economic, religious or racial — in every country in Africa, as well as Cuba, Burma and Ireland. Spain has its Basques; France has its Corsican minority; and keep in mind what it is to be a Chinese in Malaysia, a Tibetan under China, a Korean in Japan, a Turk in Germany, a Christian in Egypt, an Arab in Israel or a Jew in Iran. It's ridiculous to think that Americans can fix the ills of every country. This is the first great hoax of the 21st century — Bomber Bill's doctrine of ethical democratic intervention!

But while Bill Clinton gets starry-eyed about his brand of ethics, there are plenty of issues to stop us from enjoying a good night's rest. The biggest problem is that there are many reasons to believe that before 2000, Russia and China will be on the brink — if not already over the edge — of an alliance which, whatever it says in print, will be to counterbalance American geopolitical power.

As the first sign of this nightmare coming true, there will be a summit meeting in Beijing between Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin sometime this fall. Their aides are working hard to resolve a multitude of minor problems, not the least of which is each seeing how much each can each get from the United States before signing up together.

With Russia and China in an alliance with each other, others will want to join with them. Cuba, naturally, North Korea, Iraq and, if he is offered a new set of medals, Libya's Col. Moammar Gadhafi might well throw in his lot with the Thug Alliance.

This prospective new alliance will have a major effect on France, Germany and Japan, which will run like frightened rabbits from the prospect of being trapped between a Sino-Russian alliance and the United States. In reality, that will mean these and other countries will look for a way to political neutrality, while (you got it right!) maintaining economic ties so they can sell stuff to Americans.

The Chinese and the Russians will love it. They will use all the old fears — and some new ones — to create opportunities for the best economic advantage for themselves. In this aspect, Germany is particularly vulnerable after the miserable experience Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has had from his own followers for his playing the belligerent chicken to Slick Willie's turkey.

There will be a new political

Opinion



Bill Clinton



Boris Yeltsin



Gerhard Schroeder

reality. Our traditional allies — such as they are — may redefine their thinking to take advantage of the situation.

Of course, there are a number of other matters to take into account. After three months of vote counting, the Indonesian elections most probably will be won in September by a lady named Megawati, daughter of that country's radically anti-American first President Sukarno. She has had major help from a Muslim leader, Abdurrahman Wahid, who long ago was a most favored person of the Russian communists in their peace movements.

And with China, Indonesia's big neighbor, we must look for some interesting Chinese-American competition as each tries to outsmart the other for the favors of Indonesia's oil wells, rubber plantations and highly trained, low-paid workers.

Then there is Iraq. Despite all the sound and fury of Congress, supported by the Clintons, to oust Saddam Hussein, very little has happened except several dozen brave Iraqis were executed when the CIA's plans for a revolution were betrayed. No one is yet complaining about the seemingly endless U.S. air campaign against Baghdad. Probably someone should ask if the campaign truly is meaningless or being done out of an expensive habit to keep Bill happy. But when it comes to asking questions about Iraq, it is much more important to find out what they intend to do about Iraq's massive stockpiles of deadly weaponized smallpox.

In Iran, moderates and traditionalists are fighting their endless battles, with neither side winning or giving any ground. Maybe when Russia starts making demands, Iran might decide where it sees its future.

As for the Asian economic crisis, while it may be in remission, that economy is still not healthy. Japan, the major cause of all basic problems in the area, has done nothing to rectify the problems that caused the crisis. There is still endless corruption at all levels of government which, just by looking at a map, brings us to North Korea, a country that has become more ferocious than ever having just done some fence-mending deals with China.

It will be interesting to watch candidates for the Senate and the House when they are asked questions about these countries. Just watch them run for a map and their list of clichés.

Speaking of virtually unasked questions, how is it that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's officially unofficial Senate campaign in New York has been conducted for these many months essentially at taxpayers' expense?

Hillary and her aides have been running her "unofficial" campaign from the White House, using its computers, telephones, faxes and other resources allocated to the Office of the First Lady to promote her chances in the Senate race. When she travels in New York, she goes by U.S. Air Force passenger jet. "Security," say Hillary's aides. "Hogwash," say veterans of many other campaigns. They point out that candidates cus-



Megawati



Saddam Hussein



Hillary Clinton

PLEASE SEE HILLARY'S/A22

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's unofficial Senate campaign uses official White House funds

HILLARY'S FROM/A20

tomarily charter their campaign plane or simply fly on commercial passenger jets. Hillary could simply buy tickets for her Secret Service detail.

Only recently did some Republicans complain. Now her staff says it is "studying" the Hatch Act rules against all this commingling of political and official activity. But Hillary's army says its candidate — whoops, boss lady — would not need to follow Hatch Act rules until after she officially declares for the Senate.

Presumably, she has officially decided to

use a New York address, but will she change her driver's license as well?

And with all these serious and grave problems, we must always remember that the Senate and House of Representatives are run by the same political party. To reasonable women and men that should mean that our legislators share a common interest.

Maybe they share an



Rick Santorum

interest, but not a pudding. Once upon a time, Rick Santorum served in the House, and his frame and intellect were strengthened by the rice puddings served in the House Members Dining Room.

Older, and well seasoned by rice puddings, Santorum was elected a senator and moved across Capitol Hill to the greater glories of the eats and treats of the Senate Dining Room. But, he can't get his rice pudding. It is a different recipe, with neither tricks, espionage, bribery or seduction being sufficient to lure the secret rice pudding recipe from the House to the Senate kitchen.

Can't we all just get along?

Seems not. There is a deadlock. Santorum could, supposedly, resign and seek election again to the House; but that's not what the voters of Pennsylvania want. Al Gore could be sent to the House Dining Room to negotiate, but he's busy running for something or other.

Only one thing is for sure. Hillary Rodham Clinton is not recommended to make a rice pudding — it would create an Asian food crisis and be used against her in the senatorial campaign that she wants so much to win.

"Dateline D.C." is written by a Washington, D.C.,-based British journalist and political observer.

Tribune
Review

7/11/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary tour stops in Cooperstown

By LUCY ATKINSON
Staff Writer

The day after formally filing papers for an exploratory committee, First Lady and senatorial hopeful, Hillary Rodham Clinton, began her listening tour of upstate New York yesterday, which included an unscheduled stop at Cooperstown's Hall of Fame and a welcome reception by a crowd of several hundred cheering on-lookers.

Having declared herself a possible contender for the senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of Pindars Corners, Clinton is making her way through upstate New York, listening to the concerns and issues that face residents in Pindars Corners, Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica and Binghamton.

"I'm looking forward to meeting with New Yorkers," said Clinton. "They have a lot to tell me, about me and about the issues."

Despite accusations that as an out-of-stator Clinton is not in touch with the issues that face New Yorkers, and is unqualified to represent them in the Senate, many of the hundreds awaiting her arrival at the Hall of Fame thought otherwise.

"I have mixed feelings about her being from out of state," said Tom Witkowski, who was visiting from Troy. "But I look at it this way: if a corporation puts out a search for an executive, they put it out to the whole country. They

would want the best person for the job."

For Michael Zimmermann, a Washington resident who grew up in Westchester County, N.Y., Clinton's residency should have nothing to do with her candidacy.

"I think it fine that she's not from New York," he said. "We're one nation, indivisible, etc. but we tend to get concerned about specific interests. Residency issues are not important."

For others, where Clinton lives is a concern, but one they are willing to overlook if she can prove she is up to the job.

"The residency bothers me but a lot of other people have come in to New York from out of state," said Betsy Hayes of Toddsville. "We need some fresh blood. And she's pro-child."

But the discussion may be premature since Clinton has yet to officially declare herself as formally running for the senate seat.

"Why the Senate? Why New York? Why me?" said Clinton. "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state. I'm trying to find answers to the challenges that face New York. So I can be responsive and make a decision about this race."

Clinton is expected to pay a visit to Bassett Healthcare Thursday where she will discuss rural healthcare. That afternoon she leaves for Utica, followed by stops in Syracuse and Albany.



Crier photo by Lucy Atkinson

First Lady Hillary Clinton takes time to sign autographs after visiting the National Baseball Hall of Fame Wednesday evening. Clinton will spend Thursday morning in Cooperstown, before continuing on her "listening tour" of upstate New York.



First lady's filing sets stage for Senate run

GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON—Hillary Rodham Clinton launches a summer-long tour of New York today after filing papers that take her a historic step closer to being the only first lady to run for a U.S. Senate seat.

On Tuesday, the first lady filed a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission to form an "exploratory committee" for the 2000 Senate race for the seat being vacated by N.Y. Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring after four terms.

The filing—actually a single sheet—allows the first lady to raise and spend money for trips into the state and other political expenses as she

considers a full-fledged candidacy.

She already has come under fire from Republicans who say her use of federal government aircraft and White House offices mean that taxpayers may be paying for her unofficial exploration of the Senate race so far.

"Forming the committee makes it clear and on the record that she is raising money and spending money," said Howard Wolfson, spokesman for the exploratory committee. "She is seriously considering the campaign and this is the way to pay" for her trips and other political activities.

Key members of the committee are all lawyers with federal government experience. William J.

Cunningham III, a Long Island lawyer and former assistant U.S. Attorney from the Eastern District of New York, is the committee's treasurer. Others are Jim Lamb, a former Democratic minority counsel on the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and Lynn Utrect, a former Federal Election Commission lawyer who will be the committee's general counsel.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who also is pondering the Senate race, formed an exploratory committee a few months ago and has raised \$3 million. Rep. Rick Lazio, a GOP congressman from Suffolk County, has said he is inching toward announcing his candidacy.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady back in Tier as candidate

Clinton will
share thoughts
on education

BY SAMME CHITTUM
Staff Writer

It's billed as the Hillary Rodham Clinton Listening Tour. But the first lady's current visit to the Southern Tier remains a carefully orchestrated event that most ordinary New Yorkers will only glimpse from afar.

Clinton will start her visit today by flying into the Binghamton Regional Airport. She has no scheduled Broome County stops, although she did pause, during her last visit here, to acknowledge well-wishers. Then she is off to visit the Pindars Corners farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at 10:15 a.m., where a crush of reporters will likely be the only voyeurs present.

The centerpiece of the day's activities will be a two-hour "listening event" at 2 p.m. devoted to the topic of education. The session will take place in the Morris Conference Center at the State University College at Oneonta. There, some 40 to 50 educators, administrators and parents — all pre-selected from suggested lists forwarded to the first lady's staff — will get to share their views with Clinton. Some 200 reporters are expected to be on hand.

"We are going to adhere to the first lady's request to keep it small and intimate so that she can relate to the people who will be there," said Carol Blazina, assistant to the president of the university. During her last visit, the press was allowed to listen to Clinton, but not to ask questions. It's not clear whether she will entertain questions from the press during this visit.

Depending who is asked, the first lady is either accessible as she can be, with Secret Service in tow — or a candidate keeping press and public at arm's length.

"This is ridiculous," said Joe Laughney, chairman of the Broome County Republican Committee. "She wants to be senator, but she won't open herself up to the public and the press. How does she expect to get to know people?"



GANNETT NEWS SERVICE
First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton arrives for a visit today.

Clinton forms 2000 committee

WASHINGTON — With a single typewritten page filed with the Federal Election Commission, Hillary Rodham Clinton launched her campaign Tuesday for a Senate seat from New York.

By creating a campaign exploratory committee, Mrs. Clinton may raise and spend money for political travel, polling and ads.

STORY, PAGE 5A

Said Laughney, "It's going to be controlled; that's the Clinton way."

But Barbara Fiala, former chairwoman of the Broome County Democratic Party, said Clinton is genuinely interested in getting to know New Yorkers but can't move with the same freedom as other campaigners.

"She is very, very dedicated to talking to people and trying to make New Yorkers comfortable with her," said Fiala.

"But she is the first lady and that separates her from other candidates. She has to deal with the Secret Service. She cannot go to a local factory and stand around handing out leaflets."

Fiala said Republicans are sounding sour notes because Clinton is doing well in the polls. "Obviously, they're not happy with her approval ratings. The Republicans are trying to turn everything into a negative."

The next step on the Clinton listening tour will be in Cooperstown on Thursday, where the first lady will talk about health care issues in the Bassett Auditorium at 31 Beaver St.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'Ultimate balancing act': candidate and first lady

By Mary Leonard
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — A typical day last week in the life of the most active and activist first lady went like this:

A millennium event on preserving historic documents at the National Archives. A White House meeting on the effect of Medicare cuts on teaching hospitals. A drop-by at Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin's farewell party. An outing with daughter Chelsea and husband Bill to the quarterfinals of the Women's World Cup. And many, many phone calls.

Now, into what aides say is this superwoman schedule, Hillary Rod-

ham Clinton is about to wedge one more thing — a campaign for an open US Senate seat in New York.

"Women are used to juggling many roles every day, and I have no doubt that Mrs. Clinton will be able to juggle one more undertaking," said Melanne Verreer, the first lady's chief of staff. "In actual practice, we have to see how it evolves. It will be the ultimate balancing act."

In Washington, "Where's Hillary?" is about to become a favorite parlor game. Yesterday, Mrs. Clinton made history when she filed papers with the Federal Election Commission and officially launched a political exploratory committee aimed at capturing the seat in 2000 of retiring Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick

Moynihan. Today, as she sets off from the senator's farm in Oneonta, N.Y., for a four-day "listening tour" of the state, a new chapter opens on the country's most controversial and scrutinized first lady.

■ CLINTON
Continued from Page A1

rick Moynihan. Today, as she sets off from the senator's farm in Oneonta, N.Y., for a four-day "listening tour" of the state, a new chapter opens on the country's most controversial and scrutinized first lady.

"The listening tour will put her face-to-face with New Yorkers in small settings," said Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, adding that the first lady's get-acquainted trips to her adopted state will span most of the summer.

It has been clear for some weeks that Mrs. Clinton had made up her mind to do what few of her close friends expected and what Carl Sferazza Anthony, a biographer of first ladies, called "unprecedented."

"It is amazing, it is overwhelming," Anthony said. "But if any woman could handle being first lady and a Senate candidate, Hillary Clinton is the one."

It is generally agreed that Mrs. Clinton has set a new standard for what it means to be first lady and political partner to the president. But the implications and consequences of her likely run for the Senate are just starting to sink in.

For example, how will she coordinate her ceremonial White House duties with what is expected to be a bruisingly partisan campaign against

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani? Where will she live? How will she handle an aggressive press corps that for years has been held at bay by a protective White House staff and the unofficial status of her job? Who pays for her travel and how will she utilize the perks of the White House? What role will the president play? And how often will she be at odds with or try to influence Clinton administration policy?

"From now on, everything she does as first lady is going to be viewed through the prism of 'does it help her or hurt her in New York?'" said Paul Costello, who was first lady Rosalynn Carter's press secretary. "There are apt to be situations where the White House makes policy that runs counter to New York, and it will be interesting to see how Mrs. Clinton balances it and weighs in."

That has happened already. Mrs. Clinton was invited by New York political and labor union leaders to join them at a White House meeting last week in arguing that the administration's plan to overhaul Medicare would cut payments to New York's teaching hospitals. Mrs. Clinton did not dominate the session, her press secretary told reporters, but she did share the hospitals' concerns.

At a news conference the same day, President Clinton said he won't be offended if Mrs. Clinton goes



AP FILE PHOTO

Hillary Rodham Clinton will kick off a four-day "listening tour" of New York State today.

public with some of the policy disagreements they have had in private. "That's the way democracy works," the president said.

"I have to laugh: On one hand, Hillary Clinton is criticizing some aspect of her husband's Medicare plan, and on the other, we hear that the president is going to be one of her most important political advisers," said Sheila Tate, former press secretary to first lady Nancy Reagan. "I think it's schizophrenic, and it's a good example of how strange and peculiar Mrs. Clinton is making life for herself."

Tate says she cannot imagine that Mrs. Reagan ever contemplated a run for public office.

But historians say Mrs. Clinton, a lawyer by training and a policy advocate by experience, has redefined

ey issues, her causes, her travel, and her entertaining in and restoration of the White House. "She has said to all of us that while this is a new process, she is not intending to give any of her responsibilities as first lady short shrift," Verreer said.

But the West Wing of the White House has come under fire from the Republican Party and public interest groups for an alleged misuse of federal resources to support Mrs. Clinton's frequent political trips to New York. GOP chairman Jim Nicholson last week asserted that Mrs. Clinton's flights on military aircraft had cost the government more than \$220,000.

"Hillary's flying military jets, but it's the taxpayers who are being taken for a ride," Nicholson said.

The White House insists that the exploratory committee, which allows Mrs. Clinton to raise money, will pay for future travel, a headquarters and separate staff in New York, and any other expenses her campaign incurs. But the first lady will not be able to reimburse the Secret Service for the security and logistical support it is required to provide her, and she may never convince New Yorkers that the Manhattan traffic nightmares created by her presidential-sized entourage are absolutely necessary.

"Mrs. Clinton's stature as first lady will enhance her Senate race, but it will also reinforce her status as an outsider in New York," Costello said.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political scientist at Claremont Graduate University, said there is an ethical question of whether the first lady is trading on her position, and even on her misfortune in the wake of the scandal involving Monica S. Lewinsky, to advance a political career.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

the role of first lady to the extent that this political race is not so extraordinary. Mrs. Clinton has spearheaded an ambitious but unsuccessful effort to overhaul health care, championed women's rights in dozens of foreign countries, raised millions of dollars for Democratic candidates, testified before an independent counsel's grand jury, and advised the White House through a sex scandal and impeachment.

"Mrs. Clinton has done some good things, but I think now there will be this nagging question that maybe everything she did in the second term was inherently political," said Myra Gutin, author of "The President's Partner" and a professor at Rider University in New Jersey. "I think her Senate candidacy will really affect her legacy and how she is perceived."

So far, the public appears to support the first lady's pursuit of a political career. A recent NBC/Wall Street Journal poll found 68 percent of Americans believe the first lady can perform her White House duties while running for the Senate.

Mrs. Clinton has told her staff she has no plans to give up her poli-

"I may be prudish about this, but it seems to me that this particular first lady allowed herself to be part of a campaign promise and package to the American people - 'elect one, you get two,' " Jeffe said. "Now, I wonder if her candidacy would be so real if people didn't perceive her as the wronged woman, and that this is her way, and the electorate's way, of getting back at the president."

Letitia Baldrige, who was first lady Jacqueline Kennedy's social secretary, remembers Mrs. Kennedy carried out her duties "through thick and thin," and took an unconventional route - taking up with Greek tycoon Aristotle Onassis - at an appropriate time after her government role had ended.

"There has never been a first lady running for office, and maybe there shouldn't be," said Baldrige, a doyenne of Washington's dwindling white-glove manners and good taste. "Hillary Clinton has a huge job right here in the White House, but she will have to shirk her duties - she certainly won't be the hostess with the mostest - if she is off in New York somewhere, giving a campaign speech."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Boston Globe Nation

7/7/1999

Clintons plan New Year's Eve festivities

By Eun Lee Koh
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON — To usher in the new millennium, the White House is planning to host a star-studded New Year's Eve gala on the Mall that could rival New York City's Times Square bash, where thousands traditionally gather to watch the ball drop and count down the seconds until the stroke of midnight.

The White House Millennium Council, created last year by the president and headed by Hillary Rodham Clinton, is planning the three-day event that is to start on New Year's Eve.

The festivities will include a short film by director Steven Spielberg and outdoor concert programs headed by Quincy Jones and producer George Stevens Jr. of the Kennedy Center. Spielberg's 20-minute film will highlight historic moments of the 20th century and will feature an original score by former Boston Pops director and Hollywood composer John Williams, who wrote music for films such as "Star Wars" and "Schindler's List."

"We want to make this a truly American event," Ann Lewis, counselor to the president, said yesterday. "We want people to realize what a milestone the millennium is."

Lewis said she expects the New Year's celebration to attract even bigger crowds than the Fourth of July celebration, which draws hundreds of thousands of people each year.

White House officials insist the public festivities have nothing to do with Mrs. Clinton trying to one-up the celebration in the Big Apple, where her expected chief opponent for a Senate seat, Rudolph W. Giuliani, is mayor.

"She always said she would balance her time being a first lady and a candidate," Lewis said. "This would fall under the role of first lady."

And Toby Graff, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, said: "Plans for the formation of the Millennium Council began before the buzz about Mrs. Clinton's potential run for the New York Senate."

The celebration will stretch across the Mall, from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial, and along parts of Pennsylvania Avenue leading to the White House.

Around 10 p.m. on New Year's Eve, participants will parade down Constitution Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial. President Clinton is scheduled to speak, and at the stroke of midnight, "something magical" should light up the sky, according to Lewis.

The official theme for the millennium celebration is "Honor the past, imagine the future," she said.

"We're looking at trying to make the New Year's weekend really special," Lewis said. "We definitely want to mark the turn of the century with something very festive and patriotic."

The cultural events on the Mall the following two days are being coordinated with the Smithsonian Institution.

According to Anne Donovan, the Millennium Council's deputy director, the Smithsonian envisions bridging a generation gap by setting up "teach-ins" along the Mall, where leaders in disciplines such as law, sports, medicine, and music teach the next generation about their respective fields.

"They will act as role models for the future generation of American leaders," Donovan said.

While the celebration is intended to be "rowdy and fun," Donovan said the activities will stay "family focused." Because the National Park Service oversees the grounds where most of the events will take place, alcohol will be banned from the festivities.

Large corporate donors are expected to cover the \$10 million cost of the celebration. Lewis said donors will be recognized in some formal way during the festivities.

Mrs. Clinton, who may be busy campaigning for a Senate seat in New York by that time, plans to mark the turn of the century in Washington instead of in the state she intends to adopt as her home, according to Lewis.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1999

OBSERVER-DISPATCH

UTICA, N.Y.

METRO EDITION

50 CENTS

Clinton to visit Utica senior site, Rome

Radisson prepares for barrage of guests

By MEGAN ALLEN
Observer-Dispatch

Hillary Rodham Clinton's itinerary for the Mohawk Valley continues to take shape — with more details emerging Monday.

A Clinton spokesman said the potential U.S. Senate candidate will visit the East Side Senior Center Thursday afternoon, after spending the morning in Cooperstown.

She'll stay overnight in the Radisson Hotel-Utica Centre, then head to Rome's Griffiss Business and Technology Park Friday morning, spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

The activities in the region are part of her summerlong Listening Tour of the state, and should coincide with her plans to file papers today to form a Senate exploratory

committee.

Public details of her itinerary were sketchy over the past week, but locally preparations already have begun for her visit to Utica.

Radisson General Manager Mark Cherry said additional staff will be on hand for guests of the 100 rooms reserved by Clinton in the 158-room hotel. "We want to put our best foot forward for the Radisson and



CLINTON

the city," he said.

He was told 80 of the rooms are for members of the media, but Cherry said he would not learn until today who would occupy the other rooms. "There are a great many things that are up in the air," he said.

Cherry said rooms for the VIPs will be dressed up, and the hotel likely will be given specific requests by the

guests, which staff will try to accommodate.

Meanwhile, the city's welcome is being determined. Mayor Edward A. Hanna said he would talk today about what the city will do to welcome the first lady.

Rome officials said they've had a difficult time obtaining a clear itinerary outlining Clinton's travel plans because of strict Secret Service guidelines, said Patty Hudak, head of the Democratic Party in Rome.

► WHERE SHE'LL BE

Wednesday: Binghamton Airport; SUNY Oneonta. (In between those events, she will visit Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm in Davenport.)

Thursday: 10 a.m. Bassett Healthcare's Bassett Auditorium, Cooperstown. 3 p.m. East Side Senior Center, Catherine Street, Utica.

Friday: 9 a.m. Griffiss Business and Technology Park, Brooks Road, then to Syracuse, then Albany.

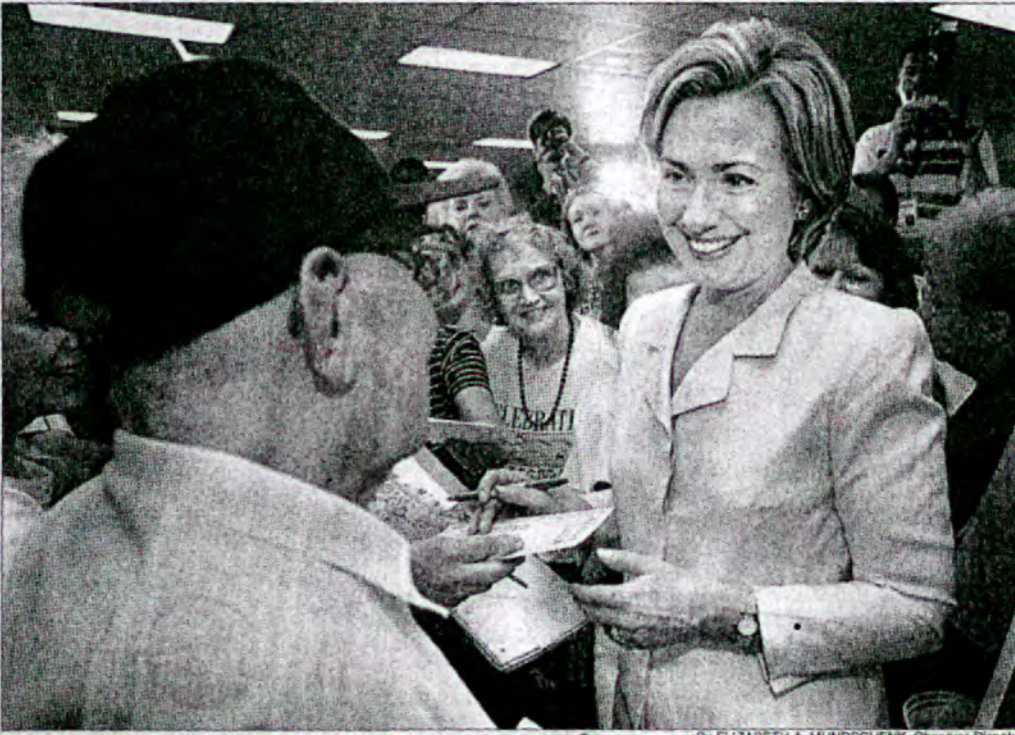
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

7/9/1999

METRO EDITION

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S UPSTATE TOUR

Utica speaks, Hillary listens



First lady addresses health care, heads for Rome today

By JAY GALLAGHER
O-D Albany bureau

UTICA — Running behind schedule but proceeding as determinedly as any Boilermaker runner, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton began her swing through the Mohawk Valley Thursday.

Her celebrity status was evident as major television networks trailed her and crowds sought to shake her hand and watch her every move in Cooperstown, Clinton and Utica. Her polarizing effect on the electorate also was seen in the presence of anti-abortion protesters outside Clinton's meeting with senior citizens at the East Side Senior Center.

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ON PAGE 3A

- It was Hillary's fans vs. her foes.
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ON PAGE 5A

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- Is she really listening?
- Other highlights from the tour.

The business park sits on the site of a former Air Force base whose closure four years ago cost the Mohawk Valley thousands of jobs. Oneida County has one of the largest percentage population losses in the country during the 1990s, and the Griffiss park represents one of the main efforts to turn that trend around.

Clinton supporters Tues-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

By ELIZABETH A. MUNDSCHEK, Observer-Dispatch

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks Thursday with Lawrence Gigliotti, 97, of Utica, as she signs autographs at the East Side Senior Center in Utica. Clinton, a potential candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, is touring the state today.

The Coopers Town Crit



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks Thursday with Lawrence Gigliotti, 97, of Utica, as she signs autographs at the East Side Senior Center in Utica. Clinton, a potential candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, is touring the state listening to New Yorkers' concerns.

“(The region is) incredibly beautiful. It’s so green, so inviting ... (it’s) a much under-appreciated tourist destination.”

Hillary Rodham Clinton
— commenting on the scenery on a drive from Cooperstown to Utica



The crowd outside of the East Side Senior Center in Utica holds up signs Thursday in support of Hillary Rodham Clinton. They were responding to people who were chanting against Clinton’s visit while waiting for the first lady’s arrival.

Clinton uses personal touch to win over region’s residents

By MEGAN ALLEN
Observer-Dispatch

UTICA — Everywhere she went Thursday, Hillary Rodham Clinton was taking notes.

When doctors lamented about expensive prescription costs, and seniors said crime was a main concern, she wrote it down.

When one doctor read a statement of his concerns, she asked for a copy.

The first lady is on an upstate “listening tour,” and as she said Thursday evening after the first two days of that tour, “I’m hearing a lot.”

She was seeing a lot, too. Driving Thursday from Cooperstown to Clinton to Utica, she saw everything from Upstate New York’s rolling green hills to its road construction.

At lunchtime Thursday,

Clinton was well behind schedule — “we packed more in the day than we should have,” she admitted later — but during the busy day she not only learned a lot about Upstate New York, but gave many residents at least a brief glimpse of the Democratic Party’s likely candidate for U.S. Senate next year.

After spending the day traveling in a van as part of a six-car motorcade, Clinton

briefly met with individual reporters and described the area as “incredibly beautiful.” She said, “it’s so green, so inviting ... (it’s) a much under-appreciated tourist destination.”

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As an active first lady, she no doubt has heard and thought about all of these issues. Yet she noted surprise when residents suggested some of their concerns, and at times asked for further information.

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The first lady is on a “listening tour” that is serving as a prelude to a likely run for U.S. Senate. The visit here began a busy two weeks for Oneida County that also includes the massive Boilermaker Road Race Sunday and the Woodstock ’99 concert July 23-25.

She sounded more like a candidate than ever as she continued her campaign-style swing that began Wednesday in Binghamton and continues today in Rome and Syracuse.

“Anybody who is in an exploratory phase will tell you it really is a step along the way,” she said in an interview with newspaper reporters in Cooperstown. “But it’s not the final step. I’m being very deliberative about it.”

Clinton spent much of her day addressing issues such as health care and Israel. This morning, the focus could well be on jobs-creation as she ends her Mohawk Valley visit with a stop at Griffiss Business and Technology Park in Rome.

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Clinton also touched what would be a hot-button issue in a New York campaign with the release of a letter in which she assured Jewish leaders that she believes Jerusalem should be the capital of Israel, a position that differs somewhat from her husband’s.

Cooperstown Cree
7/9/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Cooperstown Creek 7/9/1999

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By BRADFORD S. LUPPINO, Observer-Dispatch

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She described residents who turned out to see her, and who primarily waved signs and shouted words of support, as "very nice, generous people." And many Mohawk Valley residents felt just as kindly about her.

In Clinton, residents expressed the loudest disappointment when she told them "I have to go."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

High 80° Low 59°



TUESDAY

Mostly sunny, very pleasant

Feasting begins at the San Fermín record keeping began in 1924. 13 runs extremely dangerous since the first of the festival. In the past of runners have been killed and the determined news agency Efe dore

Area Democrats show support for Senate run

BY WYN HORNBUCKLE

Staff Writer

As soon as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton hit the tarmac at the Binghamton Regional Airport Wednesday, it was apparent her reception in upstate New York would be as warm as her battle for a Senate seat would be hot.

Clinton spent a half-hour speaking with about 40 well-wishers and local Democratic party members, who formed a greeting line outside the Air Force Gulf Stream Jet that carried her here. Clinton made only a brief comment on her first stop of a four-day "listening tour" of central and eastern New York, which comes a day after filing paperwork with the Federal Election Commission to form an exploratory committee for the 2000 U.S. Senate race. Clinton is considering a run to replace retiring U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-Pindars Corners.

"I'm on my way to Senator Moynihan's farm and I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorkers," Clinton said before being whisked away to Moynihan's Delaware County residence.

Outside the Miller Aviation hangar, a small group of protesters held signs that described the first lady as a "carpetbagger" with, at best, superficial knowledge about the concerns of New Yorkers.

"We're truly Yankee fans," said protester Brett Mecum, 20, a State University of New York at Albany student from Waterloo, in a reference to Clinton's newfound loyalty to the state's premier baseball team. "She's from Arkansas. If she wants to run for the Senate in Arkansas, I have no problem with that."

But Democrats Wednesday put up a strong show of support for Clinton's potential run. "Not since Robert Kennedy has a candidate so energized this population," said Frank Palmisano, vice president of the Broome County Democratic Committee. "Whether you love her or hate her, she energizes the campaign."

"I firmly believe the first lady will become a candidate and a senator for New York," said Keith Zulko, who also serves as vice president of the Broome County Democratic



PHOTO PROVIDED

Hillary Clinton chats with Stephanie Stein at Binghamton Regional Airport.

Committee and was the first to greet Clinton as she stepped off the plane. Zulkos — who invited Clinton and her family to the July 20 Democratic Committee Picnic at Ross Park Zoo — said New York needs Clinton's advocacy in the state's most pressing issues and some of her favorite passions — health care, education and child care. "She's a fighter for us," Zulkos said.

Two young women were thrilled to see — and meet — Clinton. The first lady is "pretty cool," in the words of Binghamton High School tenth-grader Stephanie Stein, 15.

On Tuesday night, Peggy Stein, who works on the local Democratic committee, asked her daughter if she wanted to go to the airport to meet Clinton Wednesday morning, and to bring something that means a lot to her, on the off chance that they would get an opportunity to interact.

Stein brought two things: a picture of herself cheerleading — she is on the junior varsity squad — and her best friend, Brittany Weingartner, also 15. Not only did Clinton shake hands with the girls, she had a conversation with Stephanie, asking her about her cheerleading, what grade she is in and wishing her luck. Then she gave the pair the keepsake of a lifetime: she was photographed with them.

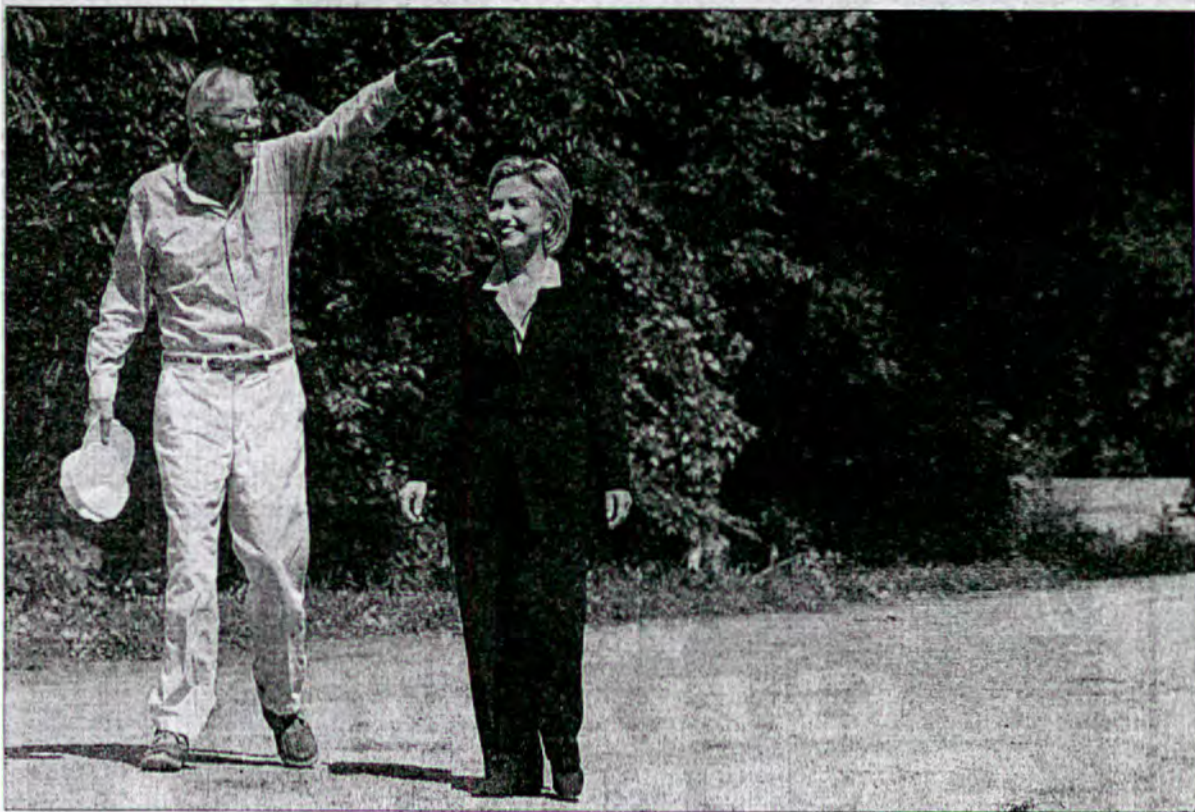
"I think she is an incredible person. She is smart, she cares about people. Just the way she carries herself and takes the time to talk is so impressive," Stephanie said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

Hillary Rodham Clinton shows off an AmeriCorps shirt to Colleen Mercet of Bainbridge. She received the shirt from AmeriCorps members at SUNY-Oneonta. Clinton, who started her "listening tour" Wednesday, is spending three days in upstate New York after forming a committee to explore a run for the Senate.



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan walks Hillary Rodham Clinton to his farm in Pindars Corners. Clinton began her upstate "listening tour" Wednesday.

'Carpetbagger' issue may not matter much to voters

BY SAMME CHITTUM

Staff Writer

ONEONTA — Upstate New Yorkers spotted along the campaign trail blazed by Hillary Rodham Clinton on Wednesday said they are looking beyond where Clinton is from and deciding if she looks like someone who should be their senator.

"I don't think somebody has to be from this area," said Sheila Simon, 34, of Oneonta, who showed up at the State University College at Oneonta to welcome the first lady. "Because she's not from the area, I think she will work harder to educate herself."

Simon raised another issue as well — whether New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the leading contender on the Republican side, will

be perceived as someone who can represent upstate New York. "You could apply the same argument to Giuliani, who is from New York City," said Simon. "So he's been to Saratoga — big deal. Does that mean he knows New York state?"

Others who showed up to see Clinton expressed similar sentiments. "It's what she can do that's important," said Marilyn Touma, 20, a political science major at SUCCO, who brought her 6-month-old daughter along with her. Touma said she had not decided whether she would vote for Clinton or not, but said she would judge the candidate on her merits.

Touma speculated that the carpetbagger issue would be less important as the campaign progresses. "I think it's going to blow over, it's just hype now," she said.

Some Pindars Corners neighbors of Sen. Daniel Moynihan showed up on the senator's farm to try to get a better fix on the woman who wants to succeed Moynihan. "I don't think you have to live in the area," said Glenn Mendez, 40. "I'm sure she'll have plenty of people telling her what they think and what she should do." Mendez said he would like to see her focus on boosting the economy in upstate New York and also on protecting the environment.

However, Joe Giallanzo, 31, a conservative Republican from Pindars Corners, said he felt Clinton would be unable to overcome the fact that she lacks a lifetime of exposure to the people, places and issues of New York. "It takes a New Yorker, someone who's lived here all their life, to know what the state

needs," he said.

Two other Pindars Corners neighbors said they are already Hillary Clinton boosters. Jim Ball, 45, said he doesn't think Clinton should be penalized because she's not a New Yorker. The fact that she has never lived here "doesn't bother me at all," he said. Ball said that Clinton will benefit from her husband's successful term in office. "The Clinton presidency has been good for New York, both upstate and downstate. If it's not broke, don't fix it."

Some political observers are speculating that Republicans may exhaust the carpetbagger issue by raising it so early in the race. Clinton spokesman Howard Wilson is betting that "New Yorkers are going to be a lot more interested in what Mrs. Clinton is talking about than where she is from."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

President would campaign if Hillary runs

By MARC HUMBERT
Associated Press

COOPERSTOWN — Hillary Rodham Clinton said Thursday that she would ask her husband, President Clinton, to do some campaigning for her if she moves forward with a New York Senate race.

"He knows a lot about New York," she said. "He's done very

well in New York and I would look forward to his campaigning for me if I decide to run... (and) if I can get on his schedule."

Meeting with reporters on the second day of her inaugural campaign tour of New York, the first lady said she would serve a full six-year term if she wins the Democratic nomination and is elected senator.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giu-

liani, eyeing the Republican Senate nomination, has refused to say whether he would serve the entire six years.

Critics of both have questioned whether the first lady and Giuliani want to use the Senate as a stepping stone for a White House bid in 2004.

The potential Democratic candidate refused to answer a question about whether she thought

Giuliani had been a good mayor. "That is something for the people of New York to decide," she said.

She also refused to say how she differed from Giuliani politically, claiming "there will be plenty of time in a campaign to go into that." In fact, the two agree on such things as support for abortion, and gay rights and gun control.

Some wonder if first lady is really listening

By NOREEN O'DONNELL
Gannett News Service

UTICA — If Hillary Rodham Clinton really wanted to hear the views of New Yorkers, 21-year-old Laura Franzonello said Thursday, she'd have town meetings open to everyone — not limit herself to the carefully controlled events that have marked her tour of upstate New York.

"This is not a listening tour," Franzonello said. "She's not talking to anyone who challenges her issues."

Franzonello, of Endwell, stood outside the East Utica Senior Center where Clinton was appearing and held a sign she had made the night before. "Listening tour or contrived P.R.," it read.

She made the sign, Franzonello said, after trying to attend the tour's kick-off Wednesday at the farm of Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in Pindars Corners. She and other protesters were kept well away from the first lady.

On Thursday, some residents were wondering just what kind of candidate she would prove to be.

In Cooperstown Thursday morning, supporters, foes and the curious gathered across from Bassett Healthcare to watch her motorcade pull in. Clinton was there to talk about health care with a select group of doctors, nurses and patients. As on Wednesday, a large press contingent followed her every move.

Outside, Susan Snell said she

liked Clinton but had questions about why she wanted to represent New York. And she wasn't sure Clinton would run the kind of campaign that would give her answers.

The first lady's entourage added to the excitement, Snell said, but it might mean she was not out talking to enough everyday people.

"I can't believe she'll get a real sense of New York with the

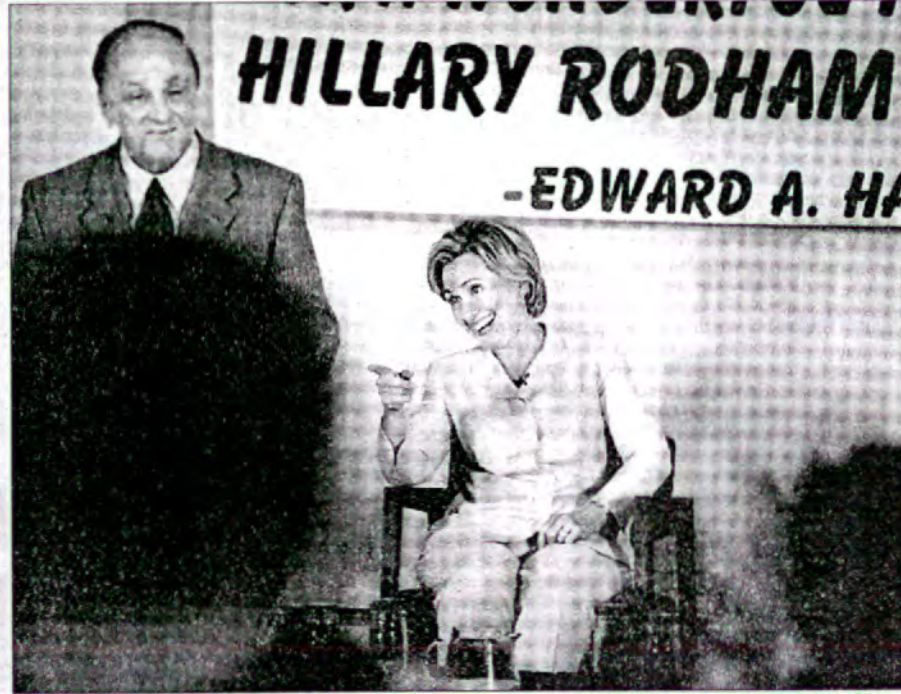
Secret Service, and the media, and the carefully choreographed events," Snell said. "I don't know what she can learn."

If she had been invited to talk to the first lady, Snell said she would have told her of her concerns about the 3 million uninsured New Yorkers. And she would have cautioned against solutions that were too all-encompassing, the type that might hurt small businesses with high costs.

Those were the pitfalls that killed Clinton's attempt to overhaul health insurance during her husband's first term, she said.

But don't try to tell John Gill that the first lady won't be out meeting regular people. He shook her hand later, when she stopped for lunch in the village of Clinton.

"They should have more women in government," Gill said. "Less gun nuts."



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton acknowledges the crowd Thursday at the East Side Senior Center in Utica as she is introduced by Mayor Edward A. Hanna.

By ELIZABETH A. MUNDSCHEK, Observer-Dispatch

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First lady's fans, critics face off

By STEFANIE SCARLETT
Observer-Dispatch

UTICA — Fans and skeptics of Hillary Rodham Clinton found some common ground Thursday — the barricades lining Catherine Street outside the East Side Senior Center.

Hundreds of residents, many clutching cameras and signs, waited hours to see the first lady as she stopped in Utica during her statewide "listening tour" in anticipation of a run for U.S. Senate.

"I don't care what she runs for, she's got my vote," said Janet Famolaro of Utica as she sat on the steps of St. Mary of Mount Carmel Church waiting for Clinton's arrival.

Eloise O'Brien of Utica took the day off work and had a sign made to show her support. "Mrs. Clinton, we want you," it read.

"She's a good person. She cares about the things that women care about," O'Brien said. She was just one of many people there who said they were fans of the first lady.

But Clinton's detractors were out in force as well, and they were quite visible, thanks to their large signs. "Hillary, visit the Adirondacks: they have Whitewater," read one.

Annette Pawlinga of Little Falls said she wasn't impressed by Clinton. "She's not for the people, she's just for herself," she said.

The crowd, ranging in age from toddlers to senior citizens, was mostly quiet but often came alive for television crews. At those times, the entire scene felt like dueling high school pep rallies.

A group holding "Rudy from



By BRADFORD S. LUPPINO, Observer-Dispatch

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, accompanied by Secret Service agents, greets supporters Thursday outside Utica's East Side Senior Center.

N.Y. — "Rudy for N.Y." signs started the first of many anti-Hillary cheers. "No more pollution, go home Hillary," they chanted.

Carole Nowak of Rome was standing in the front of the crowd while her mother was inside in the Senior Center audience.

"We've read her book and we're very interested in her work for children and the elderly," she said, referring to Clinton's "It Takes A Village" book on the importance of the community in child-raising.

She brought photographs in the hope that Clinton would autograph them. But like most of the crowd, she was disappointed — a quick glimpse was all that most caught of the first lady.

Cheers and jeers rang out as Clinton finally arrived, more than an hour late. She waved briefly to the crowd as she hurried inside.

By the time she left, about two hours later, the crowd had thinned but those who remained were ready. They rewarded her appearance with competing

chants: "We Want Hillary" and "Hillary, Go Home."

Clinton stopped to shake hands and gave one little girl a hug before hopping back into her van. She waved, mouthing the words "thank you" as she pulled away.

Whether or not the first lady picked up any votes during her visit here, Famolaro said the experience means a lot locally.

"This is big for Utica, whether she runs or not," she said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Thursday, July 8, 1999

OUR OPINION

Welcome, Hillary?

Our first inclination would be to say, "Hillary, go home."

The last thing we want, or need, is a carpetbagging First Lady spending the next 16 months trying to convince us she knows and cares about what is important to New Yorkers, especially upstate New Yorkers.

The more we think about it, however, the better we like the idea. Not because we believe she is necessarily the best candidate, but because her candidacy may stimulate more interest and involvement on the part of the public.

Voter turnout has been dismal, at best, in recent elections as fewer and fewer people participate in this democracy. Officials are being elected and decisions about our future are being made by a smaller and smaller handful of people as disenchantment with the political process grows.

If Hillary Clinton does decide to run for Senate from New York, her candidacy may prove to be the impetus for some of those disenchanted people to once again become involved.

She will have to work hard to demonstrate an understanding of upstate New York, its people and its problems. She will have to convince us she is more than a carpetbagging razorback trying to take advantage of lax residential requirements for Senate candidates.

While the carpetbagger image may remain paramount in many people's minds, her position as First Lady will bring additional press coverage, or scrutiny, to the election process. Hopefully, it will also result in a more detailed, frequent discussion of the important issues.

If her candidacy works to bring people back to the polls, it will have been a success.

The biggest drawback to having the First Lady in a Senate race is that with 16 months to go before the election, by the time next November rolls around people may be so saturated with electioneering that they simply tune it out.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary denies 'Filegate' role in affidavit

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton denied this week that she "requested anyone" to obtain FBI files on people who worked at the White House during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

She made the statement in an affidavit filed Monday in the \$90 million "Filegate" lawsuit brought by the conservative watchdog group Judicial Watch.

"I never obtained, nor ordered nor requested anyone, including [White House Counsel] Bernard Nussbaum, [White House security chief] Craig Livingstone, or Anthony Marceca (a civilian Army investigator detailed to the White House personnel office), to obtain any FBI file, FBI background investigative summary, or information therefrom, of any former government employee employed by either the Bush or Reagan Administration," Mrs. Clinton said in the affidavit dated July 11.

Larry Klayman, who filed the invasion-of-privacy suit over the Clinton administration's mishandling of secret FBI background files on former White House em-

"I never obtained, nor ordered nor requested anyone . . . to obtain any FBI file, FBI background investigative summary, or information therefrom, of any former government employee employed by either the Bush or Reagan Administration."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton, in an affidavit dated July 11

ployees, called her statements inaccurate and "full of as many holes as Swiss cheese."

"She is the mastermind and implementer of Filegate," he said.

Mrs. Clinton says in her affidavit that she has "never seen the FBI background investigative summary, FBI file, or information I knew or had any reason to believe had been taken therefrom, of any former government employee employed by either the Bush or Reagan Administration, nor have I ever maintained or disseminated any such summary, file, or information."

"Those words are so vague it is like the use of 'is' by her husband

in the [Monica] Lewinsky scandal," Mr. Klayman said. "Did someone give her the information orally? Did it come to her in a different form where it was in a computer database where she can claim she didn't know it was FBI material?" he asked.

Mrs. Clinton's personal attorney, David E. Kendall, would not comment on the case except to say, "We'll do our talking in the court papers."

He filed a 31-page brief Monday asking U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth to block Judicial Watch's 2-year-old effort to depose Mrs. Clinton.

The legal papers state that

"there is no factual basis whatsoever to support the invasion of privacy claims" and that Mrs. Clinton does not "have relevant information on the case."

They also say that "there is no precedent for a civil deposition" of a first lady and that Judicial Watch should first request that Mrs. Clinton answer written interrogatories before trying to question her in person.

"You want to do it spontaneously," Mr. Klayman said. "That's the only way you get the truth."

One of his questions would focus on the first lady's involvement with the hiring of Mr. Livingstone, who obtained the FBI files in 1993 and 1994. Judicial Watch maintains he "admitted to seeking the help of Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff in obtaining his White House job."

Mr. Kendall, in the legal brief, called the evidence "hearsay and scuttlebutt."

In 1998 Mr. Livingstone defended obtaining FBI files on Linda R. Tripp and others. He also said that errors were made in getting files of former employees instead of just current employees, but the mistakes were not made "for nefarious reasons."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

How come Arkansas don't have Zabar one?

■ A news item the other day quoted Mrs. Clinton, as saying she was drawn to New York by the great excitement and energy of the place. "I find that very attractive," she said while announcing (without announcing) that she would be a candidate for New York senator next year.

If that's the case—if it's the agitated, hectic, energetic pace of life, the drivenness, the harm-scarem eagerness to get things done, to make hay while the sun shines, that Mrs. C. is looking for in a place to live—then by all means she should shuffle on up to New York in search of it rather than coming back to Arkansas.

Because as she well knows that sort of world-beater drive and ambition never has been very much at home in Arkansas. We see it here occasionally—the best example I can think of is Sam Walton, lacking only the pompons (or maybe he had pompons, I don't know; come to think of it, he probably did) topping up on the boardroom table to lead the assembled "associates" in the Wal-Mart cheer—but it's a relatively rare critter, and altogether contrary to the prevailing Arkansasveltanshuuang.



■ BOB LANCASTER

To set a spell. To shell some peas. To spend some time fixing gizmos that would be better replaced than repaired. To make things (embroidered pillowcases, pickled peaches, cypress-knee lamps) at considerable effort and expense just for the pleasure of being able to give them away to friends and to strangers. To throw away a lot of stuff they'd forgot along the way they didn't need and didn't even want. A yielding up (willingly, happily) of the acquisitive spirit is somewhere near the heart of the coming-into-Arkansas experience—and you will note by way of contrast that acquisitiveness is the heart, the engine, the driving force, of that energy that Mrs. C. admires in New York and New Yorkers.

Arkansas people work hard but they have

People don't come to Arkansas looking for a way to channel their energy so they can get to be A-No.1, king of the hill, top of the heap. They don't come here to accomplish great things; they come here to get away from feeling like they have to accomplish great things. Or even medium-size things. They don't come here looking for something to do; they come here looking for something not to do. Not to run themselves ragged, first and foremost.

They come here to go fishing, to play golf, to plant themselves a few tomatoes in a little garden, to take time to read some books and maybe write some. To go walking. To study the birds and the wildlife—just the ones that come into the yard are plenty. To look at the sunset a couple times a week.

somehow managed to keep blurred and tenuous the distinction between working hard and hardly working. It's an art, and it's an infernal annoyance and frustration to those about to bust with that energy Mrs. C. finds so attractive. It's an art that probably ate at energetic Mrs. C. all those impatient years she had to spend here; probably got her goat, as the locals like to say. The definitive Arkansas response to the notion of "getting ahead" would be "ahead of what?"

The kind of energetic pursuit of the horizon that lures Mrs. C. New Yorkward is what Americans used to call the Rat Race. And the ideal for as long as I can remember insofar as the Rat Race has been not to get into it but to get out of it. The objective wasn't to leap into the mad scramble, as Mrs. C. is preparing to do, or if you

were already in it, to ratchet up your rattiness quotient to ever more frenetic levels, so you could claw forward ever faster over the backs of your fellow rats. No, the ideal was to get out of the madness, to escape from it—take the next exit, decelerate, and coast your way down to a whole different attitude. One name for that different attitude, for a long time now, has been Arkansas.

Arkansas has its own miniature or minor-league Rat Race to be sure, with its own stresses and hurtful expectations, but it's a race with a smaller purse and a more leisurely pace. It lacks that explosive both-ends-of-the-candle energy that just can't wait to burn itself up and burn itself out. And our rats aren't quite as ratty. We don't have your Donald Trumps and Patricia Buckleys and Al Sharptons and Maureen Dowds—she who was hoo-hawing Arkansas again in the New York Times the other day because we don't have any Zabars.

There's your energetic New Yorker's idea of deprivation, of squalor—a place without Zabars.

It might make her point to admit I'm not 100 percent dead-solid certain even what these Zabar rascals are, exactly. I'd hate it if it did, but I'm not.

I've asked around and got guesses from something to eat, to a pet, to something like a speakeasy or a bordello. All Arkansas guesses, as you can probably tell.

It might make her point to admit I'm not 100 percent dead-solid certain even what these Zabar rascals are, exactly. I'd hate it if it did, but I'm not.

Miss Congeniality

The only thing missing from Hillary Rodham Clinton's big production number in New York is Bert Parks. If he were only here, singing the theme song written just for the occasion "... there she is ... Miss America."

Her staged events are worthy of an Atlantic City press agent, and the questions posed to her have all



Suzanne Fields

the sting of those thrown at Miss Arkansas, or Miss Illinois or Miss New York — innocuous, stilted, stylized and safe. Her measured words are made to look spontaneous. She answers what she's practiced answering, not questions actually asked. What's your favorite color? If you came back as a tree, what tree would it be? When someone asked if she was ready for the months ahead, she might have been Miss Congeniality: "I'm excited about it, and I'm really looking forward to it."

No one asked anything like, "What advice would you give to young people in New York to avoid sinking to the moral standards of your husband?" When someone did ask whether the Monica Lewinsky affair would attract a sympathy vote to her, she replied: "Well, I'm looking forward to meeting with New Yorkers."

As a "listener" who takes her time with her replies rather than firing the bullets New Yorkers are accustomed to, Hillary may win skeptical men. Feminists, of course, hate it when Hillary goes into the feminine mode to seduce male voters, but given the way they stood by her husband they can hardly turn on her for it. Hypocrisy begets hypocrisy.

Hillary is prettier than she's looked since she arrived from Lit-

tle Rock. She's finally got the cosmetics, hair and fashion right. The only thing missing is lip gloss and Vaseline on her



teeth. She knows how to dress for her audience — understated chic in dark colors with designer shoes and suits that the label-conscious will recognize and others will appreciate for making her look slim.

Fortunately for the rest of us, there's no swimsuit category in this pageant. With those chubby thighs and thick ankles, Rudy Giuliani would look awful in a bikini.

Hillary's listening tour is more like a coronation than a campaign. If, as one dazzled elderly woman described her, "she's our Princess Di," it's because she's a victim who holds her head high (though not on

Di's long neck) amid the debris of her husband's oafish behavior.

Hillary's pursuit of a Senate seat is not an expression of women's liberation, but a quest for personal vindication.

It's no coincidence that her husband was on an Indian reservation in pursuit of someone's pain to feel when she took Pat Moynihan to her side to announce her exploratory committee from Pindar's Corner, N.Y.

One of the reasons she looks so pretty, aside from first-class couturier coaching is that she's no longer introduced as somebody's wife. That role never suited her.

She climbed to the cusp of power as a victim of her husband's adultery, but she's not a victim today. As President Clinton prepares his farewell to arms, her sun also rises. She's a single woman for the first time in her public life.

Hillary, not Mr. Clinton, now has a portrait of Dorian Gray in her attic, a wife's version that Oscar Wilde could never have painted. The portrait reveals every deeply furrowed line in the face of an angry woman who made her husband's rise to power possible as he treated her like something on the bottom of his shoe; the lines of a terrified frown at the discovery of the Castle Grande billing records in the White House family rooms; the trace of the shrewish grimace as she orders others to get rid of the minions in the White House travel office ("get them out, get our people in"); the wrinkles left by smug smiles at the easy hundred grand she knocked down in the cattle-futures market; the residue of the scowl of rage at the remembrance of a health-care debacle past.

With the painting safely tucked away in the attic, she may yet glide through the school of New York sharks with the ease of Dorian Gray. There's nevertheless a caution in what happened when Dorian Gray decided to reform himself.

The ugliness in the countenance in the portrait was transferred to his own real-life visage.

"The one charm of the past," wrote Oscar Wilde, "is that it is past." But Hillary surely learned from her season in Arkansas what every Southerner knows, as William Faulkner observed, that the past is not dead. The past is not even past.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY'S SLIP IS SHOWING

'Listens' on L.I. as poll numbers dive

As a new poll showed her numbers slipping, First Lady Hillary Clinton yesterday ducked questions about the repeal of New York City's commuter tax, saying the politically charged tax cut "is a fact."

After holding a 90-minute gun-violence "listening session" in a Long Island middle school, Clinton opened the floor to reporters who asked her twice about the state Legislature's surprise decision in May to kill the tax.

"I think that the real issue here is the high level of taxation," Clinton told the audience of 60 people in Rockville Centre's South Side Middle School.

Pressed on whether the Legislature made the right decision in repealing the 0.45 percent tax on out-of-town commuters, the First Lady replied: "Well, you know, it's a fact. They did it and the courts have made their ruling on it and I really think that it's an issue that's going to have to be addressed in terms of the surplus that both the city and the state currently have."

The last-minute move to repeal the tax blew a \$360 million hole in the city's budget and caused intense turmoil within the state's Republican and Democratic parties.

Democratic leaders in the Assembly sided with Senate Republicans to kill the tax during a heated campaign to fill an open state Senate seat in Rockland and Orange counties.

A state Supreme Court judge last month ruled in favor of Connecticut and New Jersey, which both sued to have their portion of the tax repealed as well. The case is being appealed by the city.

It was the first time Clinton — who is considering running for U.S. Senate here — was asked about the controversial tax cut.

Mayor Giuliani, who is also seriously weighing a Senate run, has blasted state leaders for the tax repeal, saying it's blatantly unfair to New York City.

Asked about the First Lady's deflection of the commuter-tax issue, Giuliani said: "That tells me she's not a candidate yet. When she's a candidate, she'll have to respond to questions."

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.,
FREDRIC U. DICKER
and TOM TOPOUSIS

Meanwhile, a new Marist Poll had bad news for Clinton.

The survey — which previously had her defeating the mayor in a possible run for U.S. Senate — found the First Lady trailing Giuliani 46.9 to 40.7 percent.

The new poll, which surveyed 515 self-described registered voters Sunday and Monday, gave Giuliani strong leads in the often-bellwether suburbs, 54.2-34.8 percent, and in heavily Republican upstate, 55.7-29.5 percent. Mrs. Clinton led in the city by 2 to 1.

Howard Wolfson, Clinton's campaign spokesman, dismissed the poll's findings, saying: "The election is a year and a half away. Hillary Clinton is listening to people, not polls."

But revealing she's still a little green when it comes to New York, the First Lady slipped up when talking to a woman whose son was seriously injured in 1994 when he tackled a gunman at SUNY-Albany.

During the "listening" event, Alice McEnaney told Clinton of how she became active in supporting gun control after her son, Jason, was shot in a classroom.

The First Lady told McEnaney: "You've really spent a lot of time in the years since your son's murder..."

McEnaney interrupted her: "He wasn't murdered. My son's alive."

"Thank God! Amen," replied Mrs. Clinton. Jason, 24, was in the audience and thanked his mother for fighting for tougher gun laws.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

7/15/1999

Hadassah fete for Hillary splits Jews

Dissenters decry the first lady as 'enemy of Israel'

By Julia Duin
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

About two dozen protesters burned a symbolic membership card in front of the New York headquarters of Hadassah yesterday to protest the awarding of the Jewish women's organizations highest honor to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The protesters called the first lady "an enemy of Israel."

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America Inc., with 306,000 members, will award its Henrietta Szold award to Mrs. Clinton as the high point of its 85th national convention July 25-28 in Washington. About 2,500 delegates are expected.

"She's an exceptionally appropriate person to receive Hadassah's award in light of her lifetime dedication to issues involving women and children," said spokesman Joe Wagner.

Miss Szold, who died in 1945 at age 85, was a Baltimore teacher who moved to Palestine in the 1930s in hopes of building a Jewish state. Hadassah established an award in her name in 1949, with its first recipient being another first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt.

Hadassah's choice of Mrs. Clinton has sparked 300 e-mails and letters in protest, including one from Rachel Lewin, the founder of a nursing school in Jerusalem, who says she received the Henrietta Szold Prize from Miss Szold in 1943.

"We feel humiliated and offended by the ceremony of honoring Hillary Clinton with the Henrietta Szold Prize," Miss Lewin wrote in an open letter distributed by the Conference of National Jewish Organizations. "Hadassah is a Zionist organization dedicated to



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, New York Democrat, share a laugh yesterday during a "listening event" at the South Side Middle School in Rockville Centre, N.Y.

the State of Israel. How is it possible that it identifies and honors with its highest prize an outspoken foe of Zionism and the Jewish people?

"We also do not understand the timing of this ceremony. Is it the duty of Hadassah to interfere in the election of a New York senator by flattering and boosting one candidate?"

Joan Swirsky, a health and science writer for the New York Times, sent a protest as well to Hadassah executive director Marlene Post. In a letter dated June 30, Ms. Swirsky described Mrs. Clinton as embodying "the most pernicious

type of antagonism toward Israel."

In her July 2 reply, Miss Post said that Hadassah's board had voted 62-2 last Sept. 24 to present Mrs. Clinton with this year's award, months before her name was mentioned as a Senate candidate. The award, she said, is for Mrs. Clinton's "dedication to humanitarian service."

"This is part of the duplicitous Clinton strategy," said Ms. Swirsky, who has given up her Hadassah membership. "Hadassah has an absolute policy against endorsing someone running for political office. This is unprecedented. It's a de facto endorsement."

Mrs. Clinton's view of the Middle East has been criticized by friends of Israel, especially since May 1998 when she endorsed statehood for Palestine. The White House quickly distanced the president from his wife's views. Two weeks ago she wrote a letter to the Orthodox Union, a Jewish group, in which she labeled Jerusalem as "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel."

If elected, she promised to "be an active, committed advocate for a strong and secure Israel," a high priority for many of New York state's 1.6 million Jews, about 7 percent of the electorate.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



BABE IN ARMS: Could-be Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Rep. Carolyn McCarthy and her grandson, Dennis Nolan, during the First Lady's "listening" stop in Rockville Centre, L.I., yesterday. N.Y. Post: Mary McLoughlin

Great House Hunt is nearing an end

By ADAM MILLER
and ANDY GELLER

Hillary Rodham Clinton is "very close" to finding her dream house.

It won't be the \$3.8 million, 18-room mansion in tony North Salem, N.Y.

Nor, it appears, will it be the \$2.15 million, 9-room glamour pad around the corner.

But a source close to the Great House Hunt said yesterday the First Lady is "close, very close" to making a decision.

She should make her decision in two to three weeks, the source said.

Two weeks ago, rumors swept North Salem, a bucolic enclave of 4,800 in northern Westchester County, that the First Lady had bought the \$3.8 million manse, on exclusive Mills Road.

Not so, said Kathy Sloane, the real-estate agent helping Hillary house-hunt.

Sloane, a former First Lady of Louisville who works for the Brown Harris Stevens brokerage, said Mrs. Clinton and hubby Bill considered the mansion, but dropped it from the list of homes they are considering.

"There were security concerns, along with several other issues, and as a result, the Clintons will not be pursuing any further discussions on the property," she said.

Sloane, a Democratic Party fund-raiser and longtime friend of the Clintons, said the First Family has seen 10 properties and advisers have screened many others.

In fact, new properties are being considered daily, she said.

Sloane, who was involved in the sale of Jackie Onassis' co-op for \$9.5 million after her death, did not spell out what "other issues" were involved in deciding against the Mills Road mansion.



COUNTRY ESTATE: This \$2.15 million home in North Salem is among the places the Clintons have considered.

But residents said they'd heard she couldn't afford the hefty price tag.

As the house fell from the First Family's list, a new rumor swept North Salem that the Clintons had bought a \$2.15 million house — with gardens and pools — around the corner at 79 Bogtown Road.

Clinton reps checked out the house this week.

And a broker called the town's assessor's office yesterday to request an immediate title search for the property, a strong indication the property had been sold.

Highly doubtful, Sloane indicated.

"It's not anything I'm aware of. I've never seen the property. It isn't ringing any bells whatsoever," she said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1994

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Oh, the awkwardness of having a spouse! Marriage makes you one flesh with two entirely unrelated sets of mouths.

Once upon a time, having a spouse was a simple political asset. Her job (they were all hers in those days) was simple: Smile adoringly and say nothing controversial. But now?

First, Elizabeth Dole had to listen to her Beloved Bob "E.D." Dole give his halfhearted political estimate of her chances to reporters. ("But Honeybuns, moi? Look like a political fool for love?") And by the way, why couldn't he take up literacy, like a normal First Gentleman-in-Waiting?

Next, U.S. News & World Report reports the first lady, who is running for a New York Senate seat, was (gasp!) actually *planning on moving to New York*. Her spouse (that's President Clinton) took it upon himself to put the kibosh to that evil rumor. "If she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there [in New York]," Mr. Clinton said in an interview on CNN's "Late Edition" late in June. "But it will be like an incumbent member of Congress running for re-election." That is, she'll have to spend a lot more time in New York, and we'll have to get a place there for her to be while she's spending the time there.

Silly me. I thought senators lived in states and spent time in Washington, rather than the other way around. Any of you voters under the misimpression that Mrs. Clinton was actually planning to become a New Yorker, prior to running for Senate, you stand corrected. From the highest places.

But the award for Most Difficult Political Spouse of

Spouses on the political circuit

ators lived in states and spent time in Washington, rather than the other way around. Any of you voters under the misimpression that Mrs. Clinton was actually planning to become a New Yorker, prior to running for Senate, you stand corrected. From the highest places.

But the award for Most Difficult Political Spouse of

the season goes to the first lady of Mississippi, Pat Fordice. In mid-June her husband, Gov. Kirk Fordice, issued a press release announcing plans to divorce after 44 years of marriage. "Equitably and with dignity," he said, so he could marry widow Ann Creson, his junior high sweetheart. This last part made the dignity part a little hard for Mrs. Fordice.

It was also a little embarrassing for Dan "I Never Committed Adultery" Quayle (Gov. Fordice is a major supporter). Anyway, Mrs. Fordice issued her own press announcement: "Her present inclination is to not have a divorce take place anytime in the near future," said her lawyer, L.C. James.

This was the second time the gov announced their impending divorce. Back in 1993, just a short time after taking the office he and his wife had campaigned so hard for, Mr. Fordice announced to the press they had "irreconcilable differences." One of those differences

turned out to be whether he was going to kick her out of the governor's mansion. I know there is a lot of

There's a public script for divorce that the powerful governor was counting on his wife playing along with.

human tragedy behind this story. I can't help the fact it cheers me up. There's a public script for divorce that the powerful governor was counting on his wife playing along with. After your husband has announced publicly he doesn't want you anymore, what can any self-respecting woman do but give in, go quietly into the good night?

Stick to her guns, that's what. Refuse to cooperate in making look pretty what is an ugly, if common, contemporary maneuver: kicking out your life partner, the mother of your children, to make room for someone you now like better.

The law, of course, doesn't care what Mrs. Fordice wants, and neither apparently does Gov. Fordice. Her reprieve, based on fear of voters' reactions to what would be so visibly forcible divorce, is about to run out. Mr. Fordice leaves office in six months, and he's not likely to feel kindly toward the lady that bucked him in public.

But I do.

Maggie Gallagher is a nationally syndicated columnist.



VLADIMIR MOCHALOV

Gore poses a real dilemma for Hillary

NOW here's a delicate little puzzle for Hillary Clinton: Does she really want to put her prestige on the line to campaign for Veep Al Gore in a messy New York presidential primary Gore could well lose?

It would mean campaigning against Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), whose Senate seat she wants. Moynihan is expected to go all out for Bill Bradley, Gore's sole rival for the Democratic nomination, and plenty of analysts think Bradley will beat Gore in the Empire State.

Moynihan and Bradley oppose

DEBORAH ORIN
INSIDE
WASHINGTON



the Republican welfare-reform bill President Clinton signed, saying it put kids at risk. Most Democrats in Congress voted against the bill, but Mrs. Clinton recently declared her support for it.

Post pollster John Zogby says it's "a good bet" Bradley will beat Gore in New York. Besides, the Empire State likes to sock it

to front-runners, as Bess Myerson, Jimmy Carter and Geraldine Ferraro all learned.

Still, aides say the First Lady will stump for the veep: "Mrs. Clinton strongly supports Vice President Gore and will actively campaign for him," says her spokesman, Howard Wolfson. After all, imagine the uproar if she distanced herself from her husband's *other* heir.

But some doubt she can afford the risk of actively campaigning or doing a TV commercial for Gore, particularly after yesterday's Marist poll showed her slipping behind likely GOP rival

Mayor Giuliani after Week 1 of her "listening tour."

"I think Hillary Clinton needs to campaign for herself," says a New York Democratic staffer. Adds a Democratic strategist: "It's better for people who have their own campaigns not to tell other people how to vote."

Says Republican strategist Rich Galen: "I sure hope she campaigns for Al Gore. Look at that [Marist] poll that shows her behind. I think anything she does for another Democrat helps Republicans."

Also, someone might want to ask the tobacco-hating Hillary

— who banned smoking at the White House — how she feels about Gore's decision to hire Carter Eskew, the Big Tobacco image-maker whose pro-tobacco ads were denounced by her husband as "absolutely false."

What makes New York's Gore-Hillary dynamic so fascinating is that Gore risks a real fight with Bradley over the Democratic nod right up to the convention over a year from now. Does the First Lady really want to be caught in the middle if Bradley wins New York?

There is a growing sense among Democrats that Bradley's challenge will last a very long time, not simply because of his surprising skill at raising campaign cash but because he could pull the kind of upset Gary Hart nearly pulled against Walter Mondale back in 1984.

In fact, sources say Hart, who served in the Senate with Bradley, has written a memo telling him how to do just that, and how to do it better. (Bradley spokesman Eric Hauser refused comment on what advice, if any, Hart has given.)

In any case, the lessons from Hart are clear. Hart stunned Mondale by riding Big Mo to upset him in the New Hampshire primary (where Bradley is within striking distance, some 15 points behind Gore). But Hart had neither the money nor the organization to capitalize on his win.

The lessons: The challenger needs money and he needs to know the party rules and make sure he has delegate slates in every state. (Hart didn't, so no matter how well he did in, say, Pennsylvania, he couldn't translate it into delegates.) Bradley is following both those lessons from Hart's near-miss very carefully, though attention so far has focused mainly on his success at raising big bucks.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

No radio-activity for Hill

THE Post's Eric Feltmann may have started something with his attack yesterday on "Hillary's puffball press" — the lapdogs at other newspapers who are treating the First Lady like some kind of saint instead of asking what the hell she's doing trying to get elected to the Senate from New York.

Now Westchester radio baron William O'Shaughnessy has taken up the cudgels. "Effective immediately, Whitney Radio will no longer cover any staged events arranged by the so-called Hillary Rodham Clinton senatorial exploratory committee," he declares.

"This charade of a 'listening tour,' with its motorcades and flying squads of Secret Service agents, really does nothing to inform the electorate," he adds. "In recent weeks, our colleagues in the public press have begun to resemble a bunch of damn ducks — hoping for a morsel from the First Lady or her considerable entourage."

O'Shaughnessy says his radio stations "are no longer to serve as props for Clinton's Evita-like campaign, which is starting to look like a prelude to a coronation in which her cult-like celebrity is allowed to overwhelm or obscure the necessity for reasonable and robust discussion of the great issues confronting the people of New York state."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton visited with students of South Side Middle School yesterday in Rockville Centre, on Long Island.

Touring Suburbs, Mrs. Clinton Is Silent on Commuter Tax

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y., July 14 — Hillary Rodham Clinton steered clear today of a political dispute that has pitted New York City against its suburbs this year, declining to say whether she supported the repeal of the payroll tax that commuters have paid to the city.

Instead, the First Lady said the "larger issue" was that the state does not receive its fair share of assistance from Washington, creating a higher tax burden for residents. Mrs. Clinton made her remarks on the second day of a tour through the city's suburbs as she prepares for a possible race for Senate next year.

Commuters from New York's populous and politically important suburban communities had long resented the tax. Although Mrs. Clinton was clearly familiar with the commuter tax, she declined twice to state her opinion on the issue. It has caused considerable discomfort for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, her potential Republican opponent, who pleaded unsuccessfully with Albany lawmakers to keep it in place.

Mrs. Clinton did embrace an argument advanced by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Democrat who is retiring after 2000, that the state pays more in taxes to Washington than it gets

TRIANGULAR DIPLOMACY

This week's meeting between President Clinton and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel had to be arranged in part around Hillary Rodham Clinton's schedule. Page A10.

back in Federal assistance.

"I am very interested in seeing what could be done to make sure that New York got more of its fair share in Federal support, because I think that would help some of the taxing problems that really are an important issue here," Mrs. Clinton said.

She made her remarks during a brief news conference at the end of the first of two "Listening to New Yorkers" forums she held on Long Island today.

At a forum that focused on gun control, an issue that Democrats believe will be important in next year's Congressional races, Mrs. Clinton joined Democrats in harshly criticizing the National Rifle Association for its success this year in blocking further restrictions on the purchase of guns.

"It's a very clear example of the way the public allows a small, dedicated group to determine Federal policy and really determine whether or not we're going to be as safe as we could be in this country," she said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

America's new celebrity culture

■ Massive news coverage of the Clintons adds a Hollywood sheen to the nation's politics.

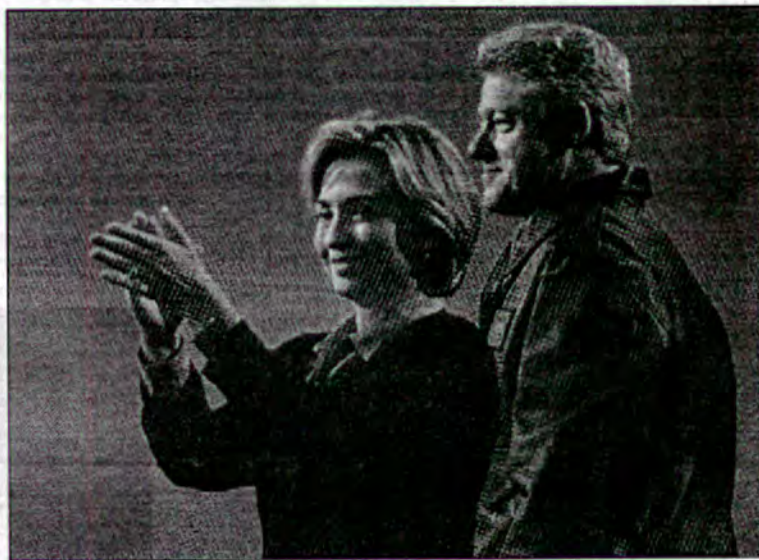
By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON — A recent front page of The New York Times presents a telling tableau. Below the fold, a photograph shows President Clinton with the president of an Indian tribe, a scene from Clinton's tour of poor areas.

Above the fold, in the more prominent position, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is seen strolling with the senator she may try to succeed, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) of New York.

As much as any "first couple" this century, the Clintons are dominating American politics — and, at this point, it is often she more than he that leads in media coverage. Of course, her possible run for the Senate — unprecedented for a first lady, if she declares — has added a novel twist to what would otherwise be the waning period of a two-term presidency.

But there's more at play than just the exploration of Mrs. Clinton's political ambitions. The saga of Bill and Hillary — their marital problems, the impeachment, the speculation over their futures post-White House — has played into, and ex-



GREG GIBSON/AP

acerbated, America's celebrity culture.

"It's not that these are two politicians the country is fascinated with out of politics," says Benjamin Barber, an observer of culture and politics at Rutgers University. "It's more like they're a

See **CELEBRITY** page 4

STEALING THE SHOW: President Clinton and the first lady applaud US Air Force personnel at a base in Italy. The couple epitomizes the 'celebrification' of American politics today.

Clintons and culture of celebrity

CELEBRITY from page 1

celebrity couple the country is fixated with, thanks to obsessive media coverage of what they're doing.

And coverage of "what they're doing," Professor Barber notes, often centers on the soap-opera-like aspects of their lives: Will they get divorced? Will they remain married but live separately after they leave the White House? In particular, these questions provide the subtext for coverage of Hillary's nascent Senate campaign.

It's even possible that, without the "wronged wife" dynamic, Hillary would not be a credible Senate candidate in New York, says Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political observer at the Claremont Graduate School in California.

IF SHE had decided to run in her native state of Illinois or her adopted home state of Arkansas, that would be one thing. But to contemplate running in a state that she has no particular connection to raises a new level of questions about her qualifications — and, beyond that, why New Yorkers are taking her potential candidacy seriously.

It's not that anyone doubts that Mrs. Clinton is intelligent, poised, and dedicated to family and children's issues — or that, as an ex-first lady, she would carry unique status as

a US senator. Rather, says Ms. Jeffe, it's also "that she is the wronged wife of a philandering husband who happens to be the president of the United States. The melodrama is much too delicious to ignore. Everyone's watching to see how she handles the scandal question."

In short, the Clintons, the media, and the public are entangled in a three-way symbiosis, which leaves the masses entertained but does little for the serious discussion of policy. It is part of the broader "celebrification" — and ultimately, observers say, trivialization — of politics that has led people like real estate magnate Donald Trump and media mogul Ted Turner to ponder running for president. "Political alliances are weakening, and that allows big names to come in and grab votes," says Jim Pinkerton, a former Reagan administration official.

In the end, the story of the Clintons and their impact on the presidency can't really be understood until long after they've left the White House. Each first couple reacts to who's gone before them, and in turn influences their successors, but ultimately blazes their own path.

If President Franklin Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor, are the closest analogy to the Clintons, as a first couple who both played forceful public roles, the comparison still falls short, says Barber. "There was no TV. There was some tabloid coverage, but we're talking about a president who was in a wheelchair and no one in the nation reported that."

Another possible comparison could be President and Jackie Kennedy, the first celebrity "first couple" in the modern political era. But even there, the gap between their image (glamorous) and the behind-the-scenes reality (soap opera) appears quaint compared with the current tell-all, see-all White House.

In the wake of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, many observers have surmised that Clinton's biggest impact on the presidency will be in the office's formal rights and powers, and in particular the newly defined limits on executive privilege. As cultural symbols, and as the first baby boomers to occupy the White House, the Clintons have sent mixed messages to the nation, observers say. As a two-career couple, they have shown the benefits of mutual professional support. But they also "taught the country a lesson about the state of marriage in the country," says Mr. Pinkerton.

'It's more like they're a celebrity couple the country is fixated with.'

— Benjamin Barber

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Washington Post

First Lady Open About House Hunt

By LYNN DUKE

Washington Post Staff Writer

WANTAGH, N.Y., July 13—In the second week of her "listening tour" in New York, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton dropped her cagey stance toward the media today and spoke publicly for the first time about her house hunt in the state where she hopes to be a senator.

"I'm considering everywhere," she said in response to a question of whether she was looking on Long Island. "I've seen some places myself. I've had a lot of brochures, videos, descriptions sent to me. I've had friends who have gone and looked at places and reported to me."

Clinton's comments on a windswept Atlantic Ocean boardwalk along Jones Beach, a popular sun spot on Long Island for New Yorkers, were a rare unscripted event in a tightly choreographed tour intended to allow her to listen to New Yorkers' concerns. Today, in addition to her beach visit for lunch with the treasurer of her exploratory committee, she conducted a 90-minute listening forum in Westchester County, one of the most affluent counties in the nation and a possible region for the Clintons' new home.

She listened but also spoke in detail on issues such as education and welfare reform. Far more than her listening to them, New Yorkers these days are doing a lot of listening to Clinton in what clearly is an effort to give New Yorkers a chance to learn more about this would-be candidate who hails from Washington via Arkansas and Illinois.

Clinton, who has never held elective office or resided in this state, established an exploratory committee last week as a first step in her likely run for the Senate seat to be vacated next year by the retiring veteran Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D). In this unprecedented exploration of a political run by a sitting first lady, the last steps are an official announcement of her candidacy and a home to establish residency.

New York has been awash with rumors and anonymously sourced news stories for weeks on the Clinton house search. Clinton said today that she has not yet found a house, but jokingly reached out for help from those within earshot, saying, "I'm taking any suggestions, ideas, recommendations. Anybody have any neighbors that are moving shortly?"

"I'm very serious about trying to find a place," she said. "It's just a lot more complicated than I thought it would be because I have to worry about security and other matters that I wouldn't have to worry about under other circumstances. ... I'm having a good time looking."

Clinton's chattiness about her house search contrasts with the wariness with which she handles questions that touch on the personal or controversial. Though it has gone largely unspoken on her "listening tour," she is making a bold political move out of her husband's shadow at a time when the couple's lives have been dogged by investigations and controversies, culminating in the impeachment of her husband and the cementing of her image as a wife done wrong. Asked last week about the impact of that perception on her political career, Clinton did not answer.

Her GOP critics have portrayed her as an intruding opportunist. Over the weekend, New York Gov. George Pataki (R) said Clinton's potential Senate race was part of her "cockamamie national agenda."

Clinton, who enjoys celebrity status as a first lady—and one whom many New Yorkers seem to like—shot back at Pataki today with criticism of his state's budget impasse, reminding her listening audience that New York has been technically without a budget since April 1.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Chicago Tribune

Hillary's breaking the mold again

Ever since Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign, there has been a running joke—particularly among women—that the wrong Clinton was running for office. It looks like that's no longer the case.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who formed a campaign exploratory committee this week, will almost certainly be the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York. And while her carpetbagger status (she's never lived in the state) is a legitimate issue, it's a sure bet nobody's asking "Hillary Who?"

Her celebrity, of course, comes from her role as first lady. But there's more to it than that. Rosalynn Carter was first lady. So were Barbara Bush and Betty Ford. Hillary Clinton, to her abiding credit, is different, and she brought that difference to the White House. She's not your mother's first lady.

She may not be the first president's wife to be smarter than the president, but she's the first one with the credentials to prove it. She's been breaking ground all her life, and the campaign she has kicked off in New York proves that she's not done yet.

Critics—and there have been plenty—said it was those very attributes and accomplishments that made her so uppity. Could be.

She took a lot of heat for her 1993 national health

care debacle. It was called "managed competition"—and these days it's not looking so bad, after all.

And then there was her book, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child," about the role of community in the lives of children and adolescents. What a hoot, right? Turns out she was just ahead of the curve.

She's made plenty of mistakes, too. If you can't quite remember them all, just wait. That's the sort of thing this New York Senate race is just tailored to bring up.

But like her or not, Clinton has proved that the first lady can be more than a White House ornament. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom she admires, played a significant role on the national and international stage in her day, but a policy wonk she wasn't.

In the harrowing last couple of years, even Hillary Clinton's detractors have given her credit for the strength and dignity with which she handled a most personal and public crisis, the Monica Lewinsky affair. Sure, some said she should have walked out on her philandering husband. But she knew what she was doing—for her family and for her future.

In New York, she's not a "Stand by Your Man" woman anymore. She has a new theme song: "It's My Turn."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TGIF

ALEX BEAM

Hillary's not-so-secret admirer

The current issue of The New Yorker has a brief article about Hillary Clinton's not-so-secret ambition to become the nation's first woman president. Various scenarios have Senator Clinton (D-N.Y.) running for vice president in 2004, after an Al Gore loss in 2000, or running for the top job in 2008.

Well then, a wealthy Beverly Hills immigrant named Max Rhodes proves to be even more clued-in than the incomparably clued-in New Yorker, because he has been pushing his Hillary for President 2000 campaign since the end of last year. Rhodes loves Hill, thinks Gore has the scarlet (crimson?) L-for-Loser written all over him. "He appears weak, his voice speaks without conviction, and he lacks the appeal that we need in a leader. . . . Gore himself does not believe in his candidacy," according to Rhodes's campaign materials.

Rhodes has everything — a pile of dough, a Web site (www.hillary4prez2000.com), T-shirts, bumper stickers, and even a fight song:

*She's got the smarts . . . and she's humane
She can even outwit Saddam Hussein!
Hill's already a White House resident
Let's save 'em a move and make her president.*

He also has Democratic Party mailing lists, and some big-cheese donors have been surprised to see his solicitations showing up in their mailboxes. Rhodes lacks only one thing: Hillary's blessing. "She does not support us, but we are in the process of changing her mind," Rhodes says.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary talks health in N.Y.

By Michael Grunwald

Washington Post

COOPERSTOWN, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton Thursday waded back into the volatile issue that marked her worst political disaster, pledging to pursue only incremental health care reforms if she is elected to the Senate, but suggesting that she still believes the system needs major reconstructive surgery.

At a health care forum on the second day of her statewide "listening tour," Clinton seemed conflicted about the issue that first thrust her onto the national policy-making stage.

She said that ever since the demise of her comprehensive national health care plan in 1994, she has belonged to the "school of smaller steps."

But then she described the smaller steps that her husband and most congressional Democrats are pushing these days as inadequate responses to "underlying structural problems," such as the rising influence of money in medicine and the growing ranks of the uninsured.

Health care could be a political minefield for the first lady, and aides to her potential Republican rivals have warned that they will use the so-called "HillaryCare" debacle to portray her as a big-government liberal.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gilda Mazzura, a 92-year-old nursing home patient in Rome, N.Y., gives first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton a kiss Thursday.

Nevertheless, Clinton seemed willing to position herself to the left of her own party at her meeting before several dozen medical professionals and consumers at the Bassett Health Care Center here.

She said she supported the "patients bill of rights" that Democrats have proposed to rein in managed care plans, but called the fairly sweeping bill a "diversion" that will not reform the money-driven insurance industry.

She also endorsed her husband's new plan to expand prescription drug coverage for the elderly, but said the problems created by rising pharmaceutical costs are "much greater than that."

"This is going to be an increasingly contentious issue, I predict to you," she said. "We're going to

have to address it, or else we're just going to have to say that the market is what the market is."

Clinton's first return to the health care debate as a candidate was the highlight of another eventful day on the campaign trail.

She said she favored the death penalty, but was not an "enthusiastic death penalty supporter."

But in a move that took State Department officials by surprise, her campaign spokesman confirmed that she considers Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel," a break with his administration's policy.

In a letter to the Orthodox Union, a New York-based group representing about 750 orthodox Jewish synagogues in the United States, she also said she favors shifting the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JULY 19, 1999

POSTOPINION

And the Prize for Hillary-Hating . . .

THE prize for an ever-escalating contest in loony attacks on Hillary Rodham Clinton has to go to Michael Kelly for his column that says we must punish her for inflicting her husband on us ("Now 'Listening' in New York: The Woman Who Gave Us Bill," Post Opinion, July 16).

Ms. Clinton is "a victimizer of the rest of us" because she knew her husband is a rat and she did not tell us. Since Bill Clinton is, in Kelly's eyes, "pathological," she should have warned us against him instead of "foisting such a man upon the nation."

Now there's an interesting new way of reading presidential history. Did Pat Nixon know her husband was pathological? Probably. She tried to leave him at one point. Why, if he was not good enough for her, did she let us even consider the idea that he was good enough for the rest of us? Why didn't she call for a psychological examination of her husband?

Or how about Jacqueline Kennedy? At one point her father-in-law put her marriage back together. Surely she knew her husband was a compulsive womanizer — far more than Clinton.

Kennedy, who told a British statesman he needed continual sex to avoid headaches, had a string of girlfriends in the White House, including a Mafia plaything whose potential for damaging the presidency was greater than Monica's ever could be. Where was Ms. Kennedy when we needed her? Why do we honor the memory of



GARRY WILLS

this person who victimized us?

For that matter, Bess Truman probably knew from her own docile ways with him how bullying Harry could be. Why did she not tell us he was just the kind of guy who drops a second nuclear weapon without giving time for the impact of the first one to sink in? We have to rewrite Cold War history and put the blame where it really belongs.

Of course, there are people who think Kennedy and Truman were pretty good presidents, even though their wives knew they were not perfect men. Some, alas, even think Nixon was OK. Many people, a clear majority, now think President Clinton, for all his egregious flaws, has been a good president in steering the economy and conducting foreign policy.

None of that is supposed to count, though, if Mr. Kelly is right. The men should have been rejected on the testimony of their wives. What is excluded from criminal trials, he calls for on the public hustings, where he can stand with his headman's ax waiting for a signal from the first spouse to end the president's tenure.

Blaming women is an old game, but Kelly has brought it to new heights. By the time Ms. Clinton is elected or defeated, we may have to build whole strings of new mental homes to put people in who have gone bonkers trying to destroy the Hillary monster.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



A GROWING FRIENDSHIP: Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak waved from the White House lawn as the Clintons swept him off to Camp David last week.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MONDAY, JULY 19, 1999

Barak Gala May Benefit Mrs. Clinton In New York

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, July 18 — Demonstrating just how valuable the platform of the White House can be for a Senate candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton helped give a dinner here tonight for Ehud Barak, the Prime Minister of Israel, overseeing a gala that could only increase the goodwill toward Mrs. Clinton among Jewish voters.

President Clinton and his wife invited nearly 500 people, twice the number they normally invite for official dinners, many of them influential in the Jewish community in New York. The throng was so large — it was believed to be the biggest sit-down dinner in the Clinton Administration — that they held the banquet in a vast tent on the South Lawn.

As it happens, the First Lady's office is charged with deciding whom to invite to such White House functions, and her Senate campaign could not have been far from her thoughts.

Among the guests was Leah Rabin, widow of the assassinated Prime Minister, who in an interview sought to put to rest any concern that some Jewish voters might have about Mrs. Clinton's statement that Palestinians should eventually have their own state. "I don't have any argument with her," Mrs. Rabin said. "I probably wouldn't have made the statement myself because we feel that the final declaration of a Palestinian state should be in the framework of our agreement. So an official person in Israel would not have said it, but in fact the process has already brought about — it feels as if a Palestinian state will be inevitable."

The value of the Barak visit was evident not only to guests here tonight but also to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton's likely Republican opponent in the Senate race, who met for 40 minutes this morning with the Prime Minister at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York.

"It was an excellent meeting," the Mayor said later. "We talked about the peace process, as you would expect, in some detail. But we also talked about the reduction in crime in New York. He was very interested in how we brought it about so they could apply some of those same practices in Israel."

The meeting was apparently initiated by officials at the Israeli consulate, who told the Prime Minister, "You come to New York, you meet the Mayor of New York."

Such a hot commodity is Mr. Barak that news of his meeting with the Mayor was a topic of conversation at the White House tonight.

"Giuliani had an interview today with Barak for a half hour and wouldn't let him go," said David Steiner, vice chairman of the National Jewish Democratic Council and past president of the American-Israeli Political Action Committee.

She did wardrobes for the Boston Opera, the New York City Opera and the Metropolitan Opera and for American Ballet Theater, the New York City Ballet, the Houston Ballet and Ballet Hispanico.

In Hollywood she left her imprint on "The Graduate" (1967). On television she designed costumes for productions like "The Glass Menagerie" on ABC in 1973 and "Alice in Wonderland" on WNET in 1983.

Analyzing Ms. Zippodt's talent, the actor Joel Grey, who worked with her in "Cabaret" in 1966, said: "Her hands were all over the work, whether or not it had to do with making a diaper for Father Time or this very tattered but elegant master-of-cere-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Associated Press

President Clinton and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel have quickly built rapport during their talks. The two leaders, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Nava Barak entered the White House for dinner yesterday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton, American Jews welcome

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak was given what was termed officially a "working dinner" at the White House last night. With more than 500 guests present, it was an unusually full house to celebrate the new leader of the 51-year-old country struggling internally and with its Arab neighbors for peace.

Representatives of major Jewish organizations were out in force, as were a number of Arab-Americans along with Leah Rabin, widow of slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who was considered a mentor for Mr. Barak.

President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stood with Mr. Barak and his wife, Nava, to greet everyone in a receiving line at the bottom of the grand staircase before a seated dinner held in a formal dining tent on the South Lawn.

Given the somber news of the day concerning the likely deaths of John F. Kennedy Jr., his wife and her sister, it seemed poignant — and entirely coincidental — that the couples were standing near the mansion's official oil portrait of President Kennedy, who is shown in a brooding pose looking down and away from the public's gaze.

Both men spoke of the Kennedy tragedy in toasts before dinner in the huge white air-conditioned tent. "This is a good day for affirming the eternal friendship between Israel and the United States," Mr. Clinton said.

"We are reminded again that life and its possibilities are fleeting; that we mortals are obliged to be humble and grateful for every day and to make the most of every day and that the obligation that we bear for the search for peace in the Middle East should be assumed with that clear knowledge."

"The family that has given us all so much has suffered another loss that can hardly be borne," Mr. Barak said in turn.

Abe Pollin, CEO of Washington Sports & Entertainment, offered an upbeat note concerning the future of Middle East negotiations. "The prime minister is a personal friend of ours. We are feeling very good and so pleased to have him here. He is a very special person. We will have peace [in the Middle East] within the year. He has started on it."

"He's a mensch, or something like that," was political consultant James Carville's assessment of Mr. Barak's personality. Mr. Carville had been instrumental in helping win the last Israeli election. He was accompanied by his wife, Mary Matalin, listed officially as a "Republican strategist" but who was recently named a new host of CNN's "Crossfire."

"He has the support within Israel to succeed," said Rep. Nick J. Rahall II, West Virginia Democrat, who introduced himself proudly as an Arab-American. James Zogby, president of the Arab-American Institute, was also on the list.

"We'll see that the peace process will be renewed," said Leah Rabin, who then was asked about the Clintons' views toward establishment of a Palestinian state.

A number of notable New Yorkers attended, including former New York City Mayor Ed Koch; former White House operative Rahm Emanuel, now managing director of Wasserstein Perella and Company; Victor Kovner, board member of Americans for Peace Now; Ronald Lauder, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of

Major American Jewish Organizations; and Rep. Nita M. Lowey, who not long ago dropped plans to run for senator in lieu of Mrs. Clinton's expected future campaign.

Ronald Perelman, CEO of Revlon, was accompanied by actress Ellen Barkin for what he said was his first White House dinner. Another couple of note, who seldom are seen in public, was State Department spokesman James P. Rubin with his wife, CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour. The couple are friends of John F. Kennedy Jr.'s.

Barak

Washington Times
7/19/1999

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



THE CAMPAIGN

A candidate keeps cool.

To speak and say nothing is an art. What it requires is not self-abnegation so much as an exaggerated form of self-assurance, an ability to animate, almost by will alone, the blandest of vacuities. It is a test of poise and concentration and resolve, as an experienced geisha—or politician—can attest.

Last week, in Pindars Corners, Hillary Rodham Clinton embarked on her "Listening Tour of New York." It was the opening gesture of her all-but-inevitable Senate candidacy and just the opposite of the conventional campaign kickoff. Instead of orchestrated drama—the big speech in front of the cheering, balloon-toting crowd—there was only anticlimax, brilliantly staged. The two hundred members of the media who had arrived to record the first step in her historic race found themselves waiting in the middle of a newly mown hayfield while down the road, in an old one-room schoolhouse, the First Lady conferred privately with Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan—or, who knows, perhaps just gossiped with friends on her cell phone. When the two finally strolled up to where the reporters were assembled, the mob tried to force Mrs. Clinton to say something, anything, for the evening news, throwing out, in quick succession, provocative questions about carpetbagging, Monica, and the right design for the Peace Bridge connecting Canada and Buffalo. She, however, remained as cool and elusive as the journalists were desperate.

By that afternoon, the comic incongruity of camera crews reduced to filming each other while reporters vied for interviews with local kids selling lemonade gave way to something still more punishing. Hillary, it turned out, really did intend to listen. Five citizens of Oneonta had been assembled in a meet-

ing room at the State University to talk about what mattered to them. Ben Friedell, a local doctor, spoke about the importance of public education; Steve Waller, a college student, shared his reasons for wanting to become a teacher; Elena Doyle, a small-business owner, described the difficulty of finding good help among local young people.

"The one problem that I've noticed throughout all the years I've been in business in Oneonta is social skills and emotional intelligence," Doyle said at one point, because it was something she cared about. "The problem of peo-



ple answering the phones, unbelievable. . . . I say to them, 'If you cannot relate in this little town, what will happen when you get out there and really see what the world is and don't have someone like me for a boss that takes you in the back and coddles you?'

From my vantage point, wedged up against an end table, I could barely see Mrs. Clinton's face, but every time she turned my way she was, it seemed, nodding emphatically, fairly radiating earnest concern. She was concerned about pre-kindergarten education, about access to dental care, about better marketing of dairy products, and, of course, about the problem of answering the phones. Half an hour into this ninety-minute exercise, I counted three reporters fast asleep.

The luxury of Mrs. Clinton's campaign is that she does not, in the tradi-

tional sense, need the media. She can eschew drama, refuse to speak in sound bites, spend weeks exploring the dark continent that lies between Utica and Malone, all without fear of falling into obscurity. Even before the opening rout at Pindars Corners, journalists were showing justifiable signs of anxiety. I met several of my colleagues in the corridors of the Albany Marriott the night before the First Lady's arrival, and they all confessed to a queasy feeling. Had we gathered for the most sensational political story of the year, or was it more like one of those sting operations that proffer free Yankees tickets to gullible fugitives?

So far, Mrs. Clinton's candidacy is based on a logic that is, quite frankly, circular, or, in its maddening topology, perhaps more like a Möbius strip. When she or her aides are pressed on how she can presume to run in a state she has never lived in, the programmatic reply is that what is important is "where you stand, not where you are from." When they're pressed on where she stands, the answer is no less automatic: she has come to New York not to impose her views but to "listen to New Yorkers." She talked throughout the day about the issues she is committed to, which, she suggested, were the very same issues she is hoping to learn about. "All I can say is that I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I've already been learning about and hearing about," she told the reporters on Moynihan's farm.

By day two of her tour, Mrs. Clinton's media strategy was showing some signs of strain, as reporters, searching for something besides her "listening sessions" to cover, came up with a letter she had written to Jewish leaders a week earlier on moving the Israeli capital to Jerusalem. No doubt there will be more such contretemps. Still, you have to credit the First Lady, or at least her advisers, with cunning. As has been widely noted, her popularity has always had less to do with the causes she has championed than with the abuses she has borne stoically. In this sense, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, with his native bellicosity, is an ideal opponent, and so, too, is a capacious press.

—ELIZABETH KOLBERT



President and Mrs. Clinton greet Prime Minister Ehud Barak and his wife, Nava, before last night's White House dinner in honor of the newly elected Israeli leader.

On a Grim Weekend, A Note of Hope

At the White House Gala for Ehud Barak, Everyone Seems to Have a Taste for Peace

By ROXANNE ROBERTS and EMILY WAX
Washington Post Staff Writers

With most of the country transfixed on the sad search for John F. Kennedy Jr.'s plane, the White House tried briefly last night to sound a hopeful note: an effusive, heartfelt welcome for Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

"It's a terrible weekend," said a grim-faced Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.). "It's good to have something positive in the air, and tonight's positive."

Both Clinton and Barak opened their toasts with words of comfort and prayers for the Kennedy family in front of more than 500 guests gathered in a pavilion on the South Lawn. Clearly, the latest Kennedy tragedy cast a shadow on what

would have been an upbeat celebration for the new Israeli leader and his supporters, many of whom were in attendance.

"I think he's a banner of hope," said Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel. "His language, his commitment, his behavior—he represents promise."

Another guest at the dinner, Leah Rabin, the widow of slain Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, was the sentimental focus of the evening. "You don't compare personalities," she said. "But I do believe Barak is a wonderful, wonderful person and that he is dedicated to the cause of peace for all the people of our area."

Sens. Jesse Helms, Charles Schumer and Frank Lautenberg led the list of influential politicians at the table; former New York mayor

See DINNER, C2, Col. 1

DINNER, From C1

Ed Koch and comedian Al Franken provided the one-liners, and billionaires and multimillionaires such as Ron Perelman, Ron Lauder and Walter Shorenstein led the list of big-buck Democratic donors.

Missing was Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and the fact that the guest list looked like a New York Senate candidate's dream Rolodex was purely coincidental.

But this was Barak's night, although the dinner was not an official state event but rather an informal "working" dinner for friends. The receiving line took more than two hours, given all the greetings and hugs. Leah Rabin received a long, warm embrace from Clinton and Barak. James Carville, who served as a consultant to Barak's winning campaign, got a booming welcome from his client, and the admiration was mutual. "He's not very tall," said Carville, "but he sure is smart."

The 57-year-old war hero, a protégé of Yitzhak Rabin, is widely hailed as the next great hope for peace in the Middle East. After three years of tense Israeli-Arab relations under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, many are treating Barak's election as a de facto peace treaty, rather than a jump-start to new peace talks. Perhaps the most symbolic part of Barak's six-day trip so far was the Clintons' invitation to spend last Thursday night at Camp David—the site of the historic 1978 peace accord brokered there by Jimmy Carter, Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin.

Last night, after the marathon receiving line, the two leaders and their guests gathered in a huge tent. The air outside was muggy, the "pavilion" blissfully air-conditioned.

The dinner began with extended toasts.

President Clinton began his remarks with thoughts of the Kennedys. "Life and its possibilities are fleeting," he said. "We have to make the most of every day."

Barak, on his first visit to the United States as prime minister, responded by emphasizing the relationship between the United States and Israel, calling for a "new era of secure and lasting peace in the Middle East." He spoke eloquently and from the heart as a soldier and warrior. "I can tell you there have never been words or images that portray the horror of death," he said. "I pray that the time will never come when I have to give the order to go to war."

The rest of the night was relatively subdued. The guests dined on a menu of chilled gazpacho, arctic

char and a summer nectarine pudding. There was no entertainment on this evening, just the quiet hopes for peace and grace.

"I propose a toast to you and Mrs. Clinton for your warm hospitality," Barak said in closing. Most of all, he said, he wanted everyone to remember President Kennedy's dream—a dream that Clinton followed: "Where the strong are just, the weak secure and the peace preserved."

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

As 'Hillary Fatigue' takes over, first lady loses lead in N.Y. polls

Mrs. Clinton continues to sidestep embarrassing questions

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — In the second phase of her "listening tour," as she walks the line between candidate and first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton is facing declining poll numbers and a growing sense among some politicians and voters that embarrassing or tough questions are not being entertained.

Traveling upstate and in the suburbs, Mrs. Clinton talked up her favorite issues — child care and gun control. But when reporters were permitted to question her, she sidestepped such matters as the commuter tax and tenure for teachers. She also deflected queries that hinted at scandals or put her at odds with her husband's policies.

The three-day tour was vintage folk among average people. The scheduled windup, however, found her in a huddle with some of Manhattan's top money men — among them former White House adviser Erskine Bowles and investment banker Robert Altman — at a private fund-raiser. The pitch for campaign contributions — about 70 people at \$1,000 a head — is believed to be the first appeal held in her name alone since she announced the formation of an exploratory committee to run for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

Throughout the week, Mrs. Clinton sat with small, hand-picked audiences, nodding her head in assent and briskly taking notes as she listened to people's concerns. Last week in the opening phase of this learning expedition, the first lady made page one and led the local TV newscasts. But this week, as "Hillary Fatigue" seemed to set in among even the hardest supporters, her words and deeds were relegated to the inside pages.

In the latest Marist poll, Mrs. Clinton trailed her most likely opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, for the first time — 46.9 percent to 49.7 percent. The survey, conducted among registered voters, also reflected the mayor's superior strength upstate and in the suburbs.

She "really needs to demonstrate to New Yorkers the kind of commitment she has to be a senator from this state," said poll director Lee Miringoff.

Friends of Hillary are reported to be advising her to keep appearances intimate and small, saying safe meetings in manageable groups will protect her dignity. Others disagree, saying that once she is stripped of her White House aura, the going will get rough.

"If her handlers are telling her to act like just another candidate, to diminish her presence, they're making a grievous mistake," said Republican consultant Jay Seve-

rin. "She's viewed by prospective voters as a feminist champion, a wronged wife, a mother, martyr and saint — First Lady Spice. That celebrity quotient is very important in a New York race."

From the start, Mrs. Clinton has dismissed questions about controversial issues, saying it was time to look to the future.

At one stop in Nassau County, Sarah Stern, a Republican housewife, said Mrs. Clinton "deflected" her question about ending tenure for teachers. She did say, however, that she supported charter schools, a system in which parents can choose to take their children out of a public school in favor of a private or parochial school.

Mrs. Clinton avoided committing herself to support for the repeal of New York City's commuter tax. The tax, recently repealed in Albany, was paid to the city by commuters, many of them Long Islanders who were in her audience. Instead, Mrs. Clinton said she was aware of the "tax burden" and would work to increase the state's share of federal assistance. Mr. Giuliani fought hard to retain the tax.

Mrs. Clinton advocated gun control as she addressed a pre-selected group in Rockville Centre, accompanied by Democratic Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed by a deranged gunman in 1993.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton Supporters Eye \$25 Million Campaign for New York Seat

By LANTHE JEANNE DUGAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Hillary Rodham Clinton may be an out-of-towner, but she is moving fast to prove her fund-raising prowess in New York.

She held her first Senate fund-raising meeting Wednesday night, followed up by a \$1,000-a-head breakfast this morning. Already a group of core supporters is planning an Oct. 25 birthday bash/fund-raiser. A Hamptons party, most likely headlined by President Clinton, will be held the last weekend in August.

Even wedding dress designer extraordinaire Vera Wang, once better known in Republican circles, has offered to host a brunch at her home.

"The cult around her [Hillary Clinton] is Kennedy-like," said John Catsimatidis, chief executive of the food and oil conglomerate Red Apple Group and one of New York's biggest Democratic fund-raisers. "People can't do enough for her."

Catsimatidis is on a new finance committee being formed by the first lady. He and about 20 other supporters met Wednesday evening at the Park Avenue office of Patricof & Co. Ventures to discuss how to raise \$25 million to move Hillary Clinton into the seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Patricof, one of the biggest venture capital firms in the country, is owned by two of Clinton's biggest supporters: Alan Patricof and his wife, Susan.



In Great Neck Wednesday, on her "listening tour" of New York, first lady Hillary Clinton meets with David R. Dantzker, president of North Shore-Long Island Jewish Health System.

Alan Patricof is acting as Clinton's informal finance chairman, overseeing a powerful group of advisers. They include high-profile Democrats and some low-key political newcomers, mainly women who not only agree with Clinton's stand on family issues but also are determined to have a role in ushering the first woman into a New York Senate seat.

"There are a lot of tremendous, vibrant women in New York, but it is very hard to rise into the top offices here," said Ellen

Chesler, a prominent writer and longtime Clinton friend. "It takes \$25 million."

Clinton—who has served as a major fund-raising draw for the Democratic Party and candidates during her husband's two terms in office—is laying the groundwork for amassing that sum. Earlier this month, she mailed a "Dear Friend" letter to nearly 2 million people. "You may not be able to travel across New York with me, but in a very real sense, I am counting on you to be

by my side," the letter said.

She has also made hundreds of calls directly, including many from the White House. A spokesman said she is using a private line and her cellular phone.

Among those attending the small meeting Wednesday were President Clinton's former chief of staff, Erskine B. Bowles, former deputy treasury secretary Roger Altman, and Washington lobbyist Liz Robbins, along with investment bankers Stan Shuman and Steven Rattner and Rattner's wife, Maureen White, a prominent Democratic activist.

Clinton's fund-raising is being guided by the man who helped propel her husband to victory, Terry McAuliffe, and Gabrielle Fialkoff, a veteran New York fund-raiser. Also on board is Harvey Weinstein, the chief of Miramax Films, and his wife, Eve. Eve Weinstein is not typically known for taking an active role in politics. Now, friends say, she has vowed: "I'll do anything to get Hillary into office."

This morning, Patricof presided over a second meeting at the giant New York law firm Skadden Arps, drawing some 75 people, including playwright Eve Ensler, who wrote "The Vagina Monologues," Geraldine Laybourne of Oxygen Media, Martha Stewart Living chief executive Sharon Patrick, and Toby Nussbaum, wife of former White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum.

"After all my years in politics, you'd think I'd be nuts to do this," several attendees recalled Hillary Clinton saying.

Apparently they did not. Many contributed

\$1,000 to talk, listen and volunteer. "I'm going to write letters and co-host events and however else I can be useful," said Beth DeWoody of Rudin Management Co., a real estate firm.

The meeting was organized by Skadden partner Mark Kaplan, a longtime Hillary friend who rented the space from his firm, the same vast conference room where the Federal Reserve Bank of New York last year oversaw the rescue of hedge fund Long Term Capital Management.

At the smaller meeting Wednesday, one woman asked Hillary Clinton how she would address the Monica S. Lewinsky question, according to several supporters who were holed up in the black-and-white conference room. The room became tense. "I almost fell off my chair," said one attendee.

Clinton responded quickly, saying she supports the president "110 percent" and is "very upset" that people have tried to use this to destroy him.

At the meetings she said she expects to raise \$8 million outside New York. Her presence in New York City has concerned some of Vice President Gore's advisers.

"When you write a check to Hillary, you feel like you're writing it to the administration," said Catsimatidis. "I do believe it will hurt Gore's campaign."

But some fund-raisers who are making calls for Gore and Clinton say that their job is simplified. "You just pick up the phone," said one, "and say, you've already given for Gore; can you give for Hillary?"

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

A day in the life of a carpetbagger

HILLARY CLINTON'S to-do list for Thursday, July 15, 1999:

■ 10 a.m. Oh, no! Another tedious game of Empire State Jeopardy with Ickes. ... Must win this time.

Learn from past mistakes: The official animal of New York is the American beaver, *not* the tenement cockroach. The state bird is the blue bird, *not* the Adirondack black fly.

The insect is the lady bug, *not* the First Lady pest. The state fruit is the apple, *not* Tinky Winky.

The New York state motto is "Excelsior." That means, "Always upward," and has absolutely nothing to do with taxes, Rudy's poll numbers, or that miserable husband of mine...

Ed Koch is *alive*. Ditto Lindsay. Ditto Beame. Eighty-six on Eleanor R. Do not screw up this time!

ANDREA PEYSER



■ Noon. Hair, makeup and Manhattan black-wardrobe initiation. If necessary, may train with tan and ecru, gradually building up my immunity to primary colors.

■ 1 p.m. Smile maintenance. Donna H. recommends: Sit in warm bath visualizing Rudy G. sticking finger in light socket in Washington Heights — that's *north* of Saks, far west of the Golan Heights, in case anyone should ask — at the exact moment Con Ed restarts power. Ouch!

■ 2 p.m. Start dressing for dinner with those annoying Baraks. Ugh! At

least Bibi spoke good English, not to mention he had as frisky a rep with the ladies as my Billy. In Israel, they loved him for that — and hated him for confessing! Life is sooo unfair.

But this guy Barak (Memo to self: Study proper pronunciation of Ehud) is some kind of square. So what if he's a war hero? Bill had to live with me.

■ 3 p.m. Switch off brain, and switch into First Lady mode. Write in notebook 5,000 times: I must listen and learn, learn and listen, listen and lecture, lecture and pester... Dress British, think Yiddish. Givult.

Golda Meir, help me — Please!!

In the evening, time for the dinner between the Clintons and the Baraks arrives. Mrs. Clinton is the picture of an adoring wife and devoted First Lady. Let's listen in:

Hillary: Shalom Prime Minister. Mrs. Barak. I just want you to know that I'm not here as a Senate candidate. I'm here to listen and, umm, learn, yes, learn about all your concerns as Israelis and members of the Jewish faith, which is, ummm, one of my favorite religions, ummm, of course, I also have a lot of respect for the Muslim people, uhh, who have a long and rich history as well.

But, of course, they treat women miserably and what's with the veils? The Palestinians don't at all deserve their own state. Who could ever have said such a silly thing!

Ehud Barak: Well, Mrs. Clinton, actually I have given serious thought to the concept of Palestinian self-determination....

Hillary: Oh, yes, of course. Amen!

But forget about giving



HILLARY CLINTON
Killer schedule.

them a piece of Jerusalem. My goodness, that would be like chopping up Albany! We can't have that, no matter what Bubba says. Jerusalem is yours! We're moving the embassy. I'm taking my vacation there.

The dinner ends when Hillary's head explodes.

Hillary's to-do list, July 16:

■ Research residency requirements for serving in Israeli Knesset.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THERE are a number of trifling reasons one might think Hillary Rodham Clinton a less-than-ideal choice as the new senator from New York: She is the carpetbagger nonpareil; she has never held elected office; she made a ham-fisted mess of her one formal attempt to craft national policy, the 1993 health-care reform; she appears to regard power, in her case, as something approaching a divine right; she epitomizes the scorched-earth politics that already have crippled the ability of Congress and the White House to make law.

But these are mere cavils. The important reason why Mrs. Clinton should not be elected to the slightest position of responsibility has to do with her husband. You remember him. He is the fellow who disgraced the White House; violated the law he was sworn to uphold; lied to a federal judge, a grand jury, his Cabinet, the people; and put the nation through its most damaging political ordeal since Watergate.

Now 'Listening' in New York: The Woman Who Gave Us Bill

Yes, but what of all that? Surely, none of this is Mrs. Clinton's fault. Surely, she is as much a victim of her husband's wretchedness as the rest of us — indeed, the greatest victim. Such is Mrs. Clinton's implicit argument to the voters, and there is a smidgen of validity to it. Mrs. Clinton is to some degree a victim, and she is to be pitied for this.

But is Mrs. Clinton entirely a victim, or is she also, with her husband, a victimizer of the rest of us?

What is now common knowledge about Clinton — that he is recklessly destructive in the pursuit of his own pleasures and interests, that he is tantrum-throwing immature and that he is a compulsive teller of untruths — was not widely known when Clinton ran for the presidency in 1992. But was it known to Mrs.

Clinton?

Mrs. Clinton must have known that the carefully crafted public Clinton was not remotely the real thing. She must have known that her husband of nearly two decades was, by virtue of his in-



MICHAEL KELLY

eradicable character, not fit to hold the office — that, in fact, he was very likely to shame the office.

This, you may say, is unfair. The wife who deludes herself about her husband is a cliché. But Mrs. Clinton was not only a wife. She was a central figure in her husband's campaigns and his gubernatorial administrations. She was in a position to know the truth

about her husband, and she did know it; and she joined the likes of George Stephanopoulos, Paul Begala and James Carville in a cynical and immoral effort to hide the truth from the voters and to savage those who told the truth.

In 1992, Clinton was caught lying about his evasion of the Vietnam draft and about his liaison with a former state employee named Gennifer Flowers. With the support of his wife and staff, Clinton chose to continue to lie. And, as Stephanopoulos tells us in his political memoirs "All Too Human," those high up in the Clinton campaign knew he was lying.

Stephanopoulos recalls

his thoughts upon hearing the tapes of Flowers' intimate conversations with Clinton: "He lied." The sure knowledge demoralized Stephanopoulos and his colleagues — but then "Hillary rallied all of us that night with a conference call." The reinvigorated team went out to accuse Flowers of being the liar in the case, and to browbeat a complaisant press into pretending the tapes were forgeries.

Then came the discovery of Clinton's 1969 letter to Col. Eugene Holmes. "The letter's a fake," Stephanopoulos recalls wishfully thinking. But then, in the damage-control huddle, Mrs. Clinton read it: "Hillary spoke first. 'Bill, this is you. I can hear you saying this.'" Once

again, Mrs. Clinton focused the team to fight on — to blame others, to lie with abandon. (I can still hear Begala heatedly asserting that Clinton must have *forgot-ten* that he had received a draft notice in the middle of the Vietnam War.)

A man who could do what Clinton did in 1992 is a man whose solipsism for self-control and whose capacity for lying are so far beyond the norm of behavior as to fairly be called pathological. Hillary Rodham Clinton played the crucial, knowing role in foisting such a man upon the nation. And she did this without the slightest evident concern for what that might mean for the welfare of the nation.

Of course, what might transpire did transpire. And Mrs. Clinton blamed a "vast right-wing conspiracy" for the wreckage she helped make. Now the new candidate Clinton asks for an office of high public trust. But she has shown us of what trust she is worthy.

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First Lady Is Pledged \$25 Million for Race

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Settling in for what is shaping up as the costliest Congressional contest in the nation's history, 75 New York Democrats sat down for breakfast with Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday and pledged to raise \$25 million to finance her expected race for Senator from New York.

If they succeed, the Clinton campaign would set a new record — raising more from contributors than any other nonincumbent Senate candidate.

As the lawyers, media executives and business leaders made their pledges at a midtown law office, the First Lady also mailed more than one million appeals to prospective Democratic contributors across the nation, her associates said. The size of the mailing dwarfed anything attempted in any congressional campaign in recent memory, Democrats said yesterday.

"Over the years I have written to you on behalf of Democratic candidates and causes," Mrs. Clinton wrote in her two-page letter. "Today, I am writing to make a more personal request." She went on to say, "For three decades I have been a strong advocate for the causes I believe in, and I believe I can be a strong advocate for New York."

Taken together, the letter and the fund-raising plan leave little doubt that the race to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan could shatter a series of campaign financing records.

If Mrs. Clinton meets the \$25 million goal — and Democrats and Republicans yesterday predicted she would — her campaign would surpass the record set by Oliver L. North in 1994, when he raised \$20.7 million for his unsuccessful Senate campaign in Virginia.

And if Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City or another Republican candidate comes close to matching Mrs. Clinton's success in raising funds — and Democrats and Republicans yesterday predicted that some Republican would — the race could break the \$44 million spending record set in the California Senate race of 1994, when Michael Huffington spent \$30 million, most of it out of his own pocket, in his unsuccessful campaign against Senator Diane Feinstein. The second most expen-

A Senate race that could break records for spending money.

sive race was in New York last year, when Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, defeated Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, a Republican. Spending in that contest reached about \$40.1 million.

Unlike most first-time candidates, Mrs. Clinton will not have to spend any money to introduce herself to voters. However, her supporters said yesterday, the First Lady expects to have to spend large sums to address, presumably with television advertisements, unfavorable perceptions among a good portion of the New York electorate.

In addition, Republicans across the nation have begun making their own requests for money to help finance an effort to defeat Mrs. Clinton, adding to the pressure Mrs. Clinton's supporters said they felt to raise money in the months ahead.

Aides to Mr. Giuliani said they were unconcerned about Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising intentions. "We will match the Democratic candidate for the Senate in fund-raising," said John H. Gross, the mayor's treasurer.

Still, before Mr. Giuliani reaches the point of matching Mrs. Clinton, he has to get past a well-financed challenge to the nomination within his own party. Mr. Giuliani now has less money on hand for a Senate run than Representative Rick A. Lazio of Long Island, his relatively unknown rival for the Republican nomination, aides to both men said yesterday.

In Federal campaign filings to be released at the end of the month, Mr. Giuliani is expected to report having about \$2.6 million on hand, compared to more than \$3 million for Mr. Lazio.

However, Mr. Giuliani has been raising money in recent months at a far faster clip than Mr. Lazio, whose total is bolstered by more than \$1.8 million carried over from his Congressional campaign committees in previous years.

The First Lady's fund-raising meeting was held in a conference room at the New York law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, at the invitation of a partner, Morris N. Kaplan.

The session was led by Alan J. Patricof, the New York venture capitalist who has been one of the President's most loyal supporters, and by Terence McAuliffe, a close friend of Mr. Clinton who raised \$27 million for the Clinton-Gore campaign in just seven months in 1995.

According to participants, it was Mr. Patricof who set the \$25 million goal. That figure was embraced by the participants, who agreed to meet monthly from here on.

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